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For my parents.

Introduction

Stop dreaming and work.
Who do you think feeds those people in towns, they work just like us.
Look at me I have lived all my life here in our village. We have always have had enough of what we required.
I remember when I was young, we hunted small animals, we ploughed the fields, we looked after our cattle and life was interesting.
Now you say we are poor. All you need to do is work and be happy.
You can go to your town but you will come back and find us happy, fine and strong enjoying the blissful breeze of our village.

(Livingstone Museum in Livingstone, Zambia: Text in a speech balloon of an illustration of an unemployed rural African in front of an urban scene showing progress and development)

I am still trying to work out the meaning of this rather ambivalent and slightly paradoxical piece of text, which I saw for the first time in 2017 during my initial research stay in Zambia in the Livingstone Museum. The text itself is written in a speech-bubble of an unemployed rural African sitting in an urban area next to two construction workers, who represent the busyness of their occupation and ultimately the urban space by saying that the construction was behind schedule and the management wanted to see results. The rural or urban poor displayed in this cardboard installation can be found in the section on urbanisation, which is labelled "their town" and which directly follows the section termed "our village". It is a museal representation of a discourse of development and modernisation that originated during the colonial era. Life started in the village and through development and modernisation moved to town. However, it becomes clear that the town is not his, the urban/rural poor's. But it is not clear who "we" and who "they" are in a postcolonial context. Whose town is it? Whose town was it? How has it been organised and managed? And which trajectories and developments have led to what the town is now and how it is displayed for instance in these museal arrangements? Questions like these guide the research process that led to this thesis, in which I will try to approach the historical developments and trajectories of Livingstone, a medium-sized city situated on Zambia's southern border to Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia, and close to Angola, using a spatial perspective on historical processes.

African History, Urban History and the Spatial Turn

Since the 1990s, the so called *spatial turn* has led to a rediscovery of a central aspect of human social and cultural life: *space*. It was not the first spatial turn in the history of science as Stephan Günzel, a strong critic of the term, and others are not tired of pointing out,[1] but it is probably the most widely visible as well as the most successful one in terms of its disciplinary diffusion.[2] The literature following this turn, which was heavily influenced by the works of Edward Soja and David Harvey and their adoption of the works of philosophers such as Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault, could alone now perhaps fill libraries, and it is indeed hard to find any human science that is not producing papers and books on it. As Döring and Thielmann highlight, however, it is difficult to detect a common ground in works that appear under the label and/or agenda *spatial turn,*[3] which might be due to the fact that space is not an easy and neatly definable category to apprehend. Moreover, it has proved to be so successful that it is now even fashionable to make fun of it, or any other turn for that matter.

The use of spatial language and space as an object of analysis in much of the non-geographical spatial turn literature is either implicitly or explicitly geographical, despite the at times strong contestations against material or physical notions of space as John Agnew observes.[4] Döring and Thielmann argue that for the most part, in particular within cultural studies, it is implicit.[5] However, historians (in the German-speaking world most notably Karl Schlögel) tend to refer explicitly to geographical concepts and literatures.[6] At the same time, some (particularly German-speaking) geographers[7] tend to look sceptically or even with contempt at the use of space by non-geographers, and thereby in a way try to de-spatialise or de-materialise space as much as possible, countering what they understand as the raising of geography's deterministic and territorialistic spectres that the discipline had tried so hard so cast out after World War II. In any case, the spatial turn has also reached studies on Africa in general and African studies in particular. Nevertheless, urban spatial histories or historical geographies about Africa still remain comparatively rare.

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[1] Günzel, S. (Ed.). (2017). *Raum. Eine Kulturwissenschaftliche Einführung.* Bielefeld: transcript ; Döring, J. and T. Thielmann (2008). Einleitung: Was Lesen Wir im Raume? Der Spatial Turn und das Geheime Wissen der Geographen. In Döring, J. and T. Thielmann (Eds.), *Spatial Turn: Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften.* Bielefeld: transcript ; Lippuner, R. and J. Lossau (2010). Kritik der Raumkehren. In Günzel, S. (Ed.), *Raum. Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch.* Stuttgart: Metzler

[2] From my point of view, the fact that the increasing popularity of space is paralleled by renewed interests in materiality and the body, but perhaps more importantly by the spread and availability of the internet is not a coincidence.

[3] Döring and Thielmann 2008, Einleitung: Was Lesen Wir Im Raume? Der Spatial Turn Und Das Geheime Wissen Der Geographen, p. 11.

[4] Agnew, J. (1995). The Hidden Geographies of Social Science and the Myth of the 'Geographical Turn'. *Environment and Planning D abstract, 13*(4), 379-380

[5] Döring and Thielmann 2008, Einleitung: Was Lesen Wir Im Raume? Der Spatial Turn Und Das Geheime Wissen Der Geographen, p. 19.

[6] see also: Osterhammel, J. (1998). Die Wiederkehr des Raumes: Geopolitik, Geohistorie und Historische Geographie. *Neue Politische Literatur, 43*(3), 374-397, which translates to "the return of space" thus implying that space and history are not a newly wed couple, for which not only the French Annales School provides evidence, but also the works of Reinhart Koselleck. See: Koselleck, R. (2000). Raum und Geschichte. *Zeitschichten: Studien zur Historik,* 78-96

[7] See for instance: Hard, G. (2008). Der Spatial Turn von der Geographie her beobachtet. In J. Döring & T. Thielmann (Eds.), Spatial Turn: Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften (pp. 263-316). Bielefeld: transcript.; Redepenning, M. (2008). Eine selbst erzeugte Überraschung: Zur Renaissance von Raum als Selbstbeschreibungsformel der Gesellschaft. In J. Dünne & T. Thielmann (Eds.), Spatial Turn: Das Raumparadigmain den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften (pp. 317-340). Bielefeld: transcript.; Lippuner, R. (2008). Raumbilder der Gesellschaft. Zur Räumlichkeit des Sozialen in der Systemtheorie. In J. Dünne & T. Thielmann (Eds.), Spatial Turn: Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften (pp. 341-364). Bielefeld: transcript.; Werlen, B. (2008). Körper, Raum und mediale Repräsentation. In J. Dünne & T. Thielmann (Eds.), Spatial Turn: Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften (pp. 365-392). Bielefeld: trancript.

Ulf Engel and Paul Nugent edited a volume on "Respacing Africa", following the ECAS of 2009 in Leipzig that ran under the same title. In their introduction they argue that the reasons for the spatial turn in African studies are different than in the European case "and, in some respects, the obverse"[8], since the grounds on which the spatial turn occurred in European academic departments "has been concerned with state-led efforts at territorialisation"[9], with the relationship between class and state forming the central units of analysis. "In Africa", on the other hand, "it is often the 'failure of the state' that has led to an interest in the emergence of new theatres where other agendas may thrive: these may be located at the geographical margins, in internal frontier zones, and even in the capital city itself where uncontrolled new settlements have proliferated with remarkable rapidity in recent decades."[10] Moreover, it is not so much stratifications within societies that inform spatial studies on Africa, but rather social networks, mobilities, and questions of belonging. Thinking about the critiques of the spatial turn mentioned above and the difference between a spatial label and a spatial agenda, it is perhaps not surprising that "the vast majority of panels and papers at ECAS 3 did not talk about space as an analytical concept".[11]

Moreover, while the focus on spatialisation in the absence of state is certainly important for modern-day Africa and valid for studying the developments since the late 1970s and 1980s, it is, I claim, questionable for African history in general. Not only did post-independent state institutions play a significant role in the (often centralised) (re)structuration of space of their territories and the towns and cities within these territories in particular, but we might also find examples in pre-colonial Africa, where spatial orderings and formations were controlled and mediated through central authorities. Richard Shain for instance shows how the Sokoto Caliphate not only appropriated space, but re-organised spatial organisations of other groups in the course of their expansions. This was not only achieved by toponymic inscriptions, the renaming of places and cities, but also by a restructuring of the economy and its infrastructures.[12] Even resemblances of terms that are understood as European or colonial inventions like "district" can be found in so called stateless pre-colonial societies in Africa as concepts of spatial organisation, as Jan Vansina showed.[13] Allen Howard and Richard Shain have argued

> "how theories and tools of spatial analysis are invaluable for scholars confronting the explanatory, methodological, and epistemological issues posed by recent developments in African historiography [...by providing a] conceptual bridge between African social history and

[8] Engel, U. and P. Nugent (2007). Introduction: The Spatial Turn in African Studies. In Engel, U. and P. Nugent (Eds.), *Respacing Africa.* Brill, p. 3
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., p. 5.
[12] Shain, R. (2005). The Salt That Binds; the Historical Geography of a Central Nigerian Regional Identity. In Howard, A. and R. Shain (Eds.), *The Spatial Factor in African History; the Relationship of the Social, Material & Perceptual.* Leiden: Brill
[13] Vansina, J. (1990). *Paths in the Rainforests.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. This was taken as a starting point in Christopher Gray's work on the spatial (re)organisations in Gabon during colonial times, where he traces the partial disappearance of districts during the turn of the century and their re-appearance, though differently, by French colonialists in the 1920s. Gray, C. (2005). The Disappearing District? Territorial Transformation in Southern Gabon 1850-1950. In Howard, A. and R. Shain (Eds.), *The Spatial Factor in African History.* Leiden: Brill

other fields in the humanities and social sciences by making micro-histories more intelligible to a wider audience and grounding abstract theories in concrete cases."[14]

Thus, *a* spatial turn, though not necessarily *the* spatial turn, was perhaps long overdue for historical perspectives on Africa in general. Yet, not only the socio-political and cultural dynamics and transformations of the last decades should direct our attention to questions of space in African history. As the volume of Howard and Shain demonstrates, rich insights can be gained from spatial perspectives on all kinds of African history, whether pre-, post-, or colonial, and various spheres of society. Although there has been a growth in spatial perspectives in African studies and in studies on urban Africa in particular over the last two decades, works with strong analytical and multidimensional spatial frameworks remain relatively rare.[15]

Given the similarity in (postmodern) language between theories on space on the one hand and ethnicity or identity on the other (i.e. constructed, contested, mediated, fluid, ephemeral, becoming, etc.), perhaps Shain and Howard are correct in their argument that "the 'ethnic approach' to African history has most determinedly blocked the application of spatial analysis."[16] In some sense, however, the resemblance between these two approaches is so striking precisely because questions of ethnicities and identities are essentially spatial in the sense that they inform, for example, about relations, boundaries, inclusions and exclusions (to and from social spaces and sometimes physical spaces). Moreover, perspectives on religion or gender for instance could be viewed in the same way. To be sure, this study is neither about ethnicity, nor religion or gender specifically, but issues of space touch on all of them and many more. For this reason it is not necessary to take societal transformations in African states since the 1990s, or the dynamics of informal urban settlements, or the more recent academic fashion of studying society through bodies and performances as a starting-point to address questions of space in African history and societies. Thus, "[s]patial analysis can yield new perspectives on old subjects such as state formation, and help go beyond stalemated dichotomies such as the polarized treatment of states and so-called stateless societies."[17]

This study focuses on the social and physical spatial configurations and transformations of a small town in Southern Africa. As I will try to show, questions of space are not only important in the context of towns and cities as such, which are very obvious physical formations and socio-spatial configurations, but they are equally relevant in the context of institutional relations that transgress the town, as well as the production and exchange of knowledge, colonial ideologies like modernisation and development, and the politics that govern the relationship between people. The study is therefore partly informed by works that have been produced along the spatial turn or that are subsumed under it by others, but it is equally or more informed by literature on space that, despite their spatial approach, do not necessarily run under that agenda or label.

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[14] Howard, A. and R. Shain. Introduction: African History and Social Space in Africa. Howard, A. and R. Shain (Eds.), *The Spatial Factor in African History; the Relationship of the Social, Material & Perceptual.* Leiden: Brill, p. 4

[15] For exemplary works that use a spatial approach to study urban spaces see: Myers, G. (2003). *Verandahs of Power: Colonialism and Space in Urban Africa.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press; Bissell, W.C. (2011b). *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power in Zanzibar.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Beeckmans, L.M.R. (2013). *Making the African City: Dakar, Dar Es Salaam, Kinshasa, 1920-1980.* Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

[16] Howard and Shain 2005, Introduction: African History and Social Space in Africa, p. 15.

[17] Ibid., p. 4.

It is perhaps interesting that works in the field of African urban history or urban history in general, that is, spatial histories or historical geographies, are rarely understood as spatial turn literature by the authors themselves or others. The same is true for the literature on urban morphology and certain works in sociology and geography that are inherently spatial. This is perhaps best captured in a statement by Andrew Abbott about the works of the Chicago school of sociology which long predates *the* spatial turn.

> "In a single sentence, the Chicago school thought – and thinks – that one cannot understand social life without understanding the arrangements of particular social actors in particular social times and places. Another way of stating this is to say that Chicago felt that no social fact makes any sense abstracted from its context in social (and often geographic) space and social time. Social facts are located. This means a focus on social relations and spatial ecology in synchronic analysis, as it means a similar focus on process in diachronic analysis. Every social fact is situated, surrounded by other contextual facts and brought into being by a process relating it to past contexts."[18]

Despite the fact that especially some early works of the Chicago School on urban ecology have been criticised, and rightly so, for their normative and deterministic treatment of space and society,[19] the principle that guided these works is still relevant, I claim, for any approach to histories of spaces and places, since they put space, time and society into a relational constellation and thereby intuitively integrate the perspectives of history, sociology, and geography.

It is this principle, though not necessarily the Chicago School in particular, which has developed in many different directions over the past century,[20] that this study tries to follow. Susanne Rau suggests that space allows for a different perspective on history. "I believe that an approach based in spatial analysis will generally help us to see more. This 'more' is comparable, for example, to viewing political history from the perspective of gender. At the very least, we can once again look at history differently, and perhaps even recognize entirely new connections."[21] In the words of Schlögel then "Call this a 'spatial turn' if you like"[22], but what's more important is a multidimensional perspective on space and time in the study of colonial urban spaces.

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[18] Abbott, A. (1997). Of Time and Space: The Contemporary Relevance of the Chicago School. *Social Forces, 75*(4), 1149-1182, p. 1152. For Abbott it is not the embodiment of social facts that is intellectually central, but the relations of these embodiments to other social facts, thus their location.

[19] Many critics could be cited here, especially from recent Urban Studies literature. i.e. Löw, M. (2016). *The Sociology of Space: Materiality, Social Structures, and Action.* New York: Palgrave. For earlier critiques, however, see for instance: Harvey, D. (1973). *Social Justice and the City.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; Castells, M. (1977). *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach.* London: Edward Arnold; Smith, E. (1985). Louis Wirth and the Chicago School of Urban Sociology: An Assessment and Critique. *Humanity & Society, 9*(1), 1-12.

[20] Abbott 1997, Of Time and Space: The Contemporary Relevance of the Chicago School.

[21] Rau, S. (2019). *History, Space and Place*. London: Routledge, p. 78.

[22] Schlögel, K. (2016). *In Space We Read Time: On the History of Civilization and Geopolitics*. Bard Graduate Center, p. xx

Methods and Sources

For this study a variety of methods have been applied in order to be able to approach the case of Livingstone using a spatial perspective on urban areas. These methods include historical methods of archival research, geographical methods of spatial and map analyses as well as the use of historical GIS, which is at the intersection of history and geography, and urban anthropological/sociological approaches of town walks and observations,[23] interviews and (reflexive) photography.

The main corpus of primary sources used within this study is archival material gathered mainly at the National Archives in London (Kew) and Lusaka (NAZ) with some material retrieved from the British Library, the National Library of Austria and of Australia, where I found tourist maps online of which I ordered digital copies, as well as web sites and internet archives. The majority of the documents were viewed in the NAZ, with only some from the archives in Kew.[24] The corpus includes colonial reports, circulars, correspondence, minutes of meetings of different municipal bodies, which probably make up one of the most important source types within this study, as well as planning proposals, photographs, and maps. Initially over 300 different records were cited by myself alone, of which about 200 were studied in detail. Around 80 of those were ultimately used in the present study.[25] Thus, indeed not all documents proved to be of use, either because they contained information different to what was described in the archival register, or because they were almost empty or unreadable due to their physical condition. However, in general the material condition of the single files and documents was good, yet not always complete. The language used in certain documents is of a standardised and often technical nature rendering policies and resolutions at times ambiguous and concealing underlying arguments and motivations. This is especially the case in minutes of the monthly-held meetings of the AUAC (African Urban Advisory Council) and Municipal Council, which proved to be particularly valuable; here, unlike in meetings of the Legislative Council, the entirety of the conversations is not transcribed, but only central arguments and positions are summarised. The same is true for many by-laws and legal files. Documents such as meetings of the Legislative Council on the other hand contain evidence of vivid discussions. Certain reports, postal conversations and conference speeches as well, more or less openly display differing political and ideological viewpoints, especially if they are classified as confidential. The archival studies were performed in June 2015 in London and the British Library and between March and June of 2017 and 2018 in Zambia. About a third of my stays in Zambia was dedicated to the inspection of documents at the National Archives in Lusaka, while the other two-thirds were spent conducting field research in Livingstone.

In addition to the archival sources, insights gained from interviews with elderly Livingstonians further contribute to gaining insight into the trajectories of urban life in Livingstone. Thus, 25 interviews, which were conducted in the form of open-ended narrative conversations and informal talks, were held to provide reference to changes and continuities in everyday life over time in

[23] see: Pierce, J. and M. Lawhon (2015). Walking as Method: Toward Methodological Forthrightness and Comparability in Urban Geographical Research. *The Professional Geographer, 67*(4), 655-662; in the context of historical disciplines see also: Schlögel 2016, *In Space We Read Time*.

[24] My supervisor Kirsten Rüther was far more successful at Kew. Most of the Kew documents used in this study come from her digital copies.

[25] Some were also digitised by my supervisor and head of project Kirsten Rüther.

Livingstone through personal histories. The selection of informants was not based on a specific social or political class, ethnic identity, gender or religion. It is rather intended to cover a variety of men and women living in different areas of Livingstone with different backgrounds, some of them born and raised in Livingstone, and others who moved there for reasons such as schooling, employment or marriage. However, age obviously was a criterion. While the main attention is drawn to the archival sources and oral accounts concerning Livingstone's urban past I will also make some references to modern day Livingstone from observations, town walks and oral information gathered during my research. Additionally, five interviews based on the concept of reflexive photography[26] were also conducted with younger Livingstonians to get a sense of their perceptions of Livingstone in modern-day Zambia. This will be addressed in the last chapter in the context of the changes and continuities of urban life. Furthermore, the town-walks and talks with Jonathan Katele, who also organised many of the interviews and introduced me to a variety of people and places – and without whom the research would have been much more difficult – proved to be fruitful in terms of becoming familiar not only with the town today, its structures and functions, but also to search for the physical remains of former days. The camera was a valuable tool here as well. However, these approaches should not be mistaken for ethnographic methods proper.

In recent years, there has been an increase in studies that focus on contemporary issues in African towns and cities through a spatial lens. Concerning urban spaces in Zambia, Patience Mususa, for instance, has provided a very detailed (auto)ethnographic account on the changing "texture of place" and everyday life on the Copperbelt in the aftermath of privatisations and structural adjustment programmes. In a recent publication, which is based on her Ph.D. Thesis, she studied the entanglements of landscape and practices of social and cultural life.[27] Along with other spatial theories, she makes use of Henri Lefebvre's notion of textures, which refers to the sensual experience of space. Mususa explains her research strategy as an anthropology of "trying". While such approaches to study urban structures and relations partly through personal and intersubjective spatial experiences, which are operationalised through participant observation and which thereby put African actors and their perspectives at the very centre of analysis, are insightful and important, for historical studies they are, however, not easily realisable. Hence, participant observation has clear advantages over historical methods in this domain, even over such that include interviews or town-walks. My own approach to reconstruct the spatiality of social structures and practice on multiple scales and investigate their interrelations with physical structures and place is therefore that of a spatial history or historical geography, which will be addressed in detail in Part I of this thesis. The agency and strategies of Africans are important to such a methodology as well, as is putting their everyday struggles under scrutiny. However, in historical research they cannot be approached by methods of "trying" as suggested by Mususa. Moreover, my position as a white person from the "Global North" in general would be an obstacle or even a hindrance to such a research approach.

[26] see: Dirksmeier, P. (2013). Zur Methodologie und Performativität Qualitativer Visueller Methoden – Die Beispiele der Autofotografie und Reflexiven Fotografie. In E., R. and D. T. (Eds.), *Raumbezogene Qualitative Sozialforschung.* Wiesbaden: Springer; Dirksmeier, P. (2009). *Urbanität als Habitus. Zur Sozialgeographie Städtischen Lebens auf dem Land.* Bielefeld: transcript-Verlag; Pfadenhauer, M. (2017). Fotografieren (Lassen) in der Lebensweltanalytischen Ethnografie. In Eberle, T.S. (Eds.), *Fotografie und Gesellschaft.* Bielefeld: transcript-Verlag; Eckardt, F. (2014). *Stadtforschung: Gegenstand und Methoden.* Weimar: Springer-Verlag.
[27] Mususa, P. (2021). There Used to be Order: Life on the Copperbelt after the Privatisation of the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines. University of Michigan Press.

My analysis therefore tries to include and address African perspectives and agency, but it also covers the colonial and settler perspectives, ideologies, and habitus. To do that, especially the archival documents and other sources were used to build a spatial database and ultimately a historical GIS, which I will discuss in what follows.

Geographic Information Systems and Historical Data

A GIS (Geographic Information System) is both a term for pieces of software as well as what this software allows its users to do. In the case of historical research it allows the creation of a historical spatial database or historical geographic information system (HGIS). As a method coming from rather quantitative and positivist sciences, the use of GIS has its perils, but it has an equally great potential to enrich historical and mainly qualitative research as well. However, one needs to be somewhat creative in adapting it to the needs and problems of historical research, since "GIS originated in disciplines that use quantitative and scientific approaches in a data-rich environment. Historical geography is rarely data-rich".[28] In order to fully disclose the technical and methodological decisions that I made within this study, I will briefly relate the methods and means with which I operated in QGIS (Quantum GIS) in the context of HGIS.[29] QGIS is a free software tool with a GUI-interface, which is constantly maintained and developed by individuals and groups forming an open-source community, many of whom are working as researchers in fields such as geography, ecology, and hydrology, but also the social sciences.[30] In order to familiarise myself better with GIS and cartography in general I attended lectures and seminars in cartography at the University of Vienna.

In order to reconstruct different morphological periods in the history of Livingstone and locate certain places and localities of interest, it was necessary to first digitise the scanned or photographed maps.[31] Digitisation is the process by which a scanned image is converted into different sets of relational data, such as vector-data (points, lines, polygons), attribute data (toponyms, quantities, dates, etc.) and metadata (source data, scales, etc.), which are stored and managed within a GIS and/or an external database project.[32] Central to this digitisation process when working with historical maps is the use of geo-referencing tools with which a scanned map is referenced against a base-map (i.e. OpenStreetMap OSM). The base-map includes and provides the necessary geographical information of longitudes and latitudes and can be projected according to the intended use case.[33] When geo-referencing, the user of a GIS loads the scanned image into the software and tries to

[28] Gregory, I.N. and P.S. Ell (2008). *Historical Gis. Technologies, Methodologies, and Scholarship.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 1.

[29] i.e. Lünen, A. v., & Travis, C. (Eds.). (2013). *History and Gis: Epistemologies, Considerations and Reflections.* Dordrecht: Springer.; Bodenhamer, D.J., J. Corrigan and T.M. Harris (Eds.). (2010). *The Spatial Humanities. Gis and the Future of Humanities Scholarship.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Geddes, A. and I. Gregory (Eds.). (2014). *Toward Spatial Humanities. Historical Gis and Spatial History.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Gregory and Ell 2008, *Historical Gis*.

[30] Apart from the comparatively small, but highly informative as well as critical literature on HGIS (Historial GIS) and Spatial Humanities, there is a vital online community which provides technical tutorials for GIS and other digital research tools. See for instance: https://programminghistorian.org/

[31] Gregory and Ell 2008, *Historical Gis*, p. 41.

[32] Ibid. p. 36 In the present case PostgreSQL as an external database was used.

[33] In large scale maps (ca. up to 1:100.000) such as town plans, which are usually between scales of 1:10.000 and 1:50.000, projection is not as big an issue as in small scale maps, such as country maps, since the equal-area, conformal or equidistant distortion might be negligible. However, when working with geo-referencing, it is quite useful to know the projection of the original map which makes the process easier. See: Sheppard, E. and R.B. McMaster (2004b). Introduction: Scale and Geographic Inquiry. In Sheppard, E. and R.B. McMaster (Eds.), *Scale and Geographic Inquiry: Nature, Society, and Method.* Malden: Blackwell, *Introduction.*

identify equivalent points on the scanned image and the base-map, such as specific landmarks of the natural and built environment (i.e. a river-bend or a road-intersection). With enough points, depending on the map, the software has enough information for the algorithm to calculate and store the geographic information into the scanned image, which can then be stored as a geo-referenced image (usually TIFF).[34] The procedures of digitisation and geo-referencing were undertaken with all the relevant maps and plans found in archival documents at the British National Archives and the National Archives of Zambia, but also through online duplication services of the Austrian National Library and the Australian National Library. The general process of digitisation, however, also involves the collection of spatial, though not necessarily cartographic, data from other archival sources. These include demographic, economic, legal, or planning data, as well as descriptions of or references to objects that are not included in the plans and maps. In fact, any data that contains spatial information can theoretically be used within a GIS. This data is then combined with the spatial data from maps and other sources. It might then be quantified or used to explore patterns and trends in a more qualitative way.

The way I approached QGIS and PostgreSQL was more in the Straussian[35] sense of a "Bricolour" rather than an engineer, which, according to Alexander von Lünen, is an approach designed to make the best use of GIS in historical research through exploration rather than a fixed set of procedures.[36] This means, like statistical software or any other kind of (technical) tool like a QDA (i.e. Atlas.ti), a GIS cannot be considered as a sort of black-box which magically outputs the answers to the questions one asks.[37] Thus, Gregory and Ell, too, caution that "[t]he researcher using GIS should be asking 'what are the geographical aspects of my research question?' rather than 'what can I do with my dataset using this software?'"[38] Accordingly, for example, my intention for feeding the data collected from the minutes of the African Urban Advisory Council Minutes[39] into a database was to find out which kinds of issues were discussed at what time and by whom and how these relate to certain urban spaces. Thus, are there places or spatial aspects that are more frequent than others?, for instance. This means in particular that the goal of using GIS for historical research is not to produce maps, although this is not an unimportant aspect in my view, since knowing where something is at what time, or how much of something (i.e. people, goods, etc.), is not just a side-note for it not only provides information on spatial changes, but it also helps to identify patterns and structures. Accordingly, the goal of using GIS in historical research is to explore data generated from archival sources in a different way than simply reading minutes and reports; it can thereby perhaps find or make visible aspects that would otherwise have remained unnoticed. The maps themselves are therefore only the last step.

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[34] Thus, every time the geo-referenced image is then imported into any GIS software or tool that can read the format of the file, it is possible to run geometric calculations (distance, perimeter, area, angle).
[35] Lévi-Strauss, C. (1962). *La Pensée Sauvage*. Paris: Plon.
[36] Lünen, A.v. (2013). Tracking in a New Territory: Re-Imaging Gis for History. In Lünen, A.v. and C. Travis (Eds.), *History and Gis_ Epistemologies, Considerations and Reflections*. Dordrecht: Springer, p. 222.
[37] Griffiths, S. (2013). Gis and Research into Historical "Spaces of Practice": Overcoming the Epistemological Barriers. In Lünen, A.v. and C. Travis (Eds.), *History and Gis: Epistemologies, Considerations and Reflections*. Dordrecht: Springer, p. 155; Lünen, A.v. and G. Olsson (2013). "Thou Shalt Make No Graven Maps!": An Interview with Gunnar Olsson. In von Lünen, A. and C. Travis (Eds.), *History and Gis. Epistemologies, Considerations and Reflections*. Dordrecht: Springer, p. 78.
[38] Gregory and Ell 2008, *Historical Gis*, p. 1.
[39] see chapter 5.

Livingstone: Previous Work

In general, research on African cities and urbanisation is diverse and manifold. Especially in Northern Rhodesia and later Zambia research in and about urban areas has a long history. Studies in urban sociology/anthropology and geography have provided information about urban social relations and change, spatial layouts of cities and compounds, population developments, as well as household economy and reproduction, and national economic and industrial development. Many of these studies, especially by geographers who conducted research during the so-called quantitative revolution in geography, are decidedly quantitative and descriptive, yet nevertheless very valuable and informative. Within these sociological and geographical studies, the Copperbelt-towns and Lusaka have received special attention, while towns such as Livingstone, or even smaller towns like Mazabuka or Kalomo have received less attention. Thus, Livingstone has remained a rather under-researched town in an urbanist sense, although references have been made to political and administrative aspects of Livingstone from very early on, for example in Gann's History of Northern Rhodesia from 1964.[40] The first comprehensive social study of Livingstone was conducted by Merran McCulloch[41], an RLI-sociologist from New Zealand, who later met and married journalist Peter Fraenkel in Livingstone. Fraenkel himself has contributed to enriching the work on Livingstone with his biographical accounts and writings on local settler society, albeit not in an academic manner.[42] Merran McCulloch's account, on the other hand, is a very precise and detailed study of the African population in Livingstone during the early and mid-1950s and has been immensely valuable for the present thesis.

Of equal value has been the first historical study on Livingstone by Nina Tanner Robbins in 1977, wherein she focused on the history of African urban politics between 1905 and 1966.[43] Her work presents a detailed analysis of the different processes and conjunctures along which the political agency of Africans developed during the colonial times. Of particular interest to me have been the early developments up to the 1930s, a period which I did not cover during my archival research, but aspects of which are nevertheless important to the spatial developments in Livingstone.

Historical research on Livingstone has also been carried out by Friday Mufuzi starting with his unpublished Master's Thesis on "A history of the Asian Trading Community in Livingstone, 1905-1954", the findings of which he published as articles in two edited volumes, "The Objects of Life in Central Africa"[44] and "Living in the end of Empire".[45] Mufuzi later continued his research on Livingstone in his Ph.D. Thesis on the Livingstone Museum,[46] in which he carefully and

[40] Gann, L.H. (1964). *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953.* London: Chatto and Windus. Also the work of Macmillan and Shapiro on Jewish settlers in Northern Rhodesia and later Zambia makes many references to Livingstone. Macmillan, H. and F. Shapiro (2017). *Zion in Africa. The Jews of Zambia.* London and New York: I.B. Tauris

[41] McCulloch, M. (1956). *A Social Survey of the African Population of Livingstone.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

[42] Fraenkel, P. (2005). *No Fixed Abode: A Jewish Odyssey to Africa.* London: I.B. Tauris; Fraenkel, P. (1959). *Wayaleshi.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

[43] Robbins, N.T. (1977). *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966.* (Ph.D. Thesis), Howard University.

[44] Mufuzi, F. (2013). Indian Traders as Agents of Western Technological Consumption and Social Change in Mukuni: Memories of the Sharma Brothers' Trading Store, 1950s to 1964. In Ross, R., M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša (Eds.), *The Objects of Life in Central Africa.* Leiden: Brill

[45] Mufuzi, F. (2011b). Indian Political Activism in Colonial Zambia: The Case of Livingstone's Indian Traders. In Gewald, J.-B., M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola (Eds.), *Living the End of Empire.* Leiden: Brill.

[46] Mufuzi, F. (2012a). *The Livingstone Museum and Its Contribution to Zambia History: 1934-2006.* (Ph.D. Thesis), University of Zambia.

comprehensively followed the historical developments and trajectories of the Livingstone Museum in terms of the research and exhibition agendas and the political frameworks and ideological underpinnings that accompanied and structured these developments.[47]

Another important contribution to the history of Livingstone was provided by Andrea Arrington-Sirois, who focused on the early days of the Victoria Falls region and the touristic developments. She presented very detailed accounts of the settler society and culture and its relationships to Africans in this region and specifically in Livingstone.[48] While her focus lies on the representational and imaginative aspects of Livingstone as a settler space, her accounts of African urban culture and everyday life, especially in terms of fashions, clothing and material culture are also very insightful. Joanna Lewis has also presented valuable accounts and illustrations of the general social and cultural dynamics and the settler society in Livingstone during the mid-1950s in two contributions to edited volumes and a book chapter.[49] In these, the strongly racist attitudes of the European population of Livingstone are highlighted, as well as settlers' sentiments and aspirations. Similar to Arrington-Sirois' account, but focusing more on the landscape and the geographical imaginations around the Victoria Falls are accounts at the intersection of historical geography, environmental history and social history by JoAnn McGregor, who also addresses touristic developments.[50]

Beyond these recent accounts dealing with the social, cultural and environmental history, since the late 1980s there has been an increase in literature in the field of tourism-research, which can be divided into geographical and sociological tourism-studies[51], studies focusing on the economy of tourism[52], and developmental aspects of tourism[53]. The literature on Livingstone is thus quite diverse, but also temporally fragmented. Yet looking at the historical works in particular, one striking feature in the colonial history and transformation of Livingstone cannot be overlooked, namely settler colonialism in its diverse manifestations. In Robbins' thesis the political struggle of African town dwellers against the small but strong settler community was highlighted. Arrington's work, though mainly focused on the first two decades of Livingstone's history, captured in great detail the cultural and social developments of the white community and its relationships to the African

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[47] See also: Mufuzi, F. (2011a). Establishment of the Livingstone Museum and Its Role in Colonial Zambia, 1934-1964. *Historia, 56*(1), 26-41 ; Mufuzi, F. *(2012b). The Livingstone Museum and Its Role in Postcolonial Zambia, 1964-2006. Historia, 57(1), 127-140.*

[48] Arrington-Sirois, A.L. (2017). *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination in British Southern Africa: Turning Water into Gold.* New York: Palgrave.

[49] Lewis, J. (2011). Rivers of White: David Livingstone and the 1955 Commemorations in the Lost 'Henley-Upon-Thames of Central Africa'. In Gewald, J-B., Hinfelaar, M., Macola, G. (Eds.), *Living the End of Empire.* Leiden: Brill; Lewis, J. (2018). *Empire of Sentiment. The Death of Livingstone and the Myth of Victorian Imperialism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Lewis, J. (2013). 'White Man in a Wood Pile': Race and the Limits of Macmillan's Great 'Wind of Change' in Africa. In Butler, L.J. and S. Stockwell (Eds.), *The Wind of Change: Harold Macmillan and British Decolonization.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[50] McGregor, J. (2003b). The Victoria Falls 1900–1940: Landscape, Tourism and the Geographical Imagination. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 29*(3), 717-737; McGregor, J. (2003a). Living with the River: Landscape and Memory in the Zambezi Valley, Zimbabwe. In Beinart, W. and J. McGregor (Eds.), *Social History and African Environments.* Oxford: James Currey; McGregor, J. (2009). *Crossing the Zambezi: The Politics of Landscape on a Central African Frontier.* Oxford: James Currey.

[51] Teye, V. (1988). Geographic Factors Affecting Tourism in Zambia. *Annals of Tourism Research, 15*(4), 487-503 ; Husbands, W. (1989). Social Status and Perception of Tourism in Zambia. *Annals of Tourism Research, 16*(2), 237-253.

[52] Rogerson, C.M. (2005). The Emergence of Tourism-Led Local Development: The Example of Livingstone, Zambia. *Africa Insight, 35*(4), 112-120; Mabvuto Ngwira, P. (2018). Lessons from Africa: Social-Economic Impacts of Enclave Tourism in Livingstone, Zambia. *RETOS. Revista de Ciencias de la Administración y Economía, 8*(15), 35-50.

[53] Arthur, L. (1968). *Zambia's Tourism: The Way Ahead. A Tourism Development Study for Zambia.* London: Arthur D. Little, Inc; Muuka, G.N., G. Hendon, P. Niffenegger and L.W. Muuka (2006). When Tourism Has the Potential to Turn a Nation Around: The Case of Zambia in the 21st Century. *Consortium Journal of Hospitality & Tourism, 10*(2), ; McLachlan, S. and T. Binns (2014). Tourism, Development and Corporate Social Responsibility in Livingstone, Zambia. *Local Economy, 29*(1-2), 98-112.

community. A similar account is given by Lewis. Taking these accounts and the significance of settler colonialism as a starting point for this thesis, I aim to elaborate a spatial history of Livingstone over roughly the last three decades of colonialism and the first 10 to 15 years of postcolonial Livingstone, combining methods and models of historical, geographical and sociological/anthropological scholarship in order to highlight the spatial structures, workings and trajectories of a settler town in a non-settler colony.

Problem Statement, Research Question, and General Outline

There have been many global and local studies on the so-called development era, the transition from colonialism to postcolonialism and the development of urban spaces and urban social relations during these periods. They have been approached from different disciplinary angles, ranging from cultural studies, history and anthropology to sociology and geography, and bringing in different theoretical and methodological perspectives and tools. Anthropology and sociology for instance have made great contributions to our understanding of urban social relations, networks, everyday life (i.e. the three generations of the Manchester School and, later, the critical examination of those accounts). Historical studies have made contributions for instance in the fields of political and social movements, negotiations and consolidations of power between different interest groups, and the economics behind them, again on various scales. Cultural studies (literature and cultural history) often translated these accounts to, and connected and enriched them with, individual literary and biographical studies as well as cultural histories of town life, social groups and their relations. Yet to my knowledge there have not been many attempts to apply a multi-dimensional historical spatial perspective, thus one that includes and triangulates various theoretical and methodological spatial approaches, to study the urban social and physical (morphological) change in combination with a colonial-postcolonial framework and in the context of development and modernisation. The present study is furthermore understood as contributing to the historical understanding of small- and medium-sized towns and their regional and global embeddedness.

In an edited volume following a conference of African urban studies scholars in 2003 in Austin, in the introduction to the book Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch identified many studies on space, but only few studies on spaces. "Undoubtedly, historical spaces and cultural spaces (i.e., spaces as announced by the title of the conference) were here. How to say this? "Spatial Space" was barely there."[54] As highlighted in the first section of this introduction, only a few contributions to the ECAS 2009 on "Respacing Africa" made use of spatial analysis.[55] In a more general sense, Susanne Rau recently pointed out a similar gap. In discussing the potential of the city and its spatial configurations for spatial analysis she still identifies a lack in "studies of the city that work with a consistently analytical spatial concept [...] and reveal the complex interplay of spaces, spatial practices, spatial conflicts, and agents".[56] This thesis is an attempt to contribute towards filling these gaps and perhaps initiating further research in such a direction.

[54] Coquery-Vidrovitch, C. (2005b). Introduction. African Urban Spaces: History and Culture. In Falola, T. and S. Salm (Eds.), *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, p. xxi.
[55] Engel and Nugent 2007, Introduction: The Spatial Turn in African Studies, p. 5.
[56] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 98.

Research Questions and Goals

Using spatial theories and methods, this doctoral thesis aims to study the urban developments of the Zambian town of Livingstone by looking at the production, practice and imaginings/constructions of the urban space in the specific context of settler-colonialism, modernisation and developmentalism. The thesis is guided by the following main questions:

1. How did the social and physical urban space of Livingstone evolve alongside the urban, political and social developments in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia?
2. What were the prevailing struggles and issues within urban politics and how did they structure spatial discourse and practice among African and European populations?
3. What visions, imaginations and ideologies are present in the building, practice and planning of and in Livingstone and how do they (in)form spatial policies and practice, and also themselves transform over time?

The study is therefore understood as a theoretical and methodological contribution to the study of urban history in Africa in that it takes into account and builds upon the multitude of previous sociological, anthropological and historical accounts on (urban) Zambia/Northern Rhodesia and Livingstone in particular; furthermore, it adds a set of spatial perspectives that include material and non-material, human and non-human, social and physical, topological and topographical aspects of the urban space. Accordingly, the goals of this study are threefold, concerning the case-study in the context of the territorial and regional history, the methodological synthesis of different spatial and historical approaches to urban spaces in Africa, and a theoretical synthesis concerning (post)colonial urban spaces:

1. Locating Livingstone's role and function structurally and discursively within the broader urban landscape of Northern Rhodesia/ Zambia throughout certain periods or phases in the town's and country's history with a particular emphasis on post-1940 dynamics of the development era.
2. Using GIS, maps, and illustrations both as a source for discursive reasoning on spatial ideologies and imaginaries, as well as data to reconstruct the historical evolution of the town, and employing spatial methods in order to obtain a detailed sense of how spatial organisation and relations, practices, and representations relate to urban morphological change.
3. Aligning the spatial and urban questions and issues of the case-study to address discourses of modernisation, (post)colonialism and the role of settlers within colonial urban spaces as well as their spatial legacies in postcolonial times.

Scope and General Outline

The main scope of this study lies within what is generally referred to as the development era, thus roughly the late 1930s until the early 1970s.[57] Yet, in order to understand this period, references will be made on several occasions to the early history of Livingstone, which in my opinion is not only relevant for understanding the dynamics and trajectories within the focal period, but also to locate Livingstone within the wider urban landscape of Northern Rhodesia/Zambia in relation to other urban areas on the Copperbelt and Central Province. Additionally, the periods after the 1970s will equally be used in particular when studying not only Livingstone's morphological evolution, but also certain aspects of urban everyday life until contemporary times.

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first and theoretical section deals with spatial and urban theory and methods. In Chapter One, space, place, time and scale will be discussed in the context of the social sciences in general and historical research in particular in order to define a perspective and a framework that will be used in the spatial analyses in the second part. In Chapter Two I will outline and problematise the literature on urban Africa, urbanisation and (post)colonial urbanism and the different research trends between the 1970s and today. This discussion will be used as a basis of how urban spaces and the processes of urbanisation in Africa can be understood and embedded into a spatial framework. In the second section of Chapter Two, this synthesis between spatial and urban research will then be further discussed methodologically in relation to the sources and issues analysed and addressed in the second part of the thesis.

Part II of the thesis will include five chapters on the spatial history of Livingstone. While I will start with the early history and urban developments, the chapters are not ordered chronologically, but rather are organised around the different spatial perspective; the focus in the first two chapters lies more on physical spaces and morphological issues, whereas the other three instead focus on questions of spatial practices and representations. In the first of these, Chapter Three, the historical background to Livingstone, its social, political and morphological genesis and trajectories will be scrutinised alongside a discussion of Livingstone as a settler-colonial town. Chapter Four will deal with housing, urbanisation, urban planning and management in Northern Rhodesia and Livingstone. Questions of urban inclusion and the role of different compounds will be surveyed. Special attention will be drawn to unofficial and unauthorised compounds and the discourses and practices around self-help and ownership schemes. The focus will lie on the late colonial and early postcolonial period. Chapter Five is dedicated to aspects of spatial agency and politics, urban infrastructures and urban everyday life, again covering the period between the 1940s and 1960s. It focuses on the role of the African Urban Advisory Council and its members as agents of urban politics, and analyses the issues addressed within the council. Chapter Six turns to the settlers' urban and spatial aspirations and imaginaries. It thereby focuses on a never-realised plan – to my knowledge this source has previously not been analysed in detail – to turn Livingstone into the capital of Northern Rhodesia again, a title and function the town had lost to Lusaka in 1935. The final Chapter Seven looks beyond colonial times and adresses some of the issues discussed in the previous chapters in a postcolonial context. It

[57] i.e. Cooper, F. (2002). *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

is guided by the question in which ways the colonial city morphs into a postcolonial city and how or if the postcolonial city subsequently morphs into something different.

Part I – A Space-Time Approach to Colonial Urban History

1. Space, Place and Time – Basic Principles and Applications

"Du siehst, mein Sohn, zum Raum wird hier die Zeit."

(You see, my son, here time becomes space)

Parsifal, Act I.

Over the last three decades a renewed interest in space has emerged in different fields of the social sciences and humanities, which, to a large extent, can be traced back to the works of Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991),[58] especially on the social production of space,[59] but also on the critique of urban conditions,[60] and on everyday life[61]. Furthermore, Pierre Bourdieu[62] and his studies of social topologies and Michel Foucault and his concept of Heterotopia[63] have influenced such renewed interest especially during the 1990s. The respective theories within Lefebvre's and Foucault's works were adopted and refined in the anglophone academic world (especially the USA) at first by human geographers such as David Harvey, Edward Soja, and Doreen Massey,[64] between the late 1970s and 1990s and have thereafter entered the realm of literary theory and cultural studies,[65] a process which is often called the *spatial turn*[66]; a turn (and term) that has not only produced a large amount of publications in various fields, but that has also been met with strong criticism.[67] Within the ongoing debates about space, there has also emerged a renewed interest in questions of place, scale and time, that is how these concepts relate to each other, and how theories of space, place, scale

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[58] Stuart Elden actually speaks of a Lefebvrian discourse that characterises this renewed spatial interest. Elden, S. (2001). Politics, Philosophy, Geography: Henri Lefebvre in Recent Anglo-American Scholarship. *Antipode, 33*(5), 809-825.

[59] Lefebvre, H. (2010). *The Production of Space.* Oxford: Blackwell.

[60] Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The Urban Revolution.* Minneapolis: Universityof Minnesota Press.

[61] Lefebvre, H. (2005). *Critique of Everyday Life, Volume Iii: From Modernity to Modernism (Towards a Metaphilosophy of Daily Life).* London and New York: Verso.

[62] Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Boston: Harvard University Press. More specifically: Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological theory, 7*(1), 14-25 ; Bourdieu, P. (2018). Social Space and the Genesis of Appropriated Physical Space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 42*(1), 106-114.

[63] Foucault, M. (1984). Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias. *Architecture, mouvement, continuité, 5*(1984), 46-49; See also: Foucault, M. (2007). Questions on Geography. In Crampton, J.W. and S. Elden (Eds.), *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

[64] Harvey 1973, *Social Justice and the City*; Soja, E. (1990). *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Theory.* London and New York: Verso; Massey, D. (1992). Politics and Space/Time. *New left review, 196*(65-65.

[65] Notably: Said's concept of "imaginative geographies" and Homi Bhabha's Third Space. Said, E.W. (1978). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient.* New York: Pantheon Books; Bhabha, H.K. (1994). *The Location of Culture.* London Routledge; A good overview throughout different disciplines is provided by the edited volume "Key Thinkers on Space and Place". Hubbard, P. and R. Kitchin (Eds.). (2010). *Key Thinkers on Space and Place.* London: Sage. In German, there are several volumes edited by Stephan Günzel, which are not organised around scholars, but along different disciplines. See for instance: Günzel 2017, *Raum. Eine Kulturwissenschaftliche Einführung* ; Dünne, J. and S. Günzel (Eds.). (2012). *Raumtheorie. Grundlagentexte aus Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaften.* Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.

[66] For a general overview see: Döring, J. and T. Thielmann (Eds.). (2008). *Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften.* Bielefeld: Transcript ; Warf, B. and S. Arias (Eds.). (2008). *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives.* London: Routledge.

[67] Lippuner, R. and J. Lossau (2004). In der Raumfalle. Eine Kritik des Spatial Turn in den Sozialwissenschaften. In Mein, G. and M. Rieger-Ladich (Eds.), *Soziale Räume und Kulturelle Praktiken.* Bielefeld: Transcript ; Roskamm, N. (2016). Das Reden vom Raum. Zur Aktualität des Spatial Turn–Programmatik, Determinismus und „Sozial Konstruierter Raum". *PERIPHERIE–Politik• Ökonomie• Kultur, 32*(126-127).

and time can be brought together under a meaningful framework that includes different notions of spatiality and temporality.[68]

Within the disciplines of history and historical geography these questions have received particular attention in recent years.[69] However, while the literature on and theorisation of space is vast, the different meanings and dimensions of space and time as well as the methodological implications for historical studies in particular and the synthesis with other theoretical lineages makes a discussion still relevant. "The ill-defined concept of 'space' itself presents an immediate problem", Robert Shields argues in the opening of his introduction.[70] Not only will such a discussion therefore be important in the context of urban theory and theories on (post)colonialism, but also in the light of the different spatial and temporal dimensions this study tries to synthesise.

1.1. A Problem of Space

There is an inherent problem with certain words, terms, or ideas within the arts and sciences, whose origins predate philosophical and scientific use, and which therefore constitute objects of philosophical dispute.[71] A very prominent example is space.[72] Moreover, apart from predating its scientific use, space is also a very old object of scientific scrutiny, which can be traced back to the very beginnings of Greek philosophy, where it is inherently linked to questions of matter and nature. In fact there is hardly any scientist/philosopher within and beyond the canon of the Western history of ideas who has not engaged with questions of space.[73] Hence, space has a long history of dispute concerning its physical and abstract/ metaphysical properties. At the centre of these disputes, which in some sense even resemble contemporary debates, are questions about the finite or infinite nature of space and its relationship to the material world. These very questions translate into the opposition between relational and absolute notions of space, as exemplified in the differences between Newton and Leibniz on how space is constituted. While the former considered space as absolute, meaning basically unchanging, infinite and independent from physical objects and therefore matter – one could imagine an empty box that is filled with objects –, the latter instead proposed an understanding of space as relational, meaning as constituted by the relative position of objects.[74] This relational perspective of space was further developed in later decades and centuries and mathematically formalised in fields such as topology, graph theory, and (non-Euclidean) geometry by

[68] Massey 1992, Politics and Space/Time ; Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*. London: Sage; Thrift, N. (2006). Space, Place, and Time. In Goodin, R. and C. Tilly (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[69] Baker, A. (2003). *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Ethington, P.J. (2007). Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History. *Rethinking History, 11*(4), 465-493; Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*.
[70] Shields, R. (2013). *Spatial Questions. Cultural Topologies and Social Spatialisations*. London: Sage, p. 1.
[71] Einstein, A. (1930). Raum, Äther und Feld in der Physik. *Forum Philosophicum, 1*(173–180).
[72] In the case of the term *place* a similar argument is made by Margaret Rodman. She argues that "[t]he problem of places arise, paradoxically, because the meaning of place too often seems to go without saying." Rodman, M.C. (1992). Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality. *American anthropologist, 94*(3), 640-656, p. 640.
[73] Rob Shields presents an interesting list over two pages that includes spatial philosophers up to the 19th century starting with Hesiod (8th century BCE) and ending with Bogdanov. Shields 2013, *Spatial Questions*, p. 54-55.
[74] These different perspectives are at the centre of correspondence between Gottfried Leibniz and Samuel Clarke, who defended Newton's concept of space against Leibniz' relational notion of space. See for instance: Vailati, E. (1997). *Leibniz and Clarke: A Study of Their Correspondence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Euler, Poincaré, Riemann, Mach and others, until Einstein's theory of relativity finally led to the rejection of Newton's conception of absolute space.[75]

What is important, space (or rather space-time) in this relational (and since Einstein relativistic) concept does not constitute objects or provides for them a framework of existence, a container as it were, but conversely objects and their relations constitute space-time.[76] Einstein concisely argued that there cannot be a notion of spatial relations of bodies without notions of bodies and therefore no notion of space without spatial relations.[77] What this means, in essence, is that there cannot be a notion of physical space without the notion of matter in relation to (other) matter. However, this cognition has not entirely made its way into the more worldly, yet at the same time abstract conceptions of space, which are sometimes referred to as social or mental space, as well as the topographical and geographical dimensions of space, where Newtonian physics (such as classical mechanics) do still matter.[78] Therefore, as Susanne Rau highlights, "[t]he positions that can be reconstructed from the correspondence between Clarke and Leibniz (space/time as absolute or relational values) are fundamental for current debates about basic principles".[79] Indeed, questions and disputes over space have not decreased, and Einstein's Theory of Special and General Relativity and later quantum mechanics have nurtured debates on the meaning, functions, and effects of space within philosophy and the social sciences, as well as those natural sciences that deal with physiological (geographical) rather than physical spaces.

While there is no one-to-one relationship between the post-Newtonian physical understandings of space on the one hand and the social, psychological and physiological concepts on the other hand, and therefore no simple adoption of the former by the latter, there are two implications that are of particular importance. The first one, as Susanne Rau's argument mentioned above suggests, is already present in the Leibniz-Clarke debate. It is the relationality of space, or rather of spatial configurations, which means that space is only meaningful in the context of objects and relations by which it is constituted. Thus, in a social or cultural sense, the space of a church is only meaningful in the context of the (relations of the) people who for instance build it, or pray in it, or perhaps study it. The second implication is the relativity of space, which in a social or cultural sense hints at the variations of spatial perception. Therefore, any space, spatial extent, or place (a church, a city, a wood, or a mountain) is not perceived by all people or groups of people in the same way[80],

[75] For an historical overview of spatial concepts in Physics and Mathematics see Trusted, J. (2003). *Physics and Metaphysics: Theories of Space and Time.* New York: Routledge; Mainzer, K. (2010). Grundlagen: Naturwissenschafen. In Günzel, S. (Eds.), *Raum: Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch.* Stuttgart: Metzler. On non-Euclidean spaces see: Shields 2013, *Spatial Questions*, Chapter 5.

[76] Massey 1992, Politics and Space/Time.

[77] Einstein 1930, Raum, Äther und Feld in der Physik. While Einstein's reformulation of space rendered Newton's container-model obsolete, Einstein himself highlighted the fact that both concepts are nothing more than "freie Schöpfungen der menschlichen Phantasie" [free creations of human imagination]: Einstein cited in Läpple, D. (1991). Essay über den Raum: Für ein Gesellschaftswissenschaftliches Raumkonzept. In Häussermann, H., D. Ipsen, T. Krämer-Badoni, et al. (Eds.), *Stadt und Raum.* Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlag, p. 190.

[78] Ernst Mach refers to this dimension as physiological space in contrast to physical space. This differentiation was as important then as it is today, since spatial concepts in Biology, Geology, or Physical Geography such as landscape, environment, habitat, biotope, or ecotope, while not corresponding with non-Euclidean (n-dimensional) spatial concepts, still could not be thought of as a general and absolute space. See Günzel, S. (2012). Physik und Metaphysik des Raums: Einleitung. In Dünne, J. and S. Günzel (Eds.), *Raumtheorie. Grundlagentexte aus Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaften.* Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, p. 38. It is still interesting to dwell on the notion that Newton's spatial "illusion" was nevertheless quite fruitful in that it allowed him to develop his understandings of mechanics. Läpple 1991, Essay über den Raum, p. 190.

[79] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 11.

[80] It is important to highlight that relative and relational are sometimes used interchangeably within the literature on social space. However, there is a qualitative difference between the two. While a relational perspective does not necessarily implicate a

concerning both the physical shape and the symbolic meaning. Spaces in this sense (as places) are therefore as Doreen Massey highlights "not motionless things, frozen in time. They are processes."[81] Massey further argues that "places do not have to have boundaries in the sense of divisions [… and] do not have single, unique 'identities'; they are full of internal conflicts."[82] The relational and relativistic notions of space (and place) obviously hold true for time as well, which is also dependent on matter. Moreover, the perceptions of time and space are always dependent on systems of reference.

Because of this multidimensionality it is difficult to determine anything substantial about space, even in a social sense. Thus, "[s]pace can be said to be, at minimum, a substance: the substantial bearer of (topological) properties whose consequences we can notice in ordinary experience [...] However, what type of substance remains debatable. A conception of virtuality rather than materiality is required to do justice to space as a relational medium in which a particular ordering and regularity can be found."[83] For Martina Löw, this leads to the consequence that the simple notion that there are two spaces, one of (whatever) substance or void – perhaps what was once called ether[84] – and one of (social) goods and people as well as their actions, cannot be assumed in the context of any dynamic notion of space. Rather, space must derive from the very structures and processes of people and goods, which transforms the notion of space as a background to action, to a notion of a space created by action. This is essentially a *relativistic* departure into space, since space is constituted relative to goods, people and their actions. Through the arrangement of people and goods and the social processes that constitute and change these arrangements, space can then be analysed *relationally*. "The result is a relational concept of space."[85]

Space-Time and the Problem of Disciplines

While time and space depend on objects and systems of reference, these very objects and systems can themselves only be grasped with a notion of space and time. Hence, time and space form the two fundamental aspects to every form of existence and therefore basically every scientific field or problem, with perhaps the only exception being some fields in the formal sciences (i.e. some branches in mathematics and philosophy such as formal logic). Thus, everything even remotely connected to material entities happens in space and over time or rather in "space-time"[86] and at the

relativistic perspective, a relativistic one is always relational by implication. Moreover, to counter a common misconception about relativity of space Bertrand Russell cautions that "A certain type of superior person is fond of asserting that 'every-thing is relative'. This is, of course, nonsense, because, if everything were relative, there would be nothing for it to be relative to." Moreover, this might falsely lead to the belief "that the new theory proves everything in the physical world to be relative, whereas, on the contrary, it is wholly concerned to exclude what is relative and arrive at a statement of physical laws that shall in no way depend upon the circumstances of the observer." Russell, B. (2009). *Abc of Relativity.* London: Routledge, p. 9.

[81] Massey, D. (1991). A Global Sense of Place. *Marxism Today*, 24-29, p. 29.

[82] Ibid. ; Margaret Rodman put it similarly when she understands places as constituted by multilocal and multivocal discourses and practices. She argues that "a single physical landscape can be multilocal in the sense that it shapes and expresses polysemic meanings of place for different users. This is more accurately a multivocal dimension of place, but multilocality conveys the idea that a single place may be experienced quite differently". Rodman 1992, Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality, p. 647.

[83] Shields 2013, *Spatial Questions*, p. 63.

[84] This is reflected in one of Kant's main problems with space, that is what space is and how it can be thought. Conceptualised as a void Rob Shields writes that "[v]oids describe absences or gaps in spatial relations, but if voids are accepted as things that are present, then space takes on the qualities of some sort of object like an ether." Ibid., p.52

[85] Löw 2016, *The Sociology of Spac*e, p. 225.

[86] Massey 1992, Politics and Space/Time.

same time is constituted by space-time, be it a mountain range whose physical properties are changing along geomorphological processes or a discourse that is structured by (and structuring) people's social and cultural features, their languages, experiences, knowledge, and relations which are all formed and altered in and along specific spatial and temporal processes and transformations.[87]

Yet, since space-time is so fundamental, it often remains rather unacknowledged. In simplified terms, the *what, how, why*, or *who* is then given primacy over the *where* and *when*, which is understandable to some degree. If we want to know, for instance, how a social group is constituted and organised, identify the roles and duties people have, or study the relations between people within and beyond this social group, spatial and temporal aspects might not necessarily be immediately identified as constitutive features. This could also be the case when a political or cultural discourse is studied through an examination of the exchange of letters – objects with quite strong spatial and temporal properties by the way. Space and time in such cases will perhaps be identified as relevant only as constitutive of contextual frameworks and thus be treated implicitly, which means that space and time are understood, consciously or not, as necessary in order to identify a (spatio-temporal) setting without which a problem or question could not be stated in the first place. Nothing happens in a void. However, they might not be identified as features that are conditional and/or consequential to the very problem itself, where different individual or collective notions of spatial and temporal features (i.e. inside/outside, distance/proximity, duration, intervals, etc.) or meanings of spatial objects/structures (like places) form a dialectical (meaning interdependent) relationship with the workings and structures of a social group or the formation of a discourse. Moreover, imagine for a moment how a phenomenon that is sometimes referred to as spacetime compression[88], thus the acceleration of mobilities and the perceived simultaneity of being here and there in times of advanced telecommunication and the WorldWideWeb, has changed the way we actually write "letters," to recall the example from above. The practice of writing a physical letter (usually) differs greatly from writing emails or other kinds of electronic messages.

The reasons for understanding time and/or space merely as conditional to a context rather than a problem or question are certainly manifold and themselves structured by spatial and temporal aspects (i.e. changing paradigms and national or institutional academic traditions).[89] Moreover, some disciplines and paradigms or institutional traditions tend to favour one aspect over the other, even if they do so only implicitly.[90] However, studying spatial structures, social relations, cultural dynamics and the modifications and alterations of these structures, relations and dynamics of and within urban

[87] Again, in the contexts of the social sciences and humanities it is crucial to point to the important argument made by Doreen Massey (Ibid, 79) that in fact "[i]t is not that the interrelationship between object occur *in* space and time; it is these relationships themselves which create/define space and time". This crucial differentiation between an essentially passive and active perspective on space and time is elaborated by Massey in reference to post-Newtonian Physics, relativity theory in particular, where matter deforms space-time, creating a curvature of spacetime.

[88] Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

[89] Immanuel Wallerstein spoke in this context of the "microscopization of social science" Wallerstein, I. (1997). Social Science and the Quest for a Just Society. *American Journal of Sociology, 102*(5), 1241-1257, p. 1248. and of "methodological nationalism" Wallerstein, I.M. (2001). *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. On the latter notion see also: Wimmer, A. and N. Glick Schiller (2002). Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation–State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences. *Global networks, 2*(4), 301-334.

[90] Richard Roger therefore asks the questions "Why should history and geography, time and space, be in a state of tension?". The answer he gives relates to these very institutional factors. Rodger, R. (2014). When History Meets Geography: The Visualising Urban Geographies Project. In Rau, S. and E. Schönherr (Eds.), *Mapping Spatial Relations, Their Perceptions and Dynamics*. Heidelberg: Springer, p. 4.

areas in a (post)colonial historical setting is to some extent inherently interdisciplinary. Thus, "historical research into space cannot proceed except through interdisciplinary methods."[91] Such an endeavour necessitates an approach where "traditionally" sociological and anthropological questions of social relations and cultural formations are scrutinised along a certain *time-space*, the realm of history, within a specific spatial constellation (the urban) which traditionally belongs to the realm of geography. Space, in the words of Nigel Thrift, is the "fundamental stuff of human geography".[92] Like Courtney Campbell[93] one could say accordingly that time or temporality on the other hand is the fundamental stuff of history, and social structures and relations and cultural formations finally would then be the stuff of sociology and anthropology. If combined, the outcomes are sometimes referred to as historical anthropology/sociology, spatial history or historical geography, just to mention a few.

These mainly methodological considerations are by no means new and have been tried out and practiced for decades.[94] For some, like Pierre Bourdieu, such trans- or interdisciplinary approaches are considered not only a possibility, but rather as a necessity in any serious academic attempt, so that if the respective fields were to be researched properly "history would be a historical sociology of the past and sociology would be a social history of the present"[95]. In a similar sense, on the relation between history and geography D.W. Meining argues that "[g]eography and history are not only analogous, but complimentary and interdependent, bound together by the very nature of things. This relationship is implied by such common terms as space and time, area and era, places and events – pairs that are fundamentally inseparable."[96] Alan Baker is a bit more cautious, but still highlights that "[g]eography and history are different ways of looking at the world, but they are so closely related that neither one can afford to ignore or even neglect the other."[97] More specifically, Karl Schlögl suggested in relation to the importance of maps as historical artefacts "that everything that happens happens not just in time but also in space, that everything has its place, that maps are representations of the world, and that we can devise spatial-cartographic representations for everything: for the poetry of space as well as the spaces of poetry, for the growth of cyberspace as well as the eradication of the Black Death."[98]

Yet it often remains unclear how to practically integrate and synthesise different approaches. In my opinion, I see one way to achieve that in combining not only the "stuff" or essence of different disciplines (temporality, space, social structures and relations), but in combining concrete theoretical approaches within these disciplines; I find this not only necessary in a general regard, but even more

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[91] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 44.
[92] Thrift, N. (2003). Space: The Fundamental Stuff of Geography. In Holloway, S., S. Rice and G. Valentine (Eds.), *Key Concepts in Geography*. London: Sage Pub, p. 85.
[93] Campbell, C.J. (2016). Space, Place and Scale: Human Geography and Spatial History in Past and Present. *Past and Present, 239*(1), e23-e45. See also: Läpple 1991, Essay Über Den Raum: Für Ein Gesellschaftswissenschaftliches Raumkonzept.
[94] In the historical disciplines the works of the Annales School are perhaps the most prominent example, where Social History was practiced through an inherently spatial lens, which in part can be attributed to the strong connection between History and Geography in France and the influence of Paul Vidal de la Blache. See for instance: Burke, P. (2015). *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929-2014*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
[95] Bourdieu quoted in: Steinmetz, G. (2011). Bourdieu, Historicity, and Historical Sociology. *Cultural Sociology, 5*(1), 45-66, p. 46. For similar arguments see also: Calhoun, C. (2013). For the Social History of the Present: Pierre Bourdieu as Historical Sociologist. *British Politics and Policy at LSE,* 36-67; *Abbott, A. (1991). History and Sociology: The Lost Synthesis. Social Science History, 15(2), 201-238.*
[96] Meinig, D.W. (1986). *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History. Volume 1 Atlantic America, 1492-1800.* New Haven: Yale University Press, p. xv.
[97] Baker 2003, *Geography and History*, p. 2.
[98] Schlögel 2016, *In Space We Read Time*, p. 63.

so when studying social phenomena in connection with quite multifaceted spaces, such as towns and cities. Beyond institutional and disciplinary (indeed sometimes political) issues there is perhaps another reason for treating time and space rather implicitly, namely, their seemingly abstract and intangible nature. Philip Ethington in the context of history and time therefore argues that "[i]f anything is obvious about the practice of historical research and writing, it is that 'time' is the discipline's most defining feature. For historians, the question 'what is time?' is so basic and essential to our craft that it should be a cause for wonder that historians have evaded it almost completely and for so long."[99]

It has been highlighted that space and time are not independent of each other, for "space by itself, and time by itself, are doomed to fade away into mere shadows, and only a kind of unity between the two will preserve an independent reality".[100] What is true for the four dimensions of space-time in physics, where mass creates curvatures in space-time leading to the phenomenon of gravity, can, as Massey highlights, be similarly understood in the context of social spaces, where space-time is constituted by relationships of objects that create space-time.[101] But why then do we speak of space *and* time, thus as almost two separate phenomena, instead of working with space-time? Again, Massey in reference to (post-Newtonian) physics directs the attention to the fact that, within the four dimensions, space and time cannot be understood as a 3-dimensional space plus time, but have to be conceived of as one 4-dimensional (or even n-dimensional) space-time. While she highlights that neither the relations of space and time within physics can be directly paralleled with those in the social sciences,[102] nor that it is helpful to argue for "a total collapse of the differences between something called the spatial and the temporal dimension",[103] time and space must nonetheless be understood as interrelational. Therefore, we can treat space *and* time analytically separately as dimensions or parameters of (social) space-time constellations in the same way as we can measure temporal and spatial phenomena in the natural sciences (radioactive decay or the volume of a body). However, we need to keep in mind that this analytical (or practical) separation does not lead to an understanding that contradicts the basic principle that "[s]pace is not static, nor time is spaceless"[104].

1.2. History and Place in Space-Time

In the previous sections I have already hinted at the fact that time can neither be understood without space, nor can it be conceptualised without a frame of reference. However, the question of time is perhaps more abstract than that of space. After all we can imagine space in different

[99] Ethington 2007, Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History, p. 468.
[100] Minkowski, H. (1964). Space and Time. In Smart, J.J.C. (Eds.), *Problems of Space and Time*. New York: Macmillan, p. 297.
[101] Massey 1992, Politics and Space/Time
[102] Susanne Rau is even more cautious, when she argues that "[t]he relativity and perspectival nature of perception and interpretation (including of space and time) is, in some sense, the sociological vulgarization of Einstein's highly complex theories of relativity; conversely, physics could learn from the social sciences and cultural studies that the social world is sometimes even more complex—that is, more contradictory—than can be described in natural laws." Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 38.
[103] Massey 1992, Politics and Space/Time, p. 76.
[104] Ibid., p. 80.

(materialised) forms, as a landscape for instance.[105] But with time, things seem more complicated. Obviously, one could imagine a chronograph or a calendar, instruments or charts to measure time,[106] which are perhaps the standard symbols of time at least in Western societies. While this might seem intuitive in an everyday sense, for a historian this might rather be relevant as a social norm and cultural praxis, but not so much as an analytical tool. But even as an object of analysis, one needs to have a notion of that object. Thus, "[t]o historicize anything, including time, requires some assumptions about the nature of time to the historicizing historian"[107], who "most commonly confuses time with chronology"[108]. Furthermore, while time is often understood as a constant flow, space might be experienced as comparatively static, which is obviously an illusion, both in natural and social time conceptions.[109] So, how can time be conceptualised?

History and Space-Time

Looking at the discipline of history there are several approaches. One of the most prominent, which is at the same time inherently spatial, is Fernand Braudel's approach to time. Braudel argues that historical developments can be broadly categorised into three scales or registers, that is *longue durée*, *moyenne durée*, and *courte durée.* The first one is defined by very slow changes in space-time, like in the course of epochs, characterised by relatively stable economical, political and environmental conditions over hundreds or thousands of years, which he parallels with the term *structure*. The second one is more dynamic and happens in the course of decades, or sometimes hundreds of years. He parallels it with the term *(histoire) conjuncture(lle),* that is where different processes compete and overlap. The third one is even more dynamic. It is the scale of events like elections or battles, but also the scale of everyday life, spanning from days and weeks up to some years. It is *l'histoire événementielle.*

All these temporal scales are referenced by spatial structures and events.[110] In his admittedly very short conclusion to the second volume of "The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II" he writes that his "total history" can be "best described as three different conceptions of time, the writer's aim being to bring together in all their multiplicity the different measures of time past, to acquaint the reader with their coexistence, their conflicts and

[105] John Gaddis makes the argument that in order to understand time in the historical sense, meaning as an analytical category, it is useful to construct an analogy to landscapes. He compares the historian at work with cartographers. "For verification in cartography takes place by *fitting* representations to reality [… which] becomes more precise the more the landscape is investigated." However, for the cartographer as for the historian the landscape is not simply replicated, for the verification is always relative. Gaddis, J.L. (2002). *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 34.
[106] In its standardised contemporary form it is based on the transition of caesium atoms. In this view, however, "'time' is nothing *in itself*, but rather a culturally specific reading of the dynamic environment." Ethington 2007, Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History, p. 471. Time can also symbolised by an arrow, a circular orbit, or a pendulum, as Yi-Fu Tuan highlights, which imply different properties of time, thus, directional, cyclical, and periodical respectively. Tuan, Y.-F. (2001). *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 179.
[107] Ethington 2007, Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History, p. 469.
[108] Ibid., p. 470.
[109] Massey for instance problematises such notions in the works of Laclau and Jameson, the former of which identifies space as "the realm of stasis" where there is "no true temporality and thus no possibility of politics". Massey 1992, Politics and Space/Time, p 67. In a natural science context the second law of thermodynamics describes the process of increasing entropy, which is irreversible. Thus, while some spatial forms, a house or mountain, might seem relatively stable, they are not.
[110] To further illustrate his concepts he uses spatial metaphors such as the ocean, where *longue durée* is like the deep slowly moving water, *moyenne durée* like the tides, and *courte duree* like waves.

contradictions, and the richness of experience they hold."[111] In Braudel's defence one must add that he does indeed very much think beyond the three registers, and highlights that

> "there are not merely two or three measures of time, there are dozens, each of them attached to a particular history. Only the sum of these measures, brought together by the human sciences (turned retrospectively to account on the historian's behalf) can give us that total history whose image it is so difficult to reconstitute in its rich entirety."[112]

What Braudel proposes has to be understood as a suggestion of how to apprehend the dynamics and processes that structure and are structured by space-time. However, they are by no means deterministic or static. The important point therefore is that they interfere and overlap. Thus, history is not neatly sliceable into parts of various sizes, but forms a complex web of various temporal elements and structures that overlap and intersect and cannot be separated from space.[113] They are simultaneously spatial. Space and time in any processual perspective are inherently bound together.[114]

Philip Ethington tries to go further "than to subdivide 'time' into multiple registers."[115] In his attempt to "place the past" he tries to take a metaphor formulated by John Gaddis about the historian being a cartographer of the past literally. For Gaddis time and space constitute the frame where history unfolds, but it is structure and process that forms history. "If time and space provide the field in which history happens, then structure and process provide the mechanism."[116] Ethington, however, in his program of *placing the past* combines not only notions of *place* and *space* (or space-time as he stresses), but also, in reference to Paul Ricoeur[117], natural or cosmic time (movement and environmental dynamics) and human time (experiential time). The known past Ethington identifies as *topoi* which can be mapped, however, not in a vulgar sense of mapping. He elaborates:

> "History is the map of the past, but that map is not merely a representation. Topoi touch the ground in myriad ways. They are not in time; they are in space. They can only be discovered, interpreted, and debated via the coordinates of spacetime. Topoi are not free-floating signifiers. History is the map of the past. Its elemental units are topoi. In my latest vintage of this term, topos signifies the intersection of (lived) place-time and (natural) spacetime."[118]

His approach therefore mirrors maybe not so much that of a cartography of the past, but perhaps more precisely that of a choreography for "[t]he emplacement of all human action presumes locations in spacetime, which materializes each place."[119] Ethington's approach is more than just a

[111] Braudel, F. (1995). *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II: Volume Ii.* London: Univ of California Press, p. 1238.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Läpple 1991, Essay Über Den Raum
[114] Abbott, A. (2016). *Processual Sociology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
[115] Ethington 2007, Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History, p. 469.
[116] Gaddis 2002, *The Landscape of History*, p. 35.
[117] Ricoeur, P. (1990). *Time and Narrative, Volume iii.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
[118] Ethington 2007, Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History, p. 485.
[119] Ibid., p. 487.

revision of concepts created by the *spatial turn* scholars. On the contrary, he leaves Lefebvre and his epigones behind and turns back to Georg Simmel's dialectics of the stranger, who is defined by a union of closeness and remoteness, where space-time is used at the same time in a geographical (or geometrical) and a metaphorical sense. For the stranger needs to be geometrically close to be identified as a stranger, but metaphorically distant. The (social) boundary, materialised by humans themselves, then is the signifier of this relationship between closeness and remoteness, which "is not a spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that forms itself spatially".[120] For Ethington then "[p]lacing the past does not depend on Cartesian dualisms [… but on] coordinates of spacetime (using any generally recognized system) [that] are a post-foundational universal, not as a natural truth, but much better: as historical institution."[121]

Thus, time, temporality, or space-time are not only crucial in their own regard, because history has a quite strong temporal dimension to its epistemology and ontology, but also because they help us in identifying omissions that go along with periodisations which are at times all too easily made and taken for granted, such as colonial and postcolonial, as well as newly formulated temporal intervals and historical sequences that are, however, always contingent on specific spaces and spatialities, (sequences of) events, or perspectives. It is therefore important to ask what concept of time is used for which purpose and context. For instance, in many contexts "colonial" and "postcolonial" are intermingled to an extent that renders it problematic to understand them as chronologically predefined and spatially manifested sequences, instead of antagonistic flows. In other words, "[t]he whole problem of defining and discriminating between the periods of the colonial/ post-colonial is much more problematic than is often suggested".[122] To concretize this notion and avoid being misinterpreted here, this is not to say that the search for patterns and sequences as well as definitions is useless or wrong, but on the contrary that because they are important they have to be at times not only questioned and refined, but have to remain open and contingent.

Events, sequences and chronological orders are indeed important. These issues are at the core of Georg Simmel's question on the constitution of history, when he asks: "How does the raw material of immediate experience come to be the theoretical structure which we call history?"[123] William Sewell approaches this question by stating that the event is "[t]he conceptual vehicle by means of which historians construct or analyze the contingency and temporal fatefulness of social life […]. Historians see the flow of social life as being punctuated by significant happenings, by complexes of social action that somehow change the course of history"[124] and chronology "is crucial because it tells us within what historical context we must place the actions, texts, or material artefacts we are attempting to interpret or explain".[125]

Perhaps it is also relevant to address an important distinction in the contexts of events. Andrew Abbott proposes discriminating between *occurrences* and *events*. This difference is one between a theoretical abstraction, the event, and something that "actually happened", the occurrence, like a

[120] Simmel, G. (1997). The Sociology of Space. In Frisby, D. and M. Featherstone (Eds.), *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*. London: Sage.
[121] Ethington 2007, Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History, p. 487.
[122] Ashcroft, B., G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin (2013). *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. New York: Routledge, p. 116-117.
[123] Simmel, G. (1971). *On Individuality and Social Forms: Selected Writings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 3.
[124] Sewell, W.H. (2005). *Logics of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 8.
[125] Ibid., p. 11.

gathering, a demonstration, or the draft and dissemination of a pamphlet, or a policy set in motion. Both have duration, however, events "can happen across observation frames. They have internal patterns of 'occurrences' defining them."[126] Thus, even localities or persons might be understood as events, for places visited a second time are not the same and neither is the person who visits them. This distinction between events and occurrences is important because events are all too easily adopted as self-explanatory, in particular if an event coincides terminologically with a certain occurrence.[127] As an analogy it might be intuitive to think of weather phenomena, like rainfall or snowfall, which are events that consist of many occurrences (wind, evapotranspiration, changing temperatures, etc.) before the actual precipitation (in this analogy also an occurrence) happens. Events then are the theoretical abstraction which allows us to conceptualise history, which as Simmel already highlighted cannot be "a mirror image of the past 'as it really was'. Such a view commits no less error than does realism in art".[128]

In my own case, for instance, the event of the amalgamation of the three colonies of Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia in 1953, which was not only highly contested in African intellectual and political circles at that time, who saw this Federation of the three states as a threat to their nationalist and independence agenda, but which also nurtured anti-modernist ideologies especially within the settler society,[129] has to be understood as a historical event, or, in the sense of a period between August 1953 and December 1963, as a sequence of events, that is not only spatially confined, but has meaning only in relation to specific topics and perspectives. Thus, space-time (or rather place-time, if we stick with Ethington's concept) is not uniform(ly experienced) across the total range of scales, which means that the *where* and *when* are not only the background to the formation of history, but are co-creating it through their interdependency with the *who* and *what*. For most of my interviewees (consisting mainly of elderly Zambians) for example the period of the Federation did not have any significance beyond a mere historical fact, if at all. Occasionally, it was connected to the person of railway union leader, settler politician and Prime Minister Roy Welensky, of whom one of my interviewees humorously referred to as the "locomotive driver". Still, the time of Federation is useful if seen as an event in order to understand certain processes and dynamics that happened during the said period. The individual's significance or relation to time or duration was also already discussed by Merran McCulloch's social survey on the African population of Livingstone in the mid-1950. Therein she writes in her Methods section that "[i]n many cases dates were ascertained with reference to historical events – wars, epidemics, the reign of a certain chief, etc. Many of the older men recalled dates as 'year of the hand', 'the fish' or 'the clock', referring to

[126] Abbott, A. (2001b). *Time Matters: On Theory and Method.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 291.
[127] What sounds rather mechanistic in Abbott's theoretical proposal is actually a plea for narrative forms of representing events, since events, which cannot or can only hardly be understood in the context of variables, in their complexity as colligation of occurrences truly unfold only in the course of stories. see also: Abbott, A. (1984). Event Sequence and Event Duration: Colligation and Measurement. *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History, 17*(4), 192-204. Central is therefore a historical way of thinking on which he writes: "If there is any one idea central to historical ways of thinking, it is that the order of things makes a difference, that reality occurs not as time-bounded snap-shots within which 'causes' affect one another [...], but as stories, cascades of events. And events, in this sense, are not single properties, or simple things, but complex conjunctures. On this argument, there is never any level at which things are standing still. All is historical." Abbott 1991, History and Sociology: The Lost Synthesis, p. 227.
[128] Simmel 1971, *On Individuality and Social Forms*, p. 3.
[129] Julia Tischler for instance argues that "white settlers' anti-modern resentments of the 'uniform world' revealed how the idea of modern Africans threatened white privilege." Tischler, J. (2013). *Light and Power for a Multiracial Nation: The Kariba Dam Scheme in the Central African Federation.* New York: Palgrave, p. 234.

stamps used on tax receipts by the British South Africa Company until 1927."[130] Thus, how we use temporality and time is always relative to what we are trying to explain or understand.

Furthermore, we have to acknowledge that there are different concepts of social or experiential time. Pierre Bourdieu already approached the meaning of social time (and space) in his early works on Kabylia, where he showed how the cyclical and rhythmical forms of how culture and economy are practiced constitute temporality within society.[131] Referencing Durkheim, Nancy Munn mentions in the context of social time the importance of different notions of time, such as personal time or collective time.[132] Again, in reference to physics the term *Eigenzeit* can be used, which "[d]enotes the time or temporal practice, such as the division of time or rhythms, that is constructed or appropriated by an institution".[133] Thus, the personal time experience (*autonoesis*[134]) and the significance of certain events or periods of an interviewee for instance not only hardly coincides with my own conceptions of time as a researcher, but not even with what Munn refers to as collective time, like the cultural memory of Zambians as it is told and taught by officials, teachers or institutions. These different notions or experiences of time must not, however, be understood as an obstacle to research, but rather as a multiplex of collective and subjective views that have the potential to enrich the ways we look at past occurrences and how we construct events. Via analogy to different spatial scales as proposed by Setha Low that define how space is constructed personally and culturally,[135] we could propose a similar notion of temporal scales here with which individuals and collectives meaningfully construct time and ultimately history.

History and Place

"And then there is 'place'", Doreen Massey writes. "In the context of a world which is, indeed, increasingly interconnected the notion of place (usually evoked as 'local place') has come to have totemic resonance."[136] Indeed, compared to space and time, place intuitively seems static. It seems to be there, as it were. Yet, as space, place too is a complicated and at times confusing concept, since it is both an object and a perspective.[137] As an object of everyday life, "[p]lace is an organized world of meaning. It is essentially a static concept. If we see the world as process, constantly changing, we should not be able to develop any sense of place",[138] Yi-Fu Tuan argues. For humans, "place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to one and long for the other"[139], Tuan reasons in relation to how people experience something called space and place. In a similar sense, John

[130] McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*, p. 21.
[131] Bourdieu 1977, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.
[132] Munn, N.D. (1992). The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 21*(1), 93-123.
[133] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 212. Einstein developed the term to describe the phenomenon of time passed and perceived in an inertial system, which is in itself invariant, yet different to time outside the system. Thus, the time between two events of an object is always the same. However, this is not the case for two objects with different locations, where the synchrony of time passed between two events is relative to the state of motion of an object.
[134] Autonoesis is the ability to experience the self in time through a sequence composed of a series of individual episodes. "A sense of subjective time, autonoetic awareness, and self are the three central components of episodic memory" Pickel, A., (2006). *Bridges in Babylon? Reflexivity between Neuroscience and Postmodern Philosophy*. XVI ISA World Congress of Sociology, Durban, South Africa, p. 16.
[135] Low, S.M. (2009). Towards an Anthropological Theory of Space and Place. *Semiotica, 175*(1), 21-37, p. 21.
[136] Massey 2005, *For Space,* p. 5.
[137] Cresswell, T. (2008). Place: Encountering Geography as Philosophy. *Geography, 93*(3), 132-139, p. 17.
[138] Tuan 2001, *Space and Place*, p. 179.
[139] Ibid., p. 3.

Agnew argues that place is what people experience spatially, which, however, is not or rather should not be considered a static concept nevertheless.[140] Agnew therefore understands place to be important in three different forms: as location which is represented by a gridded and absolute position, as locale which refers to the social and material objects and properties in a location, and as sense of place which means the ideological, symbolic and emotional attachment of people to that locale.[141]

Both Tuan and Agnew therefore make use of a strategic discrimination between space and place, an intellectual move that is, however, one which is criticised by Massey on two points. Firstly, she argues that a problem arises from

> "the persistent counterposition of space and place […] Over and again, the counterposition of local and global resonates with an equation of the local with realness, with local place as earthy and meaningful, standing in opposition to a presumed abstraction of global space."[142]

Secondly, she makes the criticism that the connection of place with meaning within this opposition must lead to the conclusion that space is meaningless, which is not the case. It is here where I do not totally agree with Massey. While her argument, in which Tuan's concept of place is mentioned specifically, is generally sound as far as naturalisations of concepts of place within academic literature are concerned, neither Tuan nor Agnew seem to understand place in that sense. Especially for Tuan, but also other humanist geographers such as Anne Buttimer and David Seamon[143] or Edward Relph,[144] place has been studied as a concept that translates people's attachment to the world and more generally the sense of "being in the world".[145] Thus, the fact that place should not be treated as a static, naturally given and pre-cognisant academic construct does not mean that place might not be understood and experienced in that way by humans outside such theoretical debates. In fact, it is when this experience (perhaps illusion) of stasis is destroyed or interfered with, when the spatial configurations of place are changing, that people might feel a loss or alienation of place.[146] And in order to be alienated from something implies having a notion about some essential properties that something is supposed to have.

Thus, "[t]o experience *may* be to know; but to know *is* to experience. Knowledge and awareness of place is rooted deeply in human consciousness; human activities are focused on real and specific places."[147] For Agnew and Tuan as well as for Tim Cresswell place means a physical space (a location) that is attached with different kinds of meaning for different people (groups and individuals) at different times.[148] Put in a simple form, Cresswell argues that places are "particular

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[140] Agnew, J. (2014). The Devaluation of Place in Social Science. In Agnew, J. and J. Duncan (Eds.), *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*. The devaluation of place in social science: Routledge.
[141] Agnew, J. (1987). *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*. Boston: Allen and Unwin.
[142] Massey 2005, *For Space*, p. 183.
[143] Buttimer, A. and D. Seamon (Eds.). (2015). *The Human Experience of Space and Place.* New York: Routledge.
[144] Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.
[145] See: Withers, C.W. (2009). Place and the "Spatial Turn" in Geography and in History. *Journal of the History of Ideas, 70*(4), 637-658, p. 640.
[146] See for instance: Relph 1976, *Place and Placelessness* . Edward Relph in his work elaborates various dimensions of how we know and experience place, how we can be nostalgic or protective of places we deem our own.
[147] Lawton, R. (1983). Space, Place and Time. *Geography, 68*(3), 193-207, p. 199.
[148] Cresswell 2008, Place: Encountering Geography as Philosophy.

constellations of material things that occupy a particular segment of space and have sets of meanings attached to them."[149] The difference between these perspectives is that Massey's concepts of space and place have a strong political dimension attached to them, which is important, but which is also not argued against by Tuan, Agnew, or Cresswell. Their concepts ask how place is perceived and experienced, not how it should be perceived in order to overcome nationalist and chauvinist naturalisations of space and place.

Without naturalising the concept then, I claim we can therefore still speak of spaces and places as separate concepts for analytical purposes, although place is essentially yet another spatial term or dimension, just as we can speak of space and time separately. Since place is a spatial term, it must obviously be related to time as well. With reference to Ethington the difference between (lived) place-time and (natural) space-time has already been highlighted. This general perspective can be more deeply investigated with three different forms of place-time experience. Tuan proposes the following:

> "How time and place are related is an intricate problem that invites different approaches. We shall explore three of them here. They are: time as motion or flow and place as a pause in the temporal current; attachment to place as a function of time, captured in the phrase, "it takes time to know a place"; and place as time made visible, or place as memorial to times past."[150]

The first approach indicates how places can for instance be experienced as pauses in space-time, moments when time is seemingly standing still. The second approach indicates the temporal dimension of a place to be experienced, defined, or appropriated. The third approach finally indicates how processes and dynamics over time are inscribed and can be read in place. Regarding the last approach, one must obviously add that this spatial reading might not only be highly individual, but equally as a collective and often political narrative highly contextual.

In a practical sense, this is perhaps one of the most important aspects spatial historians need to pay attention to and to which, for instance, Karl Schlögel in his work "In Space We Read Time" so elegantly relates.[151] Thus, places bear information on how past societies and elites in particular have managed to inscribe themselves in space over time, but we might also sometimes obtain a glimpse of how place was co-configured by the ruled, the colonised, or the have-nots. Furthermore, what remains in place is equally important in the context of how people treat the history of these places. While some material elements, most notably architecture, are preserved, treated with care and are used to perform cultural, religious or political acts of representation, others might be openly and solemnly destroyed, hidden, or put to a different use, while still others might be neglected and buried in oblivion. Finally, not only the material properties of places might change, but also their names. The significance of toponymic inscriptions is especially relevant in the context of colonial and

[149] Ibid., p. 135. Michel de Certeau understands the relationship between space and place in a similar sense and argues that "space is a practiced place" and place is "an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability". Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 117.
[150] Tuan 2001, *Space and Place*, p. 179.
[151] Schlögel 2016, *In Space We Read Time*.

independent countries and societies.[152] In colonial societies place-names might provide information about where the people of the colonising society came from and how space was divided within this society. In post-independence societies the re-naming of places might highlight the struggle for independence, indicate transnational political networks and allegiance, or might serve the strengthening of cultural identities through reminders of pre-colonial local histories. All of these different treatments of places are essentially spatial practices that can be termed as the making or creation of places or simply place-making.[153]

Scale – Variants in Place and Space-time

There is one important aspect all three concepts (space, place and time) have in common and that is scale. It is intrinsically geographical, but has nevertheless applications in any other field, for "it is difficult to identify a completely 'scaleless' discipline".[154] Scale can be defined as the means or index by which space, place and time can be divided, organised, or measured. It is again a relational concept that might be equally studied as an object of analysis or used as a category of analysis, or both. It denotes how segments of space, place and time can be located relative to each other in terms of their scope. This scope might be based on material properties or conceptual ones. In this sense, questions of scale directly mirror those of place and space-time, since the scales by which we intentionally (or not) divide the world into parts are all too easily naturalised.

Neil Smith highlights in this regard that "[s]cale is either treated as naturally given or as a methodological choice"[155]. In the natural as well as the social sciences, Smith argues, there is a tendency to treat scales as natural modes of ordering, since researchers in these fields understand "Quarks, neutrinos, atoms or solar systems [to] come in the sizes they do", as is the case with "the body and the home, urban and regional, national and global"[156]. In a methodological sense, scales might be used to contextualise and embed a research project in terms of its scope. While these are all different approaches to scale, "they are not mutually exclusive. In the positive science there is no necessary contradiction between voluntarist and naturalist assumptions about scale"[157]. This issue in fact is one which is similar to the relation between so-called methodological and ontological structuralism.[158] Thus, it makes a difference if scales or structures are understood as a thing in the world or just like nations or ethnicities "perspectives on the word",[159] meaning that they are "good to think with" as Levi-Strauss said of totemic animals.[160] It is therefore especially important to acknowledge that the "gestalt of scale" as Neil Smith calls it, that is, the appearance of an object at a

[152] See: Bigon, L. and A.J. Njoh (2015). The Toponymic Inscription Problematic in Urban Sub-Saharan Africa: From Colonial to Postcolonial Times. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, 50*(1), 25-40 ; Bigon, L. (2016). *Place Names in Africa.* Basel: Springer.
[153] See for instance: Cresswell, T. (2004). *Place: A Short Introduction.* Malden: Blackwell, Ch. 2 and 4. ; Low, S. and D. Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003). Locating Culture. In Low, S. and D. Lawrence-Zúñiga (Eds.), *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture.* Malden: Blackwell ; Rodman 1992, Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality.
[154] Sheppard and McMaster 2004b, Introduction: Scale and Geographic Inquiry, p. 1.
[155] Smith, N. Ibid.Scale and the Bending Fate of the National. In (Eds.), p. 194.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid., p. 195.
[158] See: Lizardo, O. (2010). Beyond the Antinomies of Structure: Levi-Strauss, Giddens, Bourdieu, and Sewell. *Theory and Society, 39*(6), 651-688.
[159] Brubaker, R., M. Loveman and P. Stamatov (2004). Ethnicity as Cognition. Ibid.*33*(31–64, p. 45.
[160] "Les espèces sont choisies non commes bonnes à manger, mais comme bonnes à penser." Lévi-Strauss 1962, *La Pensée Sauvage*, p. 128. For a discussion of realist and constructivist notions of scale see: Manson, S.M. (2008). Does Scale Exist? An Epistemological Scale Continuum for Complex Human–Environment Systems. *Geoforum, 39*(2), 776-788.

given scale, co-constitutes the object itself, which might look different at a different scale. The conclusion that Smith draws from this is that "the gestalt of scale is not merely a procedural [meaning methodological] inconvenience (or convenience), but an endemic contradiction in liberal scientific approaches that insists on a definitively knowable reality"[161].

While Smith generally argues for a constructionist treatment of scale, he nevertheless claims that "geographical scales may not be tangible or visible but they are real"[162], and in some cases not as contingent as constructivist literature assumes, but rather stable over certain periods of time. Thus, we can in some instances measure, analyse or experience the effects of variations and configurations we call scales or structures. However, this notion is contested by some scholars, who identify a reification of scale through such practices, since they understand scales only as discourses or as "representational trope[s]"[163]. In whatever way scale is being used and conceptualised, as with space, there is the problem of naturalising the concept. Moreover, there is an equally problematic tendency to infer a hierarchy of scales and thereby assume a greater importance of either particles over bodies, or, in reversed form, global forces over local ones. However, "the conceptualization of scale is quite different. First, the units at any scale are not fixed, as their boundaries can change over time"[164], which means that their relative position can change as well. "Second, causality does not begin at the lowest scale and work upwards",[165] or begin at the highest and work downwards. Thus, "causality can run in all kinds of directions across (and within) scales [… for scales are an] emergent property of complex dynamic natural and social systems."[166]

In order to differentiate between the various concepts of scale it is important to indicate the ways it is used. Lam and Quattrochi argue for at least three different forms and three different meanings of scale as they are used in geography.[167] They identify spatial, temporal and spatio-temporal forms of scales, which can be cartographic, geographic (operational) and observational in meaning. In the first meaning, small and large are reversed relative to our everyday understanding.[168] Thus, a small scale map covers a large area and vice versa. The smallest scale (on earth) is represented in world maps. Geographic scale is the scale that is used to study phenomena. This meaning (operational) might also be extended to non-geographic use, when we speak of political, cultural or social scales. Thus, operational scales can be applied to geographic spaces and abstract spaces. It is operational, because it is constructed (some prefer modelled) by researchers in spatial analysis to identify variations and boundaries in social or geographic spaces. Lastly, there is the observational meaning of scale, which is perhaps mostly identified with naturalisations of scale. It is used not as a tool, but an object of analysis. In this meaning Smith referred to scale as not visible but

[161] Smith 2004, Scale and the Bending Fate of the National, p. 195.
[162] Smith, N. (2000). Scale. In Johnston, R.J., D. Gregory, G. Pratt, et al. (Eds.), *The Dictionary of Human Geography.* Malden: Blackwell, p. 726.
[163] Jones, K. (1998). Scale as Epistemology. *Political Geography, 17*(25–28, p. 27. See also: Kurtz, H. (2003). Scale Frames and Counter-Scale Frames: Constructing the Problem of Environmental Injustice. Ibid. *22*(887–916 ; Moore, A. (2008). Rethinking Scale as a Geographical Category: From Analysis to Practice. *Progress in Human Geography, 32*(2), 203-225.
[164] Sheppard and McMaster 2004a, Contrasts, Intersections, and Boundaries, p. 261.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Lam, N.S.-N. and D.A. Quattrochi (1992). On the Issues of Scale, Resolution, and Fractal Analysis in the Mapping Sciences. *The Professional Geographer, 44*(1), 88-98.
[168] This might be sometimes confusing, but if we imagine the scale in its original form as a some kind of stick (like a yard stick) it is quite intuitive that if this stick is small compared to a represented area the representation (the map) is small-scaled.

real, which is a highly debated issue for we can measure effects of something we call scale without it having any physical resemblance even in an atomic or subatomic or wave-like dimension.[169]

Something that could be added to the three scales and meanings is that the forms might also include social, cultural or political scalar forms (abstract notions of space) and that the meanings might be extended to four meanings, where the social construction (the perception or representation) of scale could be a variant of observational scales.[170] Apart from these forms and meanings, Lam and Quattrochi point to another important aspect of scale, namely, resolution.[171] This intuitively mainly cartographic issue of different levels of detail is, however, as important for methodological questions in cartography as it is in any other research context. The basic problem is the relation between detail and pattern. A close focus on a phenomenon, an individual for instance, might conceal the structures within which this phenomenon is embedded. Conversely, with a wide focus we might identify a pattern or a structure (the bigger picture), but single units of that structure are blurred out.[172]

Having surveyed some basic ontological, methodological and epistemological aspects of scale in general, I will now discuss how they are relevant to different types of (historical) social science research and how scale might be applied as an observational and operational category. We might distinguish thereby between spatial (abstract), temporal and place (material) scales. In the discipline of history the question of (operational) scale is often at the core of internal debates. However, it is rarely used or theorised. Most notably, this is the case in oppositions between micro- and macro-history, or local- and global-history, that are sometimes used as containers or proxies for other debates such as cultural-history vs. social-history, structure vs. agency, etc.[173] In their extreme forms they have either no sense for actors or local occurrences, or appear as radical individualistic or bottom-up perspectives like some propositions in Lynn Hunt's "Writing History in the Global Era"[174].

However, there is also a recent interest in linking these different strands, "advocated as a methodological move: the historian can 'zoom in and out', change the scale of study at intervals in order to combine synthetic, global-level analysis with archive-based microstudies."[175] Indeed, there is a sound argument in "playing with scales" and "connecting different scales of analysis, each of which reveals its own distinctive form of historical knowledge"[176], not as a means of aggregating different

[169] However, in the same way, we can measure the effects of an environment or society or a discourse, although they don't exist either in a material sense.
[170] Sheppard and McMaster identify the construction of scale as next to the three meanings, not a sub-variant. See Sheppard and McMaster 2004a, Contrasts, Intersections, and Boundaries, *p. 262.*
[171] Lam and Quattrochi 1992, On the Issues of Scale, Resolution, and Fractal Analysis in the Mapping Sciences.
[172] This is the source of the problem of ecological fallacies – an inference of a large-scale tendency on individuals. For instance: Robinson, W.S. (1950). Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals. *American Sociological Review, 15*(351-357. Related to that is the "Modifiable Area Unit Problem (MAUP), which states that results derived from data collected at smaller areal units could be very different from those collected at larger areal units." Lam, N.S.-N. (2004). Fractals and Scale in Environmental Assessment and Monitoring. In Sheppard, E. and R.B. McMaster (Eds.), *Scale and Geographic Inquiry: Nature, Society, and Method.* Malden: Blackwell, p. 23.
[173] Ghobrial, J.-P.A. (2019). Introduction: Seeing the World Like a Microhistorian. *Past & Present, 242*(14), 1-22 ; de Vries, J. Ibid.Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano. Supplement_14), 23-36. Obviously, the range of internal variations within these seeming opposites, as for instance between micro-history in the sense of the Italian *microstoria* and the recently cultural (micro) history, renders such ideal-type disciplinary divisions problematic.
[174] Hunt, L. (2014). *Writing History in the Global Era.* New York: WW Norton & Company.
[175] de Vries 2019, Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano, p. 29.
[176] Ghobrial 2019, Introduction: Seeing the World Like a Microhistorian, p. 16.

levels of historical processes and events, but to take into account that different scales offer different resolutions, which work not on top of each other, but which influence each other. In the context of operational spatial scales then, it is not only important to identify the scales themselves that are relevant for a study – in an urban context these could be households, districts, regional and (tans)territorial as physical (place and regional) scales and various personal and institutional levels as social scales (of abstract spaces). It is equally important to understand how they are related. Such contemplations on operational scale have already been pointed to in the discussion of Braudel's space-time approach, one of the few exceptions to the general neglect of scalar models in the discipline of history. In Braudel's works and the works of the Annales School in general spatial and temporal scales are perceived together as space-time scales.

Yet, with few exceptions such as Braudel, the scalar differences historians are debating about are all essentially spatial, from the body to the globe, or from personal to institutional networks. This fact is not only interesting given the temporal angle of history, but also somewhat proves the points made by Ethington about the importance of space, discussed in the previous section. Nonetheless, as with spatial scales, temporal scales, too, are important to any scope, method and approach of and to research. Patrick Manning humorously illustrates their interplay when he writes in 2003 that "[t]he days have gone past when I could illustrate the variety of meanings of 'world' to undergraduates with reference to 'Wayne's World'".[177] He reasons that "[i]f the space of the world is big, perhaps the expanse of time covered in world history should also be big."[178] Thus, spatial scales are not only relative to each other, but also to the temporal contexts and vice versa. Especially in the natural sciences temporal scales are often normalised and standardised analogous to spatial scales, running from nano-scale (i.e. a chemical reaction) to giga-scale (i.e. evolution). Here, the choice of scale informs the focus of research. In the social sciences, there are similar hierarchical models, which, however, sometimes rather remain implicit. Yet more often than not they are simply not applicable to social and historical questions, because, firstly, the linkage and intertwining of temporal scales in particular is more important than dissecting scales into neat categories and, secondly, it is not always clear which scale could fit to which event, process, or action, not least because our own conceptions and those of the people we study might not be always clear or comprehensive. Again, Manning gives a nice everyday example:

> "When I wait on cold Boston evenings for the No. 39 bus on Huntington Avenue, I grumble that "it takes forever" for the bus to arrive. Yet some of my students may write on exams that the Atlantic slave trade was an "event," despite the centuries of its duration. So our notions of what is a long time and a short time seem almost as expandable and contractible as our ideas on the size of the world."[179]

However, we can still identify operational and observational temporal scales. While historical periods for instance represent the operational type of temporal scales, on a rather observational

[177] Manning, P. (2003). *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past.* New York: Palgrave, p. 265.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid., p. 265-266.

level we can identify different personal and social periodical, cyclical or linear temporal scales like "a seasonal cycle of household work; a daily cycle of tasks and activities; a life-cycle narrative of individual maturation and ageing; a cycle of fashion",[180] etc. Moreover, operational scales might or might not coincide with observational ones. Thus, the period of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland can serve as both; however, it might have different implications across different spatial scales. The effects or repercussions of such a change in the political, economic and social constellation on urban areas on the one hand and the territory of Northern Rhodesia as a whole on the other hand are not necessarily the same. Furthermore, the establishment of this amalgamation of the three colonies overlaps temporally with what colonial historians term late-colonialism, another temporal scale. Temporally, historians are above all engaging with questions of changes and continuities within and between periods. Thus, different meanings of scale intermingle, which is not problematic per se. However, it is obviously important not to simply adopt observational scales as operational ones without critically engaging with the subject matter. Neither is it meaningful to force operational scales to fit the case.

In the context of places, scale is important as well. Some scholars have therefore differentiated between place and region, where place is of smaller and region of larger scale[181], while others have used them rather interchangeably and highlighted that both represent a "historically contingent process that emphasizes institutional and individual practices as well as the structural features with which those practices are interwoven".[182] Apart from the geographical extent (the spatial dimension) there is also a temporal scalar dimension to place and region, which is equally contingent and relative to external factors. Thus, it is not easy to say, for example, if one or the other is more or less dynamic or stable, since both are historically contingent processes. A house or a city quarter might be easily destroyed and rebuilt. However, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans and later Venetians, for example, have contributed to massive deforestations, changing the morphological shape and climate across the Mediterranean space, whereas many of their buildings still exist (at least in part). After all, determining a scalar difference between region and place is also always relative to the research perspective, for place and regions are "abstractions, they exist in our minds. [...] we are using them here first of all as tools of thought, as means of analysis and synthesis."[183] Thus, even in the sense of places and regions, scales are not fixed, but contingent and relative. Regardless of whether one chooses to discriminate between place and regions, what is important is that scale matters in terms of place as well: "[a]t one extreme a favorite armchair is a place, at the other extreme the whole earth. Homeland is an important type of place at the medium scale."[184] For Tuan scale is therefore not only an observational or conceptual tool, but also a matter of experience. He gives a lyrical example of how scale can effect people's experience:

[180] Ibid., p. 269.
[181] Entrikin, N. (1991). *The Betweenness of Place: Towards a Geography of Modernity.* London: Macmillan.
[182] Pred, A. (1984). Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 74*(2), 279-297, p. 280.
[183] Meinig 1986, *The Shaping of America*, p. 1202.
[184] Tuan 2001, *Space and Place*, p. 149.

> "As an extreme example of how others can affect the scale of our world, imagine a shy man practising the piano in the corner of a large room. Someone enters to watch. Immediately the pianist feels spatial constraint. Even one more person can seem one too many. From being the sole subject in command over space, the pianist, under the gaze of another, becomes one object among many in the room. He senses a loss of power to order things in space from his unique perspective."[185]

In a different sense, the interrelations between scale and place (or regions) and the boundaries of place and scale are also important in understanding the ways in which social and physical spaces are transformed and how spaces are mediated through the formation of identities such as gender, cultural or ethnic identity; and, furthermore, how scale and boundaries are tools of inclusion and exclusion to and from places.[186] Thus, we can underscore that scale is important in many different domains of research. It provides information not only about the relative positions of abstract and physical spaces, places and regions, but also temporal dimensions of human activity, political and social processes and periods of stability and change.

Lastly, I want to highlight a variant of the observational meaning of scale, which might come in the form of cultural, social, or political spatial orderings within and of society and which will be particularly relevant to the empirical part of this thesis. Erik Swyngedouw, for instance, conceives "scalar configurations as the outcome of socio-spatial processes that regulate and organise social power relations".[187] Therefore, scale can serve as an identifier or index of how individuals or groups divide and subdivide social and physical spaces and space-time. For instance, "geographical scale is the spatial repository of structured social assumptions about what constitutes normal and abnormal forms of social difference".[188] In a physical or material sense, this can mean, for example, how a religious space, a court-room, or a council-room is organised, how goods and services are distributed, how time, distance, and movement are scaled as a matter of discipline or economics, or how much physical space is deemed sufficient for a group of people in relation to another group, i.e. the scalar difference between a master's house and a servant's shack.

As some of these examples indicate, the question of scale can be a means for a detailed spatial analysis of colonial spaces. It informs about the manners in which different spatial and temporal dimensions, which co-constitute colonial spaces, relate to each other. In an abstract spatial dimension, scale is equally relevant. Here the focus lies on the cultural, economic or political organisation and stratification of society, thus processual dimensions of scale which could be termed scalar practice.[189] Neil Smith developed two concepts resembling such scalar practice that might be productively applied to a colonial context, that is the *bending* and *jumping* of or across scales.[190] Scale bending is the active re-structuring or re-organising of spatial organisation. The bending of scales

[185] Ibid., p. 59.
[186] See: Paasi, A. (1996). *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness*. Chichester: Wiley; Marston, S.A. (2000). The Social Construction of Scale. *Progress in Human Geography, 24*(2), 219-242 ; Rodman 1992, Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality.
[187] Swyngedouw, E. (2004). Globalisation or 'Glocalisation'? Networks, Territories and Rescaling. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 17*(1), 25-48, p. 26.
[188] Smith 2004, Scale and the Bending Fate of the National, p. 197.
[189] See for instance: Fraser, A. (2010). The Craft of Scalar Practices. *Environment and Planning A, 42*(2), 332-346.
[190] Smith 2004, Scale and the Bending Fate of the National.

might refer to a process where "[n]ew social activities erode the coherence of old scales and/or crystallize new ones; old activities no longer fit in or support the scaled spaces that hitherto contained them".[191] The jumping of scales (or scaling up) is a means of individuals and groups, such as social movements, to make their claims more visible and effective by "scaling it up" to a different institutional, societal, or spatial level.[192] While Neil Smith's interests lie mainly in the relations between nation-states, globalisation, and global capitalism, his notions of bending and jumping of scales, I claim, can be equally applied to other historical and geographical processes.[193] In the case of urban colonial spaces, scale bending can be observed in the processes of re-organisation of administrative units in towns, as was the case in late-colonial Northern Rhodesia, when some compounds were turned into wards and others not, creating a divide within African urban communities between those who were represented and others who were not. Scale jumping is important to the urban history of Northern Rhodesia as well. In the context of political representation for instance, scaling up at the territorial (parliamentary) level was a means to address the lack of representation on the local (municipal) level.[194]

1.3. Space and Society

As I have argued, space and time form the two basic principles to any form of being. The consequence then is that everything is in a constant relationship with space-time. How is it useful at all, however, if it is seemingly omnipresent, since there is no non-space, at least none that we know of? Obviously, space-time has different dimensions and meanings and can be used accordingly in many diverse fields of research. However, just because all human action takes place in space-time and most of what humans produce materially as well as intellectually/symbolically has a spatial and temporal component or dimension that can be ascribed to it and studied, space and time might not necessarily always be useful categories or objects of analysis. Moreover, as with many categories, there is always a danger – today often evolving out of the various *turns* – that they turn into implicit or explicit determining factors, where everything (in society) is determined by economy, social structures, language and discourse, text, culture, power, or space.[195]

Some amount of pragmatism regarding the objects and categories of analysis one chooses might therefore be a good means of not falling prey to arguing deterministically. How, where and when spatial and temporal dimensions of analysis are applied must be carefully thought through. In the following, I therefore want to open the discussion of different spatial notions in the social sciences

[191] Ibid., p. 201.
[192] However, it can equally be a strategy of elites to defend their position. Scale jumping is therefore a strategy of empowerment and disempowerment.
[193] In this sense, Sallie Marston for example tries to understand "the role that social reproduction and consumption play in scale-making (as well as in space and place-making)" in the context of global capitalism and home, household and the body. Marston 2000, The Social Construction of Scale, p. 239. Concerning urban spaces, these can be generally understood as a process and outcome of scalar practice, since they are "a manifestation of the centralization of productive capital", p. 229. See also: Marston, S. (2004). A Long Way from Home: Domesticating the Social Production of Scale. In Sheppard, E. and R.B. McMaster (Eds.), *Scale and Geographic Inquiry: Nature, Society, and Method.* Malden: Blackwell.
[194] See for instance: Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*.
[195] See: Lippuner and Lossau 2004, In der Raumfalle. Eine Kritik des Spatial Turn in den Sozialwissenschaften ; Roskamm 2016, Das Reden vom Raum. Zur Aktualität des Spatial Turn–Programmatik, Determinismus und „Sozial Konstruierter Raum " ; Günzel, S. (2008). Spatial Turn-Topographical Turn-Topological Turn. Über Die Unterschiede zwischen Raumparadigmen. In Döring, J. and T. Thielmann (Eds.), *Spatial Turn. Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften.* Bielefeld: Transcript

by debating a critical remark uttered against the use of space as a concept and object of analysis. Although I do not agree with the arguments stated below, it might still be worthwhile to discuss them not only for the sake of making this critique visible and transparent within the wider debate, but, more importantly, to use the critique of spatial concepts as a way of clarifying some conceptual issues of spatial methods and theories in the (historical) social sciences. While for some social theorists, notably structural-functionalists like Talcott Parsons and Niklas Luhmann, space was simply not considered relevant, neither as an object nor a category of social analysis,[196] others go further and question the concept as such.[197]

In particular for Niklas Luhmann, space did not matter for his concept of social systems to function. Space, here understood mainly as the physical space of the earth, constitutes merely the background against which society unfolds and spreads out, but it is not constitutive of any kind of social formation, system, or function.[198] The only case where Luhmann made explicit use of space (and time) was in his theorisation of the evolution of art-forms, as Niels Werber highlights.[199] One could of course argue that the very concept of social systems, which are constituted by (operations of) communication and might be perceived as (social) networks, makes it possible to understand these systems as (topological) spaces. However, Luhmann was not very prone to the idea of social networks either, especially not as dynamic and open systems, since for him social systems, like organic systems, were closed, autopoietic (self-reproducing), and self-referential.[200] Thus, social networks are relevant to Luhmann only as a set of relations of (communicative) operations. A system can only form its own operations through a network of operations, which is again formed by operations (autopoiesis).[201] However, social networks are usually understood to be relatively open and to work across systems, fields or other structures.

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[196] Although one might argue that most social theories at least implicitly use spatial language and concepts, when they speak of frames, dimensions, scales, boundaries, etc. The term relation alone can be argued to have inherently spatial meanings. See for instance Schroer, M. (2010). Sozialer Raum: Verräumlichung. In Günzel, S. (Eds.), *Ein Interdisziplinäres Handbuch.* Stuttgart: Metzler, p. 192.

[197] See for instance Stichweh, R. (1998). Raum, Region und Stadt in der Systemtheorie. *Zeitschrift für Soziologische Theorie, 4*(341-358 ; Markus Schroer identifies the reason for a certain avoidance of space in social theory after Durkheim and Simmel in the fact that despite their importance as spatial theorists they tended to understand society more and more in the context of temporal frameworks, exemplified by an ever more globalising world, where space seems to become less important. Schroer 2010, Sozialer Raum: Verräumlichung, p. 194. Neil Smith similarly argues in his introduction to the translation of Henri Lefebvre's "The Urban Revolution" "Whereas space came alive in early-twentieth-century art, physics and mathematics, in social theory and philosophy it was a quite different story. Space there was more often synonymous with rigidity, immobility, stasis; space itself had become a blind field" Neil, S. (2003). Foreword. In Lefebvre, H. (Eds.), *The Urban Revolution.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. xiii.

[198] In a letter to the geographer Helmut Klüter, who is a strong critic of the re-materialisation of social theory, Luhmann wrote "Soziale Systeme haben, anders als organische Systeme, keine räumliche Existenz. Sie bestehen aus Kommunikationen und nichts anderem als Kommunikationen: Und Kommunikationen lassen sich nicht räumlich fixieren" ["Social systems in contrast to organical systems are not spatial entities. They are constituted by communication and nothing but communication: and communication cannot be spatially located."] Klüter, H. (2010). Systemtheorie in der Geographie. In Gansel, C. (Eds.), *Systemtheorie in den Fachwissenschaften. Zugänge, Methoden, Probleme. Göttingen.* Göttingen: v & r unipress.

[199] Werber, N. (2011). Raumvergessenheit oder Raumontologie, Latour oder Luhmann? Zur Rolle der Systemtheorie in einer (Medien) Geographischen Kontroverse. *Soziale Systeme, 17*(2), 361-372 See also: Luhmann, N. (1995). *Die Kunst der Gesellschaft.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

[200] Fuhse, J. (2014). Verbindungen und Grenzen. Der Netzwerkbegriff in der Systemtheorie. In Weyer, J. (Eds.), *Soziale Netzwerke– Konzepte und Methoden der Sozialwissenschaftlichen Netzwerkforschung.* . München: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag.

[201] Luhmann, N. (2002). *Einführung in die Systemtheorie.* Heidelberg: Auer, p.109. Luhmann in his later work elaborated a network theory based on mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in societies that are not constituted by systems such as media, economy and science. His examples are social structures found in Favelas in Brazil and Mafia societies in southern Italy. See: Fuhse 2014, Verbindungen und Grenzen. Der Netzwerkbegriff in der Systemtheorie.

Absolute and Relational Spaces

Beyond these spatial blind-spots in social theory, there are also those who argue against (the usefulness of) space. Perhaps most prominently of the more recent critics, Tim Ingold has been writing "against space", since for him it "is nothing, and because it is nothing it cannot truly be inhabited at all"[202]. From a basic ontological point of view Ingold is certainly right in his claim that space is nothing in so far as it lacks materiality. There is no Newtonian container and "space has no natural ordering".[203] Space is not a material object and not conceivable as such. However, neither in the natural sciences nor in the social sciences that deal with spatial concepts is it usually understood or treated as *something*, meaning an object or entity, that has material properties.[204] Ingold argues that "[b]iologist[s] say that living organisms inhabit *environments,* not space […] people have drawn a living from the *land,* not space. Farmers plant their crops in the *earth,* not space, and harvest them from *fields,* not space. […] Travellers make their way through the *country,* not through space. Painters set up their easels in the *landscape,* not in space."[205] At first sight, his point seems convincing, for we all have a notion of landscapes, fields, or land, but not so much of space. But then, strictly speaking, environments or landscapes cannot be inhabited either in this ontological sense, yet Ingold identifies them as being inhabited by organisms and composed in paintings. That is to say, there is also no environment as such, since it is itself a relational term.[206] An environment is always dependent on a certain species (organisms) or set of species (bioms) from which it is studied and it is, as Peter Weichhart stresses, not an easily definable term.[207] The same is true for landscapes, which are defined (by humans) sometimes more, sometimes less precisely or concretely as a set of geological, biological and/or cultural formations.[208]

This difference between absolute and relative notions of space has already been indicated in the first section of this chapter. However, since this is important for the practical use of spatial concepts and still heavily debated within different academic traditions as the reference to Ingold exemplifies, I shall clarify it here in more detail, because in order to determine and be precise about the spaces we talk about we need to have concepts and models of the various spatial terms, dimensions, and configurations as objects and categories of research. Furthermore, despite some general debates about space, there seems to be a strong, yet in my view superficial conflict between advocates of material dimensions and the social and symbolic dimensions of space. It is superficial, because as Baur et. al argue,

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[202] Ingold, T. (2011). *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description.* London: Routledge, p. 145.
[203] Haining, R. (2009). The Special Nature of Spatial Data. In Fotheringham, S. and P. Rogerson (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Spatial Analysis.* London: Sage, p. 17.
[204] This general ontological note should not be confused with the difference between physical and relational space. We can still speak of a physical space and material properties of spaces, for instance when it is understood as being constituted (in a material sense) by bodies and objects in relation to a geographical position or extent.
[205] Ingold 2011, *Being Alive*, p. 145.
[206] See for instance: Weichhart, P. (1979). Remarks on the Term "Environment". *GeoJournal, 3*(6), 523-531 ; Uexküll, N. (1921). *Umwelt Und Innenwelt Der Tiere.* Springer Berlin Heidelberg ; Mach, E. (1917). *Erkenntnis Und Irrtum: Skizzen Zur Psychologie Der Forschung.* Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth.
[207] Weichhart 1979, Remarks on the Term "Environment".
[208] Forman and Gordon define landscape within the geo-sciences for instance as a "heterogeneous land area composed of a cluster of interacting ecosystems that is repeated in similar form throughout". Forman, R.T. and M. Godron (1986). *Landscape Ecology* New York: John Wiley & Sons, p. 11.

> "[s]eeing space as socially constructed does not mean denying the existence of physical space. Neither does it mean that space is a fluid entity that cannot be grasped over time. In fact, many socially constructed spaces are rather firm constructions that are structured by institutionalized principles and are far from quickly changing, e.g. national states."[209]

Martina Löw argues in a similar way.

> "Conventionally, a distinction is made between absolutist and relativist ideas of space. Whereas from an absolutist standpoint a dualism is assumed, that is, the existence of space and bodies is presupposed, relativist traditions are of the view that space forms the structure of the relative locations of the bodies."[210]

However, neither in the absolutist nor relational perspective can space be set apart from people and their actions. Discussing the different qualities and implications of relative (relational) or absolute spaces often does not automatically disentangle their somewhat abstract nature, and can leave us with some uncertainty with regard to how these concepts might be applied in research and analysis. A good way then to think about and discriminate between these two spatial forms or dimensions and their analytic integration is proposed by Baur et. al., when they understand absolute space as a quasi independent variable, "a mere frame for social action that might (or might not) influence social life"[211]. Here, researchers would ask about practises and interactions between people and objects within space, as well as their spatial distribution and arrangements or how they move within space. Absolute space in this sense usually means physical space, which is defined by boundaries that we construct or design in order to work with that space, to make it operational.[212] An absolute space is thereby constructed by the researcher as a unit based on certain spatial aspects or criteria (physical or social boundaries, distribution of populations, places or extents of economic, political or cultural significance) which the researcher deems meaningful for her analysis of social action, orderings or change. This can be a building or place (i.e. a house or a square), a district, a city, a region or landscape, or a state.

Conversely, analysing a relational space, or analysing space relationally, means understanding space itself as an analytical object. Thus, researchers would ask how a certain space is produced and constructed and how this space is practiced by people and their actions (physically, symbolically, socially, etc.). Space in this sense becomes a dependent variable. It is dependent on how people imagine or remember it and how they thereby shape, change, or transform it.

There is one additional aspect relevant to this discussion, which sometimes remains unacknowledged. As absolute (physical) spaces are always relational, relational spaces always need something that is fixed, even if it is only provisionally or temporarily fixed. Asking how two actors,

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[209] Baur, N., L. Hering, A.L. Raschke and C. Thierbach (2014). Theory and Methods in Spatial Analysis. Towards Integrating Qualitative, Quantitative and Cartographic Approaches in the Social Sciences and Humanities. *Historical Social Research/ Historische Sozialforschung, 39*(2), 7-50, p. 13.
[210] Löw 2016, *The Sociology of Space*, p. 230.
[211] Baur, Hering, Raschke and Thierbach 2014, Theory and Methods in Spatial Analysis. Towards Integrating Qualitative, Quantitative and Cartographic Approaches in the Social Sciences and Humanities, p. 14.
[212] See Section 1.1.3.

entities or processes are related is therefore to ask about the system or (point of) reference this relation is embedded in. This relation exists, because two people share a specific physical space over some time, or because two people are related by some institution.

Theoretically, of course, absolute and relative space cannot be separated, since both are abstracted or constructed.[213] Like any scientific knowledge, space, too, is "eine Konstruktion von Welt in der Welt"[214] [a construction of the world within the world]; one with which, however, we can meaningfully operate both in a scientific realm as well as in an everyday circumstance.[215] In a relational sense, space may often be delocalised, disposed of its physical properties. It is then a structure of relations between people or between people and objects, things or buildings, or between discourses, thoughts and arguments, thus, a topological structure. But even in an absolute sense, space is also nothing but a relational structure. Nevertheless it is not one between objects as such, but between the locations of objects and their boundaries, thus a structure based on geographical distances or proximities that can be visualised and measured through coordinate systems. These systems, however, are always relative to a frame or system of reference (like a coordinate system).[216] It is then a space where geographical positions and directions become relevant, where an areal extent and volume or the geographical distance between objects can be measured.

However, as Dieter Läpple highlights, in either case space is never a neutral vessel or container, nor is it a passive result of objects.[217] The space of the earth's surface understood in modern geography as *chora* is an abstract representation of the geosphere.[218] As such it is not an entity, but a scheme or frame of reference to analyse spatial relations. Its material dimension is in itself nothing but a substrate of socio-functional relations.[219] A discussion of whether or not to use space or another (essentially spatial) term such as landscape or environment is then nothing more than a terminological preference or a matter of context. An environment is a space and so is a landscape, or to be more precise, they can be understood as many spaces, socio-cultural, ideological, political, scientific, physical (absolute), topological, etc. This is perhaps the most important aspect of space as a scientific concept and why Ingold's critique is superficial. Using space as a concept is a way to identify many different dimensions, meanings and uses of various spatial forms and configurations.

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[213] See: Lefebvre 2010, *The Production of Space* ; Massey 2005, *For Space* ; Bourdieu 1989, Social Space and Symbolic Power ; Löw, M. (2013). *Raumsoziologie*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag ; Haining 2009, The Special Nature of Spatial Data ; Shields 2013, *Spatial Questions*.

[214] Lippuner, R. (2005). *Raum–Systeme–Praktiken. Zum Verhältnis von Alltag, Wissenschaft und Geographie*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, p. 47.

[215] In this context it is perhaps important to highlight that "the structures of reality are [not] somehow self-evident or even directly observable" and that even the natural sciences are not "based on a passive observation of empirical events. What the natural sciences mostly do is isolate causal mechanisms by means of active interventions into the world (a.k.a. "experiments") that produce indirect observations of the world (via "instruments")" Gorski, P.S. (2013b). What Is Critical Realism? And Why Should You Care? *Contemporary Sociology 42*(5), 58-70, p. 659,662.

[216] In fact, any geometrical figure or body can theoretically be formalised without a geometrical reference system, as Leibniz showed in his *analysis situs*. He used algorithms consisting of combinations of variable and fixed lengths between points to describe geometrical figures. See: Heuser, M.-L. (2007). Die Anfänge Der Topologie in Mathematik Und Naturphilosophie. In Günzel, S. (Eds.), *Topologie*. Bielefeld: transcript.

[217] Läpple 1991, Essay über den Raum

[218] Köck, H. (1987). Chorische Logik – Die Grundperspektive Geographischer Weltbetrachtung. *Beiträge zur Geographie und Raumplanung, 11*(179-194.

[219] Läpple 1991, Essay über den Raum

Therefore, the difficulty and complexity of space, its sometimes abstract character and its many dimensions and meanings, is at the same time its very advantage, for it can be applied quite rigorously to a diverse set of research questions and approaches, either as a scientific object or category or both. However, because of this complexity it is important to highlight, as Susanne Rau does, that since "[a]n entire set of attributes and adjectives is available for indicating, with relative precision, the space about which we speak at any given moment [...] we should always make clear whether we are speaking about space in a psychological, philosophical, physical, or everyday sense".[220] In this regard it is also necessary to acknowledge the differences of concepts and meanings of spatial terminology not only between disciplines or research approaches, but especially between different languages. For example, the English language offers a certain openness compared to German when it comes to spatial terminology, as Karl Schlögel exemplifies by pointing to the difference between "Verräumlichung der Geschichte" and "spacing history".[221] While "spacing history" does not immediately urge us to pose the question whether or not spacing is meant in a material and physical or an abstract sense, "Verräumlichung" certainly does. Julia Lossau recognises in this regard that many (especially recent) English scientific writings on space make use of the manifold meanings of the word space in combination with an essayistic style of writing by often leaving open how space is actually understood beyond the mere reference to its construction.[222] Admittedly, German publications, in particular those which operate within a poststructuralist paradigm, are perhaps no less guilty of this ease of use. Susanne Rau's remark quoted above, to be precise about how space is understood in each context, is therefore all the more important.

We can summarise that space within the social sciences has various meanings and dimensions that can be deployed in various ways within social and historical research. They intersect, but can also be studied or analysed separately. Space can be an object of analysis and an analytical category at the same time. It must not be naturalised or reified, but its effects and usage in and through human societies cannot be simply understood through representational or discursive operations either. In the context of African studies and other area studies of the Global South this difficulty is well known in other theoretical concepts such as ethnicity and other forms of identity-formation. The notion that they are not things in the world, but perspectives on the world, as Rogers Brubaker has put it, is important, but in such a short phrase – this is not a critical remark against Brubaker, but against short references – it sometimes conceals that these perspectives nonetheless have real-world effects. Julie MacArthur in her work "Cartography and Political Imagination in Colonial Kenya" highlights this when she writes that "[p]ostcolonial studies have largely endorsed these instrumentalist and constructivist approaches, picturing ethnicity as an industry, as a crisis of citizenship, and as a 'shadow theatre' of historical production [… yet] what they still fail to account for are the very real attachments to and emotive potential of ethnic identification witnessed in modern Africa."[223] The same can be said about the practice, representation and (trans)formation of

[220] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 32.
[221] Schlögel, K. (2004). Kartenlesen, Augenarbeit. Über die Fälligkeit des Spatial Turn in den Geschichts-und Kulturwissenschaften. In Kittsteiner, H.D. (Eds.), *Was sind Kulturwissenschaften? 13 Antworten.* München: Fink, p. 264.
[222] Lossau, J. (2007). Mind the Gap: Bemerkungen Zur Gegenwärtigen Raumkonjunktur aus Kulturgeographischer Sicht. In Günzel, S. (Eds.), *Topologie. Zur Raumbeschreibung in den Kultur- und Medienwissenschaften.* Bielefeld: transcript, p. 68.
[223] MacArthur, J. (2016). *Cartography and the Political Imagination: Mapping Community in Colonial Kenya.* Athens: Ohio University Press, p. 7.

space. A spatial construct often does lead to real-word attachments, boundaries, identifications and conflicts, socially and/or physically. Having clarified how I understand space in its diverse ways and dimensions, I will now turn to specific spatial theories that more closely inform about the ways space is socially produced, constructed, practiced, imagined and used.

Spatial Structures, Relations, Practices and Representations

In what follows, I will focus on four aspects to analyse spaces within the social sciences and humanities that work within a physical framework, but which do not necessarily contradict purely abstract and metaphorical concepts. These are: 1) constitution of space and spatial structures: how space is socially produced and how its physical dimension through objects, bodies and places co-constitutes social relations, action, and representations; 2) spatial relations and dynamics: how spatial formations are related to each other and how society is organised spatially; 3) spatial practices: how space is used, for instance through movement and actions; and 4) spatial representation: how spaces are imagined, perceived, remembered, and ideologically or symbolically constructed. I will thereby concentrate on a body of literature that captures these four dimensions of social space either in part or altogether. These four dimensions or aspects of social space outlined above can be found with some differences in various literatures. Rob Shields for instance interprets Lefebvre's notion of social space in its universal form, thus not specific to any historical or societal context, consisting of

> "(1) a set of spatial relations (i.e. space proper) between and on which core elements of the mode of production (and consumption) depend; (2) the arrangements of architecture and the landscape; (3) understandings and representations of that logic; and (4) cultural forms of social space that include the body and its gestures and comportment."[224]

Dieter Läpple also proposes a matrix consisting of four steps, which are (to put it very briefly) material, relational, institutional, and representational.[225] Finally, in order to work analytically with spatial concepts, Susanne Rau also suggests essentially four steps to accomplish a rigorous spatial analysis. These are: "1 Spatial types or configurations 2 Spatial dynamics 3 Spatial perceptions (plus memories and representations) 4 Spatial practices and uses of space."[226]

1) The constitution of space

For Georg Simmel, the constitution of space as a social phenomenon is inherently linked to social formation and organisation.[227] There cannot be a social space without society, for space in Simmel's understanding is a "shared social construction".[228] His conception of space is essentially that of a container,[229] however, one that is not only infinite but also one that is socially meaningless

[224] Shields 2013, *Spatial Questions*, p. 22-23.
[225] Läpple 1991, Essay über den Raum, p. 196-197.
[226] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 85.
[227] Dünne, J. (2012). Soziale Räume. In Dünne, J. and S. Günzel (Eds.), *Raumtheorie. Grundlagentexte aus Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaften.* Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, p. 291.
[228] Shields 2013, *Spatial Questions*, p. 76. In context of the individual "[h]e considers space to be a form generated through concretely sensing or feeling (*Empfinden*) the world" Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 58.
[229] See for instance: Läpple 1991, Essay über den Raum

without objects and social actors. Despite his notion of a container, how he conceptualises social space is inherently relational. Andrzej Zieleniec argues that "[f]or Simmel everything in the world interacts with everything else and this is also true of the social world."[230] Zieleniec therefore identifies five aspects of space that are central to Simmel's concept: exclusivity, boundaries, fixity of social forms, proximities and distance, and mobilities.[231] Of these aspects, especially boundaries, proximities and distances will be used to analyse colonial urban spaces in Part II of the thesis.

Exclusivity is understood in a quite material sense and means that "no two objects, states, municipalities, houses, etc. can occupy the same portion of space simultaneously."[232] Boundaries on the contrary highlight the abstract qualities of social space. The concept of the boundary has already been hinted at in Ethington's discussion of Georg Simmel's figure of the stranger. It is conceived as frame and interface that performs social functions and at the same time defines that very interface. It therefore defines relationships between groups and between individuals. This duality means that on the one hand "objects and actions can be ordered and regulated" and on the other hand "it also structures the inter-relatedness of its contents."[233] In the context of spatial production and constitution it is perhaps fruitful to refine Simmel's notion of the boundary and to address a problem of boundaries stated by Andrew Abbott. Instead of asking about the "boundaries of things" or even trying to measure them, Abbott proposes that it is more meaningful to address this problem in reverse and ask for the "things of boundaries", that is what boundaries actually are and how they shape social entities, not vice versa. Thus, "[s]ocial entities come into existence when social actors tie social boundaries together in certain ways. Boundaries come first, then entities."[234] We can therefore assume that boundary-making is not a consequence of social spaces, but that boundaries co-constitute social spaces.

Fixity then, in the sense of "Fixed points or Pivots", "localise[s] social activities, stabilising and helping to reproduce them by concretising specific modes of interaction."[235] This can essentially be understood with the notion of stability of places. It also includes the power of or behind localisations, centres of power such as cities or ritual sites. Proximity and distance is closely related to fixity, as it informs not only about the possibility of interaction, but also about the power-structures embedded in social and physical forms of proximity and distance. As becomes clear in the context of the stranger, proximity and distance is, however, also "concerned with highlighting distinctions or possibilities between different forms of interactions as a condition of their relatedness to nearness and farness."[236] Mobility, finally, directs attention again to the fixity of objects or locations, as its inverse, and to the figure of the stranger. In fact, the stranger really is a social form (or rather type in Simmel's language) where all the forms or aspects of social space come together.

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[230] Zieleniec, A. (2007). *Space and Social Theory.* London: Sage, p. 37. This is in fact a similar formulation of what later would become known as Waldo Tobler's first law of Geography, that "everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things." Tobler, W.R. (1970). A Computer Movie Simulating Urban Growth in the Detroit Region. *Economic geography, 46*(234-240, p. 236.

[231] Zieleniec 2007, *Space and Social Theory*, p. 40-47. Rob Shields adds to these yet another aspect, that of empty space, which is essentially a political category. Shields 2013, *Spatial Questions*, p. 79-83.

[232] Zieleniec 2007, *Space and Social Theory*, p. 40.

[233] Ibid., p. 42.

[234] Abbott, A. (1995). Things of Boundairies. *Social research, 62*(4), 857-882, p. 860.

[235] Shields 2013, *Spatial Questions*, p. 81.

[236] Zieleniec 2007, *Space and Social Theory*, p. 45.

> "The stranger will thus not be considered here in the usual sense of the term, as the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather as the man who comes today and stays tomorrow [...] He is fixed within a certain spatial circle – or within a group whose boundaries are analogous to spatial boundaries – but his position within it is fundamentally affected by the fact that he does not belong in it initially [...] In the case of the stranger, the union of closeness and remote-ness involved in every human relationship is patterned in a way that may be succinctly formulated as follows: the distance within this relation indicates that one who is close by is remote, but his strangeness indicates that one who is remote is near"[237]

Simmel's general view on space has to be used with caution; yet nevertheless his five spatial aspects can be very fruitful, in particular for historical urban studies, where the concept of the stranger might serve as a relevant analytical tool.

In the context of spatial constitutions and the configuration of spaces, Martina Löw builds not only on the works of Georg Simmel, but also Pierre Bourdieu, and Anthony Giddens. She understands spaces as "relational arrangements of people (livings beings) and social goods."[238] By arrangements she refers to the German term *(An)Ordnung*, which entails two aspects simultaneously, which is "the arrangement as order (*Ordnung*) that is established by spaces, and secondly the process of arranging or ordering (*Anordnung*), the dimension of action. Thus, a relational arrangement immanently has a structuring dimension in addition to the action dimension."[239] In her concept, space is produced by action through two interrelated processes she calls *spacing* and *synthesis,* two processes that relate to who is arranging what and how.

> "If space is viewed as a relational arrangement of social goods and people, then what is arranged and how arranging occurs have to be systematically distinguished. People are involved in constitution not only as building blocks, but also in everyday action; in planning, art, and science ensembles of social goods are perceived or defined as one element and linked with other elements. Thus, spaces emerge initially only *by being actively linked by people*. In this context, people do not link only things, but also other people or groups of people (who themselves intervene in the process). Thus, placements generally go hand in hand with the emergence of spaces."[240]

With the term *spacing* Martina Löw refers to the ways and means of how objects and people are positioned or position themselves in space, or rather in place. Löw thereby points to the practices that involve *spacing* as placing and placements. This includes how people place themselves in relation to others, how buildings are erected, how boundaries are made, or goods are displayed. However, the process which is perhaps more complex is that of *synthesis*, for it refers to the memories,

[237] Simmel 1971, *On Individuality and Social Forms*, p. 143.
[238] Löw 2016, *The Sociology of Space*, p. 141
[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid., p. 134.

representations, imaginations, and perceptions of space. Usually, spacing and synthesis go together and happen simultaneously. The former, in particular, cannot happen without the latter, simply because nothing or nobody is placed without reason. However, *synthesis* can also lead to the constitution of spaces without any process or operation of *spacing*. Any spatial abstraction, plan, or imagination can be understood as an operation of synthesis.

Furthermore, it is important to note that a spatial structure in the sociological sense is not simply a material structure per se, nor can a social arrangement simply be understood as a spatial structure. For Löw then, spatial structures are constituents of spaces that are institutionalised and "inscribed into rules and secured by resources".[241] However, these structures remain embedded in a dynamic understanding of space and society. Structures are never fixed entities. Spatial structures, like social structures, can only remain stable temporarily for "in a processual view, society is never in equilibrium. Conflict and unpredictability are the nature of social life, so social order cannot consist of their absence."[242]

2) Spatial relations

Spatial relations can be generally understood as topologies and are as such best conceptualised by Pierre Bourdieu, who himself understood his concept of social space as a social topology, since it consists of social relations.[243] However, it must also go beyond mere topology and include not only the objective social structures (scientifically observable through statistical correlations) and the positions of actors in social space resembling these structures, but also the mental structures (representational structures), the habits, ideologies, perceptions and the principle of vision and division agents use to communicate and visualise their position and that of others in social space.[244] These mental structures through the habitus have the effect of producing "a sense of place"[245], which can be understood as a sense of position within social space (or social fields), as well as quite literally a sense of belonging to a certain region, city, or home. Mental structures and habitus are "historically constituted, institutionally grounded, and thus socially variable".[246], While Bourdieu admits the resemblance between social and geographical space, as he refers to physical space, this resemblance is not necessarily always true. Proximities and distances in social space can be quite different in a geographical sense. For Bourdieu, social space and geographical, or physical space, are both relevant. Yet it is important for him to highlight which physical space it is and how it is important. Physical space can only be relevant socially if it is an acquired, appropriated or reified physical space, thus excluding the physical space used in biology or physical geography.[247] Here,

[241] Ibid., p. 233
[242] Abbott 2016, *Processual Sociology*, p. 204.
[243] Bourdieu 1989, Social Space and Symbolic Power, p. 16.
[244] Bourdieu, P. and L. Wacquant (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.* Chicago: University of Chicago press, p. 12.
[245] Bourdieu 1989, Social Space and Symbolic Power, p. 17. For the original use of the term, see also: Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* New York: Anchor Books.
[246] Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, p. 19.
[247] Bourdieu, P. (1991). Physischer, sozialer und angeeigneter physischer Raum. In Wentz, M. (Eds.), *Stadt-Räume. Die Zukunft des Städtischen. Frankfurter Beiträge.* Frankfurt a.M.: Campus. See also: Löw 2016, *The Sociology of Space*, p. 153.

Bourdieu's concept is similar to Lefebvre's distinction between natural and naturalised space, the former of which "will soon be lost to view".[248]

Notions of social space and social fields allow Bourdieu to evade or rather overcome the hardly feasible notion of society as a totality, but instead focus on the arrangements and relations it is constituted by. The only problem with Bourdieu's concept of space, both metaphorically and concretely (physically), is that it does not allow the study of the interrelations between space and society, as Martina Löw stresses, for the reason that "due to his absolutist concept of acquired physical space, he is compelled to set the social as a one-sidedly structuring factor off from the spatial."[249] Thus, the habitus forms habitat, but not vice versa. There is no dialectical relationship between space and society in Bourdieu's *oeuvre*. Löw thus concludes that "[a]lthough Bourdieu's reflections on the relational conception of the social are pioneering […], he does not manage to consistently conceive space relativistically or relationally (except in a metaphorical sense) despite the fact that he explicitly refers to Leibniz in his deliberations."[250]

However, Bourdieu's concepts of social fields and social space are still relevant to spatial analyses that are abstract, or purely social as it were. The field might formally be understood "as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions."[251] In differentiated societies, fields are sub-configurations within society (or social space). Bourdieu compares fields to battlefields or the field of a game, a "'serious play' governed by general rules and driven by both individual tactics and collective strategies"[252] where actors are in conflict and competition for social resources and forms of capital that regulate the positions and relations within that field. Fields can come in the forms of institutional fields, like academia, the political field, or the medical field, but also the field of planning or development. Horizontally, they are "defined by orthodoxy" or heterodoxy and "actors' relations to the *illusio* or *doxa* that holds the field together."[253] The vertical dimension of fields on the other hand relates to the hierarchy within the field and the differences in power and prestige. As mentioned above, Bourdieu's field-theory can be applied to many societal and institutional contexts. In a colonial context this includes the field of urban planning, and the field of colonial politics and policies. A similar perspective to fields is the concepts of ecologies, which is equally relational and spatial.[254]

3) Spatial practice

Spatial practice refers to the ways and means space is used and (actively) produced in contrast to being merely socially constructed, which often means unconsciously constructed. The production of space is central to Henri Lefebvre's spatial theory. He understands space as a combination of a

[248] Lefebvre 2010, *The Production of Space*, p. 31. It is crucial to add that both discriminations cannot be understood as oppositions between culture and nature, but merely highlight that there is no one universal physical space relevant to social questions. It is thus rather a conceptual and methodological question than an ontological one.
[249] Löw 2016, *The Sociology of Space*, p. 154.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, p. 95
[252] Gorski, P.S. (2013a). Bourdieusian Theory and Historical Analysis: Maps, Mechanisms, and Methods. In Gorski, P.S. (Eds.), *Bourdieu and Historical Analysis*. London: Duke University Press, p. 329.
[253] Ibid., p. 332. In academia, the sub-field of Economics for instance is far more orthodox compared to the field of Sociology. Sociology has more competing paradigms.
[254] For a comparison between the two perspectives see. Liu, S. and M. Emirbayer (2016). Field and Ecology. *Sociological theory, 34*(1), 62-79.

reified and thing-like entity (through its production) and at the same time as a process that is defined by action in and of space and spatial relations. Together with spatial representation and representational space, spatial practice as of these three operations or processes co-produces social space. Therefore, these three constitutive processes form Lefebvre's triad ('triplicité') of spatial production.

Other than Bourdieu's notion of social space, which is partly based on Norbert Elias and Ernst Cassierer, the background to Lefebvre's theory is essentially Marxist, with the fact that the concept of production is the central defining element of spatial constitution and orderings being just the most obvious signifier thereof. The second major difference between the two is that Lefebvre envisions a dialectic relationship between space and society, which Bourdieu, as mentioned above, does not. This has the effect that society for Lefebvre cannot be understood without space. In other words, society is not only studied through spatial metaphors as is the case with Bourdieu,[255] but it is inherently spatial, meaning that space co-constitutes society and vice versa. With Lefebvre's concept then it is possible to achieve what is not possible with Bourdieu's theory, a spatial analysis of society.

Spatial practice is therefore not only a way to act in space, but to act on space. Lefebvre understands it in a literal sense as daily routines, but also as acts of spatial ordering and control. Practice therefore necessitates some sense or knowledge of space that is practiced or acted upon. Susanne Rau condenses this triad in the following way: "*espace perçu* as space that is experienced, perceived, and used (which is also the space of everyday experience); *espace conçu* as space that is thought, planned, and conceived (or the representation of space); and, finally, *espace vécu* as lived space (or the spaces of representation) […] the space of signs, images, and symbols"[256].

It is important to highlight the way these operations are understood as not only happening in space, but first and foremost operations that produce spaces. The question of what space is is thereby redirected to the question of how space comes to be. Through practice and representation, or *spacing* and *synthesis*, space is constituted. Thus, spatial practice is dependent on a certain knowledge and familiarity of a given space, which is also captured by Lefebvre's historicising statement that "every society […] produces a space, its own space"[257] The habitus (the sense of place) and spatial practice (working through spatial competence and performance) are therefore quite similar.

The very strength of Lefebvre's theory is at the same time its weakness. As Unwin noted, "Lefebvre's arguments are constructed in such a way that they are not readily summarized; his project is designed to elicit debate and engagement, and the metaphors and illustrations he uses are not reducible to a simple set of parameters."[258] His intent and approach is only at first sight a theory of space in the sense of a reappraisal of spatial concepts. It is indeed rather an inherently historical approach – this is underscored by the many examples from Greek antiquity and medieval Europe[259]

[255] Fuller, M.G. and M. Löw (2017). Introduction: An Invitation to Spatial Sociology. *Current sociology, 65*(4), 469-491.
[256] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 29.
[257] Lefebvre 2010, *The Production of Space*, p. 31.
[258] Unwin, T. (2000). A Waste of Space? Towards a Critique of the Social Production of Space…. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 25*(1), 11-29, p. 13.
[259] His project is in a way similar to Hannah Arendt's theorisation of the shifting spatial constellations between European antiquity and the territoriality of the state from the early modern period onwards, exemplified in the shifting meaning of the opposition between public and private. See Arendt, H. (2013). *The Human Condition.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

– to understand the modern condition and the effects and pre-conditions of capitalism. However, I claim that, despite the valid criticism on Lefebvre's work[260] and despite the danger of misusing his theory, the spatial triad consisting of practices, knowledge and representations which are aligned to the used (and experienced), the planned, and the lived(-in) space might nevertheless serve as a useful way to study space socially. Thus, it presents a good way to analytically divide or separate certain spatial dimensions or domains within society (like practices and representations) that are nevertheless always related to each other. Martina Löw brings the critique on Lefebvrian space to a point, when she writes: "As stimulating as the conceptual levels may be that Lefebvre identifies, a theoretical idea about how the levels can be related to each other is sorely lacking."[261]

4) Spatial representation

The last point, spatial representation, is one that might be understood as the only one to cover or be involved in any kind of spatial formation (physical or abstract) relevant to humans. Again, Martina Löw's argument that synthesis can also emerge without spacing, but not the other way round, underscores the omnipresence of representational forms in and of space. Thus, spatial representations (often in the form of ideologies and hegemonies) cover the material and immaterial, the concrete and abstract, the social and the physical; all spaces including those which cannot be practiced materially or constituted through actions. Spatial representations are the ideological, symbolic and coded forms by which space is constructed, produced, appropriated, delineated, bounded, conceived, remembered, imagined, thought, planned, built, and performed. Therefore, it is a dimension that is perhaps most meaningful in the cultural context of space and place. Although, in Lefebvre's triad *espace vécu* is not a dialectical synthesis of the other two spatial forms[262], but all three form a dialectical relation, I think it is nevertheless possible to understand it as being perhaps more relevant to cultural questions, where material spatial dimensions and action are of secondary interest.

A cartographic space, the space of a map, for instance might serve as a manual or indication of how physical space can or should be practiced or how a certain aspect or part of the physical and social world can or should be looked at. What and how (through projection and style) something is represented in a map is, however, always selective and reflective of certain forms of representation. Jacques Lévy therefore refers to maps not as mere representations of space, but as their own spaces.[263] A map can never be wrong, but only its projection can be imprecise.[264] Maps serve as imparting media,[265] spaces imparting between the individual and the topographical space. The space

[260] See for instance: Unwin 2000, A Waste of Space? Towards a Critique of the Social Production of Space…; Dimendberg, E. (1998). Henri Lefebvre on Abstract Space. In Light, A. and J.M. Smith (Eds.), *Philosophy and Geography Ii: The Production of Public Space* Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
[261] Löw 2016, *The Sociology of Space*, p. 112-113.
[262] Unwin 2000, A Waste of Space? Towards a Critique of the Social Production of Space…
[263] Lévy, J. (2015). Mapping Ethics. In Lévy, J. (Eds.), *A Cartographic Turn: Mapping and the Spatial Challenge in Social Sciences.* Lausanne: EPFL Press, a Swiss academic publisher, p. 196
[264] This is why most critiques formulated in the cultural studies against maps are somewhat misplaced. A map cannot lie or distort, as is often proclaimed. A map *is* distortion, a fact cartographers are quite aware of. That is in fact what they are dealing with, for the simple fact that a map lacks the (3rd) dimension not to be distorted.
[265] Günzel, S. (2008). Spatial Turn – Topographical Turn – Topological Turn. Über Die Unterschiede Zwischen Raumparadigmen. In Döring, J. and T. Thielmann (Eds.), *Spatial Turn. Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften.* Bielefeld: transcript.

of a map is constituted by generating and reading the map, practiced when this map is used, and performed representationally by readers and producers alike.

In a very general sense, following Kanishka Goonewardena, space itself can be understood as a medium of representation, for "space plays a mediating role between the social totality (our "real conditions of existence") and the representation of our relationship to that totality ("ideology")"[266]. The difficulty with representations, however, is that they are not always easily recognisable, for much of representational modes or dynamics are not only actively concealed through practices and discourses suggesting different intentions, but also because they are embedded in the mental structures, the habitus, where the workings of ideologies "have no words, and ask no more than complicitious silence"[267]. For Lefebvre, too, the power of representation becomes manifest through its own concealment.[268] Representation in general, and ideologies in particular, have thus to be understood as the symbolic and habitual interface between ideas or knowledge people have and their social practice.[269] Most of the time we act in an everyday sense without contemplating our actions. It is habitus that regulates how, when and why we act. We "need learned patterns of recognition and action; we need markings, signs, and indications from our social surroundings".[270] But what's more important is to understand representations not as immediate idiosyncrasies, the realm of individual ideas, but as forms of collective and social beliefs. The critique (or analysis)[271] of ideology that is performed to uncover modes of representation as culturally or politically mediated forms of social relations in general, is most effective in uncovering structures of power and domination within society.[272]

In the context of spatial representations, there are many forms that can be analysed. In a material sense, architecture and maps present good sources of analysing modes of spatial representation. "Likewise, architecture can be considered a materialized ideology, but such that is not given once and forever."[273] Thus, architecture and buildings might not only change physically, but they might also be renamed, change in function, or in their symbolic meaning. Maps, too, can be analysed according to their symbolic and representational properties. Even if we read technical drawings and urban plans, certain visions and divisions, to use the Bourdieusian terms, might become apparent, once these maps are contextually embedded in a certain space-time. In the context of social practice and action Martina Löw understands her concept of "operations of synthesis [as] the processes of perception, imagination, or remembering in which social goods and people are integrated to yield spaces."[274] These might be studied historically through travel reports or biographical accounts, but also through reports or correspondences, or through minutes of meetings of urban councils.

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[266] Goonewardena, K. (2004). Urban Space and Political Consciousness: A Report on Theory. *Review of Radical Political Economics, 36*(2), 155-176, p. 168.
[267] Bourdieu 1977, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, p. 188.
[268] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 112.
[269] See for instance Giddens, A. (1983). Four Theses on Ideology. *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, 7*(1-2), 18-21.
[270] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 109.
[271] see Boudon, R. (1989). *The Analysis of Ideology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.
[272] See for instance: Dovey, K. (2009). *Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Power.* New York: Routledge ; Eagleton, T. (1991). *Ideology. An Introduction.* New York: Verso ; Zizek, S. (Eds.). (2012). *Mapping Ideology.* New York: Verso.
[273] Kurnicki, K. (2014). Towards a Spatial Critique of Ideology: Architecture as a Test. *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism, 38*(1), 80-89, p. 82.
[274] Löw 2016, *The Sociology of Space*, p. 151.

Spatial representations and practices are perhaps most meaningfully understood in the context of place, as will especially be exemplified in Chapter 6. For Tim Cresswell place can be understood "through the lens of social and cultural conflict".[275] Conversely, one could also say that social and cultural conflict can be understood through the lens of place. This embeddedness in place is reflected in Alan Baker's understanding of the relation between landscape and ideology. He understands ideology in the sense of Edward Shils as "the product of man's need for imposing intellectual order. The need for an ideology is an intensification of the need for a cognitive and moral map of the universe."[276] Ideology and landscape are therefore often connected through "a quest for *order*, an assertion of *authority,* and […] a project of *totalisation*."[277] However, "landscape as ideology can take as many forms as people are able to imagine and to create ways of establishing order and authority."[278] Therefore, a broad range of forms of representations and ideologies in particular can be analysed through spatial and place-based approaches.

1.4. Conclusion – Space and Society, Society and Space

I have approached the interrelations of space and society within the last two sections along the lines of two important forms or dimensions, that of physical (material and topographical) space and that of social (abstract and symbolic) space, which are often referred to as absolute and relational space. These two dimensions as well as their interrelation can then be analytically approached by four principles, the constitution of spaces, spatial relations, spatial practice, and spatial representations, which could be understood with the notions of form, structure, agency, and symbolic content and meaning. In the same sense as we might analytically separate the dimensions of space, time, place, and scale, these four principles and at the same time constituents of space might equally be analytically separated. However, as constituents of space they are always connected.

I have discussed why space as a relational model and theoretical abstraction is meaningful to study and analyse material as well as immaterial relations, orderings, symbols, and actions within and of society, not despite but because of its manifold dimensions and meanings. Thus, on the one hand society itself can be understood in spatial terms in the sense of a social topology, as the concepts of social fields and ecologies exemplify. On the other hand, the inscriptions of society into and its control over the physical space (place or locale) it inhabits allow us to analyse how social relations materialise through actions and discourses, practices and representation. The social and material dimensions of space thereby form a dialectical relationship, where people are structuring space and are structured by space at the same time. That is to say, "[s]ocial space is not simply a passive output but also—in some sense—an agent through which social life is brought forth."[279]

The material and physical form and arrangement of space is thereby not a one-to-one representation of social relations, for there are different dimensions and layers of meaning and

[275] Cresswell 2004, *Place*, p. 29.
[276] Shils, E. (1968). The Concept and Function of Ideology In Sills, D.L. (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VII*. New York: Macmillan.
[277] Baker, A.R. (2006). Introduction: On Ideology and Landscape. In Baker, A.R. and G. Biger (Eds.), *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the Meanings of Some Places in the Past.* Cambridge University Press, p. 4.
[278] Ibid., p.10
[279] Griffiths 2013, Gis and Research into Historical "Spaces of Practice": Overcoming the Epistemological Barriers, p. 158.

representation connected to physical space (places, objects, or landscapes). This is for instance well captured by the architectural historian Spiro Kostof and his notion of the grid-structures in urban planning, which were particularly used in colonial town-planning, when he argued that "[t]he grid is what you make it"[280]. The alignment and connections between society and physical space can therefore only be accomplished by an excavation and contextualisation of discourses and practices through different types of sources and a synthetical space-time approach.

In my discussion of these four principles I have concentrated partly on Henri Lefebvre's triad in discussing spatial practice and representations; I have also concentrated on Bourdieu in the context of relations, and on Martina Löw and Georg Simmel in the constitution of space. I have used each of these points not only to explain and present them, but also to draw the connections between respective theorists and concepts. For instance, the constitution of space is not possible without the notions of *spacing* (spatial practice) and *synthesis* (spatial representation). In the same sense, spatial orderings and structures do not just lie bare in front of us. They are the results of relations. Thus, one cannot understand any of these points without referring to the others. Georg Simmel's stranger is in my view a good example and at the same time a metaphor of how these different aspects come together in one abstract model. The notion of space presented here, and these four principles with which it can be analysed, form the approach I take in my attempt to study Livingstone, a medium-sized town in Southern Africa, throughout the period of late colonialism and early post-independence.

[280] Kostof, S. (1991). *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*. London: Thames and Hudson, p. 271

2. Urban Theory and the Study of Colonial Cities

"Each city receives its form from the desert it opposes,
and so the camel driver and the sailor see Despina, a border city between two deserts."
Italo Calvino, Invisible Cities

This quote from Italo Calvino's work perhaps most lyrically describes the way any form, either physical, social or symbolic, is co-constituted by its opposites. It is essentially relational and in Calvino's work also transgresses the immediacy of urban forms. In a sense, it describes the dialogic process of knowledge exchange by Marco Polo and Kublai Khan with their different perspectives on the world. The edifice of ideas of each of the two evolves along their debates. The opposing desert is thereby also the unknown, the contingency and the yet to be formed. The city is a quite good example of such formation, since the different dimensions of physical and functional structures, social entities and relations, and ideas are very closely linked. Thus, the city is more than each of these dimensions alone. It is neither just simply a more or less dense agglomeration, nor just a web of social relations, nor merely a set of ideas, discourses or even ideologies as some would have it. The fact that the thing or structure we call urban is an essentially emergent and complex phenomenon renders definitions thereof difficult, albeit not useless. In the following I will not try to approach this task in detail but I will outline a perspective by which to study urbanities that pays attention to and includes the multi-dimensionality of physical, social and symbolic structures and processes that informs my treatment of what we call urban.

There is, however, one important aspect that needs to be addressed when speaking about urban theory and African cities, namely: the question of what urban means in an African and specifically in a colonial context, in particular in terms of the social and cultural relations and forms. This question is important, because different historical circumstances create different social and thus urban forms. These urbanities in the course of historical processes are themselves subject to change. Yet, despite the obvious changes from colonialism to postcolonialism, urban developments also take place during these periods. Likewise, some spatial formations might remain in some sense, but transform in another sense. A racial boundary might turn into a social or socio-economic one, for instance. I will begin the chapter by reviewing the literature on colonial and postcolonial urban spaces in Africa, in particular regarding epistemological and methodological questions, that is, how they can be conceptualised and studied. The meaning of the term postcolonial, especially in relation to urban studies, and the theoretical and methodological implications postcolonial theory and postmodern accounts in general bring to the table will be addressed.

This is important for three reasons. Firstly, this study focuses on the changes and continuities in urban form, function, discourse and practice in relation to colonialism and postcolonialism (as well as modernity and development), which makes it necessary to define the way that these terms are used. Secondly, the fact that much of the recent work on urban Africa and African history has been influenced and guided by postcolonial theory makes it necessary to discuss how the term

postcolonial and its theoretical and methodological implications should be addressed. This involves not only a discussion on the (post)colonial urban conditions, but modern and postmodern concepts about urban spaces in general. Thirdly, it is important to discuss if and how older (modernist/ marxist) academic work on the colonial city can be attuned with recent postmodern accounts, which have questioned many earlier readings of the colonial urban condition.

I will therefore first discuss how colonial and postcolonial cities and urbanisation in Africa were conceptualised and analytically approached during the 1970s and 1980s, when much of the influential work on African urbanities and urbanisation originated.[281] I will then continue to elaborate on how recent theoretical developments have changed the way urban phenomena in general are understood. This will include a problematization of how the urban space is being deconstructed and redefined in recent urban studies literature and where the strength and weaknesses lie in these developments. Finally, I will debate if and how some insights and critiques of postmodern/ postcolonial accounts can be integrated into and synthesised with modernist (structuralist) ways of studying urban spaces. I will conclude with a set of propositions that will guide this study in relation to the (post)colonial condition of urban spaces and which mirrors the overall theoretical and methodological foundation of this study.

2.1. African Cities under Scrutiny

The (Post)Colonial City and Urbanisation in Africa

The writings on the colonial and postcolonial city that have appeared since the (late) 1990s and early 2000s have influenced the ways and means cities are studied within and beyond the Global South. The intellectual heritage, however diverse, upon which these writings are built can be found in the marxist, structuralist, and some (early) post-structuralist studies of colonial and postcolonial cities produced roughly between the 1960s and the 1990s by Abu-Lughod, King, O'Conner, Mabogunje, Coquery-Vidrovitch and others. A rather late account that still in some sense belongs to this type of scholarship is Bill Freund's "African City" (first published 2007). While Freund writes in the preface that "I will have to admit to my prejudices being very largely modernist myself, but I can see the strength of some postmodern insights",[282] he, however, dedicates the last chapter to the postcolonial city by taking into account postmodern perspectives and avoiding taking "sides in the clash between modernist and postmodern visions while trying to make discernible what is attractive and contradictory in both".[283]

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[281] i.e. Abu-Lughod, J. (1965). Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo. *Comparative Studies in Society and History, 7*(4), 429-457; King, A.D. (2007). *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment.* London: Routledge; King, A.D. (1985). Colonial Cities: Global Pivots of Change. In Ross, R. and G. Telkamp (Eds.), *Colonial Cities.* Dordrecht: Nijhof Publishers; O'Connor, A. (2007). *The African City.* London: Routledge; Simon, D. (1989). Colonial Cities, Postcolonial Africa and the World Economy: A Reinterpretation. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 13*(1), 68-91; Simon, D. (1984). Third World Colonial Cities in Context: Conceptual and Theoretical Approaches with Particular Reference to Africa. *Progress in Human Geography, 8*(4), 493-514; Magubane, B., S. El-Shakhs and R. Obudho (1979). The City in Africa: Some Theoretical Issues. In El-Shakhs, S. and R. Obudho (Eds.), *Development of Urban Systems in Africa.* New York: Praeger; Magubane, B. (1971). A Critical Look at Indices Used in the Study of Social Change in Colonial Africa. *Current anthropology, 12*(4/5), 419–445; Mabogunje, A.L. (1990). Urban Planning and the Post-Colonial State in Africa: A Research Overview. *African Studies Review, 33*(2), 121-203; Coquery-Vidrovitch, C. (2005a). *The History of African Cities South of the Sahara : From the Origins to Colonization.* Princton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers.

[282] Freund, B. (2007). *The African City, a History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. viii.

[283] Ibid., p. 143.

These scholars studied colonial as well as postcolonial urban spaces and urbanisation usually through the lenses of, or in relation to, larger political, social and economic forces and structures. The postcolonial urban condition is thereby defined as being shaped by the colonial experience as well as the changing structures of global economical and political forces; most importantly, it is not characterised by clear breaks on every socio-economic and political scale, but rather by continuities (such as modernisation and developments) as well as transformations (such as social and political inclusion). A very important aspect thereby is the dual nature of colonial cities,[284] especially in terms of politics and economy, but also obviously in a social sense. This is most noticeable in the spatial segregation of colonial urban spaces, which transformed after independence into a divide between social classes and into formal and informal economies. Thus, postcolonial in this sense is not simply a periodisation, that is whatever comes after colonialism, but involves the problematisation of that very transition in terms of different social, political and economic forces as well as the historical contexts and trajectories that led to differences and commonalities in urban spaces throughout Africa. By the same token, colonialism is understood as a system structuring the urban space on various spatial scales and through cultural, social, political and economic relations and practices. "Thus, urbanization in Africa [during colonial times] was accompanied by a complex process of dislocations and contradictions that was not a recapitulation of the earlier experience in the development of European capitalism, but the articulation of its final contradictions."[285] While different colonialisms are similar in terms of certain features such as segregation, they are different in how such features were implemented and organised. Differences also occur in the very form and layout of cities, despite certain trends and fashions such as CIAM-planning schemes developing since the 1930s. "How people think governs how people build. And how people build [...] also affects how people think."[286] Thus,

> "former Portuguese colonial cities on the continent (e.g. Luanda and Maputo) possess morphological features distinguishing them from those established by Britain (e.g. Lusaka and Harare) or Germany (e.g. Dar es Salaam and Windhoek). In the precolonial cities of North Africa, where the respective British and French colonial town planning legislation was virtually identical, local factors proved sources of significant spatial differences between them. These included the period when initial western structural additions were made, the proportion of colonists in the total population, and their political attitude".[287]

The first comprehensive synthesis of urbanities and urbanisation in Africa was provided by Anthony O'Conner in 1983 followed by Coquery-Vidrovich in 1993.[288] While the focus of Coquery-Vidrovich is a historical perspective proper that is organised in periods ranging from ancient African

[284] Abu-Lughod 1965, Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo; King, A.D. (2015). *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy.* New York: Routledge.
[285] Mariotti, A. and B. Magubane (1976). Urban Ethnology in Africa: Some Theoretical Issues. In Arens, W. (Eds.), *A Century of Change in Eastern Africa.* Berlin: De Gruyter, p. 53-54.
[286] King, A. (1984). Colonial Architecture Re-Visited. Some Issues for Further Debate. In Ballhatchet, K. and D. Taylor (Eds.), *Changing South Asia. City and Culture.* London: Centre of South Asian Studies, University of London, p.99.
[287] Simon 1984, Third World Colonial Cities in Context: Conceptual and Theoretical Approaches with Particular Reference to Africa, p. 499; see also: Abu-Lughod, J. (1975). A Comparative Analysis: Cairo, Tunis and Rabat-Salé. *Ekistics, 233*(236-245, p. 242.
[288] O'Connor 2007, *The African City*; Coquery-Vidrovitch 2005a, *The History of African Cities*.

cities up to contemporary industrialisation and colonialism, O'Conner approaches African cities rather geographically following certain aspects characteristic of urban spaces and urbanisation, such as rural-urban migration and relationships, urban economies and urban system, spatial structures and housing, but also the role of cultural and social systems and practices. Neither of them attempt to theorise on *the* African city. However, they present typologies along spatial and historical axes or variables. Such typologies can never be comprehensive and in most cases they do not seem to be intended to be understood comprehensively. However, it makes sense to differentiate between colonial (planted) urbanities, which were built either in the vicinity of pre-colonial structures or even, as in most of southern Africa, without any pre-colonial structures present or pre-colonial urban forms. In the context of (planted) colonial cities, Anthony O'Connor understands another type, the "European City", as a subtype of the "Colonial City". He thereby means those urban spaces specifically created for European settlement[289]. Such typologies might therefore inform about different historical trajectories in different spaces. Thus, patterns of urbanisation and urban forms in many countries in west Africa are quite different to those in eastern or southern or northern Africa.[290] William Cunningham Bissell highlights that in colonial Zanzibar, with its century-old structures,

> "[c]colonial authorities had little room for maneuver, as their hands were tied not only by political and economic constraints but also by the dead weight of the urban past—the stone structures and mud dwellings that constituted the built environment, which they had no hand in shaping and could not easily alter or appropriate."[291]

In contrast, Zambian cities and towns, built from scratch, were constructed to the colonialist's needs and desires. These considerations on the genesis of urbanities are important to acknowledge, since as David Simon highlights, "[c]omparisons and generalizations derived from them [African cities], are more illuminating if based initially on the process underlying the emergence of cities than on an examination of urban form alone".[292]

However, as Myers highlights "it now seems illogical to shoehorn cities into types just because they reside on the same continent"[293]. Indeed, it need not even be the case and in fact is not the case that African urbanities are necessarily more similar to each other than to other urban spaces outside Africa. Laurent Fourchard therefore stresses that it is important for historians to challenge the notion that African cities are ontologically different from cities elsewhere.[294] Such typologies then – O'Conner identifies six different types of them in Africa – can only be an approximation of the urban space at a particular time and space. Every city is unique after all in some sense, but also shares features with other cities. Perhaps one might differentiate or cluster urban spaces in accordance with the scale that is used in the context of comparison. Some towns or cities might

[289] O'Connor 2007, *The African City*, p. 35.
[290] i.e. Coquery-Vidrovitch 2005a, *The History of African Cities*.
[291] Bissell 2011b, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power*, p. 111.
[292] Simon 1989, Colonial Cities, Postcolonial Africa and the World Economy: A Reinterpretation, p. 70.
[293] Myers, G. (2011). *African Cities: Alternative Visions of Urban Theory and Practice*. London: Zed-Books, p.2.
[294] Fourchard, L. (2011). Between World History and State Formation: New Perspectives on Africa's Cities. *The Journal of African History, 52*(2), 223-248.

share similar historical origins, but could have then developed quite differently. They might be similar in terms of their embeddedness into the national or global economy, yet different in another domain. Finally, a study of a single city or town can never be regarded as a basis for any sort of general urban theory. Yet the study of a single city or town should neither satisfy itself with the mere exceptionalism of place. This is most concisely articulated by Charles Tilly, who stresses that

> "Even urban historians, who should know better, ordinarily oscillate between the time-space particularism of local history and grand timeless, spaceless processes, causes, and effects. Either they take cities as undifferentiated points within interurban processes, such as urbanization and migration, or they take city limits as boundaries for the analysis of ostensibly self-contained urban processes"[295]

Mediating between these two tendencies, generalism versus localism, is, or at least has been for me, the most difficult task within the research process. What Livingstone is or was, or how does it fit in were constant questions during this process. Many novel and fashionable ideas seemed promising for some time – i.e. theories of ordinary and secondary cities, or small and medium-sized towns[296] – but eventually did not satisfy the task of gaining a better sense of Livingstone. To be sure, to some extent these labels have their place. Livingstone can, for instance, be regarded as a secondary city. In fact the underlying discourse was fought against by settlers during the colonial period to counter what they believed was a peripheralisation of their town, despite the fact that the term secondary city itself did not exist then. It can also be considered an SMST (small and medium-sized town). However, such types do not lead to any meaningful results in themselves. Spatially and also politically and economically, Livingstone was somewhat peripheralised during the colonial days and perhaps also thereafter, again a tendency that was combatted especially by local settlers. This does not mean, however, that it could be considered a peripheral town. In my own case, therefore, my intention is not to ascribe any type to it, nor to simply write a history of Livingstone *sui generis*, but rather to loosen the generalised perspective on Northern Rhodesian/ Zambian towns and point to their specificities without losing sight of the structural and historical forces that shaped these specificities. This means, relating back to those structures and forces and locating the specifics within more general trends, either in opposition or in accordance with them. The way I see such a task can be achieved is to use a spatial perspective that includes the social, physical and symbolic dimensions of how urban spaces of Livingstone were (trans)formed.

Urban (Studies) under Scrutiny

In today's urban discourse, especially on so called "Global South Urbanism", "Southern Urbanism" and "Comparative Urbanism",[297] there is a trend coming from different theoretical angles

[295] Tilly, C. (1996). What Good Is Urban History? *Journal of Urban History, 22*(6), 702-719, p. 710.
[296] see for instance: Robinson, J. (2006). *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development.* New York and London: Routledge; De Boeck, F., A. Cassiman and S. Van Wolputte (2010). Recentering the City: An Anthropology of Secondary Cities in Africa. *University of Pretoria. Department of Architecture. Available online under: https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/59948/Boeck_Recentering_2009.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y,*
[297] i.e. contributions in Parnell, S. and S. Oldfield (Eds.). (2014). *Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South.* London: Routledge.

such as postcolonial (urban) theory, assemblage theory, and theories of "Planetary Urbanization"[298] (a term originally coined by Henri Lefebvre).[299] This trend highlights the multiplicity, fluidity, and relationality of spaces as objects and processes on the one hand, and calls into question the very theoretical understandings of what constitutes the urban as a distinctive space, both in measurable and discursive terms, on the other hand.[300] Neil Brenner and others question for instance the scope and usefulness of standard urban models that are used not only in academia, but also by international agencies as well as interest groups, companies and national governments; this questioning aims not only to unveil the spatial ideologies and (geo)political implications these models bear, but also to propose alternative conceptualisation.

Central to these critiques are, for example, the models of the urban-rural continuum, which asks, put simply, where the urban ends and the rural starts, or vice-versa, as well as interurban comparisons and universalised settlement typologies in general. These models are said to rely not only on rather fixed concepts about urban and rural spaces and different urban categories based on various, mostly political, economic, and demographic variables, but on often random or methodologically convenient rather than theoretically informed thresholds. Let us take census data as an example, since this was one of the most important tools used by colonial authorities to assess urban conditions and form policies. A settlement area might be considered urban at a threshold of 10,000 inhabitants. But what does that mean? How are settlements of 10,100 people structurally different to those with, say, 9,500 people? In the context of Northern Rhodesia, it is interesting to note, and exemplary for the racialised form of colonial urban discourses and social practice, that urban was partly defined by the non-African population present. Hence, a social survey performed by the Oppenheimer College in 1962 for the Central Statistical Office in Lusaka defined an urban area as "any centre with a population of over 25 non-Africans in 1961 where: a). the individual holdings are less than 15 acres in extent and b). at least half of the adult male inhabitants are engaged in non-agricultural occupation."[301]

On a global scale the issue becomes even more complicated, as national census and urban thresholds are not uniform. Depending on the spatial politics at hand, one can easily imagine how urbanisation rates can become politicised and subject to gerrymandering, either to increase or decrease the rate of urban areas and populations, i.e. if for instance subsidies are involved. Depending on the threshold, the percentage of a country's urban population could therefore vary greatly. Obviously, definitions of urban and rural spaces that are solely based on population numbers and densities, or on form and function are reductionist. Also, many of the (social) ontologies that

[298] Brenner, N. and C. Schmid (2012). Planetary Urbanization. In Gandy, M. (Eds.), *Urban Constellations*. Berlin: Jovis.
[299] Lefebvre 2003, *The Urban Revolution*.
[300] Despite some commonalities in their critiques and concepts it is important to highlight that there are many differences and variations within these branches of research that could be termed Critical Urban Studies. For instance, the use of methods of comparison that lead, however, to the building of generative, inductive, and non-fixed categories, which is theoretically elaborated by Robinson, Robinson, J. (2016). Thinking Cities through Elsewhere: Comparative Tactics for a More Global Urban Studies. *Progress in Human Geography, 40*(1), 3-29, and applied by Myers, Myers, G. (2014). From Expected to Unexpected Comparisons: Changing the Flows of Ideas About Cities in a Postcolonial Urban World. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, 35*(1), 104-118, might be seen by others as still obscuring the particularities and diversity of urban spaces around the globe (i.e. Roy, A. (2009). The 21st-Century Metropolis: New Geographies of Theory. *Regional Studies, 43*(6), 819-830). For a reflection and critique see: Storper, M. and A.J. Scott (2016). Current Debates in Urban Theory: A Critical Assessment. *Urban studies, 53*(6), 1114-1136; Schindler, S. (2017). Towards a Paradigm of Southern Urbanism. *City, 21*(1), 47-64.
[301] NAZ: LGH 1/14/8. Social Survey – African Townships: Oppenheimer College Review of African Townships, August 10, 1962.

guided traditional urban theory from Georg Simmel onwards and urban-rural (or rather urban – non-urban) dichotomies such as originally proposed by Louis Wirth[302] are not only not applicable at all times to all spaces, but are also not as clear-cut as they appear to be.[303]

Yet even if the use of terms such as "urban" and "rural" might seem to constitute a "blind field",[304] which in a way reifies and reinforces the very difference that such theorising seeks to describe, the very notion that they are understood as distinct in some sense aids in creating this spatial difference as a matter of spatial discourse and practise.[305] We might therefore use "urban" and "rural" (or any other spatial term) not to describe (universalised) structural properties, but to study their social, political and economic meaning within a specific historical context. We might also pose, for instance, the following questions: What does urban and rural mean within and to a specific society? How and to what effect are urban and rural spaces constructed and produced?[306] After all, social discourse and practice produce social facts.

Thus, certain propositions and critiques made by researchers such as Schmid and Brenner, who try to rethink in general how the structures, functions, processes, actions etc. we subsume as "urban" can be conceptualised, and who criticise the scope and usefulness of arbitrary thresholds, are worth considering. Also, postcolonial[307] and assemblage theory[308] argue with good reason against static and deterministic approaches in urban studies and stress the need to rethink and perhaps especially rescale and transform western urban theory, not only when applied to non-western context, but also within the western contexts. However, I do not concur with the strong relativist proposition that the particularities of urban areas in the "Global South" are so strong in themselves, especially measured against those in the "Global North," as to render "western" urban theory (and social theory in general) almost inappropriate altogether. Especially concerning Africa one must also underscore that a great deal of rather structuralist urban theory originated from social scientists such as Mabogunje, Magubane and Abu-Lughod. Moreover, the implicit or explicit use of Spivakian strategic essentialism in urban theory[309] that is said to be "authorizing new subjects of urban

[302] Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a Way of Life. *American Journal of Sociology, 44*(1), 1-24.
[303] In a recent attempt to synthesise opposing theoretical strands of urban research, Peter Dirksmeier tried to theoretically formalise Simone's notions of the "potentiality of crowds" as a constitutive feature of "Global South Urbanism", which, however, needs stronger empirical research to be further theorised. Dirksmeier, P. (2018). Die Emergenz der Masse–Zur Urbanität im Globalen Süden. *Geographica Helvetica, 73*(1), 11-17.
[304] Brenner, N. (2013). Theses on Urbanization. *Public culture, 25*(1), 85-114, p. 91.
[305] This problematic of the urban-rural dichotomy is not new. It was already raised in the mid-20th century when geography and sociology still followed a rather positivist paradigm. See for instance: Stewart Jr, C.T. (1958). The Urban-Rural Dichotomy: Concepts and Uses. *American Journal of Sociology, 64*(2), 152-158 ; Dewey, R. (1960). The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real but Relatively Unimportant. Ibid.*66*(1), 60-66.
[306] For the case of Zambia see especially: Macola, G. (2005). Imagining Village Life in Zambian Fiction. *Cambridge Anthropology, 25*(1), 1-10.
[307] i.e. Roy, A., A. Ong and J. Robinson (2015). Global Urbanisms and the Nature of Urban Theory. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 40*(1), ; Robinson 2006, *Ordinary Cities*; Myers 2011, *African Cities*.
[308] i.e. Mbembé, J.-A. and S. Nuttall (2004). Writing the World from an African Metropolis. *Public culture, 16*(3), 347-372; McFarlane, C. (2011). Assemblage and Critical Urbanism. *City, 15*(2), 204-224.
[309] Roy 2009, The 21st-Century Metropolis: New Geographies of Theory; Watson, V. (2009). Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues. *Urban studies, 46*(11), 2259-2275.

theorizing"[310] is, as elsewhere, not only logically flawed,[311] but also problematic in its political dimension.[312]

Finally, while it is important to highlight and pay attention to different urban historical trajectories, forms and processes, though not necessarily strict typologies, the extent to which the theoretical considerations of "Global South Urbanism" are grounded in an understanding of urban social and spatial structures and processes as radically fluid, ephemeral and "in the making"[313] makes any substantial statements beyond that almost impossible. By applying such labels one runs the risk of re-essentialising something one set out to de-essentialise. As Paul Jenkins therefore and to my mind correctly asserts "African cities cannot be labeled as 'hybrid' as this suggests that they are some form of 'other', which is neither one thing nor another, and which means they become valued predominantly by exogenous values"[314]. Similarly, one could say the terms *in-the-making* or *becoming* – even though unintentionally so – resemble in this exceptionalism teleological perspectives on historical processes. In some way, everything is always in the making, but there is no reason or indeed empirical ground to believe that this would be only true for African cities. Moreover, such labels tend to deny forms of stable social structures, which in all societies exist at least to some extent for some time, even if they are the exception to the rule of a more or less generally agreed upon processualism.[315] The point is to accept both commonalities and difference, changes and continuities when they are found or observed.

Thus, the problem, as I understand it, is firstly one of discriminating between abstract theory building, whose applicability and usefulness obviously needs to be constantly re-examined through empirical research, and historical and geographical variation and change both concerning the structures and dynamics of urban spaces and societies and, perhaps more importantly, the very social constructions and representations of spatial difference by societies. Secondly, there is a problem of scale. Many of the critiques of "conventional" urban studies regarding their tendencies to produce "methodological cityism"[316] and epistemological "city centric" urban theory, which are understood as "naturalized, monist, singular, diffusionist, and transhistorical conception of "the" city that has long underpinned the major traditions of urban theory",[317] in essence question the use and notion of scale as commonly understood in urban research. Rather than understanding "the city" as an object or category of analysis, according to David Wachsmuth it should be understood as a (quasi

[310] Robinson 2016, Thinking Cities through Elsewhere: Comparative Tactics for a More Global Urban Studies, p. 4.
[311] As Schulz-Forberg for instance argues "[a] normative anti-Eurocentric perspective is just as biased and not a convincing alternative, however, simply because it merely confirms a Eurocentric worldview, albeit a mirrored one." Schulz-Forberg, H. (2013). The Spatial and Temporal Layers of Global History: A Reflection on Global Conceptual History through Expanding Reinhart Koselleck's" Zeitschichten" into Global Spaces. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung,* 40-58, p. 48. For a more general epistemological discussion see: Gorski 2013b, What Is Critical Realism? And Why Should You Care?
[312] Massey, D. (2001). Geography on the Agenda. *Progress in Human Geography, 25*(1), 5-17, p. 17; For a critique of postcolonial theory in general see: Chibber, V. (2014). *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital.* New York: Verso Books; Scott, D. (2004). *Conscripts of Modernity.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
[313] Simone, A. (2004). People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg. *Public culture, 16*(3), 407-429.
[314] Jenkins, P. (2013). *Urbanization, Urbanism, and Urbanity in an African City. Home Spaces and House Cultures.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 30.
[315] Abbott 2016, *Processual Sociology*.
[316] Angelo, H. and D. Wachsmuth (2015). Urbanizing Urban Political Ecology: A Critique of Methodological Cityism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 39*(1), 16-27.
[317] Brenner, N. (2018). Debating Planetary Urbanization: For an Engaged Pluralism. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 36*(3), 570-590, p. 3.

de-materialised) category of social practice,[318] which in some way reduces the need to think about spatial scales.

Furthermore, Schmid and Brenner want to

> "decenter inherited approaches to the urban question that begin with the idea of "the" city as a bounded spatial unit and then look "inwards" towards its neighborhoods, built environments and social fabric (as, for example, in classic Chicago School models), or "outwards" towards the metropolis, the region, the territory, and the world (as, for example, in more recent theories of global city formation)."[319]

Accordingly, they highlight that "the urban is a process, not a universal form, settlement type or bounded unit".[320] Here, again, I don't see a general problem in thinking in scales, such as households, neighbourhoods, districts, etc., for I understand them not as apriori things in the world, as part of an ontology, but rather as scientific abstractions and part of what might be termed methodological structuralism (instead of ontological structuralism).[321] If it is meaningful to think in such scales, which might or might not coincide with political and administrative units and therefore the political or economic structuring of space, then it is dependent on a particular case and context, since the structures are not just there. However, in my opinion the problem of scale and the theorisation of urban spaces in general cannot be solved by proclaiming that the city would be everywhere and nowhere[322] or as Roy critically remarks "the urbanization of everything".[323] For this, in the end, would mean that there is no non-urbanity, nothing that counts as an antithesis to what we call urban, which ultimately renders the term urban scientifically useless.[324]

Another, and perhaps more important critique of earlier urbanist accounts, especially of African cities, is a too narrow and totalising perspective on the dualism of colonial urbanism.[325] The problem Laurent Fourchard identifies in such a perspective is the overemphasis on looking at colonisers, rather than colonised and the essentialisation of African and the European spaces. Such "analyses", for instance, "reduce the African practice of the city to a colonial perception of disorder while the reader is left to infer what Africans thought about these development and the extent to which the laws were obeyed".[326] The notion of a "dual city" would therefore be "misleading", because it "omits the agency of African societies, their capacity to overcome such divisions, to ignore them or even imagine them differently".[327] Fourchard therefore stresses that colonial (spatial) orderings and

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[318] Wachsmuth, D. (2014). City as Ideology: Reconciling the Explosion of the City Form with the Tenacity of the City Concept. Ibid.*32*(1), 75-90.
[319] Brenner 2018, Debating Planetary Urbanization: For an Engaged Pluralism, p. 6.
[320] Brenner, N. and C. Schmid (2015). Towards a New Epistemology of the Urban? *City, 19*(2-3), 151-182.
However, it is perhaps worth mentioning that Ruddick, S., L. Peake, G.S. Tanyildiz and D. Patrick (2018). Planetary Urbanization: An Urban Theory for Our Time? *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 36*(3), 387-404, p. 6) critically remark that the approach by Schmid and Brenner is characterised by "[a]n overemphasis on changes in *urban morphology*".
[321] Lizardo 2010, Beyond the Antinomies of Structure: Levi-Strauss, Giddens, Bourdieu, and Sewell.
[322] Amin, A. and N. Thrift (2002). *Cities: Reimagining the Urban.* Oxford: Polity Press.
[323] Roy, A. (2016). What Is Urban About Critical Urban Theory? *Urban Geography, 37*(6), 810-823, p. 813.
[324] Dirksmeier 2009, *Urbanität als Habitus*, p. 42.
[325] i.e. Myers 2003, *Verandahs of Power*, Fourchard 2011, Between World History and State Formation: New Perspectives on Africa's Cities; Bissell, W.C. (2011a). Between Fixity and Fantasy: Assessing the Spatial Impact of Colonial Urban Dualism. *Journal of Urban History, 37*(2), 208-229
[326] Fourchard 2011, Between World History and State Formation: New Perspectives on Africa's Cities, p. 229
[327] Ibid.

control were "incomplete" and "lacked resources", which allowed Africans to circumvent such regulatory mechanisms even in stricter colonial systems of eastern and southern Africa.[328] Chapter 5 of this thesis in particular will address the means and practices of Africans to circumvent or counter such imposed duality.

Finally, in a similar vein, the strict distinction between colonial and postcolonial cities and urbanism might be equally criticised, for such binary opposition ignores the ways in which colonial planning schemes and urban inequalities have transcended colonial time-spaces. It is therefore important to highlight the continuities and discontinuities between colonial and postcolonial urban regimes and state powers, which will be addressed in the last section of Chapter 4 and again scrutinised in the final Chapter 7 of this thesis.

Colonial History, Postcolonial Theory and Urban Space

Since this study is historical, a final remark in relation to postcolonial (urban) theory in particular, posed in the form of a question, is whether or not or to what extent the theoretical implications of these concepts work backwards. Stated differently, the question is if some of these theories run the danger of "presentism", that is imposing present concerns or discourses on past circumstances.[329] It is quite obvious that the social and especially technological transformations of the last three decades have shaped urban spaces, their interrelations and connectivity, their planning, and their economy and politics. Edward Soja was early to address these changes which he termed "postmodern geographies"[330] and whose urban outcome in the case of Los Angeles he described as the "Postmetropolis".[331] In the Global South, structural adjustment programmes and their effects on state structures, as well as shifts in urbanisation and economy towards an increase in informal labour and settlements (perhaps even to a point where the terms informal and formal are rendered useless), add to the fluidity and simultaneity (of function, discourse, identity, etc.) that seems to be a central feature of postmodern urban conditions and which theoretically informs postcolonial (urban) theory.[332] In reading such accounts it is not always clear, however, whether or not postcolonial and postmodern perspectives of urban conditions are (intended to be) specific to the postmodern historical context, that is, the times we live in now. In other words, apart from a critique of positivist and structuralist methods and theory and a preference for studying representation, discourse and agency, which has been advocated by many scholars in many fields since the 1980s[333], could or should theoretical perspectives of "the postcolonial city" also be applied to the "colonial city" and postcolonial theory to colonial history? If so, which of these perspectives make a quasi-universal claims and which of them are only specific to contemporary or even spatio-temporal microscopic

[328] Ibid.
[329] Mazlish, B. (1993). An Introduction to Global History. In Mazlish, B. and R. Buultjens (Eds.), *Conceptualizing Global History.* Boulder: Westview Press ; Manning 2003, *Navigating World History*.
[330] Soja 1990, *Postmodern Geographies*.
[331] Soja, E.W. (2000). *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. New York: Wiley.
[332] see contributions in Parnell and Oldfield 2014, *Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*; and Pieterse, E. and S. Parnell (Eds.). (2014). *Africa's Urban Revolution.* London: Zed-Books.
[333] For imperial and colonial history see for instance Kennedy, D. (1996). Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 24*(3), 345-363; Kennedy, D. (2013). Postcolonialism and History. In Huggan, G. (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Postcolonial Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

circumstances? There is a critique immanent to such questions, especially in relation to colonial history.

Frederic Cooper for instance questions the inflationary and often contradictory use of the term "identity" by historians and others that renders the term analytically unusable.[334] He further criticises the way identity is understood by postmodern scholars as fluid and fragmented, making it not only ever more difficult to operate with, but also being at odds with a rather common sense of identity that suggests "self-sameness over time, some persistence, something that remains identical".[335] Such a critique might be interpreted by some as being rather specific and dispensable and perhaps Kwame Anthony Appiah's quite humorous essay "Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?"[336] could be a means to stop worrying about paradigms and -isms after all and just start loving the ephemeral. But the question of identity is just an example, a symptom if you will, of a broader issue of scholarly praxis. In historicising this issue by discussing the development of colonial history, Cooper actually gives credit to postcolonial studies for reanimating this "deadest of dead fields" during the 1980s and 1990s, but simultaneously cautions that these accounts of colonial history are often characterised by a lack of rigour and context, as well as a tendency to produce ahistorical narratives by referring not merely to empirical data, but rather situational and anecdotal evidence.[337] Indeed, "dialectics have given way to dialogics, political economy to poetics, class conflict to consumption, the violence of the gun to the violence of the text, world historical material processes to local struggle over signs and styles, European domination to post-Hegelian hybridity".[338]

In a similar vein as Cooper, although perhaps in a more conciliatory fashion, William Cunningham Bissell asks the following questions: "Did earlier thinkers simply misinterpret the evidence, or were they instead perhaps led astray by ideology? If we assert that they overlooked signs of ambiguity or indeterminacy in the urban landscape, how can we be so sure that we actually see things more clearly now?".[339] In asking these questions, he cautions that

> "[b]y remaining silent on these questions, recent analysts run the risk of producing a critique that cannot account for (or even acknowledge) the historical conditions of its own possibility. If we do not attempt to historically situate more recent accounts in terms of their antecedents, assessing both continuities and differences, then crucial questions about epistemological shifts, changing conditions of urban analysis and interpretation, and alteration in research methods will remain beyond our grasp."[340]

Being in agreement with many theoretical and empirical works that stress the hybridity and fluidity in colonial urban contexts and highlight its complexity and heterogeneity, Bissell is, however,

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[334] Cooper, F. (2005). *Colonialism in Question.* Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 67-70; see also Brubaker, R. and F. Cooper (2000). Beyond" Identity". *Theory and Society, 29*(1), 1-47.
[335] Ibid., p. 68.
[336] Appiah, K.A. (1991). Is the Post-in Postmodernism the Post-in Postcolonial? *Critical inquiry, 17*(2), 336-357.
[337] Cooper, F. (2020). Postcolonial Studies and the Study of History. In Howe, S. (Eds.), *The New Imperial Histories Reader.* New York: Routledge.
[338] Comaroff, J.L. (1998). Reflections on the Colonial State, in South Africa and Elsewhere: Factions, Fragments, Facts and Fictions. *Social Identities, 4*(3), 321-361, p. 321.
[339] Bissell 2011a, Between Fixity and Fantasy: Assessing the Spatial Impact of Colonial Urban Dualism, p. 212.
[340] Ibid.

concerned "that we might be at risk of losing sight of crucial distinctions that are needed for a full and complex understanding of colonial urban landscapes and processes".[341] In the end, he proposes a research praxis that includes both: a critical view towards often taken for granted and seemingly static concepts about urban areas and urbanisation in Africa, as well as an acknowledgement of the historical trajectories and specificities. Such a perspective is one I am inclined to pursue within this thesis. I therefore see the urban dualism, or the notion of the dual city perhaps in a less problematic manner than Fourchard, for one cannot simply ignore colonial discourse and practice that constructed such duality either. However, this cannot lead to a conclusion that this duality was always successful. It is therefore very important to consider and study African agency and counteractive strategies. Hence, the dual city, as I understand it, cannot be simply treated or read as an ontology, but rather as a colonial instrument which manifested in forms and structures that were sometimes more, sometimes less interspersed with this duality.

2.2. Space and the Colonial City

In the following, I will discuss some urban and spatial aspects that are important to this study, and how to integrate the theoretical spatial perspective with the urban historical perspective. I will start by giving a brief overview of the historical trajectories of urban planning and management in late-colonial Africa, which represents the main temporal focus. I will then discuss how features of the colonial urban space that will be analysed in Part Two of this thesis can be approached by looking at spatial formations and structures, spatial practices and spatial relations, and finally spatial representations. These more or less coincide with Susanne Rau's proposition for four investigatory steps in analysing spaces presented in section 1.3. which are: 1. Spatial constitution and configuration; 2. Spatial dynamics; 3. Perceptions, memories and representations; and 4. Spatial practice.[342] These investigatory steps, however, should not be understood as a check-list or a comprehensive manual but rather a way of identifying which spatial structures or processes might be relevant in which contexts and circumstances. Usually, formations, practices, dynamics and representations are relevant to any socially meaningful abstract or physical space. Analytically, some questions and objects of analysis might be more meaningful to answer by looking at urban forms and their representational meaning or at the way certain spaces are used, while others might include all four investigatory steps.

Historical Trajectories of Urban Planning and Housing in Late Colonial Africa

The 1940s mark the beginning of a period that Low and Lonsdale describe as "the second colonial occupation",[343] at a time when the disappointment of the colonial subjects became particularly relevant and when an exclusive reliance on the market as a constitutive feature of the

[341] Ibid. p. 213.
[342] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, chapter 3
[343] Lonsdale, J. and D. Low (1976). Introduction: Towards the New Order 1945-63. In Low, D. and A. Smith (Eds.), *History of East Africa, Vol. Iii.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 12.

colonial project proved to be insufficient.[344] Hence, a change of strategy from a palpable and all-embracing domination under the guise of "civilising" people, who merely saw the benefits of this endeavour, to a rationale whereby the goodwill of the colonised had to be ensured and when, at the same time, hegemony had to be maintained, was the outcome of this colonial crisis. For urban life in Africa this meant a shift of paradigm, according to which the colonial ideology, which understood Africans in general to be rural, had to be partly dismissed.[345] This dismissal, however, did not go along with a free or unregulated access to the city. Urban life and housing turned into new forms of domination.

In terms of housing and city planning Robert Home has illustrated how the shifts of colonial discourses and ideologies became manifest in the planning, the provision and building of African housing, from barracks and hostels to single family housing units.[346] The former were laid out to serve only the most basic needs of workers mainly without families, who were not supposed to live permanently within urban or even peri-urban dwellings. They were planned to combine housing necessity with controllability through explicit surveillance and supervision. As Ambe Njoh puts it: "[…] the towns became 'continuous structured entities', which allowed non-White groups in only as strangers or visitors".[347] The latter were instead designed to be permanent, where control and domination would be achieved through the social regulative of (nuclear) family structures.

The implementations of various planning and housing schemes did not, as Home informs us, follow a straight pattern.[348] Instead, various approaches were tried out in different colonies and sometimes even in the colonial metropolis itself (e.g. the concept of the Garden City). These concepts were then adapted in others, if they proved to be sufficient in the eyes of planners and policy makers. Negotiations between private companies and (colonial) municipal authorities as well as riots and uprisings of African workers sometimes hindered or accelerated a transition from one model to the other. Hence the degrees of autonomy for Africans to effectively participate in shaping and creating urban space differed significantly between different colonies and sometimes even between cities within one and the same colony. However, in most cases planners, colonial authorities and employers ignored local cultural preferences and practices.[349]

Furthermore, along with the change of colonial discourse, questions of racial segregation had to be re-negotiated or at least concealed in technical planning objectives. During the interwar years and before, racial segregation was justified through various arguments, such as preserving the identity of both the "natives" and European settlers according to Lord Lugard's famous Dual Mandate policy.[350]

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[344] Cooper, F. (2004). Development, Modernization, and the Social Sciences in the Era of Decolonization: The Examples of British and French Africa. *Revue d'histoire des sciences humaines, 10*(9-38.

[345] Freund 2007, *The African City*, p. 83.

[346] Home, R. (2013b). *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*. London: E & FN Spon; Home, R.K. (2000). From Barrack Compounds to the Single-Family House: Planning Worker Housing in Colonial Natal and Northern Rhodesia. *Planning perspectives, 15*(4), 327-347.

[347] Njoh, A. (2007). *Planning Power: Town Planning and Social Control in Colonial Africa*. New York and London: CRC Press, p. 146.

[348] Home 2000, From Barrack Compounds to the Single-Family House: Planning Worker Housing in Colonial Natal and Northern Rhodesia, p. 332.

[349] Harris, R. (2008). From Trusteeship to Development: How Class and Gender Complicated Kenya's Housing Policy, 1939–1963. *Journal of Historical Geography, 34*(2), 311-337.

[350] Lugard, L. (1922). *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. London/ Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons.

Matters of hygiene as promoted by William John Simpson[351] was another argument[352], which simultaneously functioned as a signifier of cultural identity and superiority by presenting Africans as being unhygienic.[353] Where Africans had access to the city prior to the articulation of official urban policies "[w]alls, buffer zones and defensive architecture were incorporated in the planning of colonial cities as part of a wider spatial strategy to ensure surveillance and control over the African population"[354]. Especially after World War II, when racial segregation became more and more contested – with prominent exceptions like South Africa – town planning proved to be the ideal tool to keep segregation alive "secretly". However, as John Collins illustrated on various occasions in "Lusaka: The Myth of the Garden City", town planning as a technical tool proved not to be efficient at all.[355] Moreover, "the demand for housing was already outstripping that provided under the Urban African Housing Ordinance of 1948"[356]. Therefore, not providing enough space for African city dwellers was but one strategy to regulate access to the city.[357]

After independence the provision of housing by governments was replaced largely by initiatives designed and implemented by development and aid agencies.[358] In most cases central planning schemes like the Garden City concept or the CIAM discourse of urban planning, which was implemented in the last decade of colonial rule, did not change. In some of the newly independent states even colonial rules and legislations survived the transition; these, however, were unnoticed since official town planning was basically concerned with urban centres and representative buildings only.[359] Along with such minimised planning schemes, for most governments housing appeared to be very low on the agenda, if at all. Some of the cities which had enjoyed major colonial attention were neglected after independence, frequently for economic reasons. The towns of the Copperbelt are examples of such a neglect, as they did not prove to be resilient enough after the oil crisis and a decline of the copper price on the world market in the 1970s.[360]

Urban Planning and Management as Spatial Representation and Practice

When we think of colonial urban spaces, segregation is one of its most characteristic features. Such a feature unfolds physically as well as immaterially and can be identified through various spatial dichotomies, such as near/far, front/back, inside/outside etc.[361] Indeed, spatial segregation and racial zoning generally would soon be implemented in early phases of colonial urban developments – in Livingstone for instance the pass-law system would become a municipal by-law already by 1914 –

[351] Simpson, W.J.R. (1916). *The Maintenance of Health in the Tropics*. London: John Bale and Danielson.
[352] c.f. Odendaal, N., J. Duminy and D.K. Inkoom (2015). The Developmentalist Origins and Evolution of Planning Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, C. 1940 to 2010. In (Eds.), *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-Colonial Planning Cultures*. New York and London: Routledge, p. 286; Home, R. (2015). Colonial Urban Planning in Anglophone Africa In Silva, C.N. (Eds.), *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-Colonial Planning Cultures* New York and London: Routledge, p. 59.
[353] King 2007, *Colonial Urban Development*, p. 103.
[354] Demissie, F. (2012). Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: An Introduction. In Demissie, F. (Eds.), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa. Intertwined and Contested Histories*. Burlington/ Farnham: Ashgate, p. 3.
[355] Collins, J. (1969). *Lusaka: The Myth of the Garden City*. Lusaka: University of Zambia Press.
[356] Njoh 2007, *Planning Power*, p. 164.
[357] Ibid.
[358] Harris, R. (1998). The Silence of the Experts: "Aided Self-Help Housing", 1939–1954. *Habitat International, 22*(2), 165-189.
[359] Silva, C.N. (2015). Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Overview. In Silva, C.N. (Eds.), *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-Colonial Planning Cultures*. New York and London: Routledge, p. 19-20.
[360] Freund 2007, *The African City*, p. 152.
[361] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 93.

although this was not the case everywhere. In Lusaka, as will be discussed in Chapter 3 in more detail, residential and other forms of segregation such as window-buying started much later. Also in South Africa, for a long time Cape Town and Johannesburg were cities with mixed areas, "and apartheid had to destroy entire quarters of it".[362] Yet segregation and zoning are not only limited to segregated housing and residential areas, but they also "involve the separation of […] practically every substantial element of daily life: public spaces, laws, schools, livelihood, and culture."[363] The practice of spatial and socio-spatial segregation formalised in by-laws and ordinations would, however, gradually develop alongside urban developments. Thus, prior to the establishment of cinemas there was no law that organised who could enter them. In other words, there was no general law of segregation. The discursive colour blindness thereof necessitated that every aspect of social and urban life would be dealt with individually. The early colonial periods were therefore rather organised along the above mentioned discourses of hygiene and military modes of spatial orderings. Accordingly, town planning and urban management were equally not really considered during these initial phases. Thus, "[t]he idea of town or urban planning in British colonial Africa barely existed until the 1920s."[364] Instead, the legislations and rules concerning urban areas, however, detailed, included and combined measures of policing and sanitary control based on zonings and enforced by local inspectors.[365] Local variations have to be taken into account here as well.

In Livingstone with its early settler population and activity, planning and urban management – if not on a formal basis – would develop sooner. The beginnings of planning and urban management therefore have to be identified not only in the official planning ordinance, but the local authorities. The first ones in Northern Rhodesia developed in Livingstone in 1911 as Village Management Boards and later – again starting in Livingstone in 1928 – as Municipal Councils based on the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1927. The Township Ordinance of 1929 finally gave formal planning powers to the local authorities, although the colonial government would nominate two official members.[366] In a colonial context with local settlers present the colonial powers were, however, often practically limited at the local level. After all, local colonial officials would live side-by-side with these settlers and needed and indeed wanted, according to some early observers, to blend in.[367] This situation created an additional dynamic in the context of urban planning and management.

As Robert Home reports, "[t]he British wanted their colonial towns marked by public buildings of suitable dignity."[368] This was perhaps a colonial feature everywhere on the continent and indeed in many colonial situations in general. Urban planning and architecture are thereby not only a means of spatial production, but also representation, a tacit strategy to display racial superiority. In settler contexts the aspirations of the creation of home at the same time by default gives planning another dimension. The spatial difference between colonial and settler-colonial contexts unfolds in the

[362] Coquery-Vidrovitch, C. (2012). Racial and Social Zoning in African Cities from Colonization to Postindependence. In Bogaerts, E. and R. Raben (Eds.), *Beyond Empire and Nation: The Decolonization of African and Asian Societies, 1930s-1970s*. Leiden: Brill, p. 269.
[363] Ibid., p. 267.
[364] Home 2015, Colonial Urban Planning in Anglophone Africa , p. 59.
[365] Ibid., p. 60.
[366] Mutale, E. (2004). *The Management of Urban Development in Zambia*. London: Routledge, chapter 4.
[367] Wood, A.S.J. (1961). *Northern Rhodesia: The Human Background*. London: Pall Mall Press.
[368] Home 2015, Colonial Urban Planning in Anglophone Africa , p. 62.

different ways space is understood and practiced. In the colonial context it is the display and thus legitimisation of the power over its colonial subjects by external agents, whose self-conception was to some extent external, since the Colonial Office did not understand the colonies to be homeland. Although urban areas were closest in representing a spatial reference to the metropole, they were not understood as Little-Londons or Little-Manchesters. In contrast, settlers understood themselves as native to the town they were planning and building, and thus the practice of planning and the underlying ideologies were guided by this self-conception. *Spacing* and *synthesis*,[369] spatial arrangements and representation, therefore follow a different logic than in contexts without settlers. The difference between internal and external is important and becomes quite visible in Northern Rhodesia for instance in the difference of opinion concerning African urbanisation, which after World War II was accepted by the colonial authorities, but combatted by settlers, who understood Africans' urbanisation to "their" towns as an invasion of what they considered home. Thus, planning in a settler context means not only displaying power, but also applying more comprehensive means, in a physical as well as legal sense, to achieve and sustain social closure. Moreover, it means to create through planning a sense of home and belonging.

In many ways, such plans were merely dreams and aspirations and for different reasons would not materialise. Indeed, "[t]he history of urban planning in Africa is thus full of plans that were revealed to be in practice no more than urban fantasies. That was the case with the plans based in the garden city paradigm but later also with those plans inspired in the CIAM discourse on urbanism."[370] Imaginations and aspirations are, however, equally important to urban life and conceptions of urban spaces. After all, they too facilitate a sense of social cohesion and belonging. Moreover, the very failure of such planning and the inability of being able to create these aspired spaces could and would be used to lay the blame on external actors such as the Colonial Office or African nationalists, thereby reinforcing said cohesion and closure.[371]

In postcolonial times the ideologies and practices of urban planning and management would be equally important as a means of facilitating the political goals of creating and representing a spatial contrast and otherness to the inhumanity of colonialism. While structurally many continuities can be observed between colonial and independent regimes in the context of housing provision and the creation of infrastructures, not least concerning the continuation of segregated urban spaces, the failures of planning, as in the case of unauthorised settlements, could be identified in their colonial legacy. Thus, the continuation of segregation would be concealed and justified through discourses of modernisation and development, which in the eyes of those regimes necessitated the creation of elites on the one hand and the stabilisation of urban in-migration on the other hand. Hence, "[i]f during the colonial period urban plans were segregationist along racial lines, urban plans after independence have been equally segregationist although now based mainly on the economic status of urban dwellers, a pattern reinforced by the recently imported urban fantasy and its stated aim of eradication of the informal city."[372]

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[369] Löw 2016, *The Sociology of Space*.
[370] Silva 2015, Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Overview, p. 25.
[371] see Chapter 6.
[372] Silva 2015, Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Overview, p. 26.

Self-help and ownership schemes, which were popularised but hardly put into practice during late-colonialism, were understood as one of the pillars of urban planning in independent Zambia.[373] On the one hand, notions of pre-colonial cultural essentials of rural community life were used to bring rural and urban worlds closer together and to relieve the economic pressure created by public housing schemes. Village life should be equipped with educational facilities and some modern amenities, the latter of which could hardly be achieved. Town life should function more like village life and adopt schemes of self-help, especially in the context of housing, at least for the poorer classes of society. On the other hand, urban life was bound to certain skills and levels of education, thereby recreating the urban-rural dichotomy and indeed the spatial divide of colonial developmentalism and modernisation discourse. In the language of Zambian politics this translated into a discursive appreciation and valorisation of the rural spaces, a reformulation of what rural meant and a conceptualisation of village life as the backbone of Zambian cultural heritage and agro-economy, a space of cultural and agricultural nourishment.

Linking Physical and Social Urban Spaces

In urban contexts, where people, objects and ideas tend to be in close proximity, it is worthwhile to look at how the different dimensions of space interrelate. Thus, "[i]f we understand spaces to include all social objects that are characterized by a spatial dimension, then these precisely do not include only material objects but also objects that are immaterial, ideal, or hybrid."[374] Depending on the context this means identifying within the social domain for instance cultural, economic, political, gendered, sacred and other spaces, which themselves might or might not correspond with the physical dimension. This can be illustrated by an example that will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5, namely the social (dimension of) space of single women in African compounds, which was often structured by exclusion and sometimes even denial of permanent settlement in towns by colonial administrators and Africans alike. The former mitigated or even obscured their existence in reports and documentations, despite the administrators' general tendency to quantify African society in urban areas. Therefore, "in Southern Rhodesia [as in Northern Rhodesia], African women were not numbered; they were not formally charted on the official, albeit often imaginary, grids of public space."[375] However, they inhabited the same places as other Africans in colonial towns, bought at the same markets and sent their children to the same schools. Thus, their social space was that of an "other" to both the colonial authority, which imagined the towns consisting of single (male) workers or (later also) nuclear families, and Africans, for whom not only the mobility and movement of women created suspicion,[376] but who identified them as contributing to social problems within the compounds.[377]

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[373] Tait, J. (1997). *From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Settlement: Capitalist Development and Urban Planning in Lusaka, Zambia.* Aldershot: Avebury.
[374] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 91.
[375] Jackson, L. (2002). When in the White Man's Town: Zimbabwean Women Remember Chibeura. In Geiger, S., J.M. Allman and N. Musisi (Eds.), *Women in African Colonial Histories.* Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, p.191.
[376] Barnes, T. (2002). Virgin Territory? Travel and Migration by African Women in Twentieth-Century Southern Africa. In Geiger, S., J.M. Allman and N. Musisi (Eds.), *Women in African Colonial Histories: An Introduction.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
[377] see also Chapter 5.

Moreover, scale is again important to such questions. Single African women did in fact inhabit the same urban spaces as other Africans on a compound (or township) scale – although at times they might have been living outside the official compounds as well. However, working usually in the "informal sector" as "keepers of rooming houses, beer brewers, wood sellers, and food hawkers"[378] they might not have been in a position (the necessary social scale) to apply for houses for rent, relying therefore on various forms of co-habitation and unstable housing conditions, which again has a physical dimension. What social space means then in terms of a town, a city, or really any spatial formation is the relationality of the people who inhabit these spaces, which at times and in certain contexts comes about in physical forms as well. Therefore, it is not a simple (linear) reciprocity between physical and social dimensions of space, but rather, as Lefebvre and others have suggested, there is a dialectical relationship between these dimensions.

If we take the example of the dual nature of colonial urban spaces, then this duality unfolds as a social space that is articulated partly by physical spatial formations. The division runs through the social and the physical fabric of the city as it were. In concrete terms, we might then identify the respective social and physical dimensions of this division, where the spatial divide is articulated *physically* in the built forms as segregated compounds and unequal distribution of physical infrastructures. There is therefore a co-presence of spaces, for instance in shops, where there is a front and inner space used by Europeans and a space at the back used by Africans, a circumstance which often created long queues behind the shops and therefore created different spatial practices especially in a temporal sense (i.e. how long does it take to get what I want).

Such infrastructures and built environments in general are thus not only material structures, but "materialization[s] of the relationship between people (citizens and non-citizens alike) and otherwise abstract state and supra-state authorities".[379] While many academic perspectives on infrastructure have been based on materialist theory focussing on connections between the materiality of infrastructures and the realm of politics and economy, recent approaches increasingly tend to focus on the social and cultural aspects of infrastructure.[380] By suggesting that not necessarily the "what", but the "when" and "for whom" – I would also add the "how" – is important when it comes to understanding infrastructure in a social dimension, Susan Leigh Star conceptualises infrastructure as a "fundamentally relational concept".[381] In that sense, infrastructure can tell us something about the social composition and the power relations of a given space. Another dimension of infrastructure, discussed by Dourish and Bell, is its role within the experience of space.[382] Thus, infrastructure can be conceptualised as a constituent of social space as it "generate[s] the ambient environment of

[378] Jackson 2002, When in the White Man's Town: Zimbabwean Women Remember Chibeura, p. 202.
[379] Dalakoglou, D. (2016). Infrastructural Gap: Commons, State and Anthropology. *City, 20*(6), 822-831, p. 823.
[380] Ibid.: 828; Low, S. (2017). *Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place.* London: Routledge, p. 61.
[381] Star, S.L. (1999). The Ethnography of Infrastructure. *American behavioral scientist, 43*(3), 377-391, p. 380. ; While such a perspective seems to represent a post-modern concept, already Marx understood infrastructures as relationships, which was later echoed by Marvin Harris as the principal interface between nature and culture. Harris, M. (1979). *Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture.* New York: Random House, p. 57 and Maurice Godelier, for whom "the distinction between infrastructure and superstructure is not a distinction between institutions. It is essentially a distinction between functions". Infrastructure "designates the combination, which exists in all societies, of at least three ensembles of material and social conditions, which allow members of a society to produce and reproduce material means of their social existence" Godelier, M. (1978). Infrastructures, Societies, and History *New left review, 112*(1), 84-96, p. 85.
[382] Dourish, P. and G. Bell (2007). The Infrastructure of Experience and the Experience of Infrastructure: Meaning and Structure in Everyday Encounters with Space. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 34*(3), 414-430.

everyday life".[383] Especially in spaces (and places) where networks of infrastructure are insufficient or non-existent, the sociality of these networks becomes even more apparent.[384] Another approach towards infrastructure that is currently popular within certain branches of critical urban theory, but also other social sciences especially in the context of urban settings in the Global South, is Abdu Maliq Simone's notion of "people as infrastructure".[385] In a similar sense, infrastructures – understood as structures mediating between different spatial elements, human and non-human, material and social – are accounted for in urban concepts of assemblage,[386] nonetheless sometimes criticised for their indeterminacy and eclecticism.[387]

What is important to acknowledge in any case is the social dimension of infrastructure and the different layers it has within social space, be it as a form of experiencing space, whether included or excluded from it, or as something that connects different spatial elements. If dissected using Lefebvre's spatial triad,[388] whereby space is constituted by a material and physical dimension; a mental dimension, where space is produced through plans for example; and an ideological dimension that combines the two, infrastructures can be understood not only as elements of space, but as a form of (social) space itself. They are represented through plans, policies and designs, they are practiced through usage as well as access or restriction, and they consciously as well as in concealed ways represent space in its ideological and normative dimension. Applied to the case of infrastructures in colonial towns, access to infrastructures means access to towns and, ultimately, access to ideas of modernity and inclusion within society. If towns represented (abstract) images and imaginations of modernity, hence spaces fuelled by ideologies of European superiority, then urban infrastructures might be understood as reifications of these images. To put it figuratively, infrastructures could be regarded as the lines and strokes of a picture whose subject is the urban. Additionally, the role of infrastructure as a form of social practice in this (colonial) context can be understood in Michel de Certeau's notion of strategy and tactics, whereby the strategy of the "owners" and producers of social space to organise and regulate space (in this case the colonisers) stands in opposition to the tactics of the "consumers" (the colonised) to appropriate and reorganise it through spatial practice.[389]

In colonial contexts the social divisions between colonisers and colonised, patterns of exclusion and structures of segregation are rendered visible in the (non)-materialisation of infrastructures.

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[383] Larkin, B. (2013). The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 42*(327-343, p. 328.
[384] Chu, J.Y. (2014). When Infrastructures Attack: The Workings of Disrepair in China. *American Ethnologist, 41*(2), 351-367.
[385] Simone 2004, People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg. Since Simone's theory "emphasizes economic collaboration among urban residents seemingly marginalized and immiserated by urban life" (407), it has not much to do with infrastructure in a technical or non-human sense. It is considered "a highly urbanized social infrastructure" (Ibid.) that is masked and constituted by the urban ruins. It developed within a postcolonial framework and out of postcolonial urban realities. Theoretically, of course, this could be applied – at least to some extent – to a colonial setting as a tool to scrutinise the ways in which people would have to try to compensate not the urban ruins, but the lack of urban possibilities due to colonial structures of segregation and exclusion. However, while I see what Simone means with "people as infrastructure", I don't see much of a difference to network approaches to study social dynamics and processes that have been used by relational anthropology and sociology for more than half a century. While Simone's theory certainly pays more attention to the individual within this "infrastructure" and highlights the fluid and dynamic forms it may take, in essence it is, for instance, not much different to Clyde Mitchell's notion of a city as a "network of networks". Mitchell, J.C. (1973). Distance, Transportation and Urban Involvement in Zambia. In Southall, A. (Eds.), *Urban Anthropology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 310.
[386] For Instance: Amin, A. and N. Thrift (2017). *Seeing Like a City*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
[387] Storper and Scott 2016, Current Debates in Urban Theory: A Critical Assessment.
[388] Lefebvre 2010, *The Production of Space*, p. 41-52; 116.
[389] Certeau 1984, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 35-36.

Idalina Baptista speaks in this sense of a "dual urban form of many cities, whereby segregation along racial lines dictated the provision of infrastructure and access to utility services".[390] The state of (public) transport, but also other infrastructural services in colonial urban areas, could be regarded as imminent infrastructures in reference to what Peter Thomas calls "imminent mobilities",[391] that is, infrastructures that are materially in a non-existing state. They exist only on plans or as contingencies, but still – symbolically – contribute to the political, cultural or social imaginaries of a given space. They structure and form political discourses and actions. Infrastructures in the colonial context not only become means and methods of control, segregation and exclusion,[392] but also – and at times even more so – bear witness to a state or condition of colonial uncertainties and ambiguities which shaped many aspects of the colonial state, its (urban) spatial units and subsequently (social) space itself.

The spatial divide is also structured *socio-physically* in pass-laws and other rules and ordinances that regulated the very movement within and use of urban spaces, and *socially (relationally)* in the sense of politics, economy, culture, social infrastructures (schools and hospitals, which again have a physical dimension) and administration, therefore, the very ways and means life is organised and administered in a town or a city. A physical dimension thereby is more or less meaningful depending on the context. When Africans are denied participation in European cultural or recreational institutions such as clubs, cinemas, theatres, or bars, in a physical context this means that they are not allowed to go there, except perhaps as servants, a specific social position. But what is obviously more important to understanding the social meaning behind this exclusion is that this implies that they are not allowed to participate in the social space of these institutions. In fact, the servant does enter these physical spaces. However, he cannot enter the social space, the society which entertains and creates a space of exclusivity and which produces the restriction to the physical space in the first place.

On the level of urban morphologies, the dual nature of colonial cities can be observed on multiple scales, with different consequences of how the respective urban spaces are used. After all "[t]he physical urban form represents elements of the society that created it, reshaped it, or currently occupies it."[393] On the plot-scale the duality is most visible in the different housing types between European and African areas, the sizes of houses and plots, building materials and the way the houses are constructed. On the compound level, the availability of infrastructure is another important factor concerning how space is used and at which times it is used in which way. Water for instance was not always available and communal latrines had to be emptied and cleaned, usually during the night. On the street-level, the homogenisation of African areas by the local authorities can be observed. As Vítor Oliveira writes,

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[390] Baptista, I. (2016). Prepaid Electricity in Maputo, Mozambique: Challenges for African Urban Planning. In Silva, C.N. (Eds.), *Urban Planning in Lusophone African Countries*. New York: Routledge, p. 225.
[391] Thomas, P. (2014). Railways. In Adey, P., D. Bissell, K. Hannam, et al. (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*. London/ New York: : Routledge, p. 220.
[392] Njoh, A.J. (2009). Urban Planning as a Tool of Power and Social Control in Colonial Africa. *Planning perspectives, 24*(3), 301-317, p. 312.
[393] Larkham, P.J. (2019). Agents and Agency in the Urban Landscape. In Oliveira, V. (Eds.), *Jwr Whitehand and the Historico-Geographical Approach to Urban Morphology*. Cham: Springer, p. 70.

> "[i]t is through the streets system (in the generic sense, including avenues, boulevards...) that we travel, and start to know, a city. Streets define the different street blocks that constitute a city and distinguish what is public, and is therefore accessible to all citizens, from what is private or semi-public. Streets are, in broad terms, the public and democratic space of the city, the place where we all meet, with all our differences, and where we all interact in social terms."[394]

Thus, while these functions of streets would be fulfilled in European areas, in African areas the lack thereof created not only the problem of orientation for people from outside these areas, since streets and houses were not numbered and named, and compounds were only subdivided into sections – thus, they were intended not as urban spaces proper, but rather as closed systems. It also simultaneously acted as a means to make Africans constantly remember that the urban was not their space. That is to say, "the built environment is not only an expression of the economic and political power exerted at different times by various individuals, social groups and governments: it is also a means by which the prevailing system of power and socio-economic relationships are maintained".[395]

However, African urban dwellers would still find ways to inscribe themselves into urban space and make it habitable for them. After all, "spaces continue to remain dynamic after they have emerged. One such dynamic is transformation, another is appropriation."[396] Appropriations and transformations again happened at various scales. In the context of housing, Africans would often build to their own standards instead of adhering to the standards of local authorities, especially in unauthorised settlements. These settlements themselves can be understood as a form of appropriation that would eventually re-structure the urban space on the town-scale. Socially, too, transformations and appropriation can be identified in constitution and agency of social or political organisation. They would be involved in negotiations of how African areas could be improved, thereby co-producing it. Also illegal practices, such as cross-cutting through areas one was not allowed to traverse for reasons of time-saving and convenience, but also certain forms of trade and the illicit production and sale of African beer can be considered forms of spatial appropriation. The "agency of the plan"[397], therefore, does not always prove effective enough to hinder people even under restricted and controlled conditions to counteract it. "What is crucial to this point is, first, that spaces are "made" through practices; and, second, that these practices can have their own logic, and that they may follow prescribed norms but can also deviate from them."[398] Thus, the construction of the urban space in the physical and the legal or political sense was being re-structured or co-constructed by Africans not only physically, but also as a social space.

Power Relations and Spaces of Politics and Knowledge

How can we frame the different relations and relationships between various groups of people within the setting of a colonial urban space in mid-20th century Africa in regard to power and power

[394] Oliveira, V. (2016). *Urban Morphology: An Introduction to the Study of the Physical Form of Cities*. Cham: Springer International, p. 15.
[395] Knox, P.L. (1984). Symbolism, Styles and Settings: The Built Environment and the Imperatives of Urbanized Capitalism. *Architecture and Behaviour, 2*(2), 107-122, p. 107.
[396] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 106.
[397] Larkham 2019, Agents and Agency in the Urban Landscape, p. 71.
[398] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 116.

structures beyond the mere reference to colonisers executing power over colonised (in various ways)? The simple statement that colonialism is partly defined by an "administration of the colonized by agents of the colonizers [...] is so obvious by definition, since where there are rulers and ruled, the latter are administered by the former"[399]. If we go deeper than that, we need different notions of power beyond the quite one-sided notion of the power to coerce and discipline in a vertical sense (top-down), and we need to take into account the lateral aspects of power to engage with these quite multiplex relations.

A good metaphor of how power can be understood relationally in a colonial urban setting, although nonetheless still a vertical one, is presented by Garth Myers.[400] In "Verandahs of Power" Myers uses the three Verandahs of the "House of Wonders" in Zanzibar that are constructed in a way that they encircle the building on three floors, to illustrate three layers of the colonial powers' structure, that is "the colonial elite, the colonized middle, and the urban majority"[401]. On top is the colonial elite, which means the colonial rulers and administrators (sitting in councils, working as Colonial Officers, etc.). The "colonized middle" are Indians and African elites (business people, clerks, bureaucrats). At the bottom then there is the urban majority. However, what seems at first to be a vertical representation of power transforms into a different constellation throughout Myers' work. Although the three verandahs of power work in a way that the colonial elite sets the rules and policies, which are then implemented by the "colonized middle", the urban majority at the bottom does not always simply follow these rules and policies. Instead, they start to reframe the orders imposed upon them – often due to colonial neglect and planning failures – and thus create their own spatialities. Admittedly, less like a form of (political) power on its own, these practices have to be understood as a form of agency to shape the urban space by utilising the weak spots within the power structure itself.

In discussing issues of power in the case of early modern Lyon, Susanne Rau considers different concepts of power relevant for studying urban institutions. In her case, a similar problem evolves as in a colonial situation when one considers that the political structures of early modern Lyon were not democratic and informed by societal inclusion, but that it was still necessary for the ruling strata of society to create some degree of consensus with the ones upon whom rule was executed.[402] This degree of consensus can only partly be realised by allowing some individuals of the colonised population to have a (small) stake in the political and administrative body. (Post)colonial urban planning was understood as an additional way of creating some degree of consent and "goodwill", one, however, that was hardly or rarely successful in its attempts.[403]

Understanding power laterally is not only relevant in the constellation between colonisers and colonised, but also important when analysing internal structures of the colonial administrative apparatus. Furthermore, beyond opening up a different perspective on these internal structures, it helps to contextualise different colonial contemplations and implications about how to consolidate power in the colonies. Already in 1932 Lord Lugard saw a consolidating effect in distributing (some)

[399] Burawoy, M. (1974). Race, Class and Colonialism. *Social and Economic Studies, 23*(4), 521-550, p. 526.
[400] Myers 2003, *Verandahs of Power*.
[401] Ibid., p. 3.
[402] Rau, S. (2014). *Räume der Stadt: Eine Geschichte Lyons 1300-1800*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, p. 161-162.
[403] Myers 2003, *Verandahs of Power*, p. 17.

power in order to control the demands and aspirations for more power. A firebreak comes to mind, where one uses a controlled fire in order kill the main fire and prevents it from further spreading. "Lugard argued for 'making Native Councils attractive' to ambitious Africans, precisely and explicitly because this would keep them from desiring 'the magnet of the Legislative Councils' that held the real power".[404] However, here again Lugard's idea of a vertical distribution of power, where the Legislative Council represents the highest political level, is not necessarily adequate in representing the effective power structures within the colonial state, at least not in a late-colonial period and a context where settlers were involved. From a purely formal analysis of the institutional power distribution the Legislative Council formed indeed the highest level of power. Yet considerable power could be and was executed by municipalities, which therefore have to be taken into account as rather being positioned "next to" instead of "below" the Legislative Council.

Furthermore, it is sometimes equally difficult to locate the places and spaces of power, that is to say, the institutions and persons acting on various scales, when a top-down structure of power distribution is obscured by local actors and networks such as local settlers, but also by the inability of certain systems of control and also the agency of Africans to act against power structures. Thus,

> "The more we discover about colonial rule, the more fragmented, contradictory, and malleable it appears to be, dependent on the active participation of some Africans and full of autonomous spaces within which others pursued their own agendas. No longer are Africans seen as simply "responding" to the imposition of alien rule by either outright "resistance" or self-interested "collaboration"."[405]

In Northern Rhodesia, for instance, the Legislative Council formed a legal and policy framework, whereas the Municipal Councils were actually working out the by-laws and executed urban planning schemes, which effectively shaped the urban space. The seemingly paradoxical situation in Northern Rhodesia that African representatives were elected to the formally highest level of power, the Legislative Council, but unlike in Kenya and Tanganyika not to the Municipal Councils, has therefore to be understood in the light of this effective or actual (political) power that was being executed by the municipalities. This political constellation did of course not remain unrecognised by African representatives such as Nelson Nalumango, who understood "the irony of participating as an equal in the highest legislative body of the land while being denied any representation in the municipal government in Livingstone"[406], while "these [Municipal] Councils make by-laws which affect thousands and thousands of Africans living in urban areas"[407]. Yet, while formally without any powers to shape urban policy and ultimately the urban space, Africans in Urban Advisory Councils and later Area Boards nevertheless had an influence on planning and urban management. For one, their expertise and knowledge of African compounds and the social life of urban Africans made them in many instances invaluable for local authorities and colonial officials. In their capacity of representing

[404] Ibid. p. 88.
[405] Parker, J. and R. Rathbone (2007). *African History: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 109.
[406] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 147.
[407] Nalumango 1948 cited in ibid., p. 147.

urban Africans they not only negotiated with authorities, but also uttered and formulated critiques of urban social, cultural, political, economic and not least physical issues. They for instance provided witness to things that did not work properly or that proved to be insufficient or inappropriate, such as water and sanitation infrastructures or housing.

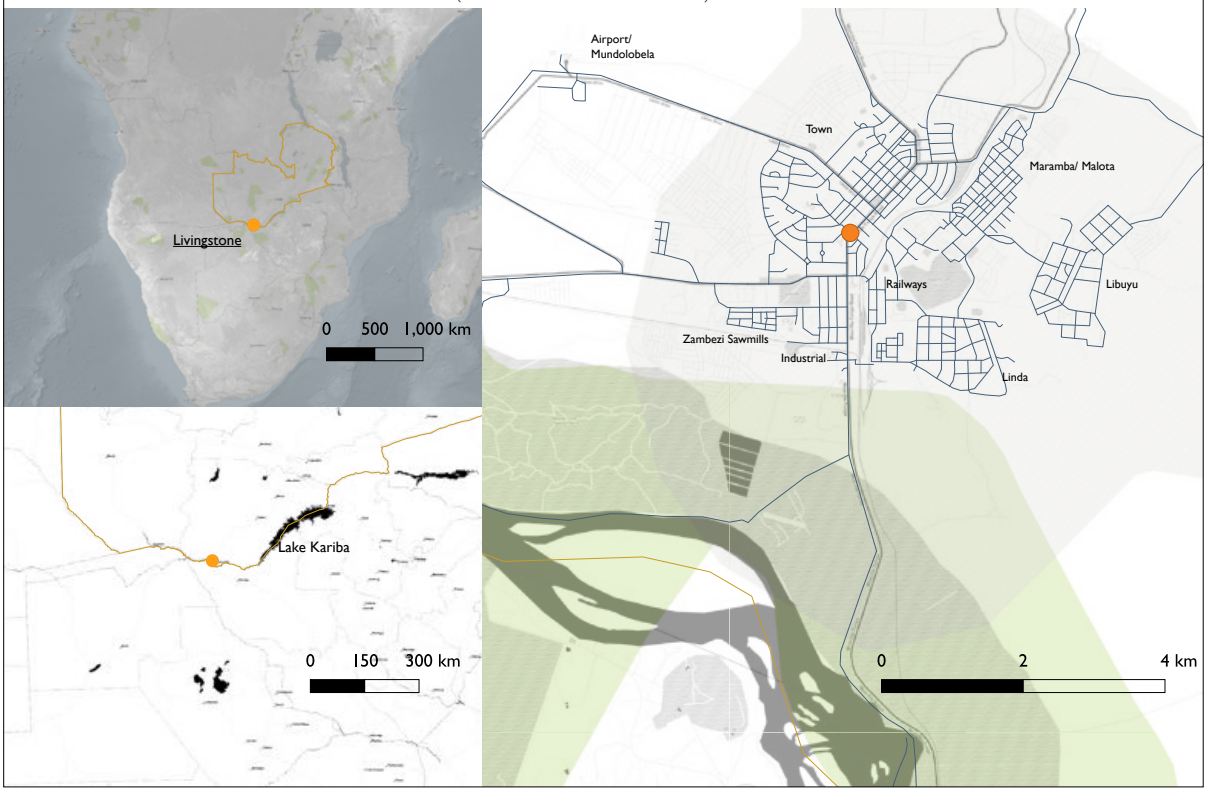
Concluding Remarks

In this section I have given a brief overview of the themes and questions this thesis deals with in spatial and urbanist terms. The way the space of Livingstone will be approached in the following second part of the thesis will therefore include, but is not limited to an analysis of the different social and physical spatial element and features, practices and representations outlined above. Spatial practices, representations and configurations will present the theoretical and analytical focus and will be used in all of the following chapters. Yet within the single chapters and sections not all of these spatial aspects will be analysed with an equally strong focus. In some contexts, issues of spatial practice might receive a greater emphasis than morphological or representational aspects, for instance. Again, I will not review Livingstone's history by means of an analytical checklist, but instead I will analyse the issues I encountered and deemed relevant in archival documents, interviews and observations according to how they provide information about issues of urban changes and continuities, frictions and compromises, ambiguities and uncertainties, action and re-actions, or narratives and counter-narratives in connection with the greater questions of (settler)colonialism and postcolonialism, development and modernisation, and social relations in segregated spaces.

Part II - Building Ideology – A Spatial History of Livingstone

3. Livingstone, a Settler Town? – Historical and Geographical Context

Fig. 1. Livingstone, Southern Province and Zambia
(Street network as of around 1960)



In this first chapter I will introduce the early social, political and spatial developments of and around Livingstone. The focus will lie on the question of the role and functions of settler-colonialism to local and regional developments in an essentially non-settler colony. Important thereby is not only the political and economical field, but also how something like a settler culture and identity develops along certain external factors such as the translocation of the capital to Lusaka as well as the relative economic and administrative unimportance of Livingstone compared to Lusaka and the Copperbelt. While the settlers at Livingstone gained political power over the town and later through seats within the Legislative Council and the Municipal Association due the fact that it received the status of a municipality already in 1929, the evolution of Livingstone as a settler colonial space has to be understood first and foremost through the identity formation and the development of social cohesion and closure against the administration in Lusaka and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the economic power of the mining industries.

Settler ideologies and practice had a large influence on the urban development and politics concerning African urban areas and the town of Livingstone in general. My aim is to show how Livingstone evolved as a "settler-colonial town", how it relates to the wider territory of Northern Rhodesia and later Zambia, and which spatial and ideological formations are relevant in highlighting these *representational spaces*, which unfold for instance through politics, cultural institutions and media. The latter is of particular importance, since "[f]or the perception, production, and

representation of spaces, we must ask about the media with which spaces are mediated or first created".[408] Thus, I will base my discussion on Livingstone as a "settler-colonial town" not only on political debates, but through the display of settler identity and culture which co-created the space of Livingstone as a "settler space".

It is through social and cultural amenities, technical infrastructures, and social institutions, thus local newspapers, economies such as retail and wholesale businesses, theatres and cinemas, clubs and associations, or even municipal swimming pools, by which settlers form and colonise the urban space often against the will of the official colonial directive. Especially Africans had little space to manoeuvre with this space. They were accepted merely at the fringes or periphery of the colonial urban space and only to the extent to which they were deemed useful by the settler society for the functioning of the urban space; a position that was, however, rarely appreciated. The opportunity for Africans to work and live in the town and become free from the hardship, the lack of modern amenities and the social control of the village was rather considered already a form of charity, a noble gesture and sign of goodwill towards the "advancement of the native" as the modernisation rationale was often labeled. This, however, would come at the price of a different control, merely the prospect of the aforementioned amenities, which were close yet mostly out of reach, and which indeed therefore represented no less hardship.

Riffle-clubs and Sundowners – The Beginnings of a Settler Town

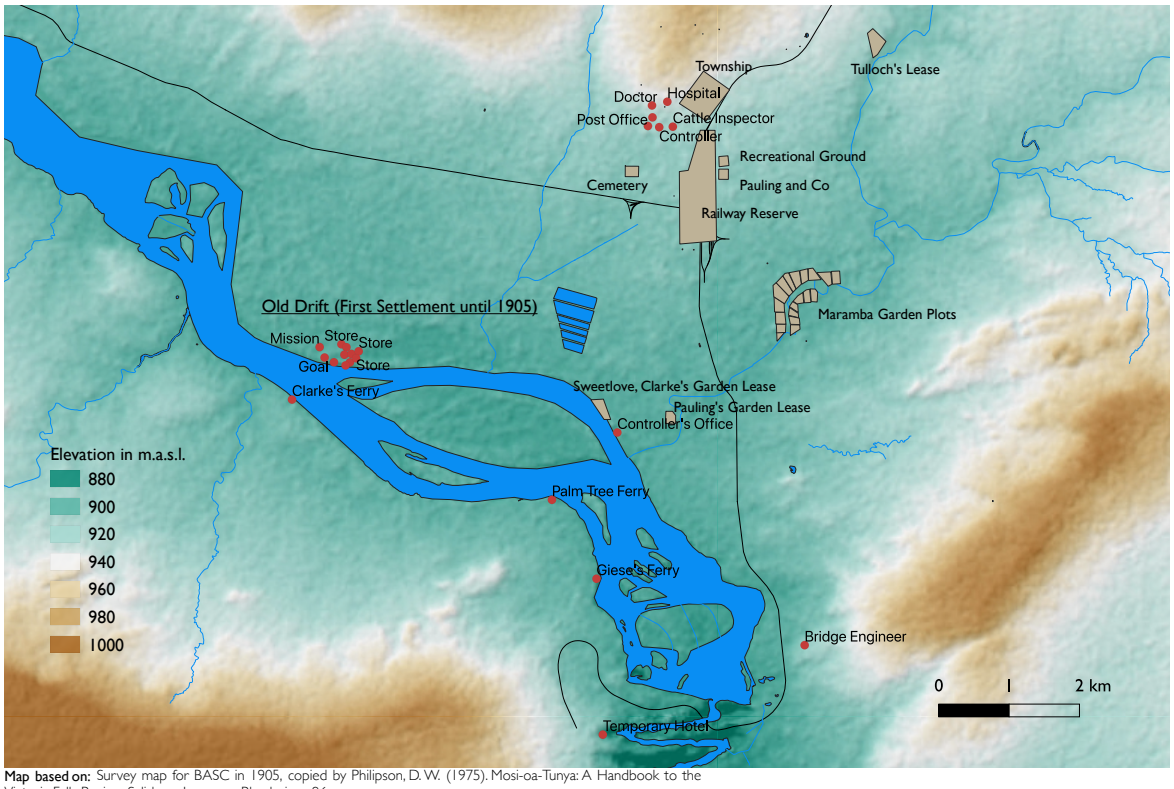
"The town of Livingstone", D.W. Philipson writes, "owes its origin and growth to two major factors: its place as the main port of entry to Northwestern Rhodesia and its proximity to the Victoria Falls".[409] Indeed, Livingstone's location, logistically as well as ideologically, played an important role. In fact, these two factors mirror the different directives, plans and aspirations between the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and the first white settlers by whom it would be accompanied. For the BSAC – despite their hopes and plans to gain access to more minerals with the acquisition of land, which would eventually be found farther north – the Zambezi was seen as a potential power-resource that could be exploited. Later, the nearby forests would be another important industrial factor at Livingstone. For settlers from the very early days on at the Old Drift at the left banks of the Zambezi, the Falls stood for the economic potential that lies in tourism, especially since they were inextricably linked with David Livingstone, who happened to be the first European to see and name them. Soon, however, these two aspirations would collide, since the BSAC never planned to make Northwestern Rhodesia, as the territory was called until 1911, a settler colony.[410] During the few years the settlement called the Old Drift had existed between 1898 and 1905 the foundation was laid for the settler spirit that would unfold ever more in the years to come, despite or perhaps because by 1903 the Old Drift had been a home to only 63 settlers, most of whom came from South Africa[411] and many of whom died from malaria or animal attacks. It was a time when stories about death, hardship, perseverance and self-reliance, but also about bars,

[408] Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p. 113.
[409] Philipson, D.W. (1975). *Mosi-Oa-Tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region.* Salisbury: Longman Rhodesia, p. 88.
[410] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 110.
[411] Gann, L.H. (1968). *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1894-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 175.

whiskey and poker-games were formed.[412] By 1902 there were already two butchers, two chemists, a clinic, two hotels, a cabinet maker, five bars and a few stores.[413]

After the falls bridge was completed in 1905, the history of the town of Livingstone would finally begin. Livingstone was in a way the product of two translocations. The first one was the translocation from the Old Drift to the proposed site about five kilometres northeast from the Zambezi and the Old Drift. At the slope of an elevation it was far away enough from the river to avoid the wet soils and the dangers of the river, especially mosquitos, but close enough to be able to make use of the river. The second translocation was an administrative one in 1907, when the capital of then still Northwestern Rhodesia was moved from Kalomo to Livingstone. While the latter was rather easy to achieve, the settlers at the Old Drift, or Old Drifters as they called themselves, were not happy with the BSAC's decision. They feared their economic potential to be at stake, since the settlement "Victoria Falls" across the Zambezi now would have the advantage of being closer to the river and the falls.[414] "The Falls became an icon to the white settlers; the magnitude of the site represented the great expectations and optimism endemic to the entrepreneurs."[415]

Fig. 2. Elevation Map with Early Development at Livingstone



Map based on: Survey map for BASC in 1905, copied by Philipson, D.W. (1975). Mosi-oa-Tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region. Salisbury: Longman Rhodesia, p.96

The protests of the Old Drifters, however, could not stop the translocation and the settlement at the banks of the Zambezi was abandoned. Today, only the old cemetery, now situated in the

[412] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 114.
[413] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 22.
[414] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 117.
[415] Ibid., p. 115.

Zambezi National Park, bears witness to those early days at the river bank. Yet the settler spirit did not remain behind at the Old Drift, but was taken to the new town. In an article in the Northern Rhodesian Journal in 1959, four years before Kenneth Kaunda would become the last Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia and five years before independence, B.L. Hunt wrote about his early days in Livingstone as a Clerk of the Court, which transports much of this settler spirit, although he was technically not really one of them:

> "It was a great day when the service in October, 1907, was transferred to Livingstone by a special train, with office records, equipment and store, etc. The British South Africa Company had previously purchased from Messers. Pauling and Company, the contractors who built the Railway line from Livingstone to Broken Hill, the Northwestern Hotel and the electric light plant and cold storage plant which supplied light and power to the hotel."[416]

Since in Livingstone's early days there was a shortage of houses and infrastructures – indeed there was an aspiration to attract tourists rather than actual tourist traffic – the Northwestern Hotel would for a while serve the purpose of housing BSAC staff, before along the very first streets, Jameson Road, Mainway, Queensway, Empire Street, and Fairway, the first wood and iron houses "which were extremely hot in summer"[417] as Hunt remembers, and later eventually Kimberly-Brick buildings would be erected. Nevertheless, in these first five years the provisional Livingstone would grow at a great pace. A year after the translocation, there was already a kindergarten, a Government Printer Department, where the first Africans found work that was not servile, messenger services, construction or farming labour, and the Livingstone Club which would soon be followed by the Livingstone Rifle Club – open for men and women as Hunt highlights. The water supply was provided by the Rhodesian Railways, not yet from the Zambezi, which was too far away for the pump, but from the Maramba river, and collected at a 1,000 gallon iron tank at Sackville Street and Jameson Road. "We all had to employ water-carrying boys and thus obtained our house supply by a bucket, the boy carrying one bucket on each end of a pole."[418] The pleasures as Hunt recounts would be simple.

> "Mr. L.F. Moore (afterwards Sir Leopold Moore),[419] who owned the chemist shop and who published the first paper in Northern Rhodesia, *The Livingstone Mail*, used to give gramophone concerts each week with the latest records from England on the old fashioned trumpet H.M.V. gramophone. We also held dances and concerts in the Magistrate's Courtroom, and later in the Civil Service Club."[420]

[416] Hunt, B.L. (1959). Kalomo – Livingstone. In: The Northern Rhodesian Journal, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 9-17, p. 12.
[417] Ibid.
[418] Ibid., p. 14.
[419] Indeed, Leopold Moore, who will be part of the settler debate later in the chapter, received the title for public services in 1937, because he was a member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council. i.e. The Guardian, February 1, 1937.
[420] Ibid.

Were it not for the "water-carrying boys" and the messengers mentioned in Hunt's article, one might assume there were no Africans present at all in Livingstone during these days. Maramba and Malota, the first African settlements close to the town, as well as the Railway compound, let alone accounts of the everyday life of Africans, are completely missing. This neglect resembles the overall structure of colonial urbanism constituted by a division between centre and periphery, front and back, visibility and concealment, proximity and distance. Africans and African compounds do not emerge and materialise in this arrangement. As in the text, they remain hidden behind the "actual" town. Livingstone, in Hunt's memory, is the story of brave Europeans, who, against all odds and dangers from blackwater fever to hippos, brought dances, concerts, and rifle clubs to those once dusty roads that would form the grid along which Livingstone was built.

Over the course of the following two decades and especially after Northern Rhodesia was handed over to the Colonial Office in 1924, the town developed into a transportation hub for people, resources and goods, and even gained some industrial importance due to the Zambezi Sawmills as well as additional smaller industries, for example textile and tobacco production. Eventually, even tourism would slowly start to develop. In 1935, when Livingstone lost its status as the capital to Lusaka – against heavy protest by the local settler community, who felt disregarded once again – a newspaper article from a Canadian correspondent exemplifies how the town tried to present itself and how this self-presentation was perceived. Under the title "Eleven A.M. Teas in "Savage" Africa" Mary A. Barber writes:

> "Livingstone, capital of Northern Rhodesia, but a few miles from the falls, and proud of its heritage of name and associations. While attending the sundowner party of the governor, the delegates were given one remarkable instance of the optimism of the Rhodesians. In a speech the governor spoke of the ambitions of this village of 1200 people. They were going to erect a new hotel, the site of which was already chosen and which we were taken to view: they were going to install a bathing pool, tourist camps, a new museum, and a game reserve – this practically all done in the minds of the residents despite the fact that in a few months the capital was being moved from Livingstone to Lusaka, some two hundred miles north [...] Here in what we are oftentimes given to think of as dark Africa, was a splendidly modern hotel with every convenience, a large one-storey building of concrete and steel with large open verandahs, roomy lounges, outside swimming pool, and natives by the dozens to perform our slightest wish, some of them in all likelihood related to those who brought Livingstone to the falls years past Darkest Africa – jazz orchestra, dancing sundowning, motor driving, smart women and men demanding double whisky and sodas."[421]

However, not all Africans in Livingstone would perform the slightest wish of tourists. Many were workers or self-employed traders and later clerks and teachers or nurses, whose Livingstone would be a different one than that pictured above. Although the possibilities for Africans to participate in the urban sphere of European society and culture were practically non-existent and their means to

[421] "The Province" (Vancouver), May 25, 1935.

acquire and use some of those amenities reserved for Europeans were limited, they nevertheless created their own urban culture and social forms. From the very early days at the Old Drift to the late-colonial Livingstone, Africans did not wait for the goodwill of Europeans, but readily began to utilise whatever means in order to shape the urban space, socially and physically, to their needs.

> "While whites discussed what they thought Africans should be doing, Africans were already "doing." They did not wait for cues or resolutions from the white debaters; instead, they sought out opportunities and inserted themselves into Livingstone's economic and social systems."[422]

Africans soon not only formed social and welfare organisations and interest groups, but were also interested in fashion, technology such as radio, sports, cinema, theatres and libraries.[423] Although their space was confined to African residential areas and the work places, and structured by the general urban divide of colonial towns, they nevertheless succeeded in gradually managing their own businesses and running their own part of the town, however, often against the settlers' will or in clandestine ways, hidden from the (admittedly often poor) control of local authorities.

3.1. Settler Colonialism or Colonialism with Settlers

Where present, settlers were an essential aspect of the spatial orderings of the colonial state, territory and not least urban spaces. They "were part of the dynamics of empire: transforming production as well as commerce, using labor (itself subject to voluntary and involuntary migration over long and short distances) in new ways, and developing ties of kinship, religion, and trust across space".[424] In this section I will, therefore, discuss the literature and theoretical developments regarding settler-colonialism. As a general note and as will become obvious in the discussion below, the term "settler" itself is a rather vague one and certainly open to a lot of critique. Many of the settler studies, either as social studies or as individual and family history about Africa, deal mainly with South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and to a somewhat lesser extent Kenya and Algeria. There are comparatively fewer accounts of Northern Rhodesia that focus on settler society and culture.[425] For Livingstone, and although not constituting settler studies as such, Nina Tanner Robbins'[426] (over the whole colonial period) and Andrea Arrington-Sirois'[427] (mainly early colonial) accounts of settler society, culture and politics are probably the most comprehensive in this regard. Moreover, Joanna Lewis' work[428] on settler society in Livingstone is equally important. While the portrayal of settlers

[422] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 146.
[423] On the early social and cultural developments at Livingstone and the appropriation and use of European goods and fashions by Africans see especially: ibid., Chapter 5.
[424] Cooper 2005, *Colonialism in Question*, p. 198.
[425] Julia Tischler's work on the Kariba Dam is exemplary in connecting settler-colonialism during the times of the Federation to questions of development and 'multi-racial' nation-building: Tischler 2013, *Light and Power*. For other important accounts on settler colonialism see for instance: Gewald, J.-B. (2008). Rumours of Mau Mau in Northern Rhodesia, 1950-1960. *Afrika Focus, 22*(1), 37-55;Vickery, K.P. (1985). Saving Settlers: Maize Control in Northern Rhodesia. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 11*(2), 212-234; Holleman, J.F. and S. Biesheuvel (1973). *White Mine Workers in Northern Rhodesia 1959-60.* Afrika-Studiecentrum ; For early settler history and society see: Gann 1968, *The Birth of a Plural Society*.
[426] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*
[427] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*
[428] Lewis 2018, *Empire of Sentiment*

in these studies is quite balanced and pays attention to variations within settler society, nevertheless the overall trend of settler society towards racism, anti-modernism, segregationist ideologies, and anti-government attitudes is highlighted. Thus, as Lewis concisely put it: "Livingstone had become the territory's unofficial capital of white racism."[429]

My treatment of the term 'settlers' for the purpose of my argument follows the narratives of these works. However, as with many publications that construct an opposition between "settlers and well-meaning liberals",[430] this does not mean that there weren't any "well-intentioned liberal settler[s]"[431] like John Moffat for instance, member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, who "defined 'partnership' [with Africans] for that Council (which voted his 'Resolutions') as 'an exercise in social justice'".[432] For Southern Rhodesia Ian Hancock tries to understand the liberal strata of the settler society more systematically, highlighting that a narrow perspective on settler society often obfuscates internal differences of social identities like class or ethnicity, but also variations in political opinion and ideology.[433] These remarks are indeed important. However, it is not my intention to present a settler history which tries to focus on settler society *sui generis*, but rather to understand its socio-cultural, political and economic agency and power in relation to the genesis, transformation and ideological imprints to the urban space.

Linked Ecologies – Settler-Colonialism, Metropolitan Politics, and Industries

What kind of (settler) colonialism is at play at what time in Northern Rhodesia and what conclusions can be drawn regarding the case of Livingstone? To approach this question I will first discuss theories and concepts of colonialism and settler-colonialism in order to discern how settler politics and influence can be conceptualised in a way that pays attention and includes the contradictions and paradoxes apparent in the interplay of different societal, spatial and institutional scales. Therefore, attention will be drawn to 1) different social and political colonial agents such as colonial officials, private entrepreneurs, workers and employees, or industrialists, 2) different geographical areas and units (i.e. different towns), and 3) different institutions, for example local governments, private companies and big industries, unions, interest groups, and metropolitan institutions.

My argument will be that the binary opposition between settler colonies and non-settler colonies often lacks 1) internal variations within these two ideal-type constructions and 2) spatial variations within single colonies, thus between regions or locations such as urban areas within colonies that differ in terms of settler influence. 3) This binary opposition for the purpose of my analysis has to be altered to a framework that pays attention to a third relational constituent. Therefore, rather than understanding variations in terms of a settler vs. non-settler dichotomy, I propose to analyse variations and differences along a framework consisting of settler, metropolitan and industrial colonialism. Understanding these constituents of colonialism functioning as "linked

[429] Ibid., p. 167.
[430] Rotberg, R.I. (2019). The 'Partnership' hoax: How the British Government Deprived Central Africans of Their Rights. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 45*(1), 89-110.
[431] Ibid.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Hancock, I. (1984). *White Liberals, Moderates and Radicals in Rhodesia 1953-1980.* London: Croom Helm. See also: King, A. (2001). *Identity and Decolonisation: The Policy of Partnership in Southern Rhodesia 1945-62.* (PhD-Thesis), University of Oxford.

ecologies",[434] instead of radically distinct and fragmented proponents of colonialism, highlights their interrelations. In section 3.2 I will then proceed to compare the case of Livingstone against that of Lusaka and the Copperbelt towns along the lines of their historical trajectories concerning urban planning and management, distribution of land, social relations and politics, and settler influence.

Northern Rhodesia between Settlers, Industries and the Colonial State

In recent years a renewed interest in (comparative) studies in colonialism that focus on the phenomenon of settler colonialism is observable.[435] However, for decades researchers of different branches of humanities and social sciences have come up with concepts to classify different forms of colonialism, most of them writing from the perspective of economic history and political science. Hla Myint in 1967 for instance suggested a basic classification into settler and peasant colonies, whereby peasant colonies represented territories where production economy and especially the agricultural sector was mainly in the hands of indigenous populations, whereas colonial powers would rather be involved in trading and economic activities of exchange. In settler colonies on the other hand a relatively large number of foreign settlers were involved in industrial and agricultural sectors, which involved not only the establishment of a low-wage labour force, but also political power in oder to obtain and control it.[436] This distinction by Myint was later transformed into the binary constellation of settler and non-settler (sometimes extractive or administrative) colonies. Research that makes use of such economic classification usually understands colonies like South Africa, Southern Rhodesia (and to a lesser extent Northern Rhodesia), Algeria, Angola and Mozambique, Kenya, and the Belgian Congo, despite their diversity, as of the settler type.[437] Not only did the political structures and distribution of powers differ greatly in some of these colonies, but also the alienation and distribution of agricultural land, which is often the dominant variable in these classifications.[438]

Other scholars rather looked at the relationship between settlers and indigenous populations in order to determine the effects different forms of colonialism had on the population. Roland Horvath for instance differentiated between two basic forms of colonialism, "Colonialism (settler)" and

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[434] Abbott, A. (2001a). Linked Ecologies: States and Universities as Environments for Professions. *Sociological Theory 23*(3), 245–274.. For the social sciences Abbott defines ecology is a set of social relations defined by "interactions between multiple elements that are neither fully constrained nor fully independent" (p. 248). The concept of ecology has been used extensively in the social sciences, most notably by the Chicago School scholars from Park to Goffman, but also later paradigms like Wallerstein's world-systems theory are essentially ecological. Andrew Abbott understands his model of "linked ecologies" as one that overcomes the limits of ecological models, which exclude many actors and treat them as external forces (i.e. religion in world-systems theory) rather than including them within the model. "Instead of envisioning a particular ecology as having a set of fixed surroundings" he proposes understanding the "social world in terms of linked ecologies, each of which acts as a (flexible) surround for other" (p. 246). Yet, through "hinges" these ecologies (i.e. different institutions, industries, politics, media etc.) remain distinct, but connected, for hinges are the "strategies that work as well in one ecology as in the other" (p. 255).

[435] For instance: Elkins, C. and S. Pedersen (Eds.). (2005). *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century.* New York: Routledge ; Veracini, L. (2010). *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan ; Bateman, F. and L. Pilkington (2011). *Studies in Settler Colonialism. Politics, Identity and Culture.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Also the foundation of the online-blog and peer-reviewed journal of settler colonial studies in 2010 by Lorenzo Veracini, Edward Cavanagh and others underscores this renewed research perspective. See https://settlercolonialstudies.blog

[436] Myint, H. (1967). *The Economics of Developing Countries.* London: Hutchinson.

[437] see for instance: Austin, G. (2007). Reciprocal Comparison and African History: Tackling Conceptual Eurocentrism in the Study of Africa's Economic Past. *African Studies Review, 50*(3), 1-28 ; Mosley, P. (1983). *The Settler Economies: Studies in the Economic History of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia 1900-1963.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ; Bowden, S., B. Chiripanhura and P. Mosley (2008). Measuring and Explaining Poverty in Six African Countries: A Long-Period Approach. *Journal of International Development: The Journal of the Development Studies Association, 20*(8), 1049-1079.

[438] see Rönnbäck, K. and O. Broberg (2019). *Capital and Colonialism: The Return on British Investments in Africa 1869-1969.* London: Palgrave p. 85.

"Imperialism (no settlers)", and three variations of these two forms, "extermination", "assimilation", and "relative equilibrium".[439] Horvath's classification was novel insofar as it discards the binary opposition between settler and non-settler colonialism and instead understands these two forms in a relational constellation. Settler colonialism thereby is not simply a sub-type of colonialism. However, these six possibilities and other similar systematising approaches do not lead to any meaningful results in an attempt to investigate the social, political, and economic interdependencies and inner workings, at times contradictory and ambivalent, of colonial states.[440] As Patrick Wolfe highlights "[t]he colonizers come to stay – invasion is a structure not an event".[441] It is therefore crucial to explore this structure, thus, the ways in which these 'invasions' unfold in different spatial and societal domains.

Like Horvath, Arghiri Emmanuel conceptualised settler colonialism outside the binary opposition, the implications of which are of some importance for a relational perspective.[442] Emmanuel understood settlers as an economic and political obstacle to the colonial system, since "[o]n the economic plane, the settler community constituted a dead weight – if not a parasitic and harmful element."[443] Politically, on the other hand,

> "the relative weight of the settlers and their ability to act independently differed widely according to whether they were in a settlers' or a mainly administrative colony; but their position and their attitude were essentially the same, while their aggressiveness and efficacy depended on the relation of forces at a particular time."[444]

However, he does not go into detail about what settler colonialism means structurally beyond an agency relative to the underlying system. This has the effect that settlers as a category does not include the notion of a settler society. Conceptual deficiencies also arise in other generalisations that try to focus on politico-economic implications of various types of colonialism, such as Gordon's notions about settler-colonies in his comprehensive work on decolonisation in Kenya. Therein he argues that

> "[t]he trajectories of economic development and political conflict were quite different in settler colonial societies than in non-settler colonies. Settler colonialism had at the same time 1) a more profound and destructive influence on existing indigenous social systems; and 2) a more dynamic effect on economic development than in non-settler colonies."[445]

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[439] Horvath, R.J. (1972). A Definition of Colonialism. *Current anthropology, 13*(1), 45-57.
[440] Note: The paper by Horvath was followed by various rather critical and dismissive comments by Andre Gundre Frank and others, which more or less dwell on questions concerning the usefulness of such categorisations that fail "to come, or to be willing and able to come, to grips with colonialism, imperialism, and the political, economic, and sociocultural structure and process of the society that requires and generates them." Gundre Frank, A. (1972). Comment On: 'A Definition of Colonialism. *Current anthropology, 13*(1), 45–57.
[441] Wolfe, P. (1999). *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event.* New York: Cassell, p. 2.
[442] Arghiri, E. (1972). White–Settler Colonialism and the Myth of Investment Imperialism. *New left review, 73*(1), 35-57.
[443] Ibid., p. 40.
[444] Ibid.
[445] Gordon, D.F. (1986). *Decolonization and the State in Kenya.* Boulder: Westview Press.

This is generally correct, since "[s]ome areas where Europeans did not settle have fared much better than the typical African 'settler economies'".[446] Yet, the problem here is that internal differences between colonies and settler-colonies are not taken into account, for instance the difference between urban and rural areas or between urban areas, which leads us to the general problem of conceptualising different kinds of colonialism. Gordon is, however, somewhat aware of this problem as he situates Kenya somewhere in between these two ideal-types of colonialism, highlighting that Kenya falls between these two patterns, where a settler pattern was being attempted, yet never successfully institutionalised[447]. Thus, the colonial state might lack coherence and is not very successful in consolidating its powers between control and accumulation. Yet, going beyond the Kenyan case, this issue of internal contradictions in relation to settler colonialism and the colonial state in general is not confined to the case of Kenya, but can be observed in many colonial states where settlers were a part of the political, social and economic colonial structures.

Therefore, the initial question regarding the type of colonialism at work in Northern Rhodesia stated at the beginning of this section is indeed not easy to answer conclusively. Two main reasons account for this problem. First, there is no general agreement on what constitutes settler-colonialism in the first place and, more specifically, with which sets of variables or characteristics (cultural, social, political, economical, demographical) it should be studied and analysed. Second, internal variations have to be taken into consideration. That is to say, a colony might be considered as having characteristics of both, colonialism and settler-colonialism, depending on the social and/ or geographical spaces that are analysed. It is therefore important to highlight that "rigidly construed ideal-typical constructs (such as "colonial" and "settler-colonial" cities) fail to capture the dynamic fluidity of actually existing social environments".[448] One might therefore consider the question whether in some cases it is more appropriate or meaningful to speak of "colonies with settlers" instead of "settler colonies" which Chris Youé discusses in some detail.[449] In comparatively analysing literature on different settler-colonial situations, he discusses in the case of sub-Saharan Africa a triad that is usually identified as "*the* settler colonies of the subcontinent",[450] South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Kenya. He argues that

> "[a]ll three territories of the triad were examples of "exceptionalism" – South Africa a dominion with a big D, Southern Rhodesia a dominion with a small d, and Kenya an ordinary colony. What we learn from this is that regardless of all the legalisms and constitutionalisms, the structural realities of everyday life – access to land and labour, racial policy and racial etiquette – were built on the same foundations. All three states moved to authoritarian and massive schemes of social engineering after World War II, and all three states collapsed in quick succession."[451]

[446] Frankema, E., E. Green and E. Hillbom (2014). Success and Failure of European Settler Farming in Colonial Africa. *African Economic History Network Working Paper Series, 16*(1-31, p. 5.
[447] Gordon 1986, *Decolonization and the State in Kenya*
[448] Hugill, David (2017): What is a settler colonial city. In: Geography Compass, Vol. 11, No. 5, 1-11, p. 2.
[449] Youé, C. (2018). Settler Colonialism or Colonies with Settlers? *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études africaines, 52*(1), 69-85
[450] Ibid., p 75
[451] Ibid., p 77

As we see, Northern Rhodesia is not on the list, and indeed Northern Rhodesia is usually positioned somewhere in between colony and settler-colony. Yet, this indeterminacy as we will see might in fact be a virtue rather than an obstacle. Kenneth Vickery for instance describes Northern Rhodesia as a "marginal settler colony" in every sense, because it lacked a population of white farmers that was "equal to Southern Rhodesia or even Kenya, let alone South Africa".[452] This lack in the population of white settlers, who nevertheless or probably precisely because of that fact never gave up their politics and efforts of recognition, in fact explains much of their attitudes against metropolitan and industrial politics, especially towards African urbanisation and development. As Deborah Potts points out, "Northern Rhodesia […] became a colony which placed a layer of colonial officialdom between the naked self-interest of the white settlers and the indigenous Africans".[453] Youé argues in a similar manner as Vickery that the quantity of white settlers

> "was a good measure of their political power. South African settler colonialism was stronger than Rhodesia's, Rhodesia's stronger than Kenya's. Kenya had just enough white settlers to make it into the settler colonial club. Nyasaland (Malawi) and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) did not make the cut; they did not have the critical mass to justify a future of unfettered white independence."[454]

Youé is certainly right in his assessment that the political power of settlers in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa exceeded by far that of settlers in Northern Rhodesia,[455] which is why the former two colonies have always been considered some sort of blueprint for settlers' ideologies and politics in Northern Rhodesia. Yet the quantity alone is still not a conclusive measure for a colony to be regarded as a settler-colony. Labour relations and distributions of land are another variable to approximate the question of what constitutes a settler colony. Such a focus has been quite prominent in not only structural Marxist analyses of colonial states, but in more recent publications as well.[456] Since the cases of settler colonialism are often measured against the quantity of alienated land as well as the amount of the exploited labour force, as with the question of the quantity of settlers, Northern Rhodesia is usually not on the list of settler colonies in Africa.[457] Nevertheless, land and labour relations are not necessarily the only factors in determining the type of colonialism.

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[452] Vickery 1985, Saving Settlers: Maize Control in Northern Rhodesia, p. 213.
[453] Potts, D. (2012). Land Alienation under Colonial and White Settler Governments in Southern Africa. In Tony Allan, Martin Keulertz, Suvi Sojamo, et al. (Eds.), *Handbook of Land and Water Grabs in Africa, Foreign Direct Investment and Food and Water Security.* London: Routledge, p. 32.
[454] Youé 2018, Settler Colonialism or Colonies with Settlers?, p. 81.
[455] Although it is not easy to give an exact number of Africans in Northern Rhodesia for any given time prior to independence due to the poor census, even a conservative estimate will highlight the huge ratio between Africans and Europeans, which is 1: 530 by 1949, or, in numbers 32.000 Europeans and 1.6 million Africans, see: Hall, R. (1976). *Zambia 1890-1964: The Colonial Period.* London: Longman, p. 180.
[456] i.e. Cavanagh, E. (2016). Land, Labour and Transformation, 1885-2005. In Cavanagh, E. and L. Veracini (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism.* London: Routledge.
[457] Of the eight contributions on Africa in the "Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism", none deals with Northern Rhodesia. Cavanagh, E. and L. Veracini (Eds.). (2016). *Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism.* London: Routledge; Similarly, the chapter on settler colonialism in Africa in an edited volume on "Settler Economies in World History" does not mention Northern Rhodesia, because of the comparatively small share of land. Lützelschwab, C. (2013). Settler Colonialism in Africa. In Lloyd, C., J. Metzer and R. Sutch (Eds.), *Settler Economies in World History.* Leiden: Brill, p. 142.

Caroline Elkins therefore argues that "instead of focusing on the question of labor alone, one must also consider local settler ideology and interests and their infiltration – both formally and informally – into the state itself".[458] Lorenzo Veracini illustrated this ideological implication by comparing the narratives of settler and non-settler colonialism to the two classical epic works of Homer's Odyssey and Vergil's Aeneid. The former represents the Odyssey in its cyclical narrative style "consisting of an outward movement followed by interaction with exotic and colonized 'others' in foreign surroundings, and by a final return to an original location".[459] The latter "narrative generally associated with settler colonial enterprises rather resembles the Aeneid, where the traveler moves forward along a story line that can't be turned back".[460] The settlers come to stay, in other words, and their ideologies are formed along this Aeneid narrative respectively. Ideology is therefore a good means to analyse the workings of settler colonialism in different social situations and institutional spheres, for "in settler-colonial formations […] ideology has a higher systemic weighting – it looms larger, as it were – than in other colonial formations".[461] For Veracini this is especially the case in times of political unrest. "As settler colonialism operates towards its supersession, paradoxically, settler colonialism was most recognisable when it was most imperfect—say, 1950s Kenya or 1970s Zimbabwe. Where it is most triumphant, settler colonialism effectively covers its tracks."[462]

Especially in the case of Northern Rhodesia where colonial and settler-colonial actors and institutions would be parts of the political field, they "should be understood in their dialectical relation: neither entirely separate nor part of the same conceptual field."[463] In other words, the binary opposition of settler- or non-settler-colonies can be transformed into a more relational perspective that underscores the settler-colonial attitudes, their formal and informal influence within political and economic state structures, and pays attention to the contradictions apparent in many debates and legislations especially on the local scale of municipalities. Therefore, we can speak of settler-colonialism or settler-colonial attitudes and ideologies in the context of social practices and representations. Or similarly, we could consider speaking of "colonialism with settlers",[464] when looking at the labour relations and the land-question. In either case, what is important beyond the preferred terminology is to identify settler-influence not primarily by numbers, but by the social and political interrelations between colonial institution, industrial structures, and the settler society as well as settlers' relative ability despite their low numbers to (trans)form social and (urban) spaces and execute powers.

In the case of Northern Rhodesia this point is pivotal in determining the internal spatial and societal variations of colonial (metropolitan) and settler-colonial influence, and especially the temporal dimension of these variations, thus to determine the spatialisation of different colonial

[458] Elkins, C. (2005). Race, Citizenship, and Governance: Settler Tyranny and the End of Empire. In Elkins and Pederson (Eds.), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Routledge, p. 219.
[459] Veracini, L. (2011). Telling the End of the Settler Colonial History. In Bateman and Pilkington (Eds.), *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity, and Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 205.
[460] Ibid: 206.
[461] Wolfe 1999, *Settler Colonialism*, p. 3.
[462] Veracini, L. (2013). 'Settler Colonialism': Career of a Concept. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 41*(2), 313-333, p. 325.
[463] Ibid., p. 314.
[464] Youé 2018, Settler Colonialism or Colonies with Settlers?

regimes of power in specific moments in historical time and along certain political and social processes. Furthermore, looking at Northern Rhodesia another aspect has to be included in the entanglement of different colonial forces: that of the (mining) industries, whose sphere of influence from a geographical perspective in Northern Rhodesia is situated mainly in the Copperbelt. Referring to Robert Home, these different colonial forces can be aligned with his identification of three distinct, however not always disjunct colonial ideologies. "The first, which one might call the ideology of state control, saw colonies as an initiative by the state, or more particularly the crown, through its agents. […] The second ideology was capitalist, and was adopted in the colonies to achieve the accumulation of wealth from trade, extraction and production."[465] It was the ideology of the industries and chartered companies, which also tried to keep (additional) expenditures at a minimum, both in terms of wages and infrastructures such as towns and administration. "A third ideology, which one might call utopian saw colonial settlement as an opportunity to experiment with forms of social organisation (such as communal control of land) that were less achievable at home. A colonist was escaping to a new society."[466] Therefore, the binary constellation of settler-colonialism and non-settler colonialism is rendered even more impractical, as industrial, political and economic agendas do not necessarily coincide with either settler or metropolitan ones.

In the case of Northern Rhodesia, the settler-spirit across much of the (comparatively small) white population has been highlighted by many. The differentiation on the larger political scale between settlers, industrialist and colonial agents proper outlined by Home is thereby sometimes reiterated, albeit not in exactly the same manner, by observers at the scale of human interactions and relations as well. John Wood, a former member of the colonial service in Northern Rhodesia, outlined in a rather critical engagement with the situation in Northern Rhodesia in 1961 the different strata of the European society in relation to how they engaged with Africans and how they perceived African social and political integration. He identified the small group of intellectuals, mostly RLI-sociologist, as the most tolerant, followed by the colonial upper ranks and industrialists as well as missionaries. "They realise the rightness and necessity of genuine non-racialism but, lacking true humanity, produce a kind of patronising, self-conscious multi-racialism. It is to these gentlemen that the epithet of 'do-gooder' is most aptly applied."[467] They would be followed by the higher businessmen, members of the chamber of commerce, and councillors, often members of the United Federal Party, whose liberalism towards Africans would be limited to only some concessions, especially towards the small African political and economic elite in terms of "partnership", a highly contested term discussed later in Chapter 4. Lastly, the greatest proportion of the European society would be composed of workers, artisans, clerks, farmers and shop assistants, who would generally

[465] Home 2013b, *Of Planting and Planning*, p. 3.
[466] Ibid: 4; Note: I would change the last sentence to "A colonist was escaping to a new *old* society". As far as identity is concerned – although settlers imagined themselves as frontiers in "new and untouched" territories as it were – settlers' cultural and racial identities as well as social norms were not only taken along on their journey, but were strategically deployed to display racial superiority and create difference. In 1964 Peter McEwan for instance identified the social and cultural similarities between British and Rhodesian society to which new immigrants from Europe or South Africa usually assimilated and which ensured relative cultural homogeneity within the settler society. McEwan, PJ. (1964). European Assimilation in a Non European Context: A Summary of Findings from a Recent Research Project in Southern Rhodesia That Has Attempted to Reconcile the Psychological and Sociological Approaches. *International Migration, 2*(2), 107-127, p. 125. See also: Kenrick, D. (2019). *Decolonisation, Identity and Nation in Rhodesia, 1964-1979: A Race against Time*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 34-35.
[467] Wood 1961, *Northern Rhodesia*, p. 67.

show the least signs of liberal views towards Africans and their integration, and who would often fear the possibility of African competition in the economic and participation in the political domain. Socially (and physically), they tried everything in their powers to keep Africans separated as much as possible.

3.2. Lusaka, Livingstone and the Copperbelt – Spatial Variation, Entangled Histories

Livingstone is not only one of the oldest urban spaces in Zambia, but has also for a long time represented the main entry point to the territory. Due to its geographical location at the border to Zimbabwe, and not far from the borders to Namibia, Botswana, and Angola most people coming from the south and southwest, notably South Africans, moved through Livingstone. Over the first two decades of the 20th century when the BSAC was still preoccupied with exploring and subsequently exploiting the copper resources farther north, settlers at the same time made use of the infrastructures provided by the BSAC, and its relative lack of interest in deploying many administrative resources to this first outpost of the territory of then still North-Western Rhodesia. This opportunity of settlers to form and transform policies and the urban space was the first structural event that marks a difference in the histories of different spaces within Northern Rhodesia.

Interestingly, things started similarly in the two settlements of Lusaka and Livingstone. As in Livingstone, the BSAC allowed settlers in Lusaka after its foundation in 1908 to form a Village Management Board in 1913 in order to deal with the pressing sanitation issues.[468] However, unlike in Livingstone, which established a Sanitary Board already in 1905 and was granted municipal status by 1928,[469] consisting of three representatives of the BASC and one settler representative, this event in Lusaka did not have any significant or enduring effects on the settler influence on the development and politics of later Lusaka of the 1930s and beyond. There, the planning and building of the capital was accompanied and structured by an increase in metropolitan influence on the urban space, which gradually changed only in the 1950s. Regarding the Copperbelt development started in the 1920s, towns were planned as industrial townships, where settlers and state-agents alike did not have much political or economic influence. Despite increasing settler and metropolitan activities from the late 1940s onwards, the Copperbelt remained in the hands of corporations, politically, socially and economically. Thus, while in Livingstone the establishment of the Sanitary Board marked the beginning of the ever increasing settler influence guided by the "argument of 'no taxation without representation' to gain seats in the town's governing body",[470] the same one that was used later in a reversed form to restrict Africans from having representation, the situations in Lusaka and the Copperbelt were quite different in terms of planning and urban development, the real-politic in place, and the legal constitution of Lusaka and the Copperbelt towns.

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[468] Myers, G.A. (2006). The Unauthorized City: Late Colonial Lusaka and Postcolonial Geography. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, 27*(3), 289-308, p. 293.
[469] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 59; Except for Livingstone (1928) and Ndola (1932) no other town in Northern Rhodesia received a municipal status prior to the mid-1950s. See: Greenwood, A. and J. Howell (1980). Urban Local Authorities. In Tordoff, W. (Eds.), *Administration in Zambia.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 164.
[470] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 36.

Lusaka – Metropolis' Garden City

Unlike Livingstone, which except for the break in 1935 developed rather gradually over the decades even during the postcolonial period, Lusaka has experienced many conjunctures in the 20th century. For the colonial times in the context of governmental policies and planning schemes in relation to Africans, Norman Rothman identifies five periods: "the initial phase which lasted until 1927; the era of laissez-faire, 1927-1939; the period of government intervention, 1939-1946; the age of devolution, 1946-1953; and the years of recentralization which coincided with the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland between 1953 and 1963".[471] These, as he points, out are approximations of what Rothman considered "dominant but not exclusive trends of the period".[472]

The initial period is particularly interesting in relation to segregation and settler attitudes, since the circumstances did not allow for these aspects to unfold as in other colonial towns at that time. Although there were practically no services or amenities provided for Africans (and only very few for Europeans) and little tenure and labour security, which exposed African urban dwellers to disease and weather, "employees were free to construct their own shelters and lives virtually undisturbed".[473] Furthermore, "the pragmatic self-interest which characterized the period had its less unsavory aspects. Racial segregation was not so firmly entrenched that it would be allowed to interfere with economic survival. Marginal mercantile enterprises would not reject paying customers […and] several stores employed African supervisors in the business district."[474] The second period, during which fell the important conjuncture of the choosing, planning and creation of the capital, there were changed conditions of (some) Africans regarding access to some form of health, housing, employment and education. However, planned and legally inscribed segregation took their course as well, and in everyday life terms, the "business community now had a steady client in the government and no longer showed the same practical attitude toward African employees and African customers it had previously exhibited".[475] The third period was again characterised by improvements in social amenities, yet not for all Africans. Furthermore, Rothman writes that this was a "golden period" for local government. However, that "gold was considerably tarnished"[476] for Africans. Local government influence increased during that time, yet without participation. The last period was mainly characterised by uncertainty on economic, social and political grounds. While again some amenities for Africans in the official townships increased, for many Africans they were out of reach. Economically and politically, African participation as well as housing and other services were under constant discussion concerning responsibilities and duties without reaching much consensus, while former bodies such as African Urban Advisory Councils gradually lost their significance.[477]

In terms of planning, Lusaka right from the start was conceptualised as a Garden City, a town planning concept which the planning consultant Adshead applied "intending to create a 'generous

[471] Rothman, N.C. (1972). *African Urban Development in the Colonial Period: A Study of Lusaka, 1905-1964*. (Ph.D. Thesis), Northwestern University, p. 2.
[472] Ibid.
[473] Ibid.: 27.
[474] Ibid.
[475] Ibid.: 57.
[476] Ibid.: 83.
[477] Ibid.: 94-95.

gracious city' with landscaping, open space and wide streets".[478] Although this vision and image of Lusaka remained more a myth than reality, it was a myth that planners and administrators, "apparently unaware of the price that was being paid by the city as a whole, have continued [to pursue]".[479] The rationale behind this planning is probably best described by John Collins, when he argues that "the imported values of the colonial power were translated into the physical form of a city".[480] While Myers argues similarly that Lusaka "exhibits each of the three characteristics of colonial enframing in urban Africa [,…] a segmented plan [,…] separation between inside and outside [… and] central sites of observation and surveillance"[481] it does not represent a settler colonial urban Africa. Rather, its very location represents an equal distance to Livingstone and the Copperbelt. Being situated "halfway between Livingstone and the Copperbelt made it convenient both geographically and politically. Settler or mining interests in either area would not automatically control its development"[482] Although some towns on the Copperbelt, Ndola in particular, were even envisioned as potential capitals in the early 1930s, it was soon quite clear that the Copperbelt would not be an option, since "on balance the mining companies did not relish the prospect of such proximity to government".[483] That is to say, Lusaka was a compromise between industries and the colonial office that resembles the "practical expression of a more fundamental characteristic of business-state relation in Northern Rhodesia".[484]

This distance between settlers and industries, at least for most of Lusaka's colonial history, is also reflected in administrative terms. Although Lusaka was made a township in 1920 and became the capital of Northern Rhodesia in 1935 its local government, however, did not receive the status of a municipality prior to 1953, the year of the installation of the Federation. This also meant that it did not have a governing Municipal Council until 1954. By implication this created a situation where "[e]ven Lusaka's white settler community lacked an elected majority on the village management board that the 1954 Town Council replaced until as late as 1952, when the colonial regime finally acceded to settler demands and gave up its official majority"[485] and the "townspeople" as the former mayor of Lusaka Richard Sampson put it, which obviously did not include the majority of town dwellers, had finally managed to be "firmly in control of the management board from 1952".[486] That is to say, Lusaka as the capital of Northern Rhodesia and the administrative centre of the colony can be regarded for most parts of the colonial history as the spatial extension of the colonial office in Northern Rhodesia, where settlers did not, in contrast to Livingstone, enjoy a particularly high degree of influence. On the contrary, in Lusaka there was practically no formal political settler influence on the local scale until the mid-1950s, not even a decade before colonialism came to an end in Northern Rhodesia.

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[478] Home, R. (2013a). Introduction. In (Eds.), *Lusaka: The New Capital of Northern Rhodesia.* London: Routledge, p. 2.
[479] Collins 1969, *Lusaka*, p. 29.
[480] Collins, J. (1980). Lusaka: Urban Planning in a British Colony 1931–64. In Cherry, G.E. (Eds.), *Shaping an Urban World.* London: Mansell, p. 227.
[481] Myers 2003, *Verandahs of Power*, p. 56.
[482] Ibid.: 58
[483] Cohen, A. (2008). Business and Decolonisation in Central Africa Reconsidered. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 36*(4), 641-658, p. 27
[484] Ibid.
[485] Myers 2006, The Unauthorized City: Late Colonial Lusaka and Postcolonial Geography, p. 294; see also Sampson, R. (1971). *So This Was Lusaakas: The Story of the Capital of Zambia.* Ndola: Mission Press
[486] Ibid., p. 73

This is in a way also reflected in spatial terms and population development, since "Lusaka's phenomenal post-war growth [in European population] is due largely to its function as a capital city and the increased rate of government activity".[487] Although the ratio between European and African populations, over the course of the 1940s and 1950s, was not much higher in Lusaka than in Livingstone,[488] it is safe to assume that larger parts of the European society in Lusaka were in general not as "settled", having instead more temporary dwellers compared to Livingstone. Therefore, looking at the distribution of European housing, the metropolitan and by implication a lesser degree of settler influence on the city is reflected in the low rate of property-owning European town dwellers, which in 1956 was only 17.5% within the boundaries of the municipality as opposed to 76% in the outlying areas.[489] Collins argues that "in spite of all the planning and local government administration of a settler society, the evidence from the census of the non-African population for the fifteen-year period from 1946 to 1961 is that Lusaka never really became a European settler city on the Southern Rhodesian model".[490]

Livingstone – A settler's Paradise

In and around Livingstone settler influence, if at first not in the sense of political control, but increasingly in a social and representational sense, was on the rise when Northern Rhodesia was still under BSAC administration, despite the fact that the BSAC and the British administrators in Southern Africa were not particularly interested in any settler activity at all. Lord Selborn, High Commissioner for South Africa for instance advised against letting too many settlers into what was then North-western Rhodesia, since they would not succeed and "will try to live on the natives, in itself a great evil, and they will vent their discontent on the British South Africa Company [... and] expect the Administration to coddle them, and the railway to carry their goods for nothing. They will begin to look to politics as a remedy for economic success".[491] Selborn's distrust in settler's political agendas as an obstacle to BSAC rule and the colonising mission in general cannot be overstated, and marks an early articulation of difference between settler and metropolitan-industrial politics. A petition by settlers from Livingstone in 1909 for administrative settler autonomy based on the aforementioned rate-payers' argument was answered by Selborn during a visit to Livingstone in a frank and direct tone when he said: "you wouldn't be here if it weren't for the company".[492]

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[487] Kay, G. (1967). *A Social Geography of Zambia: A Survey of Population Patterns in a Developing Country.* London: University of London Press, p. 35.

[488] It has to be taken into account that the European population in Livingstone actually decreased by almost 50% after the translocation of the capital in 1935 and regained its comparative size only after World War II (see McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*, p. 3) For 1963 the ratio is 1:7,21 in Lusaka and 1:6,1 in Livingstone. See: Barber, W. (1967). Urbanisation and Growth: The Cases of Two White Settler Territories. In Miner, H. (Eds.), *The City in Modern Africa.* London: Pall Mall Press, p. 95.

[489] Ibid. 119.

[490] Collins 1980, Lusaka: Urban Planning in a British Colony 1931–64, p. 235.

[491] High Commissioner Selborn cited in Palmer, R. (1983). Land Alienation and Agricultural Conflict in Colonial Zambia. In Rotberg, R. (Eds.), *Imperialism and Hunger: East and Central Africa.* Lexington: Lexington Books, p. 92.

[492] High Commissioner Selborn cited in Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 44. Note: The fact deserves to be mentioned that the first British officials (thus non-BSAC staff) were deployed to North-western Rhodesia not prior to 1911. See Gann 1968, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, p. 64. Moreover, the BSAC unlike the Colonial Office did not have any policy-objectives concerning the rights or welfare of Africans. Thus, before the Devonshire Declaration of 1923, which affected the policy in Northern Rhodesia under British Protectorate since 1924 and highlighted the paramountcy of African interests over those of settlers, African interests were of minor concern even officially. See. Gann 1964, *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 240-241.

Selborn could not have been more correct in his warning, since indeed every aspect turned out to arise during the first three decades of the 20th century. The BSAC, however, while formally administering the territory, did not have much influence in the social and political developments on the ground, as it were. Rather, their execution of powers over administration seems to have stemmed from an economic rationale of not losing control over their extractive activities, instead of building complex political structures and physical infrastructures beyond their basic needs. Leopold F. Moore, a chemist, politician, founder of the *Livingstone Mail* and not only one of the earliest settlers to arrive at Livingstone, but one that fits practically every stereotype one could have about settlers,[493] in 1919 wrote the following in his newspaper on the subject of settler-company-relations:

> "It is well known that all who have settled in this country came here against the wishes of the Chartered Company which has done absolutely nothing during a space of 15 years to advance the interests of the settlers, but has left no opportunity, legitimate or illegitimate, of scheming for present or ultimate profit for its Shareholders."[494]

Basically, he repeated in a more comprehensive way what he had already written eleven years earlier, when he blamed the BSAC for not providing for settlers the same comfortable housings their administrators enjoy. "Look around Livingstone and you will see that the officials of the administration are comfortably housed and provided for, while the traders and settlers live in huts, or even sleep in their business premises".[495] Moore never missed an opportunity to write against the company administration from the earliest days on. In 1907, when the area was still Northwestern Rhodesia, one of his stories – indeed a rather ironical one – even appeared in the Buffalo Evening News, when Moore criticised the BASC for not being able to successfully administer the territory. Apparently, there had been an incident with lions attacking the mail runners, so called "messenger boys".

> "It is notified for general information that the mail bag containing ordinary letters for Northwestern Rhodesia, dispatched from Livingstone […] has been destroyed by lions near Petuke. This is obviously the fault of the chartered company. Well-fed Lions will not eat mail bags, love letters, or even the most tasty local newspaper. In order to avoid similar catastrophes, the government ought to undertake the feeding of these lions. We know one or two local natives that might well be used for the purpose."[496]

Moore was not only critical of the company, but later in 1929 when the first serious debates to amalgamate the two Rhodesias came about, he was also "fearful that amalgamation would centralize

[493] see Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 23-24; Robert Rotberg refers to him as "the crusty druggist from Livingstone, who led eight settler representatives in the Legislative Council" Rotberg, R.I. (1977). *Black Heart: Gore-Browne and the Politics of Multiracial Zambia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 171.
[494] Livingstone Mail, March 7 1919, cited in: McSamuel, R.D.-F. (1976). *Politics and Agrarian Change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, C. 1924-63*. (Ph.D. Thesis), University of London, p. 55.
[495] Livingstone Mail, June 6, 1908.
[496] Livingstone Mail, November 16 cited in Buffalo Evening News, November 18, 1907. Note: From my reading it is intentionally not quite clear if the "local natives" are suggested as the feeders or to be fed to the lions themselves.

government in Salisbury and thus deprive Livingstone of its status as a commercial and administrative centre."[497] Besides the irony of the fact that Lusaka would deprive Livingstone of its status only a few years later, the settler-fear at times was not only directed towards the company, colonial government or Africans, but also competition from the southern neighbours, many of whom like Leopold Moore himself ironically formed the settler-community of Livingstone in the first place.

Thus, this difficult relationship from the earliest days of Livingstone's history between administrators and settlers, many of whom "imagined themselves at the bottom level of the colonial social hierarchy, at least in terms of where they felt they stood in the BASACO's social structure [… and] blamed all the problems and frictions on the administration, which they felt failed to represent their interests",[498] did not simply vanish by the time the territory was handed over to the Colonial Office in 1924, since "the distrust of the territorial government was already firmly established".[499] The settler outrage that followed the mission statement of the territory by Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield in 1930 that the paramountcy would lie in interest of the "natives" is but one example that underscores this distrust. Settlers in the Legislative Council, then still in Livingstone, accused the colonial administration of ignoring their interests and confronted the supposed "determination of the Imperial Government to prefer the interests of alien and barbarous races to those of their own".[500] From the 1930s onwards things became more complicated, as will be discussed later in more detail, when mining interests, metropolitan interests, and settler interests formed an incoherent and often conflictual colonial system, which was not only marked by internal differences on matters of European issues in the sense of taxation, state expenditures, and mining revenues, but in particular by differences of opinion concerning Africans in urban areas.

The economic side of increasing settler-influence and their consolidation of powers becomes visible especially in the changing structure of land distribution. Across the spectrum of colonies with settler influence "settler farmers required secure control over local land and labour resources, […] [of which] access to labour was the most complicated, because it proved much easier to secure large tracts of uncultivated and uninhabited land, than to force indigenous peoples into harsh labour activities against their will."[501] Conflicts between settlers and Africans especially in Southern Province due to the sale of agricultural land by the BSAC rendered necessary the creation of "Native Reserves" by 1915.[502] This was combined by prohibiting the purchase of land outside these reserves although land was plentiful, especially in Northern Rhodesia.[503] This according to Deborah Potts "demonstrates that the real purpose of the Land Acts was to limit Africans' legal rights to land in order to undermine their agricultural livelihoods".[504] In Marxist terms this would resemble the

[497] Wetherell, I.H. (1979). Settler Expansionism in Central Africa: The Imperial Response of 1931 and Subsequent Implications. *African Affairs, 78*(311), 210-227, p. 216.
[498] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 183.
[499] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 34.
[500] Correspondence cited in Home, Home 2013a, Introduction, p. 5 Note: As an ironical side-note in the context of settlers' repeated refusal of African requests for reimbursements in their capacity as representatives (allowances for bicycles to attend meetings in time for instance, see: AUAC 53-56, 1st. Feb. 1954), it is interesting that their request to get a paid flight to London to articulate their critique before the Colonial Office in person was turned down.
[501] Frankema, Green and Hillbom 2014, Success and Failure of European Settler Farming in Colonial Africa.
[502] Vickery, K.P. (1986). *Black and White in Southern Zambia: The Tonga Plateau Economy and British Imperialism, 1890-1939*. Greenwood Publishing Group, p. 89.
[503] Potts 2012, Land Alienation under Colonial and White Settler Governments in Southern Africa, p. 35.
[504] Ibid.

colonial version of "primitive accumulation".[505] Hence, as a consequence, and since African subsistence agriculturalists had little or no reason to work as wage-labourers,[506] land sales or land reserved for European purchase were meant "to reduce the independence of African labour and force men into the labour 'market', rather than to obtain more land to farm, per se".[507] As Palmer noted, the "existence of a small and perpetually struggling community of white farmers in colonial Zambia has had a highly deleterious effect upon the country's agricultural history".[508]

Furthermore, the question of land sales also bears a spatial dimension beyond the absolute availability of land. While only a small part of land was alienated by settlers compared to the total amount theoretically available, the alienated parts were mainly concentrated along the so-called "line of rail", thereby ensuring not only a geographic proximity to urban centres, but also to the main and for some time only reliable long-distance transportation infrastructure. In this manner, settlers successfully managed to secure an economically advantageous position in relation to the small scale and geographically more distant African agricultural spaces.[509] In this context it is important to point out that while geographically the spaces of settlers economically engaged in agriculture were rural areas, they were nevertheless not only dependent on a functioning rural-urban nexus, but also on a relative proximity to these urban areas, especially in colonial Zambia's early days when transportation infrastructures were sparse. Moreover, urban areas represented a source and infrastructure for information, building materials and resources, as well as social contacts, education, and entertainment. In other words, even farmers living in the surroundings of urban areas have to be included in the urban sphere to some extent. Moreover, settlers who were not engaged in farming were nevertheless aware of the socio-economic and political implications of a functioning European-controlled agriculture for the prosperity of their urban spaces. In Livingstone C.S. Knight, Livingstone's first mayor and co-owner of the Zambezi-Saw Mills,[510] therefore strongly supported a bill in 1935 to control African maize production in favour of the European producers when he argued that not passing the bill "will mean the elimination of the European farmer in the country, and I think we all, if not openly, have at heart the necessity for European colonization in this count".[511]

Another aspect has to be stressed in this context. As agriculturally engaged settlers and their farming activities were not at all a priority for the BSAC administration, the land question had a second implication. For the BSAC and later colonial administration the territory of Northern

[505] See for instance: Biermann, W. and R. Kössler (1980). The Settler Mode of Production: The Rhodesian Case. *Review of African Political Economy, 18*(106-116, p. 111.
[506] see Austin, G. (2008). The 'Reversal of Fortune' Thesis and the Compression of History: Perspectives from African and Comparative Economic History. *Journal of International Development: The Journal of the Development Studies Association, 20*(8), 996-1027.
[507] Ibid.; see also Palmer, R.H. and N. Parsons (Eds.). (1977). *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa.* London: Heinemann.; Arrighi, G. (1970). Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective: A Study of the Proletarianization of the African Peasantry in Rhodesia. *The Journal of Development Studies, 6*(3), 197-234.
[508] Palmer 1983: 89.
[509] Potts 2012, Land Alienation under Colonial and White Settler Governments in Southern Africa, p. 38; see also Palmer 1983, Land Alienation and Agricultural Conflict in Colonial Zambia; Muntemba, M. (1982). Women and Agricultural Change in the Railway Region of Zambia: Dispossession and Counterstrategies 1930–70. In Bay, E.G. (Eds.), *Women and Work in Africa.* Boulder: Westview Press
[510] Macmillan and Shapiro 2017, *Zion in Africa*, p. 48.
[511] Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, 5th Council, 1st Session, November 1935, col. 70 cited in Vickery 1985, Saving Settlers: Maize Control in Northern Rhodesia, p. 227.

Rhodesia, until the copper boom of the 1930s, in the context of the African population was primarily understood as a labour reserve for Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.[512] The numbers concerning the exploitation of the labour force underscore this priority. From approximately 7,000 recruited Africans per annum in 1909 the number increased to about 23,000 in 1928.[513] It was not until the 1930s that coercive labour was no longer needed to supply the mining industries in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa with a sufficient labour force.[514] To control the subsequent balance between urban African populations not exceeding the necessary numbers needed by the industries, which as we know did not work out as intended, and at the same time preventing said population from leaving the towns for engagement in agricultures, two interrelated strategies were pursued. 1) Access to towns was limited and bound to employment. 2) Subsidies to rural economies were limited to a degree that would ensure that they would not suffice to contribute to commercial agriculture.[515]

By the late 1920s then the economic orientation had shifted; not however, in favour of settlers, when it became clear that copper exploitation in the territory would be paramount in terms of Northern Rhodesia's economic development. Indeed, by 1939 the colony was the fourth largest producer of copper world-wide. As copper production was the dominant sector, "far outstripping the settler agriculture in importance",[516] the mining industry has to be regarded as a third agent of power within the colonial realm. Therefore, when Robbins speaks of "trichotomy"[517] of conflict in the years after World War II, namely between the government, settler and African representatives, the industries might be added as a fourth player to the game of power struggle. Despite this politically conflictual situation settlers were able to consolidate their power over Livingstone.[518]

The European population of Livingstone had managed to gain political and spatial control over the urban space during the 1920s and 1930s. In terms of political representation this meant that in Livingstone in 1952 there were 772 European voters registered[519] from a total European population in 1951 of approximately 2,316 individuals (including children). Therefore, the property-owning percentage of the European population in Livingstone – or those married to property owners, since they were included in the pool of ratepayers and were also allowed to vote – was at least 30%, but probably more, as opposed to Lusaka's mere 17.5%. In terms of property alone, one can see that considerably more people had stakes in town, as it were. Moreover, the long-lasting ideological imprint of the settlers over the decades within Livingstone's relatively small spatial extent compared to Lusaka certainly had a spill-over effect on the non-property-owning workers of the railways and sawmills as well. As Gann noted with regard to Northern Rhodesia's early white population, which

[512] This created another source of conflict between the BSAC and settlers, who also wanted to have access to a cheap labour source, the monopoly over which was granted by the BSAC to the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau, established in 1903 in Southern Rhodesia. See: McSamuel 1976, *Politics and Agrarian Change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, C. 1924-63*, p. 50.
[513] Hall 1976, *Zambia 1890-1964*, p. 59
[514] Rakodi, C. (1986). Colonial Urban Policy and Planning in Northern Rhodesia and Its Legacy. *Third World Planning Review, 8*(3), 193, p. 196
[515] Cowie, W.J. (1980). Articulation, Global Capitalism, and the Spatial Organization of Colonial Society: The Case of Zambia. *Antipode, 12*(3), 47-56
[516] Cohen 2008, Business and Decolonisation in Central Africa Reconsidered p. 23.
[517] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. iii.
[518] Ibid.: 77.
[519] Mufuzi 2011b, Indian Political Activism in Colonial Zambia: The Case of Livingstone's Indian Traders, p. 238.

was essentially based in Livingstone, the "white community feeling was developed far more strongly in a country where a small white community found itself face-to-face with a huge black majority, and this alone may have helped to reduce the friction amongst Europeans".[520] Thus, already in its early days "[t]he white settler population of Livingstone was comprised of energetic entrepreneurs, railway workers, and skilled workers, [… who] often presented a strong united front against the BSACo administration despite the diversity of socio-economic backgrounds and interests they represented".[521] How deep the exclusionary settler-identity went at Livingstone can be understood by the fact that it never appeared to be an option for settlers to understand Africans as partners against the BSAC or later the Colonial Office.

Industrial Power on the Copperbelt

The mining towns of the Copperbelt represent the third category of colonial urbanism present in Northern Rhodesia. The political control of the territory after 1924 until the early 1930s was still in the hand of the BSAC, since they owned not only the mineral rights, but also the railways. The divide between mining and government is not only understandable by the fact that the government did not provide any physical infrastructures. Northern Rhodesia was one of two colonies in Africa, Gambia being the second one, that did not have a geological survey department.[522] From the 1930s onwards, then, the mining industries had gained much influence over "their" urban spaces in terms of political, social and of course economic affairs. Years later this power, however, would not only lead to costly responsibilities that necessitated increased productivity already by the mid-1950s, but finally in 1962 even to the decision to get out of the housing business despite "future pressure on companies to pay higher rates to municipalities, the security implications of losing control of the townships and the 'likelihood' of their decline into 'slum conditions'".[523]

In a legal context the socio-spatial control of the mining towns stemmed from the fact that mining townships were not part of Municipal and Township Ordinances. The Township Ordinance of 1933, established by the Governor at the request of the mining companies, which relieved the government of its planning duties, made sure that the companies could more or less plan, build and develop as they pleased. The mining towns of the Copperbelt were therefore quasi-company towns, that is to say, planned and equipped with infrastructures serving their needs. The Mine Township Boards had the same functions, including political control, as the government council, except for the not negligible difference that they did not have to care for revenues through taxes and levies.[524] Although the mining companies were responsible only for their respective mining townships, which in the case of Nkana-Kitwe (Nkana being the mining township) "predated the foundation of Kitwe itself in the 1930s",[525] their sphere of influence soon transgressed the boundaries of their townships,

[520] Gann 1968, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, p. 176.
[521] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 185.
[522] Butler, L. (2007). *Copper Empire: Mining and the Colonial State in Northern Rhodesia, C. 1930-64*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 24.
[523] Larmer, M. (2021). *Living for the City: Social Change and Knowledge Production in the Central African Copperbelt.* Cambridge University Press, p. 117.
[524] Greenwood and Howell 1980, Urban Local Authorities.
[525] Rakodi 1986, Colonial Urban Policy and Planning in Northern Rhodesia and Its Legacy, p. 199.

which they executed also over African workers, who until the 1940s were considered as only temporary migrant workers.[526]

The gradual takeover of the mining companies over the entirety of the urban space, though not necessarily guided by strong intentions to interfere with government rule outside of the companies' spaces, is exemplified by the fact that at the time of independence half of the low-cost properties in Nkana-Kitwe were owned by the Anglo American Corporation.[527] Again, to some extent pragmatics guided the decision of the mining companies, considering that in the 1930s Anglo American already looked with some unease at a development where "[s]hopkeepers, tradesmen, bankers and others had squatted in and around Nkana, but had built only flimsy, temporary premises."[528] Anglo American subsequently complained to the government for not providing respective housing and infrastructures for them. The drifting apart between companies and government, which gradually was manifested in legislation and planning practice, was not always appreciated. Ordre-Brown cautioned that "a certain lack of mutual comprehension [exists] in the relations between the industry and the administration,"[529] and a correspondent of the *Livingstone Mail* in 1930 criticised the "undemocratic structure" at work in the mining township.[530]

In the 1930s the central government and Anglo American tried to resolve the problem of squatting (European) tradesmen by granting the company the rights to extend their possibilities of managing the urban space beyond mining affairs, and establishing non-mining infrastructures for trade and commerce within the township. However, the tradesmen were opposed to this plan, knowing that they would not have much say in urban planning and politics. The establishment of Kitwe was the outcome of a compromise between mining companies, settlers and colonial government, yet one that only truly unfolded during the post-war copper-boom in the late 1940s and 1950s, when the Management Board became a Municipal Board in 1953 and a Municipal Council in 1954.[531] This, however, did not solve the conflictual relationship between mining companies, settlers and colonial government. While the mining townships were controlled by the companies, prior to the 1950s the non-mining areas were managed by an elected Management Board with the District Commissioner acting as its chairman. In the 1950s the role of the District Commissioner gradually declined when Management Board turned into Municipal Councils. A.L. Epstein graphically exemplified the relationship between the three agents, according to which the District Commissioner stands between the Municipal Board and the Mine Management, however, not to maintain law and order as was his formal duty, but more as a mediator between the two. Especially in the mining townships the District commissioner was "tolerated, but not welcomed" and the company sought to "keep him out of the picture as much as possible".[532]

Similarly to Lusaka, the majority of the European population was not a typical settler community, at least as understood by a more or less active engagement in managing and shaping the urban space of the towns they lived in. The European community mainly consisted of mining personnel, either

[526] Larmer 2021, *Living for the City*, p. 6.
[527] Tipple, A.G. (1976). The Low-Cost Housing Market in Kitwe, Zambia. *Ekistics, 41* (244), 148-152.
[528] Kay 1967, *A Social Geography of Zambia*, p. 137.
[529] Orde-Brown cited in Cohen 2008, Business and Decolonisation in Central Africa Reconsidered, p. 24.
[530] Kay 1967, *A Social Geography of Zambia*, p. 136.
[531] Ibid.: 137-138.
[532] Epstein, A.L. (1958). *Politics in an Urban African Community.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 21.

employed as poorly educated artisans, drivers, rock-breakers, etc., paid on a daily basis, from South Africa and highly educated mining-staff working as administrators, clerks, technicians or scientists from the UK. While the European areas of the mining townships until the post-war period were largely male-dominated, during the 1950s massive investments in social and technical infrastructure led to an increase in European women on the Copperbelt, so that the ratio between men and women reached the territory-wide average of 90 percent by the late 1950s.[533]

Generally, even the low-paid European mine workers enjoyed many amenities. Their attitudes and everyday lives were extensively studied by Johan Holleman and Simon Biesheuvel.[534] Away from the mines, life consisted of garden parties and barbecues (or "braai" as barbecue is still called in white circles in Zambia today), a large variety of clubs and societies, from ballet schools to rifle associations, and other recreational facilities and activities, combined with high salaries to be spent on cars and other luxury products and a lot of alcohol – much like Livingstone, except for the luxury products. This picture of the Copperbelt's white society seems to leave no doubt that the settler side of the Copperbelt cannot be ignored. Indeed, Holleman in an interview with Lyn Schumaker described the white society as "cockeyed", but due to their low-cost housing, free healthcare and high earnings, the lowest of which reached those of South African university professors, as probably "*the* most affluent society on the face of the earth".[535] However, this picture of miners as settlers is elusive. Not only did they lack serious political representation in urban areas, as pointed out earlier, but also, and equally importantly, they lacked material and immaterial stakes in town. As George Kay points out, "the conditions of life in the European areas of Nkana-Kitwe are very similar to those in the comparable parts of Lusaka. Most European houses are rented, and in fact all houses in the mine township are the property of the ZAAC and less than one-fifth of all houses in the municipal township are owned by their occupants".[536] In terms of immaterial values "little else [than these amenities] has bound the great majority of employees to the Copperbelt [… although] traditional policy of the mining companies to provide furnished accommodation at nominal rentals […] undoubtedly enhanced the attraction of their employment".[537] In conclusion, although the establishment of the Federation and the fact that more non-mining businesses were attracted by the Copperbelt, which counter-balanced the dullness and monotony of the urban space, created some sense of belonging, still "very few of the Copperbelt's white inhabitants […] saw themselves as permanent residents".[538]

Finally, it is important to highlight the role of the mining corporations during the late 1950s regarding the participation and advancement of Africans and a possible decolonisation, which has received renewed interest in recent years.[539] For many journalists and to a lesser extent academics

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[533] Phimister, I. (2011). Workers in Wonderland? White Miners and the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1946–1962. *South African Historical Journal, 63*(2), 183-233, p. 195.
[534] Holleman and Biesheuvel 1973, *White Mine Workers*.
[535] Schumaker, L. (2001). *Africanizing Anthropology: Fieldwork, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa.* Durham: Duke Univeresity Press, p. 311.
[536] Kay 1967, *A Social Geography of Zambia*, p. 140 Note: This is true for the Copperbelt in general. See Phimister 2011, Workers in Wonderland? White Miners and the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1946–1962, p. 201.
[537] Holleman and Biesheuvel 1973, *White Mine Workers*, p. 52.
[538] Phimister 2011, Workers in Wonderland? White Miners and the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1946–1962, p. 202.
[539] Larry Butler in comparing Anglo-American and the Rhodesian Selection Trust, underscores the progressive attitudes of the latter, accelerated and communicated by its chairman Ronald Prain, in relation to the former, whose chairman Harry Oppenheimer maintained strong ties and financial support for Roy Welensky's United Federal Party until until 1962. Butler

during or shortly after the colonial period perhaps the stark contrast between the white miners' life-styles and racist attitudes towards Africans, which they observed and wrote about, and the comparatively liberal stance of the mining management, which was publicly communicated, led some to understand the corporation as acting altruistically and humanistically when they pledged for African partnership.[540] Two influential studies on black and white labour on the Copperbelt, one by Elena Berger[541] and the other by Guy Mhone,[542] both understand the mining corporations' policies and decisions partly in that manner. Jane Parpart, on the contrary, understood the companies politics and policies as a measure to 1) counter emerging radical political developments within African society by creating an African labour aristocracy, and 2) at the same time reduce the costly white labour.[543] Hence, the widespread racism among white miners notwithstanding, it is necessary to critically engage with the mining companies' policy decisions and political stances. Therefore, one can hardly disagree with Jane Parpart's, or more recently Ian Phimister's argument that the notion about the big business of mining companies that "was praised for its enlightened practice of confronting white racism" needs to be readjusted in the sense that economic pragmatism rather than morals were at play; "the issues as seen from the boardroom was that white miners were paid too much, not that black workers were paid too little".[544] In other words, the mines were interested in low wages and skin-colour was not a variable in this equation.

Their "enlightenment" is not least challenged by the way the companies dealt with the RLI-sociologists working in and around the mining townships.[545] The political problems many of them faced while conducting their research were not confined to colonial officials and settlers, but also the mining companies. When Bill Epstein for instance refused to act as a spy for Roan Antelope (part of the more "progressive" RST, Rhodesian Selection Trust), the Chamber of Mines declared him a *persona non grata*. Only interventions by Clyde Mitchell allowed him to continue his work.[546] Thus, the "enlightened" or "progressive" lines in the mining corporations' arguments for African advancement and participation have to be understood not only in an economic context, but also in its political dimension to secure their business. Mines and metropolitan interests were aligned in this matter, and the white Mine Workers Union as well as many settlers around the territory felt once again confronted by this unity of interest. However, unlike in Livingstone, where settlers were in charge of the urban space, there was not much the white mine-workers could do. After all, they were quite aware of the fact that they would still enjoy much higher salaries and social amenities not only compared to Africans, but also to mine-workers elsewhere in the world, including Europe and North America.

2007, *Copper Empire* This perspective is partly challenged by Andrew Cohen, who argues that seen through an economist lens to make labour cheaper by decreasing the European work-force "Prain's stance after 1959 was adopted for businesslike – rather than altruistic – reasons". See: Cohen 2008, Business and Decolonisation in Central Africa Reconsidered, p. 654.

[540] Cyril Dunn is one example of those journalists, who worked as foreign correspondents in Northern Rhodesia between 1954 and 1958. His perceptions on the life of the white mining aristocracy on the Copperbelt, which he described as a "heaven for the proletariat" are analysed in detail by Ian Phimister. See: Phimister 2011, Workers in Wonderland? White Miners and the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1946–1962, p. 183.

[541] Berger, E.L. (1974). *Labour, Race, and Colonial Rule: The Copperbelt from 1924 to Independence.* Oxford Clarendon Press.

[542] Mhone, G.C. (1982). *The Political Economy of a Dual Labor Market in Africa: The Copper Industry and Dependency in Zambia, 1929-1969.* East Brunswick: Associated University Presses.

[543] Parpart, J.L. (1983). *Labor and Capital on the African Copperbelt.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

[544] Phimister 2011, Workers in Wonderland? White Miners and the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, 1946–1962.

[545] i.e.Larmer 2021, *Living for the City*

[546] Yelvington, K.A. (1997). An Interview with Al Epstein. *Current anthropology, 38*(2), 289-299, p. 294.

Conclusion

In the preceding, I have tried to understand Livingstone, Lusaka and the Copperbelt towns as distinct spaces, where Livingstone resembles a settler town, Lusaka is best described as the space of metropolitan politics, and the Copperbelt towns can be understood as spaces where planning and political power is in the hands of the mining industries. This all by no means implies that there were no variations of people and opinions within these towns, especially between the different Copperbelt towns, which were all distinct in some way or another.[547] The racist settler-attitudes of mine-workers, many of them Afrikaaner from South Africa, is well documented. From such a perspective one could easily understand the Copperbelt towns equally as settler spaces. Similarly, Lusaka experienced a gradual shift towards settler influence during the late 1940s, as Collins has studied in detail in his history of the city, with the important conjuncture of the 1956 establishment of a Municipal Council. The gradual shift from technocratic, metropolitan, civil servant rule to settler rule was also accompanied by a transformations of the urban space, for instance through toponymic changes within the city.[548]

Nevertheless, it is important for my argument to move beyond mere racial attitudes and to focus instead on how these attitudes translate into practice. This practice is defined by the agency of settlers to shape and plan the very spaces they inhabited beyond, for example, selecting one's furniture, which in many cases of the white homes in the Copperbelt towns was even provided by the companies. In this context it is also important to note that the companies on the Copperbelt and the metropolitan politics in Lusaka were far more important in the planning and controlling of the urban space than in Livingstone. There, specific patterns of white settlements over a relatively long period, in combination with legal and administrative structural events, especially the granting of municipal status, and a relative absence of metropolitan and corporate-industrial influence can be argued to have made a difference. Three main aspects are therefore relevant in underscoring the distinctions between Lusaka, Livingstone and the Copperbelt. 1) The composition and quantity/ density of the African and European populations; 2) the overall economic and political orientation of the towns; and 3) the distribution of powers in regard to local government and urban councils.

Moreover, similar trends of urban policy and politics might occur in different spaces in different periods. The early years of Lusaka represent a neglect towards urban Africans, however, in combination with a relatively liberal policy on spatial agency and practice – Africans could build their own homes and were allowed in shops as customers as well as employees. Conversely, in Livingstone such spatial agency and practice of Africans had been limited from the very early days on. Even in 1930s Livingstone the use of sidewalks to evade the cars passing by or even looking through the windows of European shops were met with arrests.[549] Over time, however, to some extent legislation was harmonised across the territory, so that in one space control was established, and in another established control might loosen a bit. Other legislations would vary in their execution.

[547] The different developments can partly be ascribed to the two main mining corporations, Chester Beatty's Rhodesian Selection Trust and Oppenheimer's Anglo-American, which did not always take the same paths in matters of urban planning and politics. See for instance: Butler 2007, *Copper Empire* and Kay 1967, *A Social Geography of Zambia*
[548] Collins 1980, Lusaka: Urban Planning in a British Colony 1931–64
[549] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 100-101.

While pass-laws were established across the territory, their execution, however, was nowhere practically enforceable. In Lusaka this was even more the case than in Livingstone. The same is true for such policies as the fining and arrest of women, which at times in Livingstone happened more regularly.[550] Thus, looking at the settler influence in urban spaces, the difference between Lusaka and Livingstone can be partly understood through the political practice in urban areas. While general standards of living and provision of services might not have been considerably better in either Lusaka or Livingstone,[551] African populations in urban areas were more rigidly controlled in Livingstone not only in relation to Lusaka, but other municipalities in Northern Rhodesia as well. The debate on African participation in local governments following the Eccles Commission in 1944 and the Brown and Monckton reports of 1958 and 1960[552] was perhaps the most widespread and comprehensive attempt to bring into line the vastness of legislation and administrative policies towards Africans living in urban areas. Regardless, local variation remained, and in an urban space like Lusaka different administrative means were in use than in Livingstone with its lesser population and smaller geographical extent, or the Copperbelt, which was ruled by the firm hand of the mining corporations.

3.3. Making Life Comfortable – Façades of a Settler Town

Different institutions and cultural infrastructures such as museums and cinemas co-constituted the formation of a settler urban space. As façades to the urban arrangement, they display through their open presence, physically and socially, the ambitions and aspirations of settlers for their town; an openness not available to most, however. Livingstone was the first town in Northern Rhodesia where a cinema was opened in 1917 by the Marcus Grill, first as an open-air cinema at Queensway, where most of the Indian shops were situated. The cinema moved to Mainway in 1921, before Grill's Kinema was finally under a proper roof in 1922. Subsequently, in 1931, the Grill family opened the Capitol Theatre, which still exists today – although it has not been used as a cinema since 2003 – and represents one of the "old Edwardian" buildings along Mosi-oa-Tunya Road.[553] As with most urban spaces, cinemas, too, were strictly segregated. The first multiracial cinema was opened by an Indian, Mr. V. Mistry, in Lusaka, who faced the problem of being restricted to showing only those films previously approved by the Film Censorship Board. The law foresaw that "Under the Regulations the approval of the Board cannot be given with respect to any cinematograph picture or any part thereof which in its opinion depicts any matter that is contrary to public order or decency, or the exhibition of which would for any other reason be undesirable in the public interest."[554] The themes that were "contrary to public order or decency" leading to films being censored changed over the years, or, more precisely, new themes were added to the ones already on the list. "Scenes

[550] See Heisler, H. (1974). *Urbanisation and the Government of Migration.* London: C. Hurst and Company, p. 99; McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*, p.19; see also Chapter 5.
[551] Evidence from recent comparative studies suggests similarly that standards of living between settler and non-settler colonies did not differ significantly. See for instance Frankema, E. and M. Van Waijenburg (2012). Structural Impediments to African Growth? New Evidence from Real Wages in British Africa, 1880–1965. *The Journal of Economic History, 72*(4), 895-926; Bowden, Chiripanhura and Mosley 2008, Measuring and Explaining Poverty in Six African Countries: A Long-Period Approach.
[552] See also Chapters 4 and 5.
[553] Macmillan and Shapiro 2017, *Zion in Africa*, p. 45-46.
[554] Hansard: House of Commons Debate, May 1, 1957, Vol. 569, cc 13-14.

"invariably cut from films" in 1946 included women in swimsuits or other scanty attire, 'women of easy virtue, manhandling of women, prolonged embraces, fights between women, crimes readily understood by Africans [and] scenes of drunkenness'".[555] Later in the 1940s, and especially during the 1950s political topics were considered more dangerous. The MGM production "Huckleberry Finn" of 1939 was for instance censored based on the argument that

> "the nature of the theme and story in the film contain situations, words and suggestions that are prejudicial to the present state of racial relations in the Territory […] such as scenes of an escaped Negro slave being hounded by Europeans with dogs, the general attitude of Europeans towards Negroes, and a scene where the Negro is about to be lynched by an infuriated mob of Europeans"[556]

During the late 1920s and 1930s Africans could enjoy mainly educational films on the Copperbelt, where they became part of the town life. As an experiment funded by the Carnegie-Foundation and by led Merle Davis between 1935 and 1937, the "Bantu Educational Kinema Experiment", educational films on 16mm were shown to Africans to enhance and firm up the modernisation process.[557] Despite the fact that Davis' experiment was rather short-lived, educational films continued to be produced until independence by the Colonial Film Unit, although later combined with an "entertainment value" as the Annual Report of Northern Rhodesia in 1959 suggests.

> "The production of simple films of combined educational and entertainment value for Africans, which is the major task of the Cinema Section of the Information Department, was continued during the year. Three 16 mm. films completed during the early part of the year were "Grader Ahead", the training of African plant operators; "They Work in Words", the story of the Africans employed in the Government Printing Works, and "A New House for Africa", the erection of a new type of house available at low cost. Later in the year shooting was completed on five more 16 mm. films and by the end of the year three of them were finished. They were "Better Living —Happy Families", depicting the work of the Development Area Training Centres; "Kafue National Park", the story of a visit to the game park by an African family; "Petro Joins the Co-operative Society" which shows how Petro, by joining a "co-op", is able to market his produce advantageously. The other two films were made for the Agriculture Department in the Eastern Province and deal with the production of Turkish tobacco and groundnuts."[558]

[555] Ambler, C. (2001). Popular Films and Colonial Audiences: The Movies in Northern Rhodesia. *The American Historical Review, 106*(1), 81-105, p. 91

[556] SEC 2/1125: Director of Information appeal against a decision of the Native Film Censorship Board, December 8, 1948.

[557] see for instance Ambler 2001, Popular Films and Colonial Audiences, p. 91; see also Reynolds, G. (2009). The Bantu Educational Kinema Experiment and the Struggle for Hegemony in British East and Central Africa, 1935–1937. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television, 29*(1), 57-78; Smyth, R. (1983). The Central African Film Unit's Images of Empire, 1948–1963. Ibid. *3*(2), 131-147.

[558] Report on Northern Rhodesia for the Year 1959. Luskaka: Government Printer., p. 70.

The themes of these educational films are perfectly in line with the development rationale of the Colonial Office. The depiction of working life, family life and housing represented the triad of the depoliticised colonial discourse that tried to counter African nationalism and highlight the benefits of pursuing an orderly and well-structured life instead of being engaged in political agitation. Yet unlike the colonialists' understanding of these films as being entertaining, the African audience "generally had little patience for films on postal savings banks, "Better Hides and Skins," and proper teeth-brushing procedures".[559] Instead, action-packed Hollywood B-Western were far more popular, despite being disposed of their already shallow plot-lines through the scissors of the censors and noisy space of African open-air cinemas alike.[560] Thus, not only cinemas themselves were segregated, but what cinema means was too, that is, the theatric experience and the spatiality of cinemas. Cinemas were indeed popular among Africans, especially on the Copperbelt. They were readily criticised, commented, and interpreted by the African audience, as Hortense Powdermaker observed.[561] The "Africanisation" of the American frontier myth through Western, which Powdermaker recognised,[562] suggests that

> "the meanings of films and other pieces of mass media are elusive and contested, and that audiences continually appropriate and re- appropriate such media and subject them to various and fluid readings. The cowboys who populated westerns emerged from screens on the Copperbelt as characters rooted as much in urban Northern Rhodesian communities as in the American West"[563]

It was therefore deemed all the more necessary to censor such amusement. Charles Ambler notes in this regard that the "tenacious devotion among whites in Northern Rhodesia to the specter of film's power over Africans reveals not only a deeply entrenched racial order but an unquestioning confidence as well in the powerful force of the medium of film as an instrument of cultural subversion."[564]

The settler influence in Livingstone made sure that for a long time even such amenities were rare occasions. Films were only shown in the Maramba Welfare Hall and occasionally in one of the other compounds. Nevertheless, some mobile cinema vans were in operation all over Northern Rhodesia since the 1940s, but these soon concentrated on rural areas rather than urban areas which already had cinemas for Africans installed. In an interview Mr. Mukuka also remembered going to the welfare centre at Zambezi Sawmills during the 1960s to see what he still called bio-scopes.[565] A

[559] Ambler 2001, Popular Films and Colonial Audiences, p. 85.
[560] SEC 2/456: Native Development Boards Sub Committee Films for Africans, Welfare Officers Report, August 1, 1941. The report of the Welfare Officer in 1941 summaries the response to different films in the following manner. "Cowboy and Gangster Films are undoubtedly the most popular. Every boy fondly believes that he understands the picture, and so gives running commentary to his neighbour. With a few exceptions I don't think the whole of the story is understood, but they all have an uncanny say of picking out the Hero and the Villain and will raise the roof when the Villain get his final beating up." See also: Powdermaker, H. (1962). *Copper Town. Changing Africa: The Human Situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt.* New York: Harper & Row, p. 259.
[561] Ibid., p. 270
[562] See also: Reynolds, G. (2015). *Colonial Cinema in Africa: Origins, Images, Audiences*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, p. 126
[563] Ibid., p. 104.
[564] Ambler 2001, Popular Films and Colonial Audiences, p. 103
[565] Interview 17, May 7, 2018.

request by Mr. Mwale of the African Urban Advisory Council (AUAC)[566] in 1957 to open a cinema at the Airport compound was turned down, as were previous requests to open a cinema at Linda in 1956[567] by the Senior Welfare Officer Mr. Gargett in a letter to the Advisory Council saying that "cinema shows were only given in the Maramba Welfare Hall [… and] that it was unlikely that the [Municipal] Council would agree".[568] However, Mr. Gargett asked on behalf of the Municipal Council how the situation in Maramba cinema, which lacked an audience to run it economically, could be improved. Mr. Sithole said that "the trouble with Maramba Welfare Hall was that it was far too small for a cinema show and as a result adults would not go, only children".[569] Given the immense success of cinema shows elsewhere in the territory, the situation in Maramba must have been particularly poor. In the eyes of the local authorities the welfare hall at Maramba should have sufficed as a cinema for the whole African population of Livingstone, which in the mid-1950s exceeded the European population by eight times. Like so many other cultural and social infrastructures for Africans, cinemas, too, were more or less cleared away to the welfare hall; one building to serve them all. Within the already peripheralised African compounds social and cultural infrastructures themselves were peripheralised, not readily visible and discernible within the African residential arrangement, but hidden in the rear spaces of multi-purpose halls.

Thus, Livingstone was home to the first cinema in the country as well as the famous Capitol Theatre, which was situated alongside other Edwardian buildings at Main Road. Settlers' spatial identity was displayed not only through the physical structures, but through the very function of the cinema as a cultural infrastructure, an amenity that was not granted to Africans. Although legislation would have allowed multiracial cinemas in the late 1950s, it was up to the private owners or the local by-laws. In Livingstone it would have been theoretically possible for a (liberal) European going to the cinema to be accompanied by an African. Yet practically it was impossible. The necessary procedure to make it possible was explained by a liberal European to the journalist Sydney Jacobson, who followed Harold Macmillan on his "Wind of Change" tour. The man told Jacobson that permission of the District Commissioner would be necessary and a warning had to be given to the cinema. "He would be given a seat in a special box away from the white audience while his African companions had to endure further embarrassment from the film certification announcement: 'Not suitable for children under twelve or Africans.'"[570]

[566] See more on the Council in Chapter 5.
[567] NAZ: SP 4/12/66. Minutes of the African Urban Advisory Council, Livingstone, February 12, 1956.
[568] NAZ: SP 1/4/11. Minutes of the AUAC, July 10, 1957.
[569] Ibid.
[570] Lewis 2013, 'White Man in a Wood Pile': Race and the Limits of Macmillan's Great 'Wind of Change' in Africa., p. 86.



Fig. 3. Mainway, Livingstone around 1960, Postcard Image[571]



Fig. 4. Mainway with Capitol Theatre (second building from left), Livingstone around 1960, Postcard Image

The pictures above (Fig. 3 and 4) highlight the façades of the settler urbanism. The logic behind the iconographic subjects of these postcard images might perhaps not coincide with contemporary standards of what such images usually display. The central axes of the subjects are the wide *Mainway* and the building-line, facing the street perpendicularly. The slight angle of the camera to these axes

[571] Self-copied

co-constitutes the production of the urban space as a wide and modern arena by and for European town-dwellers and tourists, full of concrete, cars and spaces for parking as well as the indicated tree-line, contributing beauty and shade to prevent the cars from overheating. The *spacing* of the physical arrangement and the social objects inscribed in them thus widens the gaze onto settler's modernity itself. Here, habitus and habitat co-produce the settler's sense of place, structured by a specific relational constellation of socio-spatial exclusivity, that is the openness of the scenery bounded by a strict social closure. Inside the cinema building, the display of British films "reinforced their [settlers'] cultural connection to the Metropole"[572]. For settlers, the cinema therefore represents a space that satisfies the longing for the familiar and the known, an idealised cultural homeland. Conversely, the "Africanisation" of the bioscopes in the welfare halls of African residential areas suggests the opposite, a cinematic journey into an unknown, albeit distorted, world of US-American and European culture and an interpretation and appropriation thereof; an attraction that "subverted cherished colonial notions of Africa as Britain's "Wild West.""[573]

Another aspect to make life more comfortable and add to the settlers' urban façades was the plan of the Municipal Council of Livingstone already in the mid-1930s to build a communal swimming pool for the European population. After 1935, however, many Europeans had left for Lusaka and there were insufficient funds to build the pool for some years. This was despite the fact that the so-called beerhall funds from the monopolised beer sales in African compounds, supposedly to be used for African social services and amenities, were illegally used in European areas by being channelled through the general revenue fund.[574] Surprisingly, despite the shortages during wartime, the Municipal Council managed to collect enough funds (£5,000) by 1942 to finally build the pool, which was opened by Governor John Waddington. In his annual Mayor's minutes, the mayor of Livingstone notes that "[f]or many years the Council has advocated the construction of a swimming bath in town to provide the community with the much desired swimming facilities, and the facilities now provided should give them endless pleasure and healthy recreation in their leisure hours."[575]

However, the Council's aspiration of increasing the town's benefits were soon met by the reality of disinterested European town-dwellers. Already in 1944 the Mayor had to admit that "[w]hen one remembers the public enthusiasm for the provision of a swimming bath in town, it must be confessed that the enthusiasm for the amenity is rapidly falling off as is evident by the returns of the year which show that only 14,119 persons, including spectators, paid for admission to the bath."[576] In the following years the situation did not improve and soon problems would arise in the "public" swimming bath, extending from unhygienic water conditions to problems concerning the structural integrity of the construction. At times an expectation might be more satisfying than the materialisation thereof after all. Then, the crumbling of such façades is both physical and symbolic. Many times, Africans showed interest in using the pool as well, however, without success. In other words, the pool would probably have been used frequently, if it had been open to Africans as well. But such a shared use was inconceivable for most Europeans in Northern Rhodesia and thus out of

[572] Burns, J. (2013). *Cinema and Society in the British Empire, 1895-1940*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 8.
[573] Ambler 2001, Popular Films and Colonial Audiences, p. 103
[574] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 69.
[575] NAZ: SP 4/1/14. Mayor's Minutes, Livingstone: Mayor's Minutes for 1942, March 31, 1943.
[576] Ibid., Mayor's Minutes for 1943, March 31, 1944.

the question. Moreover, worse than a crumbled façade of one symbolic element of an urban arrangement is the potential of such element to affect the integrity of the whole system. Letting Africans gain access to an urban amenity that did not work according to the settlers' aspiration for and vision of *place* would have created a quite severe crack in the settlers' ideological wall. A pool is therefore rather left to physical decay before sharing it; a broken façade is still less worrisome than a collapsed dream. Eventually, in 1953 Mr. Kabalata from the AUAC even requested that an African swimming bath be constructed, to which the (European) chairman of the Council only replied that the motion should be withdrawn, since such a request would never be realised due to costs.[577] Money was certainly an issue. Nevertheless, a swimming bath for Africans would also have been a visible inclusion, which settlers were not ready to accept.

Apart from amenities such as cinemas and swimming pools, however unsuccessful, there were the already mentioned clubs and organisations that generated a sense of cohesion. There were the Women's Club, the Ratepayer's Organisation, and different sports clubs, but also temporary ones such as the Livingstone Centenary Committee that co-organised the 1955 centenary ceremony.[578] Some organisations were political, some were social, others were recreational in purpose. What they all had in common was the coming together, social exchange and network building of Livingstone's white community. Beyond such functions, which were performed by similar institutions elsewhere in Northern Rhodesia as well, such organisations in Livingstone also represented the social infrastructures that facilitated the production of social façades of settler urbanism. In and through these infrastructures, visions, aspirations and imaginings of what Livingstone could or ought to be would be generated. They were part of the media with which the production of space was performed. These media themselves would receive positive feedback (in a system's sense) through political and other social institutions. They were addressed and promoted by the local government through notice boards and mayor's minutes as well as through the main local newspaper, the *Livingstone Mail*.

Thus, the constitution of a settler-colonial town also necessitated the formation of an institution representing and fostering the views, opinions and ideologies of its white inhabitants. The *Livingstone Mail* is probably one of the most comprehensive examples of how settler-identities were culturally and socially transmitted, and how they helped to foster settler identity. As Joanna Lewis argues, it "helped to project and knit together a white culture based on shared pioneering, regular outrage and racial superiority […and] defined and reflected the strong, unsentimental local views: a dislike of missionaries, the BSAC, Colonial Office interference and local government".[579] Founded by the previously mentioned chemist and politician Leopold Moore already in 1906, the weekly newspaper[580] not only reflects how settler ideologies evolved and developed over the years, but the very foundation and publication of the paper itself can be understood as a political act, since Moore

[577] NAZ: SP 4/12/66. African Urban Advisory Council, Livingstone: Minutes of Meeting, October 30, 1953.
[578] Lewis 2011, Rivers of White
[579] Lewis 2018, *Empire of Sentiment*, p. 167.
[580] Although the *Livingstone Mail* was strictly speaking not the first, but the second newspaper of then North-Western Rhodesia, "The Livingstone Pioneer and Advertiser" founded by William Trayner came out shortly earlier in 1906 and had a brief life. See: Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 124; Macmillan and Shapiro 2017, *Zion in Africa*, p. 43. In tone and style the two papers were not very different from each other and were quick to address perceived problems of uncontrolled African migration to the town and the subsequent creation of houses by the migrants.

"used the paper to air his political views. Administrators were forced to begin listening to the views of the white".[581]

In spatial terms, the establishment of the newspaper not only created a space of knowledge[582] within Livingstone in the sense of an infrastructure for distributing and receiving information and thereby further fostering a sense of place, but it also contributed to the particular spatial production of the town through the construction of discourses of difference such as inside/outside, European/ African, Company (or state)/ settlers. It was a medium that co-defined the town's socio-cultural, political and economic boundaries and co-constituted it as settler space. Although with the years passing, the overall tone of the newspaper changed, especially after Leopold Moore's death in 1945, it never ceased to be a paper in opposition to African development, the BSAC and the Colonial Office, and to some extent industries and also neighbouring territories, until 1968 when it went out of print. In the paper's early days, important matters included in particular the politics of the BSAC and the increase of Africans living in the town. In 1911 already Africans outnumbered the European population by approximately 6.5 times. At that time, approximately 1,965 Africans, 300 Europeans, 11 "coloured" and 6 Indians were living in town.[583] The conflictual relationship with the BSAC has already been outlined to some extent in the previous section, which is why I will now focus on how Leopold Moore, as one of the main figures in Northern Rhodesian settler politics, through the *Livingstone Mail* not only shaped the identity of Livingstone as a town. I will also highlight how he used the very image he had been creating in Livingstone to shape policies through his function as an elected member of the Legislative Council on a territorial scale.

Since Africans working in Livingstone were either employed as domestic servants, messengers or as self-employed artisans and marketeers, their everyday lives and routines concerning labour at times coincided with that of Europeans, especially in the first 20 years. The *Livingstone Mail* not only wrote against a supposed or actual (this is hard to tell) increase in crime, especially petty crime such as theft, but also against Africans' labour. In 1910 it depicted African merchants as a threat to European businesses, since the former would outperform the latter. The railway workers also complained that they could not compete against the low wages of African artisans.[584] This early fear of African competition might be partly explained by the composition of the white population at the time, which included a not insignificant number of low-skilled, unemployed South Africans and Southern Rhodesians.[585] At the same time the white settlers needed African labour not only in the fields, but also in urban areas, which is why Moore supported coercive measures and forced labour, which seems paradoxical given the complaints mentioned above. In 1910 he wrote on the issue: "To

[581] Phiri, B.J. (2006). *A Political History of Zambia: From Colonial Rule to the Third Republic, 1890-2001*. Africa Research and Publications, p. 14.
[582] see for instance Rau 2019, *History, Space and Place*, p.112.
[583] Census published in The Livingstone Mail, July 8, 1911 cited in Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 185. For the Indian population see also: Mufuzi 2013, Indian Traders as Agents of Western Technological Consumption and Social Change in Mukuni: Memories of the Sharma Brothers' Trading Store, 1950s to 1964, p. 195. Note: It is, however, important to highlight the fact that this ratio more or less stayed the same until the end of colonialism with the exception of the first 10 years after the relocation of the capital to Lusaka in 1935. In 1963 the ratio between non-African (thus including about 640 Indians) and Africans at Livingstone was 1:6.1. See: Barber 1967, Urbanisation and Growth: The Cases of Two White Settler Territories, p. 95.
[584] Gann 1968, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, p. 160.
[585] Gann, L. (1960). The White Settler: A Changing Image. *Race, 2*(2), 28-40, p. 38. Note: About 1/3 of the white population in 1911 came from South Africa.

force him [the African] to work is only to assimilate his condition to that of the white man. None of us would work if we were not forced to, and if we remained content with what satisfied him, we should be even as he".[586] Yet, the paradox disappears if these early issues of labour and business competition are understood in the context of the lack of legislation to control business and labour. Accordingly, these issues were somewhat resolved when the settlers at Livingstone gained more and more control over the town, finally managing to have some say in town especially concerning the control of Africans in the urban area. Livingstone was the first town where pass-laws were enforced in 1914.[587]

Leopold Moore's attempts to defend "his town" and the prosperity of its settler population against political, cultural and economic influence was not limited to the central government and Africans in Livingstone. It extended not only beyond the boundaries of Northern Rhodesia, but beyond the African continent. A proposal by the imperial government to give 500 Jewish families from Austria and Germany refuge in Northern Rhodesia was met by strong opposition from Leopold Moore. He not only agitated against the plan as a member of the Legislative Council, but also in his capacity as a publisher, when he implied that this proposal would lead to a "Rhodesia for the Jews" and proclaimed it "A PROPOSAL FOR A VITAL PROBLEM",[588] since many of the settlers would not want them to come and nobody would even know where they would be settling. The fact that Leopold Moore and other European settlers were not only interested, but were actively engaged in attracting more settlers to come to Northern Rhodesia and Livingstone in particular did not mean that they wanted any Europeans, but preferably British Christians. In other words, Moore and others would have preferred settlers that fit into the existing community.[589]

Moore's attempt to agitate against the proposal exceeded debates in the Legislative Council and the *Livingstone Mail*. At an agricultural show at Bindura in the Mazoe Valley about 90km northeast of Harare he warned that this proposal would create a new Palestine, since Jews would not stay in reserves, but instead move to Southern Rhodesia to establish farms and run businesses and banks. He said: "If I have the slightest influence with your Prime Minister [of Southern Rhodesia, G.M. Huggins] I want him to take a hand in this game".[590] He further warned that Yiddish would soon be spoken in the Assembly and asked why instead of 500 Jewish families the government would not consider bringing 500 British families to Northern Rhodesia.[591] Racism against Africans was accompanied by anti-semitism, which was not uncommon especially in South Africa and the

[586] Livingstone Mail, February 5, 1910 cited in Makambe, E.P. (1979). *The African Immigrant Factor in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1930: The Origin and Influence of External Elements in a Colonial Setting*. (Ph.D. Thesis), University of York, p. 481.
[587] Heisler 1974, *Urbanisation and the Government of Migration.*, p. 101.
[588] Livingstone Mail, Juli 27, 1938.
[589] Paradoxically, there were many Jewish settlers in Northern Rhodesia, including Roy Welensky, and in Livingstone in particular, who were engaged in all sorts of businesses. From trading to cinema they contributed a lot to the establishment and development of the town.
[590] Bulawayo Chronicle, August 1, 1938 depicted in Shapiro, F. (2002). *Haven in Africa*. Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House Ltd, p. 122. Moore's protest even made it to New York, where the Jewish Telegraphic Agency circulated the news writing "The protest was made by Sir Leopold Moore, senior elected member of the Legislative Council, in the name of all seven of the Council's elected members." Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Vol. IV, No. 103, August 2, 1938.
[591] Macmillan and Shapiro 2017, *Zion in Africa*, p. 106 argue that Moore's real target was the Colonial Office, since "[i]n his view, it was trying to foist the scheme on Northern Rhodesia. It had not asked, could not compel, Southern Rhodesia, which had a settler self-government, to consider such a scheme." The fact that of all elected members of the Legislative Council nobody was as extreme as Moore on this matter, made him "accuse other Elected Members of currying favor with the British Government by secretly harboring a pro-refugee policy" Shapiro 2002, *Haven in Africa*, p. 29.

Rhodesias.[592] Beyond that, it is clear what Moore envisioned for his town: an increase in British (preferably) Christian settlers. By 1933, however, at least his previously held negative attitude against a Federation, whose establishment he did not survive, had changed and he saw benefits in an amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia. In his view the Colonial Office resembled a greater obstacle than competition from businesses in Southern Rhodesia. Moreover, due to the falling of the copper price during the Great Depression it was clear to him that it was impossible to survive without any support.[593]

Not only through Moore's newspaper, which "carried abusive letters from whites who remained wildly pro-amalgamationist",[594] but also a number of correspondences between him and Gore-Browne, the difference between metropolitan and settler interests became unmistakably clear, when he wrote to him: "You are a little inclined to let your care and sympathy for the Natives obscure the main issue: the survival of white colonization in Central Africa".[595] It is nonetheless necessary to highlight how differently Moore is perceived within the academic literature. While for Macmillan he resembles a white supremacist, nonetheless one whose newspaper was not particularly interspersed by colonial racism,[596] for Rotberg the contrary was true and the newspaper was preoccupied with removing "the spectre of potential black influence".[597] While I would rather agree with Rotberg's assessment, at times the paper seems to show if not an active interest in the struggle of Africans than at least some form of pragmatism. When for instance discussions of the "black peril"[598] fear in Southern Rhodesia were discussed in the paper in 1925, Moore responded to a letter to the editor by arguing that "reference to 'Black Peril' cases suggest that they are common, whereas we know they are not".[599] He could have used the "Black Peril" cases, which the *Livingstone Mail* did comment on, to call for even stricter controls of Africans in Livingstone and propagate his racist agenda at yet another level. However, he did not, despite the fact that propaganda and exaggeration were not uncommon appearances in the *Livingstone Mail*, to say the least. In the case of the relative absence of "black peril" cases and fears until the 1930s, Hansen, however, suggests that this is not due to politics or economics, but "sexual assumptions and demography".[600] That is to say, there was a

[592] On anti-semitism in Southern Africa see: Macmillan and Shapiro 2017, *Zion in Africa*, p. 10-12; Shain, M. (1994). *The Roots of Anti-Semitism in South Africa.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. Note: Roy Welensky, known for his pro-settler and nationalist attitudes, too, had experienced anti-semitism due to his Lithuanian-Jewish ancestry. See: Taylor, D. (1955). *The Rhodesian: The Life of Sir Roy Welensky.* London: Museum Press, p. 34-35.
[593] Rotberg 1977, *Black Heart*, p. 171; Note: Leopold Moore's contempt of the Colonial Office is particularly interesting against the backdrop of his imprisonment in Katanga in 1913 for a libel against a Baron Faidherbe, which was followed by an inquiry in the British House of Commons. The short debate involved his state of health and whether or not he would need any diplomatic assistance. Perhaps a lack of support fuelled his contempt of the British Government. Hansard: House of Commons Debate, February 11, 1913, Vol. 48, cc 678-679. The incident not only drew some media attention and news coverage by the Guardian between February and March 1913, but also the journalist and later MP E.D. Morel, famous for his articles and campaign against Leopold II and the Congo Free-state, looked into the affair and reported from Katanga.
[594] Ibid., p. 197.
[595] Moore to Gore-Brown, November 9, 1936, cited in ibid., p. 197.
[596] Macmillan, H. (2005). *An African Trading Empire: The Story of Susman Brothers & Wulfsohn, 1901-2005.* London: IB Tauris, p. 44.
[597] Rotberg 1977, *Black Heart*, p. 174.
[598] "Black Peril" refers to a collective sexual fear held by whites, especially in Southern Africa, of African men raping white women. See for instance: McCulloch, J. (2002). *Black Peril, White Virtue. Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press ; Brown, B.B. (1987). Facing the 'Black Peril': The Politics of Population Control in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 13*(2), 256-273.
[599] Livingstone Mail, February 26, 1925 cited in Hansen, Tranberg, K. (1989). *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900–1985.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p. 104.
[600] Ibid., p. 103.

greater ratio between white men and women in Northern Rhodesia than in Southern Rhodesia, markedly until the 1930s.

Interestingly, to some degree a few articles in the *Livingstone Mail* could even be understood as being sympathetic to African interests. However, it is more likely that African welfare in such instances was only used as a strategic argument against the power of the big copper industries, which Moore viewed almost as critically as the colonial government. In 1941, the newspaper for instance suggested in an article that African wages would be low compared to the financial surplus created by the mining industries.[601] This issue was then further addressed in a letter to the editor, where it was considered "unfair" of the paper to compare the total amount of money made by mining corporations to the wages of African workers, who would receive free and better food and free and better housing. The letter also pointed out that Africans would not need cars, since they could not obtain a driving license and would not appreciate the huge food diversity, which they often could not even digest, which is why the wages could be regarded as sufficient.[602]

Leopold Moore, the founder and owner of the propagandist settler newspaper, was not only against African participation and "advancement" and the BSAC and colonial authorities, but also against missionaries and RLI-sociologists. As a member of the Legislative Council, the Municipal Council, the museum board of the Rhodes-Livingstone (after independence only Livingstone Museum),[603] he was, however, in close contact with those whom he wrote about and agitated against. Perhaps because of their shared atheism and dislike of missionaries, Moore and his wife[604], despite his perception of the sociologists as merely "a sop for local traders"[605], often shared the dinner table with RLI-director Max Gluckman and his wife Mary Gluckman, who, however, seemed to have more difficulties fitting into the local settler sphere than her husband.[606] As Lyn Schumaker highlighted in her work, Gluckman, while politically left, nevertheless managed what Wilson was unable to do. He used the shared interests between colonial administrators and the sociologists in his favour to get what he wanted.[607] Seemingly, he did so with settlers as well. Moore was perhaps a very special character and, in some instances, not representative of a typical settler, if there ever was one. He was certainly not a dull anti-intellectual by heart, but knew perfectly how to talk the talk and perhaps even walk the walk. He transmitted and propagated much of what settler-colonialism means and, as a politician and publisher, used his influence to shape the urban space of Livingstone to his political segregationist ideology. Lewis Gann, while not particularly critical of Moore, still

[601] Livingstone Mail, January 17, 1941.
[602] Livingstone Mail, February 14, 1941.
[603] The Livingstone Museum during colonial days presents yet another ideological tool by which settlers controlled the urban space, since they sat on the board and jointly decided what would be displayed in the museum and how. One important aspect was to use it as an "educational" institution for Africans to display to them the achievements of Europeans and thus naturalise not only control over them, but also naturalise the urban space as essentially European. See Mufuzi 2011a, Establishment of the Livingstone Museum and Its Role in Colonial Zambia, 1934-1964 and Mufuzi 2012a, *The Livingstone Museum and Its Contribution to Zambia History: 1934-2006*.
[604] Not much about Mrs. Moore, later Lady Moore, is known. She received some attention in an article in the Horizon Magazine in 1964 as the woman "whose husband, Sir Leopold, was one of the most striking personalities among the pioneers who founded and built Livingstone. She still lives in the town". Dahn, J. A town with a chip on its shoulder. In. Horizon, June 1964, p. 16.
[605] Gordon, R.J. (2018). *The Enigma of Max Gluckman: The Ethnographic Life of a "Luckyman" in Africa.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Chapter 5.
[606] Ibid.
[607] Schumaker 2001, *Africanizing Anthropology*.

implicitly captured what settler-spirit means or meant, that is, to constantly imagine what could be instead of accepting what already is; aspirations and imaginings are therefore a structure. On Moore during the early days of Livingstone he wrote:

> "Livingstone was small, forlorn, with an atrocious climate in the hot season when the sun beat down mercilessly on its sandy streets; it possessed few means of entertainment and no attraction: beyond the Zambezi and the magnificent Victoria Falls a few miles away. Yet Moore loved his adopted home and he loved Northern Rhodesia for which he foresaw a great future."[608]

The settler culture, the developing tourist industry, and the strict forms of segregation all contributed to the formation of a specific urban *Eigenlogik*[609] of Livingstone until independence. This logic encompassed social and especially cultural patterns and structures, which are stabilised through forms of habitualisation (local identities), institutionalisation (various social and cultural organisations), and materialisation (architectural and morphological inscription).

3.4. Things of Boundaries – Livingstone's Urban Developments

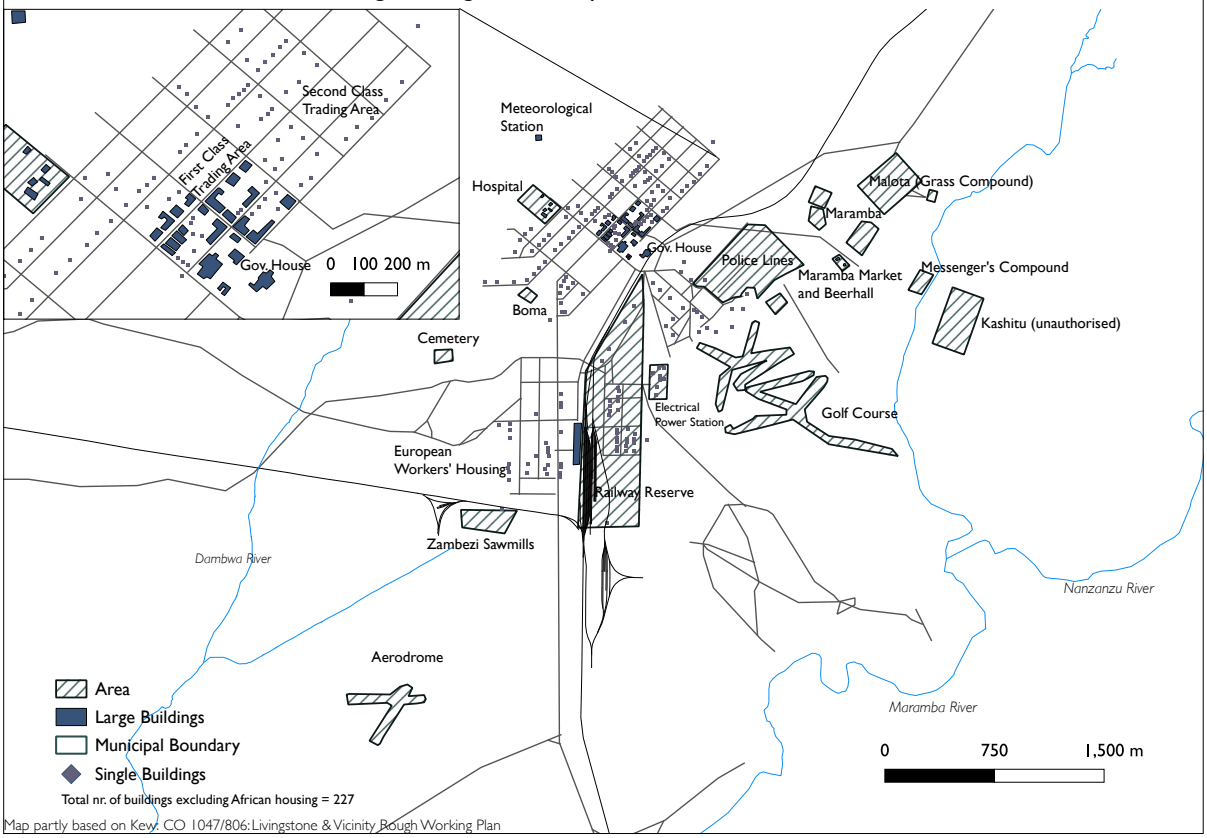
Despite the strong settler-influence and the great aspirations for their town to become a flourishing tourist destination, especially after Livingstone lost the status as capital of Northern Rhodesia in 1935, it developed quite slowly during the first three decades of its existence. By the early 1930s the original layout of 1905 was not much altered. While the European part of the town to the northwest and west of the railway line developed further up the elevation around the slope of the hill, there was no urban planning proper in the African parts of the town, a structural neglect which continued until the early 1950s. At this time, first Libuyu was built in 1951 on the former site of Kashitu, then Linda between the Railway Reserve and the golf course in 1954, and finally the new Kashitu compound west of the Zambezi Sawmills Compound in 1956. Boundaries structured and mediated the physical and social relationships. But more so *things of boundaries*[610], thus the very social (and physical) entities that are generated by (social) boundaries are important in understanding how the actual boundaries of things came into being and, like a feedback-loop, reproduced social boundaries. In simplified terms, it is the segregationist logic that constitutes the boundaries and produces the things of boundaries, essentially the social and physical spatial relations, which again have an effect on how social life is segmented and regulated.

African residential areas, as can be seen in Fig. 5, were strategically positioned away from the main town. Rivers, partly elevated railway lines, the general elevational gradient, the golf-course and the African police compound would form natural as well as built barriers between African and European areas. The closest compound to European residential areas was the Railway reserve, where also European personnel would be housed. The African area (not specifically highlighted in

[608] Gann 1968, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, p. 165
[609] Löw, M. (2018). *Vom Raum aus die Stadt Denken.* Bielefeld: transcript.
[610] Abbott 1995, Things of Boundaries.

the map) was situated in the southern part of Railway Reserve, enclosed by industrial structures and separated from the European housing areas in the very north of the Railway Reserve.

Fig. 5. Livingstone Compounds and Areas, 1930



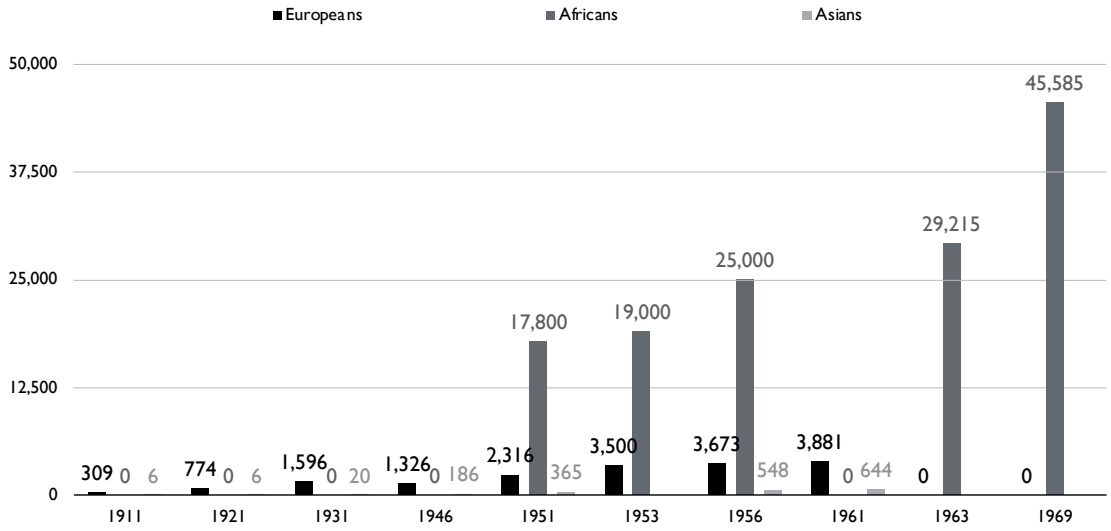
Since housing for Africans in urban areas was employment-based,[611] in Livingstone during the 1930s, if employed by the municipality or self-employed, most would be living mainly in Maramba and (continuous with Maramba) the quasi-unauthorised yet accepted Grass Compound (Malota). Apart from Maramba, the Zambezi Sawmills and especially the Rhodesian Railways would house many African workers and, after the 1940s, also families. At the fringes outside the town, Kashitu and Nanzanzu were the two largest unauthorised compounds.[612]

The European parts of Livingstone from the 1940s onwards started to develop more rapidly. After the brief decline in European population after 1935, it began to rise again after World War II. In terms of the local economy, besides the tobacco, lumber, railway, and textile industries, Livingstone was home to many different traders and business people. Much of this trade was performed by the Indian community in Livingstone, which by the mid-1940s only amounted to about 180 people compared to 1,300 Europeans.[613] Most of those Indians had their business in the second-

[611] i.e. Home 2013b, *Of Planting and Planning*; Home 2000, From Barrack Compounds to the Single-Family House: Planning Worker Housing in Colonial Natal and Northern Rhodesia
[612] see more on unauthorised compounds in Livingstone in chapter 5.2
[613] Mufuzi 2013, Indian Traders as Agents of Western Technological Consumption and Social Change in Mukuni: Memories of the Sharma Brothers' Trading Store, 1950s to 1964.

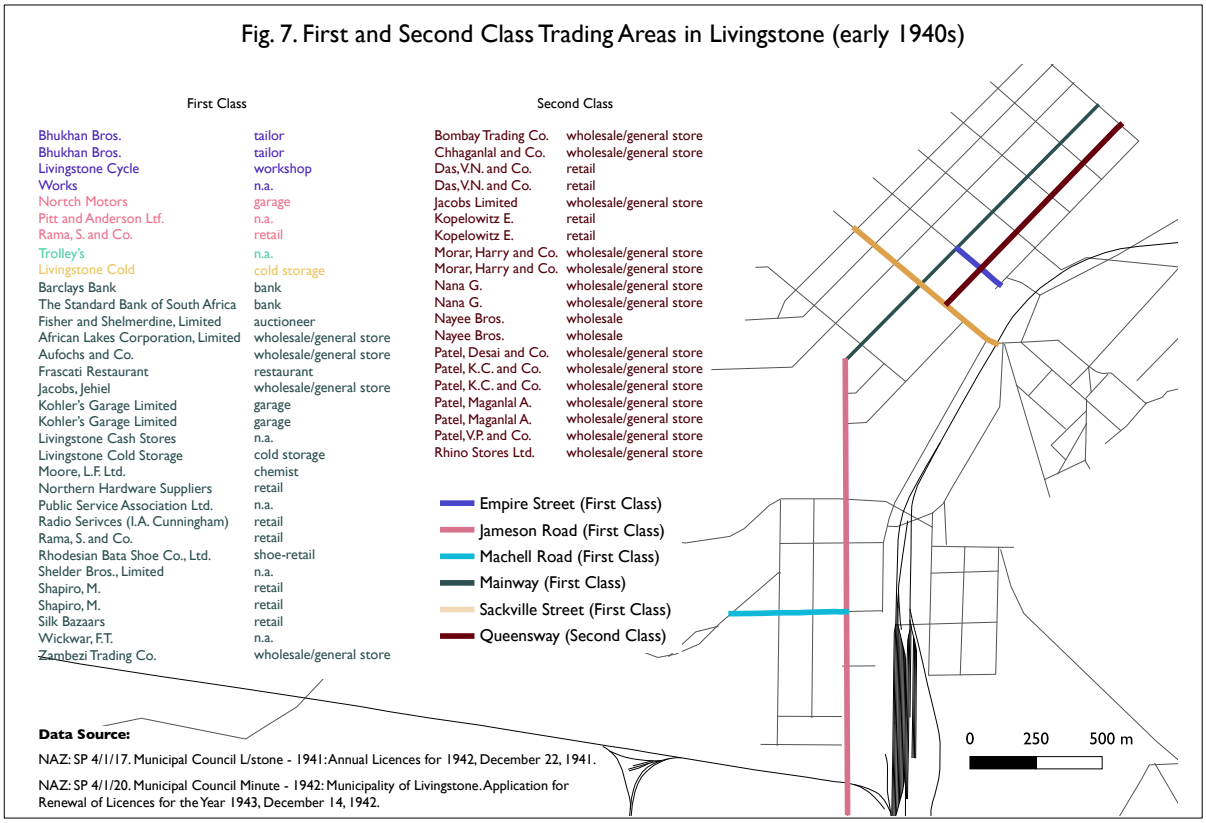
class trading area. Their success, however, was thereby not diminished, since they used their position in this area to sell their products to Europeans and Africans alike.

Fig. 6. Population Developments at Livingstone



Data Sources: Mufuzi 2913; McCulloch 1956, A social survey; Official Census for 1963: Preliminary Report of the May/June census 1963 of Africans in Northern Rhodesia, Ministry of Finance, Lusaka, 1964. and 1969: Zambia Population and Housing Census Data, 1969. Lusaka: Central Statistical Office of Zambia.

Fig. 7. First and Second Class Trading Areas in Livingstone (early 1940s)



Data Source:

NAZ: SP 4/1/17. Municipal Council L/stone - 1941: Annual Licences for 1942, December 22, 1941.

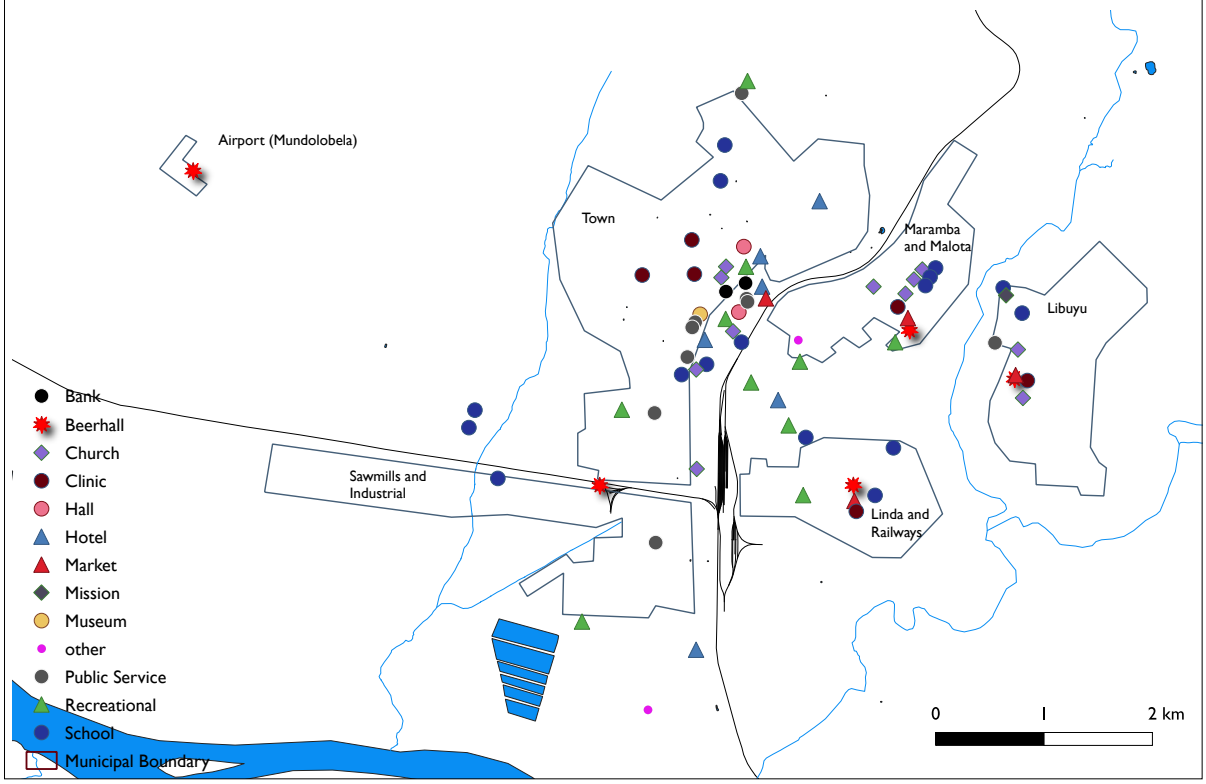
NAZ: SP 4/1/20. Municipal Council Minute - 1942: Municipality of Livingstone. Application for Renewal of Licences for the Year 1943, December 14, 1942.

Together, the European and Indian population by the mid-1940s thus amounted to about 1,500 people. The great number of shops and businesses of which the above map only shows a fraction (not including restaurants, hotels and other service facilities), for most Africans were neither accessible nor affordable. For Africans, for a long time the Indian shops were the closest source of European goods that were not sold at the urban African markets. Spatially, too, the second-class trading area around Queensway was situated at the railway-line that separated the European from the African parts of Livingstone. This function in the settler rationale to use Indians as a barrier between Europeans and Africans was usually a silent policy.[614] At the eastern fringes of that area, which today is still named after Nottie Brodie, a Livingstonian settler and local politician who ran a construction firm that stayed in business even after independence, most Indians would build their houses and thereby formed a further buffer-zone between European and African areas.

As Fig. 7 exemplifies, Queensway (narrower and shorter than Mainway) contained more than a third of the trading firms in town, while the remaining businesses were spaciously arranged in larger buildings at Mainway (Fig. 3 and 4). This contact zone around Queensway, where the Boma was also situated, where Africans and Europeans met in the African Urban Advisory Council during the 1950s, was one of the few areas where some sort of co-spatiality and co-presence of Africans, Europeans and Indians occurred. During daytime at least, it might therefore be understood, if not as a *hybrid space* like the market in front of Zanzibar's Old Fort,[615] then at least as a kind of *transitional space*[616] within the dual city, a thing of boundary, thus a consequence of the overall spatial division and boundary making. The second-class trading area at the fringes of but still in town, denotes not only the position of Indians and African elites – those with the financial means to shop there and those involved in urban politics – as the "colonised middle"[617] within town, but also highlights and amplifies the function and position of the first-class trading areas, reserved for and frequented mainly by Europeans, in displaying the settler's superior position. Social, cultural and economic infrastructures in African areas would eventually materialise during the 1940s and 1950s primarily through African initiatives of opening trading shops and workshops. However, most of the non-housing structures would consist of missions, churches, (primary) schools and beerhalls.

[614] Although in some cases such as early 20th century Kenya there are documents that provide evidence of this rationale quite frankly. See: White, L. (1992). *The Comforts of Home; Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.48.
[615] Bissell 2011b, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power*, p. 116.
[616] i.e. Lynch, K. (1956). *The Image of the City*. New York: Harper.
[617] Myers 2003, *Verandahs of Power*.

Fig. 8. Important Places in Livingstone (mid-1950s)



Thus, it was not until the 1948 African Housing Ordinance was passed and the compounds Libuyu and Linda were being built that services, infrastructures and amenities beyond beerhalls and market areas would finally develop in African areas as well, albeit at a comparatively slow pace. Moreover, African urban areas were treated as more or less homogenous and amorphous single spatial units, another thing of boundary. The planning of these areas was therefore first and foremost a matter of density and population size and composition. Beyond the railway-lines, what mattered was to provide sufficient housing and water taps for a pre- and often miscalculated African population that was usually divided into (male) single workers and families. This is reflected in multiple ways. For one, cartographically, African compounds at Livingstone are more or less blank sites.



Fig. 9. Livingstone Town-Plan, 1951[618]

Looking at colonial town plans at Livingstone, what immediately catches the eye when comparing the European and industrial parts with African urban areas is the fact that the former is fairly well ordered and presented with detail, while the latter is more or less a hatched area like a piece of agricultural land or industrial area. This is generally not surprising when we think of colonialism and its implications of creating difference, and especially the way urban areas were planned and practiced, as essentially divided spaces. However, it is somewhat surprising given the strong preoccupation especially of British colonialism with control, surveying and creating and executing power over the colonial subjects on various societal and institutional levels. After all, maps have represented one of the most important (actual) tools of empire.[619] As Timothy Mitchell has concisely put it, "[c]olonial power required the country to become readable, like a book."[620]

On the one hand, therefore, the hatched areas on the maps that represent African urban areas are indeed a reflection of the ambiguity of colonialism and the paradoxes that have shaped its history.[621] The preoccupation with systems of control, power and the detailed accumulation of data and statistics, however biased in many respects, seems to stop at the lines and vertices that form the boundaries between European and African places and spaces. Control and power thus do not seem to totally transgress these boundaries, like an image that becomes blurry when you zoom in. Surely,

[618] LGH 3/2/9. Livingstone – Areas and Boundaries 1951-1959.
[619] Buisseret, D. (1986). *Tools of Empire: Ships and Maps in the Process of Westward Expansion.* Chicago: Newberry Library.
[620] Mitchell, T. (1991). *Colonising Egypt.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[621] i.e. Lonsdale, J. and B. Berman (1979). Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895–1914. *The Journal of African History, 20*(4), 487-505; Bissell 2011a, Between Fixity and Fantasy: Assessing the Spatial Impact of Colonial Urban Dualism.

control and surveying in African compounds was performed by researchers, planners, administrative officers, and police. However, a detailed picture of how the African urban space is structured from the controlling perspective of looking at a map, the totalising gaze from above so to speak, is not given. A gaze, that is, which would in theory correlate more strongly with how the colonial administration understood its role not only as an institution that systematically keeps things in order through exactly this kind of totalising overview, but also as an institution that ensures development and progress.

On the other hand, the hatched spaces are a reflection of the way African urban areas were perceived, either as *in the making* and, like Africans themselves in the eye of the colonial system, as not yet fully developed and modernised, or as just temporarily urbanised. The blank space is perhaps as much a reflection of the lack of interest and the state of neglect towards Africans in urban areas as well as of the hesitancy to fully integrate them into the wider urban space; and in a way to place and inscribe them into the physical and imaginative landscape, that is, to the image and representation of the urban as well as its physical counterpart. The hatched space can be thus understood as a cartographic form that underlines that access to urban areas was only granted provisionally without any assurance concerning the urban future of Africans. Indeed, as Paul Nugent puts it, "[t]he seductive power of maps resides in their normalizing character, which serves to close down alternative ways of seeing while authorizing particular modes of doing. In that sense, maps have been constitutive of power relations in their own right."[622] The physical structures within these spaces are not represented and thus do not exist in this form of representation. There are no streets, no intersections, no plots, no houses or other buildings and no open spaces between them, no markets and no beer-halls, sports grounds or any other places and spaces that would allow a comprehension of these structures and their relation to each other, but also a sense of the people living in and between these structures and the everyday life that takes place there. Of course, any person who looked at these maps was certainly well aware that such structures must exist. Yet their existence is not rendered visible. It remains up to the imagination of the viewer to allow for these structures to unfold in her mind. What is more important, due to the lack of representation, the imagination can be easily redirected to an alternate vision of the urban, of which the African urban area is no longer part. The lack of representation reflects an indeterminacy towards the future of Africans in urban areas. The colonial officers and police did in fact have knowledge about the places in the compounds. Some locations are even mentioned geographically in the documents, so as to determine where they might be found. Yet this spatial information did not make its way into maps.

The lack of detail was, however, not merely a cartographical issue. While the plots and plot numbers were known to the local authorities, for the Africans living in these areas these numbers usually did not have any meaning, because even if they did know them, they could not be used to give information to someone concerning the plot location. If one was not familiar with the compounds, finding someone was therefore a difficult task. There were no street signs or names and no house numbers. Still in 1962 the Municipal Council suggested installing a loud-speaker system in

622 Nugent, P. (2019). *Boundaries, Communities and State-making in West Africa: The Centrality of the Margins.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 1

the compounds in order for people from elsewhere to find friends or relatives, and in order to be able to quickly get in contact with African residents. In a council meeting

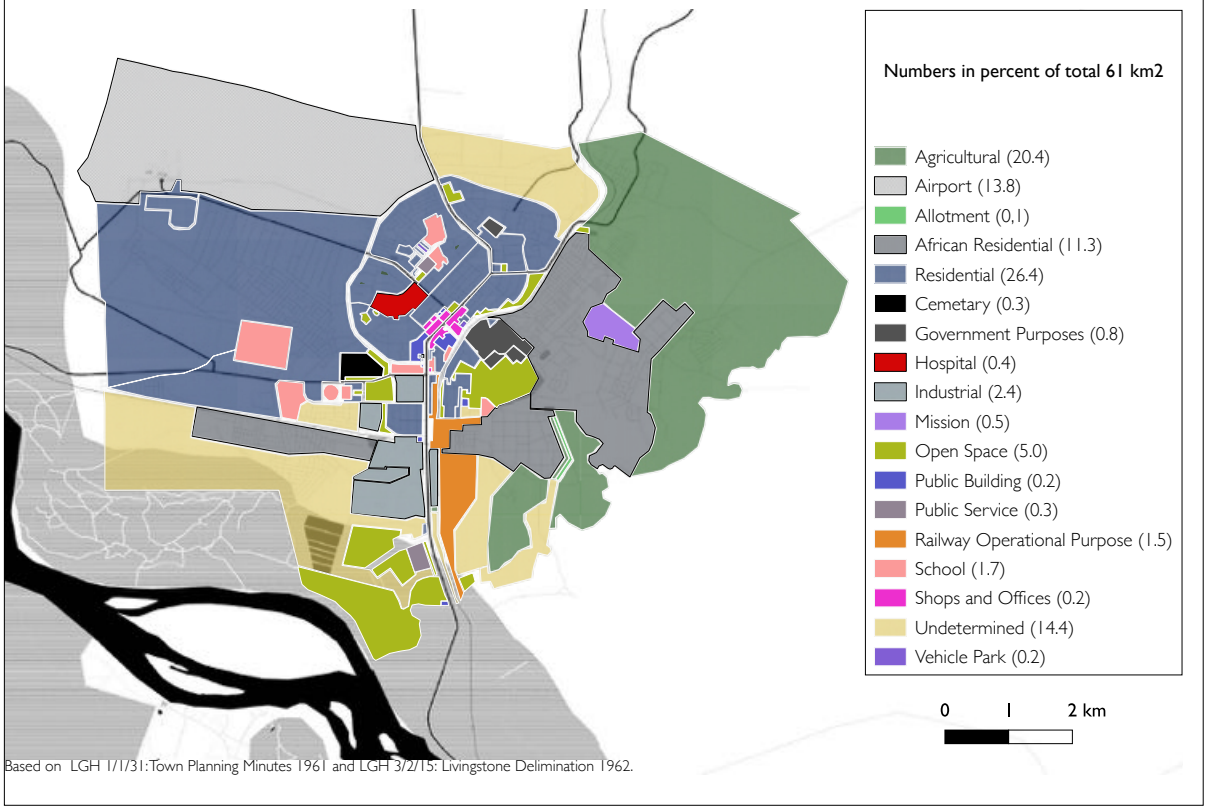
> "A member suggested that it would be an advantage to have loud speakers in the Townships operating from the Welfare Centre or the offices in order to get in touch with people who may be required. Attention was drawn to the fact that visitors to the town were not always able to find their way to the houses they wished to visit and that the loud speaker system would enable the occupiers of the houses to come to the offices and meet their visitors. Furthermore, loud speakers would be useful to locate the parents who had become lost in townships."[623]

Instead of establishing a functioning system of identifying houses and areas within compounds as well as a functioning mail system, it was considered easier simply to have Africans called out via loud-speaker. For financial and practical reasons – the areas were too large for a loud-speaker system to be effective – the suggestion was not realised. The spatial implications of such a scheme quite vividly illustrate the settlers' conception of African areas even as late as October 1962, only shortly prior to Kenneth Kaunda being elected as the first and last African Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia. African residential areas were thus still understood as closed systems such as schools or prisons, where people could simply be called out to come to an office if their presence was needed. The relative physical proximity of the compounds to the European town, from the perspective of the total urban space, was antagonised by modes of peripheralisation and de-centralisation in a social sense. Distance is thus not only a physical matter, but in such cases first and foremost a social and topological one, which denies the production of centrality within compounds, and therefore the integration of such areas into the wider urban network.

This problem of lacking urban structures and infrastructures was inherently linked not only to the systematic neglect in African urban areas in terms of the provision of such structures and infrastructures,[624] but also to the fact that the space available to Africans was not certain in general. Thus, despite the great increase in African population in Livingstone in particular during the 1950s, the overall space for Africans did not increase accordingly. By 1960 most of the municipal area was already reserved for different purposes other than African residential areas, which amounted to only 11 percent of the total 61km², constituting the municipal area of Livingstone.

[623] LGH 3/1/8. Municipality of Livingstone Minutes: Seventh Ordinary Meeting of the Council, October 15, 1962.
[624] See Chapter 5.

Fig. 10. Land Use in Livingstone early 1960s



Based on LGH 1/1/31: Town Planning Minutes 1961 and LGH 3/2/15: Livingstone Delimination 1962.

The agricultural land to the east was already leased to local farmers and European townspeople and most of the area west of the railway-line was not supposed to be used for African housing. The area between the industrial area and the new airport, which was built in 1947, was reserved for low density European housing, despite being largely undeveloped. Only African and European airport personnel would be housed closed to the airport. The railway-line running in an east-west direction from the Zambesi Sawmills to the forests in Western Province served as the second physical colour-line in Livingstone. Thus, practically, only the undetermined area south of the Sawmills and Industrial compounds would have been available for such a purpose, without altering the municipal boundaries.

While the problematic housing situation was difficult to resolve under the settler regime, although it would not simply disappear after independence either, at least urban life started to change in the early 1960s. By 1962 and 1963, at the very brink of independence, Livingstone thus seemed to have opened up a bit. The dual city was morphologically still in place, but pass-laws and other nuisances disappeared and, in a legal sense at least, the duality started to crumble. Not only were politically laden issues such as pass-laws revoked, but town life in general became more inclusive. For instance, some organisations and interest groups which previously had few opportunities to use different urban infrastructures, because of their informal character and the fact that they were neither recognised by colonial bodies nor the municipality, now had the chance to organise more effectively. In June 1963 it was therefore recommended that "the under-mentioned organisations be designated 'approved welfare or charitable organisation' for the purpose of the hire

of halls in the high density areas".[625] These organisations included the Boys' and Girls' Club, the Market Vendors' Association, the Boxing and Football Committees, etc. Also, it was now easier for political parties to open up offices in the compounds and hold meetings there, even though some restrictions were still in place, such as that offices of political parties should not be in close proximity to the beer-hall and welfare hall.[626] Moreover, certain social questions that in previous years were hardly ever on the Municipal Council's agenda would now be discussed, such as the question of "the housing of aged and infirm".[627]

Nevertheless, the settlers at Livingstone did everything in their power to preserve and extend their vision and aspirations of Livingstone until the very end of empire. These visions and aspirations will be studied in more detail in Chapter 6. The following two chapters will concentrate on the urban production and practice of space, how boundaries and things of boundaries were made and re-made and how they mediated and informed spatial relationships through modes of centralisation and peripheralisation as well as structures of proximity and distance.

[625] LGH 3/1/8. Livingstone Minutes: Municipal Council Minutes, June 13, 1963.
[626] Ibid., May 29, 1963.
[627] Ibid., October 23, 1962.

4. Producing Urban Spaces – African Realities between Planning Fantasies and Settler Interventions

In a newspaper article titled "Shanty Towns Must Go"[628] it was reported that Nalumino Mundia, the Minister of Local Government of recently independent Zambia, had "spoken of the government's determination to get rid of the many illegal shanty-towns dotted round the country's main towns". It was reported further that the Minister "revealed that between Livingstone and Bancroft – along the line of rail – there were 48,000 houses without electricity, individual toilet or water. And to provide these elementary services would cost the country £ 3 1/2 million." The Minister warned business people in particular not to erect any more permanent buildings. Instead rent-based and homeowner-schemes should be further developed, and existing government townships which were still lacking essential services should be provided with these. Malota, Livingstone's oldest, yet still over long periods unofficial and "provisional" compound, which had been under more or less constant threat of being demolished for most of its history, is mentioned under those government townships that should be provided with essential services and better-quality housing in order to prevent it from turning into a "slum". Similar compunds are Twaipa in Ndola, Fizenge in Luanshya, or Kasompe in Chingola. Some years later in 1970, before finally being officially recognised and accepted in 1972, Malota was nonetheless again on the brink of disappearing.

The history of Malota is exemplary of colonial and postcolonial planning neglect and failures, of spatial misconception and lack of knowledge of and interest in local conditions and the people living there. At the same time its history is exceptional. Despite the structural neglect, the infrastructural problems and the predominantly bad housing situation up to the 1990s, the area survived different planning ideologies more or less on the same ground structure. Furthermore, an urban sense of place, belonging and political consciousness emerged from it. People from Malota were engaged in urban politics from very early on, and while housing and infrastructures would lag behind the "professionally" planned and planted areas of colonial and postcolonial political and administrative agents, those housing structures and infrastructures were formed, built and re-shaped by the people themselves. Over long periods without officially granted ownership, Malota is still the spatial product of early forms of communal self-initiative and self-help. These initiatives, however, remained invisible to or unnoticed by the very authorities who spent time and money researching and promoting self-help schemes as a solution to the structural housing shortage. For the sake of development and modernity, the authorities tried to eradicate areas such as Malota which did not immediately fit into the tight and narrow conception of what urban meant.

After World War II the "logic […] of exclusion, hierarchy and difference"[629] that had guided colonial rule until the 1930s and was manifest spatially in the division between the "civilised" (urban) and "uncivilised" (native-rural) areas was abandoned – at least in theory – for a colonial rationale of

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[628] LGH 1/1/30. Extract from newspaper article. Unfortunately the file does not contain a date or the name of the newspaper, but judging from the style and typescript as well as the content it seems to be the Northern News/ Times of Zambia from late 1964 or early 1965.

[629] Gruffydd Jones, B. (2012). Civilising African Cities: International Housing and Urban Policy from Colonial to Neoliberal Times. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, 6*(1), 23-40, p. 26.

modernisation and development.[630] Towns could no longer be considered as the exclusive domain of Europeans, and Africans had to be accepted as urban dwellers.[631] However, strict regulations created new forms of domination and control.[632] At the same time, high urbanisation rates and a rising demand in housing were constant problems of colonial regimes, while planning acts and legislation proved to be inefficient. In Lusaka of the early 1950s, for instance, "the demand for housing was already outstripping that provided under the Urban African Housing Ordinance of 1948".[633] Thus, the measures would not relieve the housing shortage, even though in the early 1950s it was propagated that Northern Rhodesia would be "markedly ahead in housing for Africans",[634] which rather has to be understood in the context of the establishment of the Federation in oder to give it more legitimacy. In 1953, newspapers reported on the problems in connection with urban growth and African housing. For some, like T. Colchester, Commissioner for Local Government, the answer would not be employer-built homes, since it "stood in the way of the African realising what the total cost of his labour was and did not make for a real, fluid labour force."[635] For others, like Julian Greenfield, Minister of Internal Affairs from Southern Rhodesia, the "onus of housing Africans should be on employers".[636]

Since the provision of housing rested with employers and "[u]rban policy required the creation of an urban population which was available at wages below the full costs of reproduction and which would pose no threat to colonial administrative control",[637] there was not much space to manoeuvre within the narrow and still exclusionary legislations. The often articulated notion about the necessity to create a strong middle class and to integrate Africans into a market economy was counteracted by both the means and will of industry and government to raise wages and make secondary and higher education available to more Africans.[638] The huge gap between theory and practice created a state of uncertainty which is not only displayed by the struggle between progressive and conservative forces, but also by the ambiguities and paradoxes of the colonial system.[639]

These reveal themselves in many colonial urban practices and discourses regarding the ways and means by which urbanisation as such should have been handled and organised and, in relation to these considerations on urbanisation, how housing and infrastructures should have been provided and ultimately to what extent Africans should have been integrated socially, economically and politically into urban areas. What at times appear to be rather technical and economic questions and considerations not only implicitly transmit certain ideological positions, but are also often combined with open discussion and notions about the possible social and political consequences of certain

[630] Wolton, S. (2003). *Lord Hailey, the Colonial Office and Politics of Race and Empire in the Second World War: The Loss of White Prestige*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; Cooper 2002, *Africa since 1940*.
[631] Freund 2007, *The African City*, p. 83.
[632] Home 2013b, *Of Planting and Planning*.
[633] Njoh 2007, *Planning Power*, p. 164.
[634] NAZ: LGH 1/16/52. Local Government – African Housing – General Policy: Extract from Central African Post, December 12, 1952.
[635] Ibid, Extract from Northern News, May 13, 1953.
[636] Ibid, Extract from Livingstone Mail, May 12, 1953.
[637] Rakodi 1986, Colonial Urban Policy and Planning in Northern Rhodesia and Its Legacy.
[638] For an analysis of the educational system in Northern Rhodesia, see:O'Brian, D. (2006). *The Struggle for Control of Education in Zambia: From the Colonial Period to the Present.* Lampeter: Mullen Press.
[639] i.e. Stoler, A.L. (2010). *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 4.

policies. An important discussion that mirrored many of these questions on urbanisation was that of temporary and permanent housing as well as self-help housing and ownership-schemes. These constitute one of the guiding concepts in this chapter, which will be divided in four sections.

I will begin in 4.1 to outline the trajectories of the general housing and urbanisation discourses and practice in Northern Rhodesia and identify some conjunctures and trends within the 1940s and 1950s, since they are important in elucidating and contextualising debates on self-help housing and the question of ownership and permanency within the larger context of urban integration and participation of Africans. In section 4.2 the focus will be laid on town planning and urban management, as well as policies in the context of notions of proximity, distance and centrality. These served as instruments and outcomes of spatial production, as well as the role and function of unauthorised compounds within the urban landscape. In section 4.3 I will concentrate on the genesis and historical trajectories of self-help and ownership debates in Northern Rhodesia and Livingstone. In the last section I will return to analysing the historical trajectories of Malota as a case to illustrate the ambivalences of self-help and ownership during and beyond the colonial era. I will trace the historical changes and continuities in how Malota was perceived by both its residents as well as colonial and postcolonial governments, understanding it as an urban spatial formation that evolved against the common knowledge and planning ideologies of both colonial and postcolonial local and territorial governments.

4.1. Housing and Urbanisation Discourse and Practice in Northern Rhodesia

The discourse on housing especially in the 1950s in Northern Rhodesia, and also other parts of southern and eastern Africa, is not merely confined to the issues of spatial capacities of houses and compounds, availability of land and the economics behind the provision of houses and infrastructures. It also included discussions about the social and political repercussions of urbanisation, like political participation and social integration as well as social problems like crime and prostitution which reflected the fears of many Europeans. Theoretically, of course, the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 as well as various Town Planning Acts provided a guideline for urbanisation. In practice, however, local realities proved to be an obstacle, ranging from insufficient tax bases to opposition by the white population.[640]

Between Urban and Rural, between Science and Politics

Unsurprisingly, for instance, a plan by the government to house some of its African staff within European areas found no support by the Municipal Association at an African administration committee held in Bulawayo in 1953. There was a "fear of the Municipal Association that the Government would create "black spots" in municipal areas in the form of native compounds".[641] Very often technical and financial aspects intermingled with social and political ones. At a public opinion meeting in Northern Rhodesia in 1952 J.D. Rheinallt Jones, founder and president of the

[640] c.f. Lewis, J. (2000). *Empire State-Building: War and Welfare in Kenya (1925-52)*. Oxford: James Currey; Larmer, M. (2017). Permanent Precarity: Capital and Labour in the Central African Copperbelt. *Labor History, 58*(2), 170-184.
[641] NAZ: LGH 1/16/52. Local Government African Housing – General Policy (1952-53): Extract from "The Chronicle", 12th September 1953.

South African Institute of Race Relations,[642] concluded a presentation on the trends and problems of urbanisation in the Rhodesias and South Africa saying: "We have the problem of the control of large numbers of people who are not used to urban life. How should they be dealt with and administered? […] If you abolish the colour bar and have stabilisation, it means greater demands for political rights, and we are not prepared to face that at the moment."[643] Clear connections are drawn here between the colour bar, political rights, stabilisation and urban life. What exactly was meant by stating that someone is "not used to urban life", however, diverged greatly between different actors. Even within certain interest groups consensus about urbanisation of Africans is not always given.

At times, these uncertainties and paradoxes led to propositions and conclusions which questioned the urbanisation of Africans as such. That is to say, although the general acceptance of Africans in towns developed throughout the last two decades of colonial rule, the tendency to control and limit their urban migration as well as their movement within urban areas did not fade until the end of colonial rule. The fear of crime and "social ills" provided a reason to call for "a system of influx control" to hinder Africans, "attracted by the bright lights or perhaps the relative gay life or perhaps by the lack of tribal discipline," from moving to urban areas, as Councillor Sampson from Lusaka put it at a conference in 1961.[644] More than urbanisation as such, permanent urbanisation without ties to rural areas was considered problematic, as a memorandum on urban administration by District Commissioner Stokes in 1955 reveals. "[T]he "urbanized" African population on the Copperbelt (i.e. those Africans whose allegiances and affiliations to tribal connections have become so nebulous as to be almost non-existent) is increasing at an alarming pace".[645] Here, ideology even dictates that urban African populations should not be described as urbanised without using quotation marks. What is more important, however, is that the apparent problem described by the District Commissioner is not the general increase of African populations in urban areas, but more the increase of those who have lost their "tribal", hence rural, connections, in other words the stabilised urban population. At a District Commissioners' Conference in Livingstone in June 1953 the issue concerning negative effects of stabilisation is even more clearly articulated. Opening the paper by stating that, in Northern Rhodesia, "there can be no question of de-tribalisation"[646] and Africans are not yet urbanised, the author continues to elaborate on the problems concerning the urban-rural "in-betweenness"[647] of many Africans, which, according to the author, "has resulted in a degree of irresponsibility in the African approach to employment and the corresponding reduction in his progress towards efficiency".[648] Although it is argued that this state,

[642] For a discussion about Rheinallt Jones's role in politics and academia in Southern Africa see: Davis, G. (2015). *Poverty Knowledge in South Africa: A Social History of Human Science, 1855–2005*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
[643] NAZ: LGH 1/16/76. Urbanisation of Africans (1950-53): Extract From a Public Opinion Report: November, 1952 Central Province.
[644] NAZ: LGH 1/8/5. Local Government Municipal Association Annual Conference, 1961.
[645] NAZ: LGH 1/16/80. Urbanisation of Africans (1953-58): Memorandum on Urban Administration, 29th October, 1956.
[646] NAZ: LGH 1/16/76. Circular Minute N/2701/3, "The African in industry, with special reference to the Copperbelt", 1953 (Note: Unfortunately, the File lacks information concerning the author of the paper).
[647] It is important to point out that the notion of in-between is not used by the author of this opening paper. I positioned it here with the intention of highlighting what Ferguson (1999) and others have pointed to in their description of urban-rural relations. Bissell writes in this regard that "[i]nstead of fixed identities, one increasingly hears of fluid subject positions, negotiated and shifting. Rather than clear oppositions (of race, class, or gender), scholars stress the interstitial and in-between. And in place of the categorical authority of colonial rule, one finds its instabilities, anxieties, and tensions" Bissell 2011a, Between Fixity and Fantasy: Assessing the Spatial Impact of Colonial Urban Dualism.
[648] NAZ: LGH 1/16/76. Circular Minute N/2701/3, "The African in industry, with special reference to the Copperbelt".

or rather practice of moving between rural and urban spaces as I would call it, is not desirable, the author argues for a revival of rural-urban ties to avoid "the evils of Communism and other anarchical political movements already existing in Africa".[649]

The effects of ethnic relations in towns and especially the relationship between class and "tribalism" understood as "categories of interaction"[650] were studied in great detail by, among others, Monica Wilson, Clyde Mitchell and A.L. Epstein.[651] According to Mitchell, these interactions functioned "to mediate social relationships" in a "predominantly transient society".[652] Therefore, "in certain situations Africans ignore either class differences or tribal differences (or both), and in other situations these differences become significant. [...] The same people who stand together in one situation may be bitterly opposed in another"[653]. So, "tribalism" did structure social relations to some extent, but more importantly, Mitchell tried to point out that "class" and "ethnic identities" are not opposites. They have to be understood as part of a register of social categories, a non-hierarchical range of identities, which are deployed in different social situations.

Furthermore, and this is a point unfortunately not stressed enough by the members of the RLI, "class" does not supersede "tribalism" from the field of social relations as history makes its course. That is to say, the constitution of "class" identity is not simply a by-product of "modernisation" that renders ethnic identities more and more unimportant in a linear and teleological development. Both categories can be understood in a way as by-products of a multi-ethnic situation in urban areas. Epstein explains that while

> "In its common connotations 'tribalism' tends to become a unitary concept, and carries the implicit assumption that, because the evidence points to the persistence in the towns of strong tribal loyalties, those loyalties will operate with the same strength over the total field of social relations in which the urban African is involved. This difficulty is avoided if we approach the town as a field of social relations which is made up of sets of social relations of different kinds […] [with different degrees of autonomy, which leads to an uneven distribution of the] tempo and character of change [...] over the whole field"[654]

However, a problematic term that remains in Epstein's formulation is the phrase "persistence in towns of strong tribal loyalties", since in a way it implies that these ethnic identities that come about in the way of "tribalism" are relicts of a pre-urban social setting. However, urbanisation cannot eradicate "tribalism" or "tribal loyalties", because such forms of identity formation were not taken from the village to the towns, as it were, in the first place. Rather, the urban condition itself co-produces such forms of identity formation. In other words, a tribal loyalty can only emerge out of a

[649] Ibid.
[650] Mitchell, J.C. (1956). *The Kalela Dance : Aspects of Social Relationships among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 43.
[651] i.e. Epstein 1958, *Politics in an Urban African Community*.
[652] Mitchell 1956, *The Kalela Dance*, p. 43.
[653] Ibid.; Mitchell further notes "that in their opposition to the Europeans, Africans ignore both their "class" and tribal differences" (Ibid.).
[654] Epstein 1958, *Politics in an Urban African Community*, p. 232.

situation of inter-tribal relations. Georg Simmel. in a similar sense as the Manchester sociologists, was of the modernist opinion that

> "shared places and areas (neighbourhoods and regions) [represent] an antidote to clan-based divisions that allows societies to grow beyond tribal organisation and to be rationalised around non-biological relationships that become progressively more abstract under political forms of representative democracy, monetary exchange relationships and citizenship in large states."[655]

However, even Simmel's observations of early 20th century metropolises were idealised, for aspects such as anti-semitism clearly flourished in European cities at that time. Shared places merely carry the potential for societies to overcome identity-based boundaries and practices of boundary-making, but they also bear the potential of new forms of boundaries and divisions.

If one were to stress the essentially normative and evolutionary concept of modernisation, "tribalism" in towns, too, would be part of that process. Hence, a perspective that indicates that "tribalism" is not a relict of a pre-modern (in this context usually meaning rural) condition conversely implies that "class" identity is not an aspect of modernisation. They are both dynamic outcomes of social relations constituted through encounters. In this context it is important to highlight one of the key aspects in James Ferguson's work "Expectations of Modernity"[656] which challenges the notion of a linear and progressive development towards modernity which is implicit in much of the RLI publications. Ferguson was, however, not the first one to address such a critique. Already in 1971 Bernard Magubane criticised Epstein and Mitchell for the lack of historical trajectories in their writing, in particular colonial history.

> "Photographic description of human reality always fails to show the transformation taking place in the reality described so minutely. It transfixes reality and in so doing devitalizes it. There has been in the social sciences an accumulation of minute details, for the most part unaccompanied by a search for patterns. One sees no forest, only trees; no whole, only fragmentary parts. Sociology has become blindly empirical and fruitlessly static [...]. It discusses only the present and forgets the deep-rooted effects of colonialism and its ideology of white supremacy."[657]

In his critique Magubane furthermore highlights the role of anthropologists as practically handmaidens of colonialism, a critique uttered by many scholars ever since, especially in recent years. Yet, Lyn Schumaker is cautious of such generalisation and responds to Magubane's critique by pointing to the diversity of people, opinions and practices and not least the historical changes and developments, both within the colonial system and the RLI.[658] Coming back to social relations in towns, the writings and analyses of the RLI anthropologists nowhere suggest that in fact "tribalism" would be the guiding principle of social formation, or political reproduction in urban areas for that

[655] Shields 2013, *Spatial Questions*, *Spatial Questions*, p. 78.
[656] Ferguson, J. (1999). *Expectations of Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
[657] Magubane 1971, A Critical Look at Indices Used in the Study of Social Change in Colonial Africa, p. 422-423.
[658] Schumaker 2001, *Africanizing Anthropology*.

matter. On the contrary, Epstein understood class-consciousness to be stronger in the political realm, such as unions for example.

The long-lasting political significance of what urbanised and stabilised means, how urban life (or even culture) is to be defined and how urbanisation and rural connections relate to each other reveals itself by looking at the academic discourse on these issues, from the works of the RLI sociologists until today. While patterns of African urban culture and social dynamics were studied in great detail by Clyde Mitchell and others, few of these insights, except some statistical and mostly demographic data, were anticipated by colonial officials, local governments or industries.[659] There was a tendency among settler, colonial officials and industrial agents to think that they would not need the insights of anthropologists, because they would know "their Africans" anyway, a view not uncommon, by the way, among today's European migrants to Africa, or expats as they are usually called. The RLI sociologists preferred social fields of exchange of knowledge were therefore not the ministries or management council in Northern Rhodesia, but rather in the international domain of inter-imperial networks.[660] On the other hand, even when it was obvious to them, RLI sociologists tried not to highlight rural-urban connections, as it probably would have played into the hands of the many critics of urban stabilisation, but rather "hoped to challenge the injustices of institutionalised segregation and migrant labour systems by showing that urban Africans were 'properly' urban".[661] This hesitancy of academics to refer to rural urban connection especially in Southern Africa has endured until recently, because of its difficult and highly politicised history.[662] The debate during the 1990s between Hugh Macmillan and James Ferguson on urbanisation on the Copperbelt is exemplary in this regard.

Changes and Continuities in Housing and Urban Planning

For most of Northern Rhodesia's history, African urban areas were considered as a compulsory chore by colonial authorities and even more so by the settler society. They were neither wanted nor really taken care of, while at the same time strict control and surveillance over them and their inhabitants was attempted. As already pointed out in Chapter 3, control was executed more strictly in some towns such as Livingstone than in others such as Lusaka. But the general consensus was not to think of these areas as permanent. The Labour Report by Odre-Brown[663] in 1938 was a first attempt to address this neglect in a comprehensive way. After that, the Eccles Commission Report of 1944 was important in addressing again the dire situation in many African housing areas, as well as the need to formulate proper planning schemes in African areas especially regarding sufficient housing and provision of services. More importantly, it was the first attempt by such a commission

[659] For the difficult relationship between the RLI scholars and colonial administration as well as settlers and industries see a letter by Max Gluckman to the Chief Secretary in: NAZ: Sec1/126. RLI General: Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute to the Honourable the Chief Secretary to the Northern Rhodesian Government. Memorandum of the Cooperation between the Government and the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, April 18, 1944; See also: Tranberg Hansen, K. (2015). Urban Research in a Hostile Setting: Godfrey Wilson in Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia, 1938-1940. *Kronos, 41*(1), 193-214; Gewald, J.B. (2007). Researching and Writing in the Twilight of an Imagined Conquest: Anthropology in Northern Rhodesia 1930–1960. *History and Anthropology, 18*(4), 459-487.
[660] Larmer 2021, *Living for the City*, p. 45.
[661] Potts, D. (2010). *Circular Migration in Zimbabwe & Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa.* Oxford: James Currey, p. 53.
[662] Ibid. 53-54.
[663] Orde-Browne, G.S.J. (1938). *Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia.* HM Stationery Office.

to promote the participation of Africans in local governments, which was, however, "an idea ahead of its time, both for the colonial government and for local government".[664] Furthermore, the establishment of Townships (in a legal sense), which in Livingstone did not exist, was proposed in oder to "allow Africans to live under less rigid control and in more pleasant surroundings" and "to afford Africans an opportunity of learning to manage their own affairs".[665] The Mayor of Livingstone did not see any responsibility in this regard to any extent lying with the municipality, but instead said that he regretted that the findings of the commission were given practical effect and that "it was hoped that Government would have defined its native housing policy".[666]

Mr. L.W.G. Eccles not only theoretically tried to address African housing issues in urban areas, in his capacity as a commissioner he also requested proper housing and sanitation for his own personal servants at Livingstone, which took over a year and some correspondence to be achieved.[667] While many considerations made in the report or during debates afterwards, such as taking into account African opinion concerning architecture and style,[668] were not really put into practice, the report was able to achieve certain goals, even though these did not immediately change the housing and living conditions. Firstly, it led to the formation of an African Housing Department, and secondly it managed to put housing and urban conditions as a priority on the agenda of colonial and local administration.[669] Moreover, in an African Affairs Committee report of 1947, the question of permanent and semi-permanent housing to be owned "by a small, but increasing urbanised, African population" was first addressed as a general policy, however, without any consequences, since it was not until 1960 that home ownership schemes were "well under way".[670]

In the early 1950s government and colonial authorities were concerned with high urbanisation rates and the fact that the money allocated for African housing during the late 1940s would not be nearly sufficient. The planning scheme of 1948, under which 6,352 houses along the line of rail towns and Fort Jameson, for the amount of £1,000,000 and 1,421 houses for African Civil Servants for another £500,000 were to be built by 1952 was far from enough.[671] Furthermore, these authorities did not know how large the increase in urbanisation actually had been, since the location data was insufficient. At the fifth conference of Location Superintendents held in Lusaka in 1950, Mr. Beaton from Livingstone addressed this lack in knowledge, pointing out that

> "it was increasingly obvious that long term accurate planning of housing required for the future necessitated a great deal of census work in collating vital data concerning the population figures, migration from town to town, etc, of the urban African. He was of the opinion that although

[664] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 140.
[665] NAZ: LGH 1/14/30. African Townships General: African Townships – Administration and Audits July 30, 1962.
[666] NAZ: SP 4/1/14. Mayor's Minutes – Livingstone Municipality, March 31, 1945, p. 8.
[667] See: NAZ: LGH 3/5/1. Livingstone – African Housing – Personal Servants: Letter by L.W.G. Eccles to the Chief Secretary, October 30, 1944.
[668] NAZ: SP 4/1/25. Municipality of Livingstone – Minutes of Meeting: Report of Meeting of Local Authorities held in Lusaka, May 14, 1946.
[669] Ibid.
[670] NAZ: LGH 1/14/30. African Townships General: African Townships – Administration and Audits July 30, 1962.
[671] NAZ: LGH 1/16/56. African Housing – General: Paper on African Housing, given by D.C. Bentley at the Annual Conference of the Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia held at Livingstone, May 16-17, 1955.

> accurate census [sic!] were most difficult to carry out, the results obtained would be worthwhile in building up a much truer picture of actual conditions than we have at the moment"[672]

From these uncertainties, debates arose concerning the actual rate of urbanisation and what could be expected.[673] Also under discussion were again the social repercussions of urbanisation such as the possible weakening of family-ties between urban and rural Africans.[674] As already highlighted above these debates often revolved around the question of what could be done to make rural areas more attractive to Africans and thereby relieve the pressure on urban areas. Nelson Nalumango, African member to the Legislative Council from Livingstone, in a speech before the Council exposed the contradictions inherent to the positions on how to control and limit the urbanisation of Africans. He started his speech by telling the Council his own experiences from work done on European farms in Southern and Northern Rhodesia, highlighting the fact that labour conditions in Northern Rhodesian farms were much worse than in Southern Rhodesia, where salaries were higher, amenities better, and labourers could bring their families. He went on to compare these bad conditions at Northern Rhodesian farms for farm workers to comparatively better ones at the Copperbelt for mine workers, suggesting that better conditions on the farms would lead to more Africans working there. He finally dealt with plans to give trust land to Africans to further relieve towns from the pressure of in-migration, exposing the ill-conceived logic on which these plans were based by pointing out that Africans would surely be willing and interested in such schemes if the necessary infrastructures were in place.

> "The question as to whether the setting aside of land for Africans was not a wrong one does not therefore arise. At present it is difficult for all Africans to make their own living because of the transport difficulties. In certain districts, Africans would be able to make a good living on vegetables and other food stuff, if transport were available"[675]

Since, as has already been pointed out, most European farmlands were situated along the line of rail close to the towns to ensure a functioning logistics system, there was simply no land left that would meet such requirements.

While the local conditions were largely understudied, the problems of housing were known and addressed at various conferences and reports. At the Labour Conference in Elisabethville in 1950, where heated debates between Roy Welensky and a French delegate seemed to have occurred,[676] housing and urbanisation also played a major role. Especially, the lack in housing provision in

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[672] NAZ: LGH 1/18/13. Statistics and Census: Extract from the Minutes of the Fifth Annual Conference of Location Superintendents, March 1, 1950.
[673] NAZ: LGH 1/16/7. Urbanisation of Africans: Extract from Mutende, November 11, 1952.
[674] Ibid., Extract from African World, October, 1952.
[675] Ibid., Extract from Hansard, November 15, 1952.
[676] In a personal and restricted letter from the British Consulate General to the African Department of the Foreign Office in London the "offensive behaviour of Mr. Welensky, the Northern Rhodesian Delegate" was addressed. "It is really intolerable that Mr. Welensky should behave in such a manner and risk upsetting, with few ill-considered and ill mannered words, the process of closer co-operation and understanding between the Congo and Northern Rhodesia which has been proceeding so well recently." Kew: FO 629/108. African Labour Conference: Letter from the British Consulate General to the African Department of the Foreign Office in London, July 15, 1950.

Northern Rhodesia in relation to the Congo became quite clear. In the report of the conference, written by R. Brown, it is concluded that the "general standard of the housing provided for Africans is much below that of the Belgian Congo" and that the "racial feeling in Northern Rhodesia is running high. There is a strong growing Afrikaans element among the European mine-workers and there is evidence of continuing infiltration of Europeans of Afrikaans origin into both Rhodesias."[677] Thus, African urban housing and "racial relations" as they were called, would be addressed together in the wider debates on urbanisation.

Finally, the C.C.T.A conference (Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa) in Pretoria in 1952 was an important event regarding the settings of standards and the identification of problems, although, again, these standards would hardly be implemented, especially in Northern Rhodesia. Importantly, concerning Northern Rhodesia, the report on the conference states that

> "The main problems in Northern Rhodesia were urban, and were due to industrial and commercial expansion, secondary to mining. In 1951, a survey showed that to satisfy the estimated deficiency in African housing housebuilding to a value of £6 million a year was needed. This was beyond the territory's building potential; the African housing programme, though large, had to be fitted into the general Development Plan. It was interesting to note that the African in employment had increased by 14% per annum since 1946, while the total urban population was increasing from 18 - 20% per annum. Housing policy followed the Urban African Housing Ordinance of 1946. Under this Ordinance authorities were bound to establish African housing areas for accommodation of employed Africans. Central Government, through the Department of Local Government and African Housing, was at present responsible for the main programme which was providing houses in these areas."[678]

In this condensed account of the urban housing situation in Northern Rhodesia, it becomes quite clear that the shortages that had accumulated until 1950 could only be accounted for by large amounts of money that were not readily available. Notwithstanding the financial and structural problems, however, it was undeniable that African urban areas would not simply disappear. The fact that urban Africans were finally at least an accepted reality by international planners and more and more, yet not all, colonial administrators from the early 1950s onwards can also be observed by looking at debates and proposals on social questions arising from this reality, such as education and pension. In a memorandum in 1953 the Secretary of Native Affairs lists the discussion points of a meeting with the Director of Welfare and Probation Services. While no agreement resulted from that meeting, the issue of Africans ageing in urban areas was at least addressed. It was therefore generally agreed that

> "a) It must be admitted that an African who has spent all his life working in an urban area may have severed his tribal connection to such an extent that he can no longer hope to enjoy in his

[677] Kew: FO 629/108. African Labour Conference: Report on the Second Inter-African Labour Conference at Elisabethville, Belgian Congo, Juli 29, 1950.
[678] Kew: CO 859/319. CCTA Housing Conference 1952: African territories; discussions in Pretoria, p.3.

old age that social security that tribal customs would have afforded had he not left his home area.

b) It is necessary that the State make provision for this social security. The number of Africans in immediate need of this security is small but will grow, and all the indications are that once it is admitted a very high proportion of the 300,000 Africans now in employment will come to expect some form of assistance when their working days are over."[679]

The mid-1950s – I thereby mean the period roughly between 1954 and 1956 – were a very active period in terms of housing debates, reports and proposals. It was also a period with much controversy, since Africans were expecting not only more and better urban infrastructures and housing, but also more participation, things which were promised in the course of the establishment of the Federation. Central in this period were considerations of owner-housing and self-help schemes which will be addressed in detail in Chapter 4.3. Moreover, debates on urban stabilisation and influx control system also increased.

However, the acceptance of Africans in urban areas was not guided by a unidirectional conception of how and where urbanisation should take place. One facet in the melting pot of ideas on African (urban) housing and urbanisation was presented by Governor Arthur Benson in 1955, namely, to essentially create rural towns. This was a rather short-lived colonial utopian dream which was adopted later by Kaunda, although under a different name;[680] it nevertheless illustrates the problem of lack of funds and will on the one hand and settler fears of ever-growing African urban areas within their direct vicinity on the other. On June 7, 1955 the Rhodesian Herald informed about the plans of Governor Arthur Benson, who presented them to African leaders and government officials, "to work towards a new conception of African life in the rural areas – the establishment of towns in the country."[681] Benson is cited in the newspaper as having said that "[i]t will cost a lot of money [...] and it will mean a very real effort on the part of the leaders of the African people to persuade those for whom there is no proper occupation in our present big towns to return to the country and help to build our new towns".[682] In essence, what is suggested here by Benson is some kind of compromise – though it reads rather like an attempt to square the circle – for Africans to "enjoy" town life without being in the vicinity of Europeans, and at the same time being closer again to the hoe, the handling of which Mr. Watmore cautioned Africans would forget in the "European towns".[683] The picture Benson drew is worth quoting. He opened his speech by saying that

"[i]n the old days there were big villages. In particular, the chief's village was usually a very big one with a large number of people living in it. Then, as soon as the people ceased to be afraid of their neighbours or of the other tribe living nearby, because an end had been put to raiding and to slavery and to inter-tribal wars, the people began to split up into small villages and to scatter

[679] NAZ: LGH 1/16/7. Urbanisation of Africans: Secretary of Native Affairs, March 17, 1953.
[680] see Chapter 7
[681] NAZ: LGH 1/16/56. African Housing – General: Extract from "Rhodesian Herald", June 7, 1955.
[682] Ibid.
[683] See section 4.3.

> all over the land. In my belief, we have to reverse the process. We must encourage the people to come together again into large villages or towns. The chief must once again have his big 'musumba' or capital, as well as other large concentrations of population in his rural area."[684]

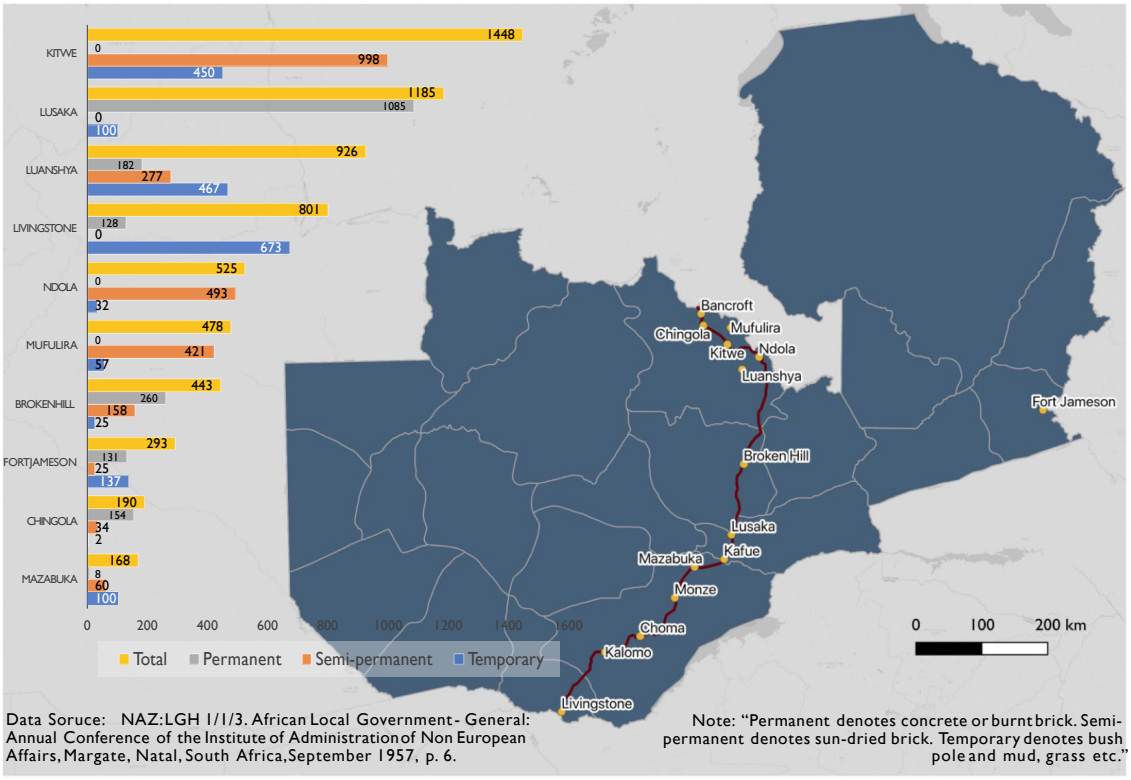
Hence, according to Benson's plan, the spatial relations between Africans and Europeans should have been altered in a physical and by implication also in a social sense. The plan can thus be understood as a scalar practice that would outsource the spatial orderings of proximities and distances from within urban areas to between European and African towns. This practice will be looked at more closely in section 4.2. It means an active re-structuring and re-organising of spatial organisation, which the geographer Neil Smith refers to as *scale bending,* where "old activities no longer fit in or support the scaled spaces that hitherto contained them".[685] The production of urban spaces should thereby re-direct the focus to an idealised *status-quo-ante* of urban Europeans and rural Africans, the urban social lives of whom could not be aligned in a common space and therefore needed to be set apart: the dual city being re-scaled into dual cities. The social realities of urban(ised) Africans needed to be re-scaled as well, from the modern urban spaces proper, into a different modernity of rural urbanism.

Financially, there was no reasonable argument by which the creation of such towns as envisaged by Benson could be justified. The paradox in the plan to stop or at least slow down urbanisation of Africans by the creation of urban areas specifically for them can only be understood in the light of how colonial towns were still perceived as first and foremost European spaces. Nevertheless, Benson's plan was later discussed at a meeting on urbanisation and stabilisation of African labour, where it was decided that the three sites at the Bemba plateau would be suitable for an experimental rural township. The townships were envisaged to reach a size of maximum 40,000 people and should be equipped with all necessary amenities and infrastructures, from piped water and sanitation to markets, schools and clinics.[686]

Even if such a plan had been realised, the money for the existing housing shortage would still have been needed. While the number in permanent housing increased during the 1950s, in 1956 temporary housing was still the predominant type for the majority of African urban dwellers and even the £1.7 million spent for the year 1956 - 1957 were but a drop in the bucket.

[684] LGH 1/16/56. Extract from "Rhodesian Herald", June 7, 1955.
[685] Smith 2004, Scale and the Bending Fate of the National, p. 201.
[686] NAZ: LGH 1/16/80. Urbanisation of Africans: Draft Record of the Second Meeting to Discuss Urbanisation and Stabilisation of African Labour, September 15, 1955.

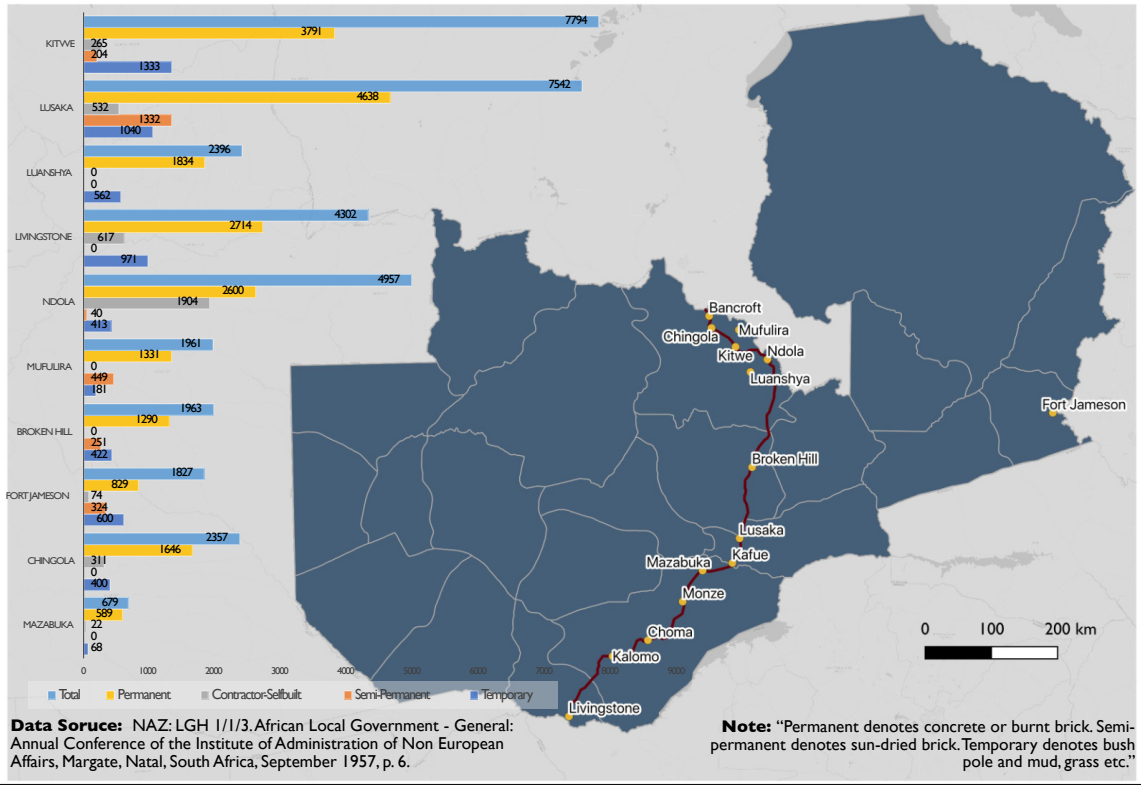
Fig. 11. Housing-Types in Northern Rhodesian Towns 1943



Data Soruce: NAZ:LGH 1/1/3. African Local Government- General: Annual Conference of the Institute of Administration of Non European Affairs, Margate, Natal, South Africa, September 1957, p. 6.

Note: "Permanent denotes concrete or burnt brick. Semi-permanent denotes sun-dried brick. Temporary denotes bush pole and mud, grass etc."

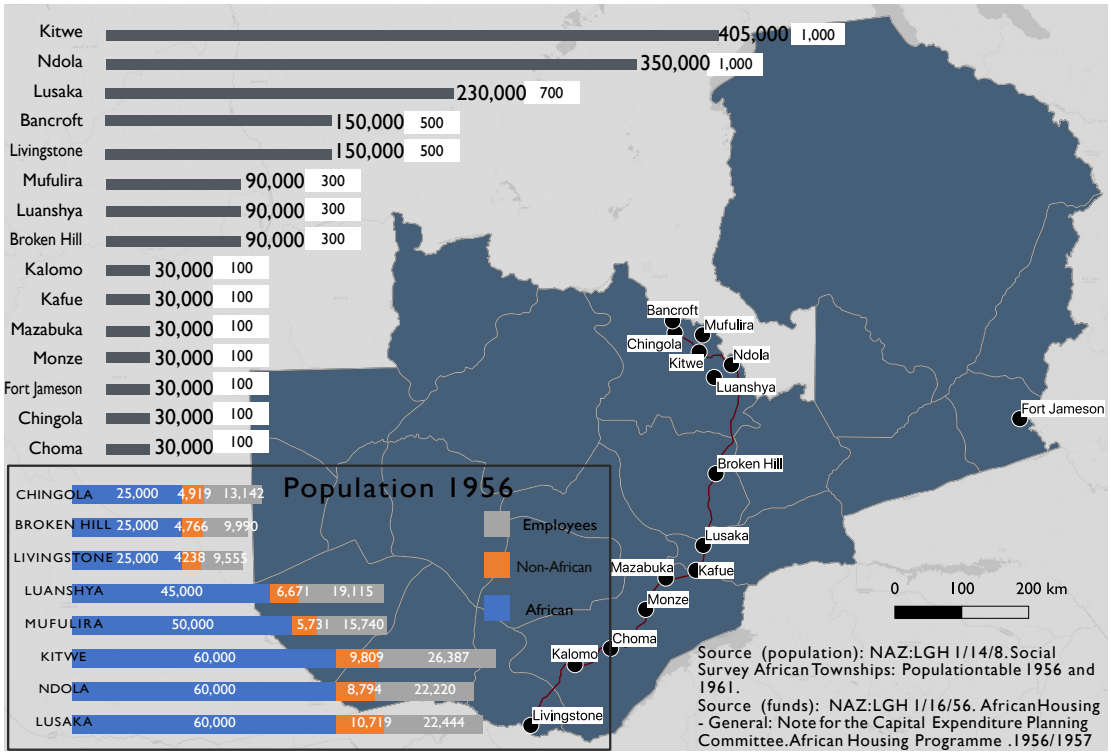
Fig. 12. Housing-Types in Northern Rhodesian Towns 1956



Data Soruce: NAZ: LGH 1/1/3. African Local Government - General: Annual Conference of the Institute of Administration of Non European Affairs, Margate, Natal, South Africa, September 1957, p. 6.

Note: "Permanent denotes concrete or burnt brick. Semi-permanent denotes sun-dried brick. Temporary denotes bush pole and mud, grass etc."

Fig. 13. Housing Funds (in British Pounds) and Proposed Number of Houses Built for 1956 and 1957



Looking at the situation at Livingstone, out of 801 (officially recognised) houses only 128 or 16 percent were considered permanent in 1943, while the remaining 673 were considered temporary, which in this case meant pole and dagga huts. By 1956, at the peak of the copper-boom years between 1953 and 1956,[687] the rate of permanent housing rose to 63 percent, which in itself perhaps seems like a large figure. However, 970 houses or around 23 percent were still considered temporary – most of them located in Malota. The remaining 14 percent were contractor-built houses. These figures are, however, only estimates which do not include illicit compounds and houses. The housing funds for 1956 and 1957 would decrease the fraction of temporary houses in Livingstone to around 11 percent, which was basically covered by Malota. While this seems like progress, and indeed to some degree has to be considered as progress, building houses alone does not improve the infrastructural (i.e. water) deficiencies, which would constitute a major aspect of the housing problems, nor were such funds sustainable.

Moreover, considering the economic and financial geographies of Northern Rhodesia and the Federation, thus the flows and circulations of capital, £1,000,000 for an essential service such as housing the urban population stood in no relation to the profits made by the RST and Anglo-American and the revenue generated from taxes and royalties by Northern Rhodesia.[688] The recurrent revenues of Northern Rhodesia in 1956-1957 amounted to £19,298,986[689] and the GNP

[687] i.e. Juif, D. and E. Frankema (2018). From Coercion to Compensation: Institutional Responses to Labour Scarcity in the Central African Copperbelt. *Journal of Institutional Economics, 14*(2), 313-343; Butler 2007, *Copper Empire*.
[688] Taxes amounted to about £5 million in 1949: Butler 2007, *Copper Empire*, p. 198.
[689] Report on Northern Rhodesia for the Year 1957. Luskaka: Government Printer, p. 19.

of Northern Rhodesia by 1955 had grown to £304.7 million.[690] During the first seven years of the Federation, Northern Rhodesia supported both Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with around £70 million in tax revenue,[691] yet it was nevertheless not able to provide sufficient housing and infrastructural services to its population. As Butler has shown in his important work on the difficult relationship between colonial state, colonial metropole and industry, the benefits from the copper industry for the metropole and Northern Rhodesia were large, and even larger for the foreign capital investments. While the spatial relations of unbounded capital flows contributed to large accumulations of wealth, the larger parts were siphoned off and materialised, for instance, in the impressive skyline of Salisbury and indeed the "white settler minority was benefiting disproportionately".[692] The spatiality of unbounded capital flows thereby stands in direct contrast to the boundedness and narrow confines of the economic and social space of urban developments for Africans.

Urban Politics From Partnership to Participation

The housing question was not only a technical or financial matter, but also a political one, since legislation and policies were formed and discussed largely without Africans, especially on the local level. In the early 1950s when establishment of the Central African Federation was discussed, theoretically Africans should have been granted more say in such matters, yet the concessions made to Africans were decidedly vague. The partnership that was granted to Africans if they accepted the Federation against their not unfounded fear of a South African situation was merely a "hoax".[693] On the other hand, for many settlers even partnership was too liberal an idea. From the perspective of the Colonial Office, Michael Collins understands the Federation as middle ground, to allow both settlers and African nationalists to "secure on-going control of political power and resources. The Federation was thus ambivalent, a move towards decolonisation as well as a means of securing imperial control".[694] Africans on their part soon understood the discourse of partnership that was drafted alongside the Federation as merely liberal lip-service.

Thus, within the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in general and Northern Rhodesia in particular critique against the often shallow promises of liberalism was often voiced by African journalists and activists. In an article written against the apartheid that hides behind the discourse of partnership, the Malawian journalist and editor Elias Mtepuka for instance critiques the toothlessness of liberalism at play within the project of the Federation.

> "Both at home and abroad liberals have hailed its "partnership" policy as the only hope in white-settled Africa. So strong indeed is the myth that prominent men who have vociferously protested against "apartheid" in South Africa have come out on the side of the Federation,

[690] Butler 2007, *Copper Empire*, p. 211.
[691] Ibid, p. 210.
[692] Ibid.
[693] Rotberg 2019, The 'Partnership' hoax: How the British Government Deprived Central Africans of Their Rights.
[694] Collins, M. (2013). Decolonisation and the "Federal Moment". *Diplomacy & Statecraft, 24*(1), 21-40, p. 22.

without even stopping to see whether "partnership" in theory tallies with "partnership" in practice, or to reflect on what constitutes "apartheid" —the word or the deed.''[695]

As far as the metropolitan rationale of the Colonial Office was concerned the concept of "partnership" has to be equally understood as being guided by political pragmatism rather than a progressive attitude on its own terms; a pragmatism that is, which sought to display goodwill and to appease colonised people.[696] Viewed from a legal perspective already the constitution of Rhodesia and Nyasaland made sure that partnership was framed accordingly in a way that left more room for interpretation than giving a clear statement on what partnership meant, as the following part of its third preamble illustrates:

''And whereas the association of the Colony and territories aforesaid in a Federation under Her Majesty's sovereignty, enjoying responsible government in accordance with this Constitution, would conduce to the security, advancement and welfare of all their inhabitants, and in particular would foster partnership and co-operation between their inhabitants and enable the Federation, when those inhabitants so desire, to go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership of the Commonwealth.''[697]

Moreover and more importantly, it lacked any legal responsibilities or consequences, as Mtepuka had pointed out in a very trenchant manner when he said:

''There is no consistency between "partnership" in the abstract and "partnership" in the concrete. A cursory glance at the Federal Constitution would show that the term is of little significance even theoretically. First, it is not part of that section of the Constitution which is legally enforceable. Secondly, it is not even defined.''[698]

This legal implication has to be acknowledged. The fear of settlers to allow the project of partnership to translate into participation in local governments needs to be understood against the background that, even after the Brown and Monckton reports of 1957 and 1960, it was made sure that African participation in (urban) local affairs and legal implementation of partnership would be limited to a point where the power of settlers, industries and government would be secured. The discourse on partnership and the renewed and readjusted interest in African development after World War II was always counteracted by settler politics. The general question of the status and role of Africans in the colony and the future of the territory continually created tension between settlers and the colonial officials. The settler outrage following the statements made by Passfield in the 1930s was basically the same that 20 years later followed a similar statement by Arthur Creech-Jones, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, when he proclaimed: "Permanent white settlement

[695] Mtepuka, E.M. (1957). Central African Federation: The Attack. *Africa South, 1*(4), 73-81, p. 74.
[696] See for instance: Rotberg 2019, The 'Partnership' hoax: How the British Government Deprived Central Africans of Their Rights.
[697] The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Constitution) Order in Council, 1953, H.M. Stationery Office, p. 15.
[698] Mtepuka 1957, Central African Federation: The Attack.

needs to be controlled. Because Northern Rhodesia is a Protectorate, the Africans have been guaranteed certain inherent rights".[699] Former Railway Union leader, settler politician and Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia Roy Welensky answered that he would personally not be opposed to partnership. However, it would have to be a hierarchical one where Europeans would be the senior-partners, and one that would not lead to the establishment of an African state. He warned that the government "will have to bring troops to this country to carry it out. The European community will not under any circumstances recognise a paramountcy of African interests."[700]

During the times of the Federation things had changed under the Conservative government in the UK, when Creech-Jones' successor Alan Tindal Lennox-Boyed saw the Colonial Office as no longer responsible for Northern Rhodesian internal affairs, when he stated that

> "if the Federation is not yet sovereign, it is largely self-governing in internal affairs. I retain certain responsibilities and, despite the rather hysterical letter in The Times a few days ago, I continue to do so in respect of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. […] Unless they come within my responsibilities in the Northern Territories, most of the subjects with which we are concerned in considering racial relations do not come within the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government. The Constitution of the Federation, as the Committee well knows, contains important provisions for the protection of African interests. It is very important that we should all realise that it would be contrary to the spirit of the Conventions which govern our relations with the Central African Federation if we on this Committee discussed the internal affairs of the Federation. I know that many hon. Members realise that problems of racial discrimination cannot be solved by debate here, but only by mutual confidence there."[701]

As has been highlighted above, not only did the constitution not provide for the protection of African interests, at least not in any legal sense. Lennox-Boyed also handed over the responsibility concerning what was years earlier referred to as "interest of the native" to the Federation government and Legislative Councils. Perhaps the most interesting aspect coming from the Colonial Secretary is the fact that the sovereignty of the Federation is even mentioned, let alone in such a positive manner. When the Colonial Office during the 1930s and 1940s "adopted only those mechanisms for the abolition of race discrimination that would not arouse strong white opposition in the union, the Kenyan highlands, or in any other region where white settler opinion was taken seriously",[702] under the Federation it was even hesitant to go so far.

Moreover, municipalities such as Lusaka that previously were not as infiltrated by settler politics as Livingstone for instance, in the 1950s became more settler-dominated. After having gained political representation from the mid-1950s onwards, the settler fraction of Lusaka tried everything in their power to stop any political integration of Africans, not only through the Municipal Council

[699] Welensky, R. (1964). *4000 Days: The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.* London: Collins, p. 33-34. cited in Gewald 2008, Rumours of Mau Mau in Northern Rhodesia, 1950-1960, p. 44.
[700] Ibid.
[701] Hansard: House of Commons Debate, June 4, 1957, Vol. 571, cc 1085-211.
[702] Harris, R. and S. Parnell (2012). The Turning Point in Urban Policy for British Colonial Africa, 1939–1945. In Demissie, F. (Eds.), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories*. London and New York: Routledge, p. 148.

but also through an organisation that mainly expressed their views and interests, the Chamber of Commerce and Industries.. During the debate of the Monckton Committee Report, they highlighted that there should not only be "little or no representation without taxation".[703] The District Officer for Lusaka, John Wood, on the other hand, was of the opinion that it is "imperative that Africans should take real responsibility in local government".[704] During the vote of the Municipal Association in 1960, Lusaka and Chingola abstained from their vote either in favour or against African representation in local government. Livingstone was the only municipality to vote against.[705]

In the mid and late 1950s, political demands and movements of Africans also grew stronger and the fear of riots and communism was prevalent. Salaries would eventually rise in the 1950s for African workers, especially mine workers, and civil servants, yet it could not possibly compensate for insufficient housing and social amenities, lack of representation and (real) partnership as well as structures and daily practices of discrimination, just to name a few reasons why Africans would demand more. After a proposal by Legislative Council member Safele Chileshe to grant Africans representation on all municipal and township boards, John Roberts, Member of the Legislative Council for Land, Health and Local Government reacted immediately and tried to convince Chileshe to withdraw the motion.[706] However, he knew things had to change, so he argued that "if we want to take away African discontent and complaints from local authorities which consists of Europeans, we must give them some responsibility in the executive council of running their own areas".[707] This was the beginning of talks on township area boards, which would be implemented in Livingstone two years later.

From 1957, the year in which the Brown commission presented its work, questions and debates on participation and partnership became particularly relevant. The Brown Committee took several witness testimonies from Africans and Europeans to determine their views on direct representation. The following was concluded with regard to African witnesses:

> "Generally, evidence submitted by Africans laid great stress on the policy of partnership and stated that, as far as local authorities were concerned, implementation of that policy meant direct representation (i.e. representation of Africans by Africans on local authorities). [...] On questioning and when presented with alternatives to the above, a majority of African witnesses modified this view to a desire to have more control over their own affairs in their own areas; but few considered this satisfactory without a voice on the local authority, whilst a minority still maintained that direct representation was the only proper course and representation at a lower level was of no importance."[708]

[703] NAZ: LGH 1/5/17. Participation of Africans in Local Govt. Report + Minutes of Meeting. Urban African Local Government Committee Minute, October 1960. p. 83.
[704] Ibid., p. 84.
[705] NAZ: LGH 1/8/3. Minutes of the Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Minutes of the Proceeding of a Meeting of the Executive Committee, October 31, 1960.
[706] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 239.
[707] NAZ: LGH 1/16/58. Housing Board – General: Extract from "The Central African Post, June 1, 1956.
[708] NAZ: MLSS 1/24/14. Employment of Natives and "Housing Conditions": Report of the Committee appointed to examine and recommend ways and means by which Africans resident in Municipal and Township areas should be enabled to take an appropriate part in the administration of those areas. Government Printer, Lusaka, 1957, p. 4.

This essentially mirrors what had been troubling Africans in urban areas for decades, and to my reading reflects the disillusionment with local politics and how everyday life was structured and controlled in urban areas. What seems to be an antithetical position is really an adaptation towards the social and political realities. In the context of owner-housing and self-help schemes for instance, this can be exemplified quite well. Since Africans knew that they would not gain any greater powers in the local authorities, the only logical option for them was to propose to run their own township by their own rules.

Europeans favoured the latter option, since they felt that giving Africans more power over their own affairs would not necessarily be achieved by direct representation and "a number were strongly of the opinion that an attempt to solve the problem by this means alone, would fail, as Africans generally had insufficient experience to represent their people's views on local authorities where the work was mainly of a detailed administrative and technical nature."[709] Especially the Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia stressed this point in conceding "wholeheartedly that the African 'must be given the opportunity commensurate with his ability, experience and interest, to participate in the administration of the community of which he forms part'",[710] which is not only a highly patronising view, but also not very specific as to how this could be put into practice, once ability, experience and interest would be sufficient. In 1955 the association made clear that it was "strongly opposed to any direct representation on Municipal Councils".[711] The association only recommended that "additional powers be given to reconstitute African Area Boards together with co-option of Africans on to the African Affairs Committee under section 25(2) of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance."[712] Again, additional powers is not very specific. The recommendations the Brown committee proposed were the following:

> "(1) Africans should be granted direct representation on local authorities and otherwise the present position should remain unaltered; (2) African housing areas should be constituted as separate local government areas; (3) representation with voting powers on the African Affairs Committees; (4) the granting of additional powers to African Housing Area Boards and representation with voting powers on African Affairs Committees, with or without direct representation on the local authority."[713]

Most importantly, the Committee was

> "opposed to the proposal that Africans should, at this stage, be given direct representation only, as it considers this would not be in the best interest of the Africans. [...] There is a need for measures which would give the Africans financial as well as executive responsibility, and this brings home to them the relationship between the contribution of the inhabitants and the

[709] Ibid.
[710] Ibid.
[711] NAZ: LGH 1/18 /19. African Affairs – Africans Representation – Written Evidence: Memorandum on the special meeting of the Municipal Association, November, 1955.
[712] Brown Report, p. 4
[713] Ibid., p. 5

> provision of services. [...] Further measures are needed to establish a system of administration for people who have yet to comprehend the complexities of urban problems."[714]

To conclude, the committee used the argument that Africans would lack the knowledge and comprehension of how urban budgeting works against (immediate) direct representation. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.2, this argument was used also in the context of African Urban Advisory Councils. Nevertheless, the recommendations from the Brown committee report were considered far too liberal by settler-dominated local authorities such as at Livingstone. For Africans on the other hand, the propositions were hardly sufficient for what they aimed for. In a debate in the Legislative Council following the Brown Report Mr. Sokota for instance said:

> "I attach very much importance to paragraph 28, which is direct representation. Sir, it is stated here that this proposal was not accepted, or could not be. The committee considered it of course, but could not take it as one of its major recommendations that Africans should be directly represented on municipal councils and management boards. Sir, I feel that some of the reasons given for it are not strong enough to convince one that the committee could not consider this idea, because this was one of the recommendations. […] we cannot expect the Africans to know or learn how to run local authorities, or to be represented on the municipal council, without putting them to the task."[715]

Mr. Chileshe was even more to the point. While complimenting Mr. Brown and his committee for producing this report he nevertheless argued that the "direction which this report has recommended, even if it be regarded as an interim measure, is not the one that the majority of Africans in the urban areas entertain."[716]

Studying the housing and urbanisation trends and debates throughout the 1950s, what becomes clear is that the many meetings, reports, conferences and agreements in practice did not lead to significant changes on a large scale. That is to say, despite the fact that money for housing and infrastructures was allocated and used to build homes for Africans, it was not nearly enough. The problem cannot, however, be reduced to the mismatch between available funds and the high urbanisation rates. An even larger problem was that urban planning in general was mainly oriented along questions of employment-based housing. Other aspects important in the context of urbanisation, such as education and other forms of social and socio-economic development, were dealt with in their own respect, but hardly in connection with housing and urbanisation. Only ownership schemes necessitated colonial authorities and settlers to look at such developments too, since without an African middle class these schemes would be doomed to fail. The plans by Governor Benson to simply build rural towns for all those Africans who were not needed and wanted in "European" and "urban" towns, because they did not fit into the narrow segments

[714] Ibid.
[715] NAZ: MLSS 1/24/14. Employment of Natives and "Housing Conditions": Extract from Hansard, Col. 1462-1500, August 8, 1957.
[716] Ibid.

colonial authorities and settlers had allocated for them, is to my reading a symptom of the lack in comprehensive planning that includes technical, financial and social questions. Moreover, it is symptomatic of the production of colonial urban spaces through the creation of distance and boundaries. Without such confined and narrow views on urban planning, authorities would perhaps have had to come to terms with the fact that those who were considered as mere obstacles to urbanisation, those, therefore, who were not needed, actually filled important positions within the social space of urban areas not only for Africans, but also Europeans.

4.2. Proximity and Distance – From Town Planning to Urban Management

The general debates on urbanisation and housing mainly addressed the issues presented above, namely, lack of housing, schemes of housing provision, types of housing, allocation of funds and political integration of Africans in urban areas. While the progress made during the 1950s at least theoretically seems to have been guided by an increasing acceptance of Africans in urban areas, in the context of town planning and urban morphologies, as well as the actual practice of running the towns, urban change was slower. This can be observed in the way African housing areas were conceptualised and how rules and regulations concerning Africans living in those areas would only slowly change during the last three or four years of colonial rule.

Close, but far away

The social as well as the physical structures of colonial towns and cities were shaped and informed by questions, problems and legislation regulating proximities and distances, not only between Africans and Europeans and their residential and working areas, but also between African areas and, not least, between the social realities in towns and the conceptions and schemes derived from planning offices and international actors, who lacked knowledge of those realities. On the level of town-planning, proximity and distance acted as a sort of ruler that would reveal what was possible or not, and how different segments of urban areas would or could materialise. But also in an abstract sense, proximities and distances became important in the context of planning powers and debates around who would execute them, local and regional authorities versus national or even federal ones. Thus, who had planning powers over which spaces in the colonial and settler realm had an impact on how planning was practiced. *Ordnung* and *Anordnung*, spatial order(ing) and arrangements in space do not therefore necessarily correlate between different colonial actors.

In the aftermath of the C.C.T.A. conference, the planning of African areas in Northern Rhodesia was permanently under discussion, since the housing developments of the late 1940s had already reached their limits, yet the funds were not large enough to account for the needed houses and infrastructures. Instead of one nation-wide planning scheme, planning should be undertaken on a town-by-town basis to allow for local circumstances to be accounted for. Planning should nonetheless operate on a grand scale with certain criteria that would have to be met, as well as the approval of the Commissioner for Local Government and the Town Planning Board. In practice,

however, the powers of the Town Planning Board were of a rather theoretical nature, and the local planning authorities could more or less plan as they saw fit.[717]

On April 30, 1953, at a meeting of several colonial and governmental representatives, including the Director of Surveys and Land and the Commissioner for Local Government, it was agreed that the selection of new African housing areas in townships should be guided by seven criteria.[718] The first three criteria included accounting for the existing and expected population, close availability of health services, and areal extents that would average 30 persons per acre (about 4040m²), which translates to a population density of roughly 74 persons per hectare. The rest of the criteria dealt with distances and proximities that would have to be ensured. The distances to European areas should be increased while at the same time the distances to work places, second-class trading areas and hospitals should be decreased. In Livingstone, this was practically impossible, since the African and the European hospital for instance were both situated in town.

Fig. 14. Sketch-Plan of European and African Hospital



Source: SP 1/14/15 Medical and Health - Hospitals - Livingstone, 1949-68.

In essence, here the dual city as a planning practice becomes quite apparent. The two realms of European and African residential areas should by all means be separated as much as possible. That is to say, the housing areas themselves should be situated down-wind of the European residential part of town. This had already been a common planning practice, since the discourse guiding this principle relates back to sanitation and health issues of the 19th and early 20th century and the creation of a

[717] Rakodi 1986, Colonial Urban Policy and Planning in Northern Rhodesia and Its Legacy.
[718] NAZ: LGH 1/16/52. Local Government. African Housing General Policy: Record of a Meeting held in the Office of the Assistant Secretary Health and Local Government, April 30, 1953.

cordon sanitair between African and European townships as proposed by tropical physician W.J.R Simpson.[719]

The way African residential areas were understood essentially as necessary by-products of urban developments in the sense of labour reserves rather than integrative parts of the urban space even in the late 1950s is also reflected in the Town Planning legislation. In Section 18 of the memorandum on the Town Planning Ordinance of 1959, the following passage renders visible this peripheral or auxiliary position of African residential areas in relation to the urban space:

> "It shall be a condition of the granting of any application to establish a township that the applicant shall without payment of compensation set aside a commonage for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of such township and that portions of such commonage may be set apart for sites for cemeteries, native locations, refuse and night soil deposit, aerodromes and such other public purposes."[720]

Thus, "native locations" are understood as some form of infrastructural feature that needs to be taken into account when planning new (European) townships. The reason that "native locations" are named here explicitly perhaps has to do with the fact that for decades bad housing conditions and unauthorised settlements were often a by-product of personal servitude, because employers simply did not want to spend the money necessary to create proper housing and infrastructures. Thus, the planning officials knew that every new European residential area would necessitate an African residential area, and therefore these would have to be accounted for in the same way as cemeteries, latrines or aerodromes. African compounds were not only considered distant to European areas in the physical sense, but essentially also in a social sense with regard to urban attachments such as infrastructures. Moreover, in town plans, when such areas were planned special attention was needed. In the Report of the Town Planning Bill of 1954 it was highlighted that the outline plan should show important matters which are likely to "arouse controversy", for example industrial areas, African areas and residential areas for low income-groups.[721]

In the mid 1950s when owner-housing and self-help schemes (see Chapter 4.3) were discussed, debates arose concerning the planning of new townships and African residential areas as well as on the possibility for (some) Africans to lease plots as freehold in European residential areas. The first debate revolved around the issue that the Property Owner's Association and the Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union feared that their property values would possibly decrease if African residential areas were to be built in their direct vicinity. However, an even more heated issue was the proposal by M.P. Alexander Scott to allow Africans freehold rights in European areas. Firstly, it was deemed unfair that Europeans were not allowed freehold in African areas. Secondly, it was feared that, again, the value of such European areas would decrease, and thirdly "nobody wants all

[719] Simpson 1916, *The Maintenance of Health in the Tropics*.
[720] NAZ: LGH 1/1/20. Town Planning Board Minutes: Memorandum on the Taking of Public land as a Condition of Estate Development under the Provisions of Cap. 123, July 22, 1959, p.2.
[721] NAZ: LGH 1/2/11. Town Planning Ordinance: Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia. Report of the Sub-Committee on the Report of the Town Planning Bill, 1954, Committee, p. 2.

the races mixed up residentially",[722] as Mr. Cage, chairman of the Association of Land and Property Owners put it.

While settlers, through their political institutions of local government, could gain considerable freedom in what and how they planned their urban areas, in 1954 it was suggested by some to go even further and establish so-called county councils, which would have effectively given settlers the opportunity to have a say in the planning of peri-urban areas around the line-of-rail towns. At the same time, however, some colonial and government officials felt that local authorities already had too much say in town-planning. Alexander Scott, M.P. for Lusaka and former chairman of the Town Planning Board, for instance was of the opinion that no local authority is capable of town planning; furthermore, the control thereof should be vested in the Member for Land and Local Government, with the chief planning officer and the territorial planning board doing the actual planning. This would have left the local government only in the position of executing the planning orders coming from the central government and its bodies. Something of a middle ground was taken by bodies such as the Society of Architects and Quantity Surveyors who felt that the planning should be done by the local authorities, but the coordination of all urban planning and land development should lie in the responsibility of the central planning authority. Thus, unlike the *status quo* in which the central planning authority, in urban contexts represented by the Town Planning Board, was merely an advisory body, in their view it should have had more executive powers.[723]

In 1958 it was finally decided to scale up the planning to an even higher level and establish a Federal Planning Board, since the Southern Rhodesian Government was already responsible for planning activities in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Mr. Lithand, chairman of the Central African Branch of the Town Planning Institute spoke against Northern Rhodesia's plan to set up its own Town and Country Planning Department and argued for a Federal Town Planning institution that would advise, conduct research, examine planning schemes, co-ordinate planning, and prepare planning schemes for African townships.[724] Apart from the fact that Northern Rhodesia already did not relish its role as a (political) junior partner in the Federal constellation – this relationship actually somewhat resembles, on a larger scale, the problematic relationship between Lusaka and Livingstone – the last point would have been especially difficult to communicate to local authorities. The planning of African residential areas was after all a very sensitive topic and many different actors wanted to have a say in it, from colonial officials, to local governments and private business representatives.

The spatial divide that cut through the urban fabric was not only inhumane, but at times led to unusual problems. In the same way that Africans were not allowed in European areas without permission and therefore also not allowed to buy plots or rent houses in such areas,[725] Europeans were not allowed to do the same in African areas. According to the Livingstone by-laws, European employers could lease plots for their employees on Municipal grounds reserved for African housing,

[722] NAZ: LGH 1/1/4. Town Plans – General: Extract from the Northern News, June 14, 1954.
[723] Ibid.
[724] Ibid.
[725] This changed only very slowly in the 1960s. In Livingstone for instance it was recommended by the Provincial Architect in 1961 that two houses in "Churchill way are not suitable for European occupation: he further recommends that these two houses should be retained for use as superior type African houses for occupation by Federal African civil servants" NAZ: LGH 3/5/7. Livingstone – African Housing: Provincial Commissioner, Livingstone, January 20, 1961.

but they could not hold land, nor establish trade or other businesses in such areas. This by-law was actually made in order not only to regulate housing and make impossible land speculation in these highly regulated spaces, but also to secure African trade in respective market areas, which was itself highly regulated. A note for the Executive Council in 1953 states,

> "In the past the Livingstone Council has had difficulty in preventing Europeans from occupying African quarters in the Municipality, in as much as permission has been given from time to time to Europeans to occupy African quarters to a site pending the completion of the main house; in certain cases where the person concerned has moved into the main dwelling, the African quarters have been let out to other Europeans. The Council has therefore proposed that an additional by-law stipulating that no other person other than an African shall occupy African quarters should be incorporated within the Livingstone Municipal Council By-Laws. The following has been suggested: – '358. No person other than an African shall occupy African quarters except with the express permission in writing of the Council having been first had and obtained.'"[726]

Thus, the spatial orderings and segregationist legislations made it necessary to establish by-laws that would secure some opportunities for Africans and protect their trade from European or Indian trade, at least in those areas reserved for Africans. This situation led to confusion when in 1955 a private medical practitioner, Dr. de Kock applied before the Livingstone Municipal Council to open an African consulting room and a surgery in one of the African housing areas run by the Municipality. In a letter to the Commissioner for Local Government, the Town Clerk of Livingstone explained the situation, while adding that he personally did not consider a medical practice to fall under the category of trade, but forwarded the letter to the Director of Medical Services.[727] The issue concerned how to solve the problem of holding land in these areas. In his reply the Director of Medical Services said that he had no objections and confirmed that medical practice was not normally classed as trading. "If the Livingstone Municipality do not wish a European to hold land in the compound area they could always let a hut for the use of a doctor".[728] In a letter to the Provincial Medical Officer it was further argued that "[t]he question of whether or not Dr. de Kock should be allowed to practice in the Maramba African Compound is for the Livingstone Municipal Council to decide, as no unauthorised European is allowed in the Municipal compounds anywhere in Northern Rhodesia."[729] The Acting Commissioner for Local Government added and specified that "[a]lthough Council's by-laws prevent a European holding land in an African Housing Area, there would appear to be no objection to such a person – being an "authorised" person within the meaning of section 35(6) of Cap. 234 – renting suitable premises for consultations etc."[730]

[726] NAZ: LGH 1/16/8. Local Government. Livingstone By-Laws and Regulations: Note for Executive Council. Livingstone Municipal Council Amendment of By-Laws, July 27, 1953.
[727] NAZ: LGH 3/6/1. Livingstone – African Clinics: Letter from the Town Clerk, Livingstone, to the Commissioner for Local Government, August 23, 1955.
[728] Ibid., Letter from the Director of Medical Services to the Commissioner for Local Government, September 15, 1955.
[729] Ibid., Letter from Director of Medical Services to Provincial Medical Officer, Southern Province, Livingstone, August 30, 1955.
[730] Ibid., Letter from the Commissioner for Local Government to the Town Clerk, Livingstone, September 22, 1955.

The problem went further, since the Municipality of Livingstone had trouble supplying enough houses in their compounds. The housing shortage was indeed a structural problem. So, practically the Municipality had no housing resources available to let to the medic. Moreover, in the course of this affair three other local medical practitioners applied to open clinics. The Town Clerk therefore asked the Commissioner on behalf of the Council if it was permitted "to sublease land to the doctors in question to allow them to erect their own consulting rooms", since the "Council cannot agree to make houses available for this purpose".[731] The Commissioner then redirected the issue to the Director of Surveys and Land, who finally replied that "the Crown would not raise any objection to Local authorities subletting plots in their African Housing Areas to Doctors who were prepared to establish their own clinic facilities, but it is probable that the annual rents payable under head leases would have to be increased by not less than £1 for each plot so sub-let".[732]

Ultimately it was possible to resolve the issue quite easily. However, the very fact that such an inquiry was necessary well illustrates the general everyday difficulties the racially structured urban space produced. That is to say, beyond the different and obviously larger problems Africans had to deal with because of these laws, these laws did in fact structure the entire urban space to an extent that made transgression between the two spatial realms of the "dual city" a matter of much paperwork. Moreover, and more importantly from a theoretical point of view, the spatial agency to effectively shape the urban form[733] of both the European and the African parts of the town obviously is more complicated. As I and others have pointed out, the effective power to form and alter the urban space in most cases was in the hands of municipalities. However, as the above case shows, at times their own laws, in combination with the national/ territorial laws, made it necessary to go to the theoretically highest level of the imperial political structure, the Crown, in this case represented by the Director of Surveys and Land.

In a geographical sense the question of proximities and distances becomes important in the context of compounds, seen as separate spatial units. Some of them were unauthorised and tolerated, some were run by municipalities and others by smaller or larger employers such as industries. Often different responsibilities applied to different compounds, while amenities and infrastructures were often shared between them to cut costs. Some compounds were therefore better equipped than others, creating unequal distributions of certain services.

The situation concerning markets, for example, underscores the difference between compounds. In April 1957 Mr. Mapani of the Livingstone African Urban Advisory Council put in motion a request for reinstating a market between the Saw Mills and the New Tobacco Co-operative Location in order to serve the African public in that area. He explained that "the residents of that area had been put to considerable hardship by having to go to Linda and Maramba to do their shopping".[734] While Linda would have been a possibility due to the relatively short distance between Linda and the Saw Mills and Tobacco compound, however, Linda, too, did not offer everything for the daily needs, since "few marketeers were using Linda [thus in many instances people had to go to Maramba] as the stall

[731] Ibid., Letter from Town Clerk, Livingstone, to Commissioner for Local Government, October 18, 1955.
[732] Ibid., Letter from the Commissioner for Local Government to the Town Clerk, Livingstone, November 18, 1955.
[733] see Larkham 2019, Agents and Agency in the Urban Landscape
[734] NAZ: SP 1/4/11. African Urban Advisory Council: L/Stone, April 2, 1957

rentals were considered too high".[735] Linda was built mainly as a residential area for higher income groups, without much shopping infrastructure. Yet Linda's proximity to Libuyu and Maramba offset these infrastructural shortcomings for its population. For the population of the Saw Mills and Tobacco Compounds, however, these possibilities for shopping were not practical. Mr. Mapani continued to argue that there were "300 workers registered at the Saw Mills who, together with their families made a community large enough to justify a subsidiary market".[736] He stressed that the needs of many workers and families were overlooked when the original market was closed. Overlooked they were indeed, by local authorities and even more so by planners and policy makers, whose offices were even farther afield from compounds.

While such aspects of proximities and distances were not considered important by colonial and settler authorities – they seemed to have just not thought or cared about it – they nevertheless addressed the effects of the problems that resulted from them. Thus, Africans at times needed to manoeuvre through the urban space in a very constrained way, not only because certain things were not readily available at a near distance, but also because they could not traverse certain areas at certain times. While, therefore, urban planning and legislation made movement difficult, Europeans often complained about Africans being late. C.C. Baldwin, the Provincial Engineer at Livingstone, for example, stated that he was not

> "altogether satisfied with the Africans' approach to timekeeping. When a man was expected to be at work at a certain time it was completely wrong to turn up ten minutes or a quarter of an hour late, the excuse that they did not have watches or any means to telling the time was not satisfactory as they certainly knew when to stop work and in any case they were never ten minutes early, they were always late."[737]

However, timekeeping is indeed a matter of space as well. This spatialised relationship between different compounds structured by categories of proximity and distance can also be observed in other urban relations. It becomes apparent in the context of transportation infrastructures, but also in the context of water and sanitation. As categories they structure spatial relationships within and between compounds, but also form categories of the spatial division between Africans and Europeans in the context of mobility. That is to say, the fact that notions of proximity and distance play a different role within the urban setting for Africans than it does for Europeans, who not only benefitted from better infrastructures and free movement across and beyond the urban space, but also had access to private modes of transportation, renders the issue often unimportant for policy-makers, planners and municipal councils.[738]

The question of proximity and distance of course not only covers the geographical distance between urban areas and problems of transgressing the boundaries set to keep them apart but also, and perhaps even more so, social distances and proximities, which will be examined in more detail in

[735] Ibid.
[736] Ibid.
[737] NAZ: SP 4/2/16. Inspection Tours – P.W.D.: Record of the Tenth African Staff Meeting, December 30, 1949.
[738] See Chapter 5.3.

Chapter 5.4. Socially and physically, proximity and distance become important in the orderings of what is considered public space. Negotiation over the public space is a key category in understanding the nature of spatial relationships, or more precisely, the spatial inequalities immanent to the colonial city. But beyond the very obvious social and physical boundaries that structure these spatial relationships, such as pass-laws, curfews, window-buying practices,[739] unequal infrastructure and service provisions, or segregated living areas in general, the negotiations over urban public space are also observable in the ways everyday norms and practices are discussed. These often become entangled with legal questions which, however, do not seem to be as comprehensive and thought through as the huge amount of territorial legislation and local by-laws might suggest, and thus open up spaces of negotiation. Within these legal uncertainties, debates arise regarding responsibilities in relation to how social practices and norms in public spaces are to be executed, as the following case reveals.

On October 30th 1953 a motion was forwarded by Mr. Lubinda of the African Urban Advisory Council to be reviewed by the Provincial Council that "Government should take steps in order to refuse European passengers from giving African children bread and biscuits on Railway Stations and Sidings."[740] The context of the people involved in such actions cannot be conclusively determined, for example whether the European passengers were tourists, or how old these children were and if that practice was common or not. In any case, in his reply the Chairman, District Commissioner J.E. Long, turned around the discourse of the complaint and legal suggestions concerning the social practices in the (essentially) public space. He felt that "the practice of children pestering travellers on the railway trains for gifts was a matter for parentful discipline. The mover appeared to envisage perhaps punitive action against charitable gifts to young Africans who were in fact breaking the law by begging." Such debates bear witness to the difficult everyday spatial relations between Africans and Europeans, which in almost every case worked against the former.

There are three arrangements that (re-)produce the distant relationships between Africans and Europeans, albeit on different scales. One emerges out of the situation of the relatively close (physical) proximity of an urban *vis-a-vis*, where the relationship is structured by social distance and alienation. It is the relationship between settlers or local colonial agents and Africans. Secondly, regarding the distance between planning schemes and actual local town planning and management, it is important to explain why even idealistic planning schemes would not materialise as intended. Hence, the very planning structure in Northern Rhodesia would counteract such schemes, for the professional planning by planning offices or even colonial agents could not simply bypass the power of local authorities. A third arrangement emerges out of a non-relationship, at least one not between people. It is only a relationship between planners and their conceptions of African urban spaces, not people. This alienation is not an active choice or social practice, but rather stems from planners being distant and ignorant of social realties. Everyday struggles of Africans contributed nevertheless to the general structural difficulties, which remained unnoticed by planners. Urban management and town planning thus followed a narrow conception of what urban life meant, and often reduced it to population rates, densities and housing needs, but did not consider how urban

[739] see chapter 5.5.
[740] NAZ: SP 4/12/66. African Urban Advisory Council: October 30, 1953.

spaces were actually lived and practiced. Many planners, especially those sitting in international planning offices or institutions, were neither colonial agents nor settlers and their motivations may even have been guided by humanist ideals. Yet the distance between their schemes and the social realities in the compounds rendered such ideals useless, for such schemes did not account for the peripheralisation of Africans within the colonial societal structure and the spatial confinements they had to manoeuvre through, in and beyond urban areas. Especially the large amount of self-employed Africans and those outside the formal work-force, however important for African as well as European urban areas, simply fell through the cracks, since they did not fit into the uniformity of how urban Africans were conceived as single male workers or worker families. The distance between expert planning and social realities becomes apparent in the way the spatial arrangement of African urban areas was conceptualised, for instance concerning open spaces.

Centrality, Difference and Open Spaces

Urban planning and design has always dealt with the relationships between single spatial units, such as houses, plots, districts, street segments and networks. In their totality, these structure or define the physical urban space, a network or assemblage of different spatial elements at various scales. Depending on the planning ideology, the spaces in between spatial units, the open spaces, could be either inclusive or exclusive, connected or disconnected, of single-purpose or multi-purpose use. The Garden City movement as much as the CIAM discourse, although with different approaches, for instance envisioned functionally differentiated spaces for living, working and commerce with green-belts in between. In system theory terminology those planning directives represent the urban resemblance of a closed system, which establishes an urban equilibrium.[741] Thus, every form is based not only on a specific function, but form and function are thought to be fixed and stable. In clear contrast to that stand many old European or Middle Eastern cities of usually higher densities with narrow streets, smaller and larger piazzas, plazas, squares, back-alleys or small parks in between, all of which could have different functions at different times or at the same time.[742] Anthony King differentiates between the processes behind such different urban structures as *urban development* and *urban growth*, where the former describes a planned process and the latter an unplanned or "organic" process.[743]

Looking at colonial cities in Africa with their usual planned gridiron layout, they obviously resemble the former more than the latter.[744] Yet here too, the academic discourse of the "dual city"[745] needs to be stressed, since not all parts of the colonial city, as already built (not planned) structures, resemble the logic of this functionalism nor were they intended to become part of this urban form. Moreover, what Anthony King calls *urban growth* was also important to the structuring

[741] i.e. Sennett, R. (2018). *Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City.* London: Penguin Books.
[742] Kostof, S. (1999). *The City Assembled.* London: Thames and Hudson, p. 172, 290-92.
[743] King 2007, *Colonial Urban Development*; King 1985, Colonial Cities: Global Pivots of Change. In Historical Urban Morphology terminology towns planned from scratch, such as colonial towns, are referred to as "Planted Towns": see http://www.urbanmorphology.org/glossary.html ; Obviously the notion of "organic" growth is a misnomer, since every town development is based in conscious decisions. Yet, it is perhaps still meaningful to differentiate between the spatial and temporal scales of planning and building practices and therefore treat a more or less holistically planned town over a relatively short time period differently to towns with longterm growth patterns and without grand planning schemes.
[744] Demissie 2012, Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: An Introduction.; see Introduction.
[745] King 1985, Colonial Cities: Global Pivots of Change, p. 15.

of colonial urban space in the sense that unplanned and usually unauthorised African settlements were eventually integrated into the formal urban areas. This phenomenon is discussed in detail in the last section of this chapter.

When such African townships or compounds were planned, economic considerations were central to practically all colonial urban planning policies. For this reason, open spaces were considered, if necessary at all, as of minor relevance. Compounds and townships until the 1950s were generally considered functional spatial units with a narrow purpose – mainly housing.[746] Surely, the management and town planning staff of the mining townships eventually saw the benefits of some recreational facilities already in the 1930s, and this was later adopted by other towns, but in general the compound or township was understood to facilitate the workers' and later workers' families' most fundamental needs of housing, sanitation, basic markets, schooling, and religion. As we know, most of these needs were hardly fulfilled.

Open spaces then, which often form a central component to different social phenomena we might call "street life" or "town life",[747] had little value to the planners. Before the 1950s it was hardly a topic worth raising, while by the end of the 1950s it was considered but not given real significance. An exception was the Report on African Housing of 1949. Therein, very detailed plans were proposed ranging from urban layouts to financial means necessary, building designs, and infrastructure. Regarding the layout of African areas it was suggested for the first time that

> "The old conception of planning an African urban area as a dormitory must be dropped. [...] The layout should therefore provide space for shopping, work-shops for artisans, schools, halls, cinemas, sports and recreation grounds for surely such amenities will, in a few years, become inseparable from African urban life. An irregular form of layout with ample open spaces should be the new conception. This as opposed to the depressing long regimented rows of huts and barracks so often built in the past."[748]

However, it would take years until some of these aspects were implemented, if indeed they were at all. The above quotation is really the exception to the rule. The section on Open Spaces in the C.C.T.A Conference four years later again proposed a narrower perspective on African urban areas, albeit one that nevertheless was targeted to generate a greater sense of urban belonging through a focus on confined individual houses and nuclear family structures.

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[746] The theoretical basis of such closed and reductionist urbanism is famously criticised by Jane Jacobs when she writes on Howard's Garden City that "Howard attacked the problem of town planning much as if he were a nineteenth century physical scientist analyzing a two-variable problem of simplicity. The two major variables in the Garden City concept of planning were the quantity of housing (or population) and the number of jobs." Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House, p. 435.

[747] In European and North American contexts the functions of public open spaces have been attracting attention from sociologist already in the early 20th century, because of their potential to bring together different kinds of people from different societal strata. In the USA especially William H. Whyte dedicated much of his research to public squares Whyte, W. (1980). *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. New York: Project for Public Spaces. Especially today, the benefits of public open spaces are widely recognised. On a larger scale and a more general sense this is also argued for by Richard Sennett in the context of the open city as an open system that is the basis for social and morphological dynamics and emergent phenomena. Sennett 2018, *Building and Dwelling*.

[748] Kew: CO 921/35. Research – Building – Central Africa: The Central African Council. Report on African Housing. Published by the Standing Committee on African Housing to the Central African Council, February, 1949, p. 13.

> "The meeting commented on the high cost of maintaining small open spaces within housing estates. It was agreed that in general it was preferable for economy in maintenance, and for the convenience of the householders to provide for the enclosure of the individual house plots with suitable fences or hedges. A larger open space where games could be played, etc., was likely to prove more useful, and economical, than a number of small open spaces scattered through an estate."[749]

What can be deduced from that passage is, on the one hand, a proposal for a morphological inclusion of African urban areas into the town planning practice of the wider urban space, in the sense that the vision of the delegates resembles the functional differentiation mentioned above combined with a commitment to African town life, with a space for games and recreation, a space for private family life, etc. The ideological difference between international planners and policies actors, which is represented here, and the local authorities becomes apparent. The "African estates", an interesting terminology since it further highlights this morphological inclusion discursively, in contrast to the terms 'compound' and 'township' with their loaded histories, are conceptualised as a sum of discrete spatial elements, houses and plots. They are understood to have a clear single-purpose use, which "small open spaces scattered around an estate" would not only make more expensive from a planning point of view, but which would also disentangle the neat and orderly structure. On the other hand African urban areas, even those few with low densities, would still lack those spatial elements where social encounters usually happen within the functionally differentiated Garden City or CIAM structures, that is in the private realm of spacious backyards or salons, or the clubs and associations outside the residential areas, which were intended to be reachable by car. One could say, therefore, that the "African Estate" in this sense represents an inexpensive version of the European district in colonial towns, discrete houses forming homes for discrete family units.

[749] Kew: CO 859/319, CCTA Housing Conference p.15.

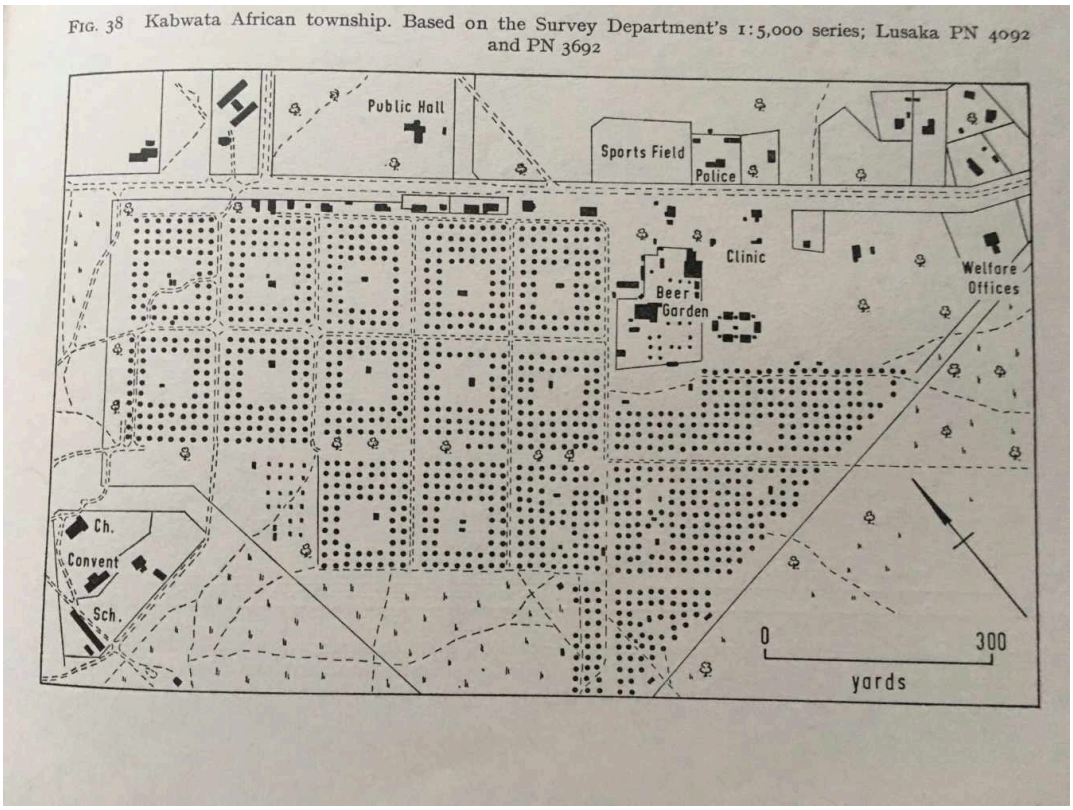


Fig. 15. Kabwata African Township (Source: Kay 1967, *A Social Geography of Zambia*, p. 127.)

The point is that open spaces "scattered around an estate" create *difference* in the Lefebvrian sense.[750] That is to say, they create an "induced difference" which

> "remains within a set or system generated according to a particular law. It is in fact constitutive of that set or system: for example in numerical sets, the difference between successive elements generated by iteration or recurrence [...] By contrast, a produced difference presupposes the shattering of a system; it is born of an explosion; it emerges from the chasm opened up when a closed universe ruptures."[751]

The Lefebvrian distinction between *induced* and *produced difference* here is perhaps what constitutes colonialism in general and colonial urbanism in particular. *Produced difference* leads to particularities and "[t]o assert particularities as such under the guise of differences sanctions racism, sexism, separations and disjunctions. This is what differentialist theory, its methodology and concepts, precludes."[752] *Induced difference* on the other hand develops in space, through the practices of everyday-life.

[750] Lefebvre 2010, *The Production of Space*; Lefebvre 2005, *Critique of Everyday Life*.
[751] Lefebvre 2010, *The Production of Space*, p. 372.
[752] Ibid., p. 111-112.

"The differences that are established in space do not come from space as such but from that which settles there, that which is assembled and confronted by and in the urban reality. Contrasts, oppositions, superpositions, and juxtapositions replace separations, segregation, the politics of space, and, more generally, urbanism."[753]

Here it becomes clear that *induced difference*

"is incompatible with segregation, which caricatures it. When we speak of difference, we speak of relationships, and therefore proximity relations that are conceived and perceived and inserted in a twofold space—time order: near and distant. Separation and segregation break this relationship. They constitute a totalitarian order, whose strategic goal is to break down concrete totality, to break the urban. Segregation complicates and destroys complexity."[754]

The neatly ordered houses, plot by plot, with parallel rows of roads in between are perhaps a radical example of this form of *produced difference*, which is then just another term for segregation. Scattered open spaces on the other hand – remember the small squares, plazas, etc. – make *induced difference* possible, where relationships between people, and between people and objects, emerge and where *centrality* is created.[755] Of course such planned structures are not the cause of such *produced difference*, but merely a spatial outcome and resemblance of it. The difference is produced elsewhere, first and foremost in the minds. The fact that open space was a concept that did not have much meaning within the colonial urban discourse has to be understood against the background of the high degree of spatial structuration, functional differentiation and division. Open spaces mean contingency and possibility. In the colonial world based on segregation of goods, infrastructures and people, these words have little meaning.

Unauthorised Compounds – Between Inside and Outside

An important aspect within housing and urbanisation debates and urban management practices were unauthorised settlements, illegal location or squatter/loafers compounds as they were often referred to. While municipalities were equipped with the legal tools to deal with these areas through national legislation and local by-laws, more often than not these legal means were not executed. Effectively, authorities "had neither the will, nor the machinery, to control movements to town effectively".[756] What they had instead, if not control over the migration into towns, was the psychological means of threat and intimidation through occasional compound searches by police forces, as well as the constant reiteration of the narrative that such compounds and the people within them would not belong to urban areas.

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[753] Lefebvre 2003, *The Urban Revolution*, p. 125. By "urbanism" Lefebvre means spatial (urban) politics, the spatial practice of planners and architects, and the (intentional) production of space.
[754] Ibid. 133.
[755] By centrality Lefebvre means not a separation between centre and periphery, quite the contrary. In a utopian urban condition centrality can happen anywhere. "Virtually, anything can happen anywhere. A crowd can gather, objects can pile up, a festival unfold, an event —terrifying or pleasant — can occur. This is why urban space is so fascinating: centrality is always possible." Ibid: 130.
[756] Macmillan, H. (1993). The Historiography of Transition on the Zambian Copperbelt—Another View. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 19*(4), 681-712, p. 684.

The problem of loafers, therefore, seems to have been a tolerated nuisance, especially during colonial days, for the simple reason that workers and loafers often lived side by side in so-called unauthorised settlements such as Kashitu and Nanzanzu. In 1951 these would be eventually destroyed and transformed into Libuyu. While often tolerated, the very structure and physical shape of these settlements and houses were used by colonial and local authorities to amplify the construction of difference between Africans and Europeans. As the photos and the accompanying texts below illustrate (Fig. 16 and 17), the conditions of urban Africans living in such areas and houses were readily used to portray them as rural and pre-modern, and such ways of life would only look attractive from a distance. Their proximity antagonises the colonial conception of urban spaces and is therefore not wanted.

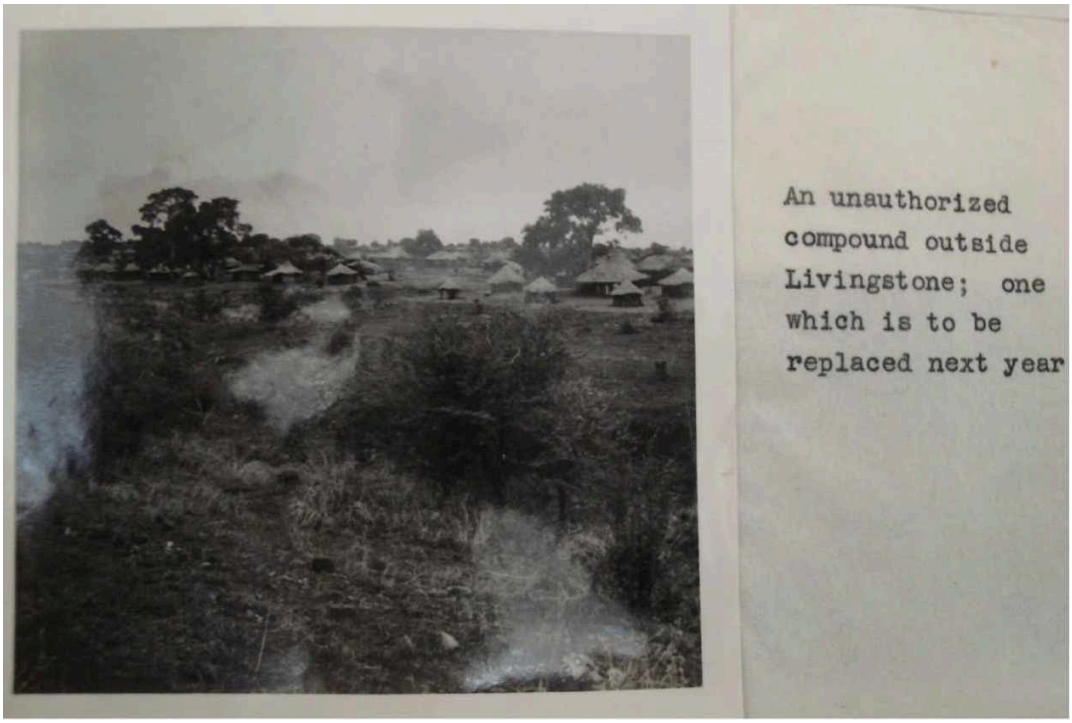


Fig. 16: Kashitu ca. 1949[757]

[757] NAZ: MH1/3/10. Livingstone Medical Affairs – Annual Reports, 1944-52.

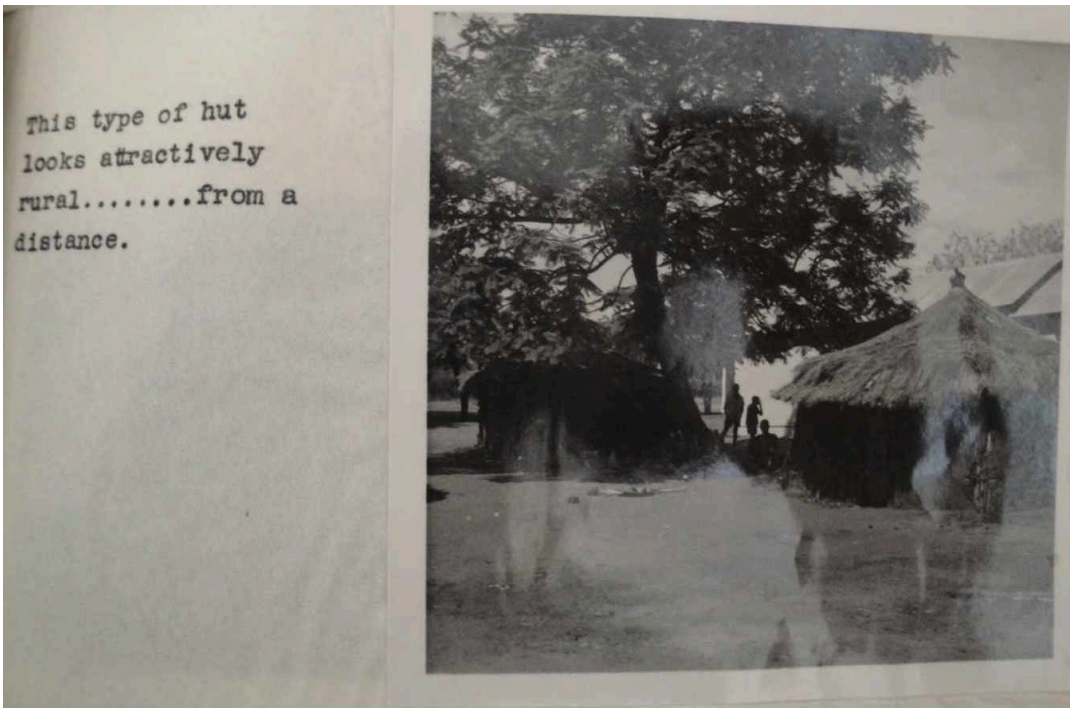


Fig. 17: Pole and Dagga Huts in Livingstone[758]

These compounds were therefore usually condemned. When increase in rents in the Kashitu and Nanzanzu compounds were under discussion in the AUAC, since it was felt by some that different rents would be unfair, the members nevertheless pondered on the way in which the inhabitants of the compounds earned their living. The response from the acting Chairman is representative of how these compounds were perceived as spaces of social malaise and crime. He thought that "the inhabitants earned their living by brewing illicit beer, gambling, stealing and that some of them offered their wives to other men and in return received some sort of compensation".[759] Beside the three prominent unauthorised or unofficial compounds Malota, Kashitu, and Nanzanzu, in Livingstone there were also smaller settlements around town, which were either integrated in neighbouring official compounds or destroyed. The only compound that survived until today was Malota, during colonial days also known as the Grass or Straw Compound, because most houses during the 1940s and 1950s were so-called pole and dagga huts.

While the compounds themselves were home to many people without necessary identity certificates, they were also home to those people with certificates for whom the lack of official housing provision made unauthorised compounds the only option. For industrial actors, except for presenting a cost-effective housing option, these compounds also presented a cheap labour resource.[760] For colonial and municipal actors they were not only a necessary evil, but also a source of income for municipal and sometimes private plot owner, since such compounds were outside the

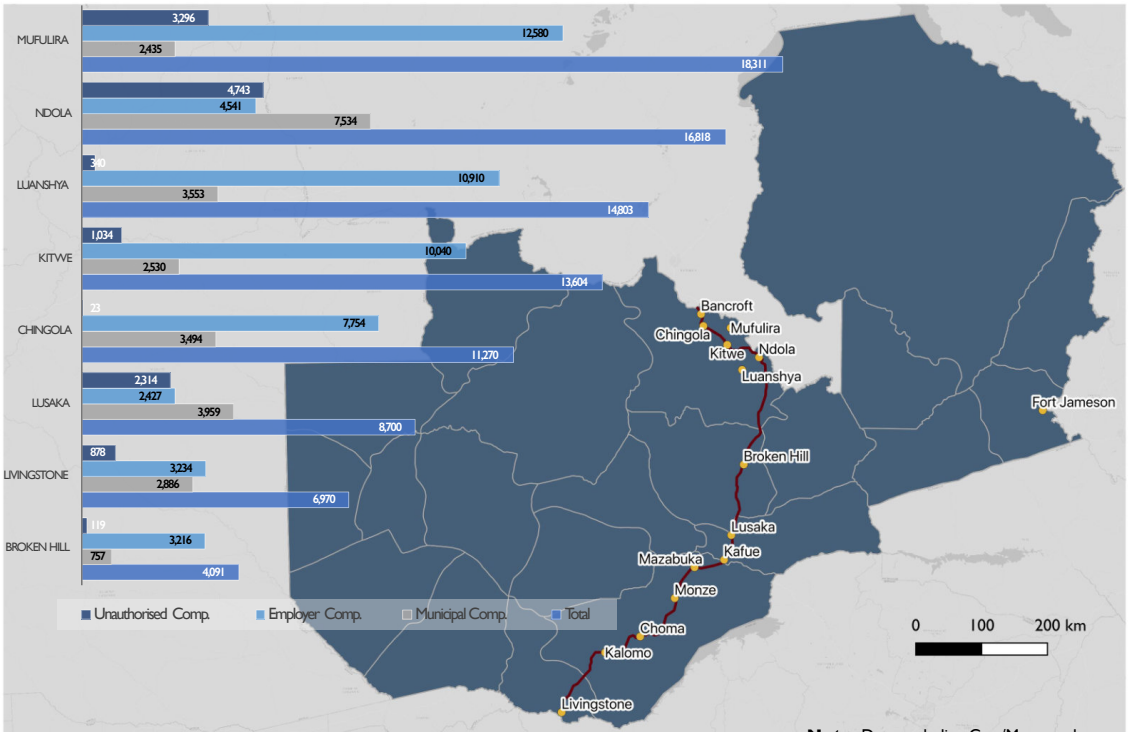
[758] Ibid.
[759] SP 4/6/3. African Urban Advisory Council: April 18, 1950.
[760] The fact how essential and cost-effective African labour was can be seen when comparing it to European labour costs. As a cost estimate for the provision of street light illustrates, even by 1960 one European worker was more expensive than 16 African workers. For 48 days of manual work European labour would amount to £288 compared to £192 for 16 African workers over the same period. See: NAZ: LGH 1/1/26. African Housing Areas – Working Party on Electricity Reticulation: Estimated Cost of Street Lighting: Maramba African Township, September 8, 1960.

formal African areas. As John Wood, former "servant" to the Colonial Office in Northern Rhodesia critically remarks:

> "There are strong vested interests in the continuance of illegal compounds besides the owners of them. Small contractors, Indians, private employers, even some comparatively reputable concerns have found it cheaper and less trouble to employ men from the unauthorised compounds. […] There is more than a suspicion that the Council [of Lusaka] hung back on housing partly because the expense of legal housing might have discouraged industry."[761]

As the data below shows, even in 1958 about a quarter of the workers in many towns were housed in unauthorised compounds. In Livingstone about 13% would live in such compounds.

Fig. 18. Workers' Housing in Northern Rhodesian Towns, 1958



While colonial officials tried in particular to improve sanitary conditions in these compounds according to directives coming from London, together with local settler authorities they also wanted to foster control. In Livingstone, this was attempted first by moving the people inside the boundaries of the municipal area, since Kashitu and Nanzanzu, like many smaller unauthorised compounds, were situated outside those boundaries. The report of the Local Superintendent for October 1942 suggested that "Kashitu should be considered just one of several undesirable Compounds which exist on the boundaries of the Town, and it is felt that these others should be moved into a controlled Area, the problem of Kashitu, should be treated the same way".[762] This, however, did not

[761] Wood 1961, *Northern Rhodesia*, p. 92
[762] NAZ: SP 4/1/20. Municipal Council Minutes 1942: Report of the Location Superintendent, October 1942.

not happen because there were simply no houses available within the municipal boundaries. It was not until the late 1940s, when government funds for African housing were finally made available, that Kashitu and Nanzanzu were demolished and Libuyu was built. In order to gain full control over the unauthorised compounds, a government legislation made sure that the "undefined areas adjacent to the municipality would be declared urban areas and the Local Authority would be empowered to exercise and perform within these areas all or any of the powers and duties with which it is entrusted".[763] Interestingly, however, at the same time this did not mean that all responsibilities of the local authority would reach beyond the municipal boundaries. In 1947, when the sanitary conditions in some illicit compounds (it is unfortunately not known which ones) became so bad that the spread of infectious diseases increased, it was "suggested that the Health Authorities be asked to investigate the matter."[764]

As the compounds were outside the municipal area, it was agreed to draw the attention of the government health authorities to the matter. Practically, this was surely a good response, instead of trying to handle the problem by relying on local medical expertise alone. However, it illustrates how the local authority could simply re-direct to the colonial authorities an issue it did not want or was not willing to touch. The boundaries of the municipality were only officially altered, thereby including the newly built airport into the municipal area, when the construction of Libuyu was finalised.[765]

The problem of loafers was not only addressed by municipal authorities and colonial officials, but also by chiefs. For instance in 1948, Chief Mukuni urged that the "loafers in the urban area near Livingstone should be sent back to their homes and their compounds broken up, as they were neglecting their tribal customs and their relatives".[766] The answer to Mukuni's request was that the

> "question of the Loafers' Compounds is one which Government fully appreciates. It is important that people should be usefully employed when they come to settle with the population, and if they have no useful work, it is much more desirable that they remain in their villages and are employed there. The Government is taking steps as quickly as possible to increase the amount of houses for Africans in the townshops and as soon as a reasonable number of houses for Africans have been provided, the existence of Loafers' Compounds will not be permitted. It will be possible then to ensure that people who have no useful occupation in the township or the Municipality will return to their villages."[767]

The plans especially of traditional and settler authorities, however, were not so easy to enforce practically, since already by the mid-1940s there were many urban Africans who were either born in Livingstone or had long lost contact to the villages they originally came from. Such individuals could not be sent back, especially if there was nothing to send them back to. When this question was

[763] NAZ: SP 4/2/6. Municipality of Livingstone – Native Affairs Sub-Committee: Municipality of Livingstone Minutes of Meeting of Native Affairs Sub-Committee Meetings: Report of the meeting With the Commissioner for Local Government and African Housing and Executive Engineer, October 17, 1946.
[764] NAZ: SP 4/1/30. Municipality of Livingstone Minutes of Meeting of Native Affairs Sub-Committee Meetings: Minutes of Meeting, September 18, 1947.
[765] NAZ: LGH 3/2/9. Livingstone – Areas and Boundaries 1951-1959.
[766] NAZ: SP 4/1/31. Native Authorities – Minutes of Meetings 1947-1950: Minutes of Meeting, May 4, 1948.
[767] Ibid.

raised in 1946, when it was decided that one of the loafers' compounds close to the Zambezi Sawmills compound should be demolished, the District Commissioner reported that "the matter had been considered by Government and detailed procedure to be adopted in the issuing of permits covering certain periods of unemployment."[768] But even after such a period was over, so-called "de-tribalised" urban dwellers, irrespective of their being unemployed, could not simply be "re-tribalised". If found without any certificates, they could only be fined and imprisoned according to the pass-law system. In Livingstone, where the system was in place since 1914, by-laws 378(1) and 380 stated that

> "(378(1). No male native over the apparent age of sixteen years shall remain within the Municipality for a longer period than thirty-six hours (excluding from this period Sundays and public holidays) without employment within the Municipality (the onus of proof whereof shall be on such native) unless he shall have obtained from a person authorised by the Provincial Commissioner in that behalf, hereinafter referred to as a Permit Officer, a Resident's or Visitor's Permit as hereinafter provided for nor shall such native remain within the Municipality after the expiry of such permit. For the purpose of this sub-by-law a native shall be deemed to be unemployed unless he is in possession of an Identity Certificate, issued in accordance with the provisions of the Native Registration Ordinance, or a Certificate of Registration issued in accordance with the provisions of the Alien Native Registration Ordinance showing that he is employed within the Municipality."
>
> "(380). No native shall, without lawful excuse, the onus of proof whereof shall be on such native, be found lying, wandering or loitering in any street, yard or other place public or private during the night or lodging by day or by night in any barn or outhouse, or in any deserted or unoccupied building or under a tent or in any cart, wagon or other vehicle or in the open air."[769]

Apart from these general pass-laws, the law on night-passes forbade any African to be outside his or her compound, without a document that granted him or her this right. While imprisonment was a practice to deal with so-called loafers or illegal squatters, on a large scale it was mainly theoretical, meaning the necessary legislation was in place but was not easily enforceable. When for instance in 1959 the African Housing Board of Mufulira received a letter from the Secretary of the Municipal Association on the influx control "of unemployed or unemployable Africans into Urban and Peri-Urban Areas" the Board was of the opinion that "the legal powers already available were sufficient if properly enforced"[770] and informed the association that it would not support the introduction of another form of influx control.

By the end of the 1950s there were two pressing issues debated on a national scale in connection with the urbanisation of Africans. Firstly, there was a desire to finally stabilise urban

[768] NAZ: SP 4/3/6. Municipality of Livingstone – Native Affairs Sub-Committee: Minutes of Meeting of the Native Affairs Sub-Committee, Livingstone, December 12, 1946.
[769] NAZ: LGH 3/4/6. Livingstone – By-Laws: The Municipal Corporations Ordinance (Laws, Volume IV. Cap. 119). The Livingstone Municipal (Amendment) (No.1) By-Laws 1955, p. 3.
[770] NAZ: LGH 1/16/62. African Housing: Minutes of the Mufulira Urban African Housing Area Board, February 24, 1959.

African societies, which also meant an opening up of the political, social, and also physical spaces in urban areas in the sense of greater participation, and a loosening of the tight and controlling grip local authorities had over Africans by abolishing the night-pass system. What Africans had long fought for in different councils and organisations[771], an end to the pass-laws, especially night-passes, was eventually on the way from 1958 onwards starting in Lusaka.[772] However, not all were happy about these developments. The problem was identified as Africans not leaving towns after losing their employment. A journalist from the Northern News reasoned that

> "[i]n a European community people without work move off to where it can be found; Africans, by an unwritten law, share and share alike; necessity does not drive the unemployed back to their villages where there is work and a living for all. They can subsist as urban loafers indefinitely."[773]

Similarly, as pointed out above, the Municipal Association decided that government should take steps to "control the influx of unemployed and unemployable Africans into the Municipal and peri-urban areas by means of the issue of passes or permits to reside in such areas".[774] Thus, while pass-laws should fall, the continuing and indeed increasing in-migration to towns should be controlled more strictly and efficiently. The "African drift" should be stopped.[775] While urbanised Africans should be granted more rights, the number of people that would be able to enjoy such rights should be controlled and finally expelled from urban areas. In the following section, I will discuss debates and concepts of self-help and owner-housing schemes, which were considered a solution to the housing problem.

4.3. 'Housing for well-to-do' – Owner-housing and Self-help

Self-help housing is a form of housing policy and a socio-economic process and practice that is based on the principle that housing provision is – at least partly – managed and accomplished by the people, who intend to own and dwell in housing units under such a system. Hence, various degrees of cooperation in the areas of funding, planning and building between state authorities or agents with similar roles (i.e. interest or welfare groups, NGO's etc.) and the intended house owners are possible.[776] That is to say that "the specific forms of self-help that people adopt for housing provision are subject to variance depending on the given conditions of the local market, and/or the given administrative constraints".[777]

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[771] In Livingstone for instance Jeremiah Kabalata was a strong voice against the night-pass system from the early days of the African Urban Advisory Council onwards. see NAZ: SP 4/6/3. African Urban Advisory Council – Livingstone General Correspondence and Minutes of Meeting Minutes of Meeting, July 8, 1949.
[772] NAZ: LGH 1/2/19. Township Ordinance – Control of Natives Regulations: Extract from Central African Post, April 15, 1958.
[773] Ibid., Extract from "Northern News", April 27, 1958.
[774] NAZ: LGH 1/8/2. Municipal Association Annual Conference: Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia. Report of the Secretary to the Twelfth Annual Conference to be Held at Livingstone, May 15, 1959.
[775] NAZ: LGH 1/16/80. Urbanisation of Africans: Extract from Central African Post, July 7, 1957.
[776] For a description and categorisation of self-help schemes see: Harms, H. (1992). Self-Help Housing in Developed and Third World Countries. *Housing Policy in the Socialist Third World,* 33-52.
[777] Tait 1997, *From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Settlement*, p. 5.

Self-Help Housing – Between Theory and Practice

Self-help housing and ownership schemes in the sense of policy and planning implementations generally developed in the late 1940s and 1950s as a central planning feature of the US-led postwar development system. Originally implemented in Germany, Austria and Sweden in the late 19th and early 20th century, these schemes, which in the so called "developing world" had been first tried out in Puerto Rico in 1939 and later the Caribbean and Latin America by US planner Jacob Crane, were soon considered a cornerstone of housing development policies throughout the Global South.[778] Crane, who later became the head of the International Office of the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, was influenced by the works of Patrick Geddes,[779] a highly regarded botanist and urban planner from Scotland, who himself wrote about the applicability of self-help housing in India.[780] Crane's own experiences from his travels through Europe in the early 1920s, where he took notice of self-help during the post-war reconstruction phase, also informed his practice. Crane's vision of "aided self-help housing" was based on the notion that owner-building should be realised with monetary assistance provided by the public. In this manner, individuals and communities or co-operatives should receive financial means from state authorities to build their homes.[781] When Crane started to apply his ideas of self-help housing especially after World War II, it was not only seen as a cheap way of housing provision, but, more importantly, brought western capitalist ideas of ownership and private property into developing countries to maintain hegemony and promote an alternative to communism.[782]

As a modernist idea during the development era, self-help housing was supported by many theorists and practitioners; at the same time, however, it faced much criticism and strong opposition as well.[783] In a way, debates on self-help housing versus social housing (provided by the state) mirrored in the mid 20th century up to the 1980s the general difference between modernisation theories and (neo-marxist) dependency theories, in the context of the colonial and later development world, and the opposition between left and conservative ideologies on social and fiscal politics in the West. Self-help housing debates – often in the context of urban informality, tenure security and land rights – have therefore, as Richard Harris has pointed out, been "polarized between those who emphasized free market efficiency and those who advocate the achievements of social justice through socialist style redistribution".[784] Especially in recent years the views on informality and self-help within some academic and policy circles have been (re)adopting an almost romanticising gaze, which according to Ananya Roy reveals itself in the aestheticisation of the

[778] Harris 1998, The Silence of the Experts: "Aided Self-Help Housing", 1939–1954. See also: Crane, J.L. and R.E. McCabe (1950). Programmes in Aid of Family Housebuilding-Aided Self-Help Housing. *International Labour Review, 61* (367 and Crane, J.L. and E.T. Paxton (1951). The World-Wide Housing Problem. *The Town Planning Review, 22*(1), 16-43.
[779] Geddes not only influenced many urban planners in the 20th century on a theoretical level, but was also responsible for the first planning and zoning of Tel Aviv in 1925 – known as the Geddes Plan -, which he based on the principles of the Garden City model of urban planning.
[780] See: Geddes, P. (1918). *Town Planning Towards City Development: A Report to the Durbar of Indore.* Indiore: Holkar State Printing Press, p. 69-72.
[781] Harris, R. (1997). A Burp in Church: Jacob L. Crane's Vision of Aided Self-Help Housing. *Planning History Studies, 11*(1), 3-16.
[782] Gruffydd Jones 2012, Civilising African Cities: International Housing and Urban Policy from Colonial to Neoliberal Times, p. 29.
[783] i.e. Abrams, C. (1964). *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World.* Cambridge: MIT Press.
[784] Harris, R. (2014). Urban Landmarkets: A Southern Exposure. In Parnell, S. and S. Oldfield (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South.* New York: Routledge, p. 118.

informal sector and its supposed entrepreneurial spirit.[785] However, it would be too narrow a perspective to attribute notions of self-help housing only to conservative or economic-liberal ideologies, especially given the fact that there is not one but multiple approaches to self-help housing.[786] In his preface to the second edition of "The Housing Question" from 1872/73 Friedrich Engels already remarked that:

> "[…] bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialism is strongly represented in Germany down to this very hour; on the one hand by professorial socialists and philanthropists of all sorts with whom the wish to turn the workers into owners of their dwellings still plays a great role and against whom, therefore, my work is still appropriate."[787]

However, an example of socialist self-help and housing from a Western post-war perspective would be the organisation of squats by the Communist party in London during the late 1940s, due to the failure of the administration to provide adequate council housing.[788] Furthermore, and as will be discussed in the final chapter, a version of self-help housing was also pondered upon by Kenneth Kaunda during the transition to independence as a means to deal with the housing crisis. In Ghana, too, self-help schemes implemented within the last years of colonial rule were prolonged under Kwame Nkrumah.[789] The spectrum of possible ideological and political, but also theoretical angles and views with which self-help in general and self-help housing in particular can be either promoted or discarded is therefore quite broad. I will now proceed to address some of the academic discussions around self-help housing as they developed during the mid 20th century.

After Jacob Crane's early advocacy of self-help housing, a large body of literature developed between the 1950s and 1980s both in favour of the concept as well as critical of it – however rarely taking Crane's publications into account.[790] One of most influential works was produced by John Turner, whose writings were not only critically discussed in academic circles, but whose expertise was also implemented by the World Bank and other agencies into their housing policies.[791] However, not all of Turner's notions regarding the provision of self-help housing, based on his experiences in Peru of the 1960s, were considered appropriate by international agencies, for whom affordability and control played a major role. Turner envisioned the state as a technical and financial supporter through subsidies and claimed that "[t]he best results are obtained by the user who is in full control of the design, construction and management of his own home [and that it] is of secondary importance whether or not he builds it with his own hands, unless he is very poor."[792] The World Bank, on the other hand, within their sites-and service schemes, relied on cost-

[785] Roy, A. (2003). Transnational Trespassings: The Geopolitics of Urban Informality. In Roy, A. and N. AlSayyad (Eds.), *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia.* Lanham: Lexington Books.
[786] Similarly, the static urban visions of the Garden City Movement which are often associated with conservative values have also attracted attention from socialists such as Lewis Mumford, a disciple of Patrick Geddes. See: Mumford, L. (1938). *The Culture of Cities*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
[787] Engels, F. (1872[1979]). *The Housing Question.* Moscow: Progress Publishers, p. 8..
[788] Hinton, J. (1988). Self-Help and Socialism the Squatters 'Movement of 1946. *History Workshop Journal, 25*(1), 100-126.
[789] Harris 1998, The Silence of the Experts: "Aided Self-Help Housing", 1939–1954, p. 182.
[790] Ibid.
[791] Ibid.
[792] Turner, J. (1972). Housing as a Verb. In Turner, J. and R. Fitcher (Eds.), *Freedom to Build. Dweller Control and Housing Process.* New York: Macmillan Publishing, p. 158.

recoveries through loans and control through an authority.[793] The central aspects of Turner's notions of self-help were the slogans of "freedom to build" and "Housing as a verb".[794] With the first phrase, he meant that self-help pays tribute to the different needs and desires of individuals and families, hence the freedom to create their homes according to what they want. The second slogan should underscore the dynamic and process-oriented aspect of housing in relation to a market situation. According to Turner, understanding housing as a noun implies seeing it as a commodity or product, nonetheless one that is in a static condition and does not account for a market-oriented exchange-value. Understanding it as a verb, however, will contribute to the development of dynamic housing markets, which would then not only benefit the self-builders, but also larger communities and markets.

Among the early, and certainly rather soft critics of self-help housing was Charles Abrahams, an acquaintance of Jacob Crane. While Abrahams was of the opinion that self-help to some extent could be a useful means to provide housing in rural areas, "since the periphery tended to foster, somewhat paradoxically, both self-reliance and communalism"[795] and also in urban areas, where self-help housing could be a way to acquire technical and construction skills that could be useful to individuals to gain access to the respective labour market, he was not entirely convinced of the approach and thought it ineffective. Thus, he claimed that such schemes would not produce enough houses to meet the demand of the rising urbanisation rates, especially within the so-called developing world. Furthermore, he viewed it as somewhat illusory to assume that wage labourers would have enough time after-hours to build their own homes.[796] Interestingly, he suggested a scheme instead where so called "core units" of approximately two rooms and facilities would be provided by the state, which could then be adapted and extended by the dwellers if they needed more space. This resembles a quasi-social housing program that would ensure basic housing with the possibility of shaping it to one's needs. Although Abrahams believed his vision of "core housing" to be the most appropriate middle ground between those policies that neglect the urban poor and those that require too many public (financial) resources, he was however cautious that it not be understood as a one-fits-all solution, and highlighted the necessity to take into account local circumstances.[797]

More radical critiques of self-help housing were formulated by neo-marxist architects, planners and development theorists.[798] Neo-marxist critiques – other than the at least seemingly pragmatic and technical ones by Charles Abrahams – have been directed towards the ideological aspects and socio-economic consequences of self-help. In particular, Turner's advocacy of the freedom to budget, build, and shape ones' own home faced much criticism, since "[t|he ideological slogan

[793] Ntema, L.J. (2011). *Self-Help Housing in South Africa: Paradigms, Policy and Practice*. (Ph.D. Thesis), University of the Free State.
[794] Turner 1972, Housing as a Verb.
[795] Henderson, A. (2000). *Housing and the Democratic Ideal: The Life and Thought of Charles Abrahams*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 183.
[796] Ibid.
[797] Ibid, p. 184.
[798] i.e. Ward, P. (1982). *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*. London: Mansell Publishing ; Burgess, R. (1992). Helping Some to Help Themselves. In Mathey, K. (Eds.), *Beyond Self-Help Housing*. New York: Mansell Publishing.; Pradilla, E. (1984). Selbsthilfe, Ausbeutung der Arbeitskraft und Staatliche Politik in Lateinamerika. In Müller-Plantenberg, C. and R. Rempler (Eds.), *Soziale Bewegungen und räumliche Strukturen in Lateinamerika.* Kassel: Kasseler Schriften zur Geographie und Planung, Sonderband Urbs et Regio, 31.

"freedom to build" confuses freedom to act with freedom to survive".[799] Thus, critics of Turner's idea of gaining freedom through self-help held against it that there was no real freedom (of choice), but rather pressure to enter a system that makes use of the decrease of the exchange-value and hence the over-exploitation of labour. They also criticised the extension of the working day and a preservation of "the low states of productive forces employed in the building process as well as a low standard of housing for the labour force".[800]

Despite the fact that much writing, whether in favour of or against self-help housing, has been produced especially since the mid 20th century, within this work one can hardly find the voices of the people who were supposed to self-build and dwell in these buildings. From what is known through the assessments of Jacob Crane in Puerto Rico or E.R. Cousins in Kenya for instance,[801] ideas of self-help in the so-called developing world and particularly in Africa were said to have often been met with interest or even enthusiasm by the potential self-help dwellers. However, there is not much information on who these people were, how well informed they were concerning the actual self-help schemes, or whether they represented a representative fraction of the total (urban) population. In the colonial context other important and interconnected factors add to the much-debated socio-economic aspects of self-help housing. These range from questions of property rights and tenure security, ultimately to questions of urban integration and participation, both socio-economically in the sense of an integration into the market economy and politically through seats in municipal, regional and national councils, as well as the right to vote.

Early self-help housing in Africa and the "Congo-Scheme"

To some extent self-help had already existed in South Africa[802] and Northern Rhodesia[803] prior to World War II. Between the late 19th and early 20th century serviced plots were handed over by the Transvaal Republic to Africans in Johannesburg within the area that would later become Soweto. These "stands" of around 10m x 15m "where African families could build their own shelters were also made available for rent that included sanitary and water."[804] Although the city government of Johannesburg even provided tin huts, however cheap, most Africans decided to build a house by themselves. According to Richard Harris, "[i]n effect if not by design, the project became a version of aided self-help."[805] Having received lesser attention during the 1920s and 1930s, after World War II self-help housing schemes were once again adopted in order to provide employment-tied housing during the process of labour stabilisation.[806]

In Northern Rhodesia, on the other hand, self-help housing was first tried out much later. During the mid-1930s a version of it was realised in the Mapoto Township and in Chinika, both in

[799] Harms, H. (1982). Historical Perspectives on the Practice and Politics of Self-Help Housing. In Ward, P. (Eds.), *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*. London: Mansell Publishing, p. 18.
[800] Tait 1997, *From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Settlement*, p. 4.
[801] See Harris 1998, The Silence of the Experts: "Aided Self-Help Housing", 1939–1954.
[802] Parnell, S. and D. Hart (1999). Self-Help Housing as a Flexible Instrument of State Control in 20th-Century South Africa. *Housing Studies, 14*(3), 367-386.
[803] Rakodi 1986, Colonial Urban Policy and Planning in Northern Rhodesia and Its Legacy.
[804] Parnell and Hart 1999, Self-Help Housing as a Flexible Instrument of State Control in 20th-Century South Africa, p. 368.
[805] Harris 1998, The Silence of the Experts: "Aided Self-Help Housing", 1939–1954, p. 181.
[806] Bonner, P. (1995). African Urbanisation on the Rand between the 1930s and 1960s: Its Social Character and Political Consequences. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 21*(1), 115-129, p. 121.

Lusaka.[807] In 1925 the Rhodesian Copper Company in Broken Hill (today's Kabwe) added to their rental housing area a scheme whereby Africans could build their own houses with a small space reserved for agriculture to every plot. The rationale behind this scheme was to urbanise and hence "detribalise" Africans, to have them available as labourers.[808] However, on a larger and more systematic scale owner-housing and self-help schemes reached most African colonies during the 1950s, when respective approaches were being tried out among others in Kenya, the Gold Coast and also Northern Rhodesia. In Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, the housing and social policies were partly influenced by South African urban experiences and experts. Self-help housing as a means of dealing with housing shortages was proposed in Kenya by E.R. Cousins, relying on the former South African experiences, and later refined in the "Vasey Report".[809] In Northern Rhodesia the Congo, or, to be more specific, the self-help scheme of Elisabethville, was a another source of self-help housing experience and knowledge. The main reasons for the Northern Rhodesian interest in the Congo-Scheme, as it was sometimes referred to, were certainly the close geographical proximity, similar topographical and climatic conditions and of course the copper industry, which defined and structured the mining towns and cities of the Copperbelt on both sides of the border. However, self-help housing was not only envisioned for the Copperbelt towns, but also for Lusaka, Livingstone and other towns and cities that are not part of the Copperbelt.

In the Congo self-help housing was realised through the establishment of the CEC (*centre* extra-coutumier) which was introduced to Elisabethville (Lubumbashi) in 1933. When the CEC was installed in the so-called cité indigène the plan was for it to be self-administered by an indigenous council headed by a chief. In that sense the CEC "represented an extension of the Belgian version of indirect rule to the cities".[810] However, the interference of the Belgian administration made this experiment of indirect rule impossible to function and it ended after 10 years. During the last decade of colonialism, the CEC was faced with another experiment based on a study by District Commissioner Ferdinand Grévisse on Elisabethville. A supervised self-building scheme was introduced whereby the foundation of the houses was provided by the Belgians. Prefabricated elements and detailed instructions should ensure the technical stability of the constructions.[811] The system was designed for the workers to pay off their houses within 7-10 years, spending approximately one third of their income on a monthly basis at an interest rate of 0.5 percent.[812] The scheme was not only intended to be economical for both the colonial state and the dwellers and a fast way to deal with the housing crisis in Congolese cities. Moreover, Grévisse saw it as a way to install or rather foster social discipline through the process of self-building and ownership. The latter

[807] Rakodi 1986, Colonial Urban Policy and Planning in Northern Rhodesia and Its Legacy, p. 207.
[808] Kapferer, B. (1978). Structural Marginality and the Urban Social Order. *Urban Anthropology,* 287-320.
[809] Harris 1998, The Silence of the Experts: "Aided Self-Help Housing", 1939–1954; see also Vasey, E.A. (1950): Report on African Housing and Townships and Trading Centres. Government Printer, Nairobi.
[810] Young, C. (1965). *Politics in Congo. Decolonization and Independence.* London: Oxford University Press, p. 71.
[811] Grévisse, F. (1950). *Le Centre Extra-Coutumier d'Elisabethville. Quelques Aspects De La Politique Indigène Du Haut-Katanga Industriel.* Brussels: Institut Royal Colonial Belge; For a detailed history of the development of the CEC in the case of Kinshasa see for instance: Beeckmans, L. and J. Lagae (2015). Kinshasa's Syndrome-Planning in Historical Perspective: From Belgian Colonial Capital to Self-Constructed Megalopolis. In Silva, C.N. (Eds.), *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Postcolonial Planning Cultures.* New York/ London: Routledge; For the role of Grévisse see: Larmer 2021, *Living for the City*, p. 146-149.
[812] NAZ: LGH 1/16/57. African Housing Application of the Elisabethville Housing Scheme (1955-56): Report on a visit to the Belgian Congo to Examine African Housing.

in particular should transform the simple worker into an owner, no longer dependent on his employer.[813] By implication, this also means being no longer in a position to hold the employer accountable, revealing the possibly de-politicising aspect of the scheme.

The Congo as a Blueprint

In the early and mid-1950s several attempts were made to study, compare and possibly apply certain housing and urban policy schemes at work in the Belgian Congo. The steady increase in urban (African) populations and the lack of housing made colonial officials and experts look elsewhere for answers to the housing crisis in Northern Rhodesia and other similar colonies. Northern Rhodesian interests in the Congo and – due to being a part of the Copperbelt – Elisabethville in particular can be understood in the light of the effects of the different paths the two colonies took historically. In brief and on a very general scale, the different approaches could be labelled as paternalistic in the Congo and laissez-faire in Northern Rhodesia. In a recent publication, the effects following policy implementations to deal with the labour scarcity during the 1950s are investigated for the two colonies. While the strict and systematic approach of the state-owned UMHK (Union Minière du Haut-Katanga) in Katanga led to welfare improvements and urban stabilisation, the hesitant approach towards the stabilisation of labour created a more unstable and uncertain situation in Northern Rhodesian towns.[814] The hesitancy in Northern Rhodesia, however, did not grow out of a general consensus against urban and labour stabilisation – after all, stabilisation and welfare improvement did increase during the 1950s in Northern Rhodesia as well[815] – but rather has to be understood by the diverging and conflicting interests, arguments and theories brought forward by the different actors that contributed to forming the colonial state, as opposed to the system in the Congo, which was at least theoretically more centralised and coherent.

Judging by the archival documents at hand, several reports and visits to the Congo circulated within Northern Rhodesia. Except for the official report discussed further below, these did not gain much attention from Northern Rhodesian officials.[816] Two early reports, both from Ugandan officials, are quite detailed and will be discussed here, especially in comparison to the urbanisation discourse within Northern Rhodesia. The first of these is a study on "Urbanisation in the Belgian Congo"[817] with a strong emphasis on housing by historian and anthropologist Nigel Oram, at that time District Officer in Uganda. His report was given to the Governor of Uganda, Andrew Cohen, who forwarded it to his colleagues in Tanganyika, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia. During his trip to the Congo between April and March 1952 Oram visited Leopoldville (Kinshasa), Elisabethville,

[813] Grévisse 1950, *Le Centre Extra-Coutumier*, p. 204.
[814] Juif and Frankema 2018, From Coercion to Compensation: Institutional Responses to Labour Scarcity in the Central African Copperbelt.
[815] Cohen 2008, Business and Decolonisation in Central Africa Reconsidered, p. 134-135.
[816] It may be of course that the files are incomplete and responses to these reports are missing. However, since I have not come across any reference in other files, the fact that there is no mentioning of them may also have other reasons. Since one report was written by the Ugandan Governor Andrew Cohen and circulated by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London and the other one circulated by Cohen himself, there may also have been political reasons. Although Cohen – being a comparatively liberal and progressive person with strong feelings against the racist regime in South Africa – helped to establish the Central African Federation (1953-63) his anti-racist stance and interest in African advancement might have not found too many admirers within Northern Rhodesia, where many were leaning towards South Africa rather than London. For Cohen's role in the Federation see: Collins 2013, Decolonisation and the "Federal Moment."
[817] NAZ: LGH 1/16/76. Urbanisation in the Belgian Congo, 1952.

Costermansville (Bukavu) in Congo as well as Ndola and Luanshya on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt.

In contemplating "the urban problem," Oram basically follows the thought articulated in a paper presented at the District Commissioners' Conference cited further below in stating that "[i]n nearly every case he [the African] intends to return to his own area and therefore develops no responsibilities in the town where he works".[818] However, his attitude is nowhere near the anti-urban ideology of the Northern Rhodesian District Commissioner. Nevertheless, Oram does refer to a criminal potential of Africans in urban areas in stating that low salaries, insufficient housing, and the wealth and higher standards of living displayed to Africans in towns "creates in him a feeling of frustration and drives him to corruption and crime".[819] As a solution, he continues, the Belgians have based their policy on four principles: segregation, urban stabilisation and provision of needs and entertainment, raising of wages, and modification of the administrative system towards more flexibility to deal with urban dynamics.

After a very detailed report on employment, housing and social conditions in towns, as well as education, planning policies and their implementation in the three cities, Oram concludes that despite some problems in administration, labour and social stability "African towns appear to be on a sound basis […] and plans for the future […] may lead to the emergence of healthy African urban communities".[820] In his report, while displaying a strong colonial mindset, urbanisation of Africans is nonetheless considered positive and necessary. For Oram self-building and ownership are considered important features within this process. Furthermore, participation of Africans within urban councils – which was not working properly in the Congo – is regarded as necessary for a successful and lasting urban stabilisation. Oram's ideological position is therefore in line with the development paradigm which considers African development and economic efficiency as interdependent variables. It is nevertheless deeply connected to the colonial project and a rationale that understands the processes towards economic development and advancement and possibly even political integration to be accompanied by a strict control.

Probably following the visit of his District Officer Nigel Oram, on a visit to the Congo between the 4th and 13th January 1953 Governor Andrew Cohen sent a report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, who in turn redirected it to the Governors of Kenya, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia. While he travelled to Leopoldville, Costermansville and Elisabethville his description of the CEC and the housing situation in Elisabethville is of much greater detail than that of the other two cities. Revealing a lot of excitement about the CEC scheme in general, the ownership aspect of the scheme is considered a very important, if not even a central feature. All the social and economic considerations evolve from it. Explaining the system, he writes:

> "This system enables the ordinary African to own his house within seven or eight years. This is a deliberate policy on the part of the Belgian Government and is intended to achieve two objectives; first of all to stablise (sic!) labour in the town, and secondly to give the labourer a

[818] Ibid.
[819] Ibid.
[820] Ibid.

> personal stake in it. The Belgians believe that a man who owns his own house is much more likely to be a respectable and law-abiding citizen than a casual labourer who drifts to and from the tribal area. The success of this system if assisted housing is shown by the fact that on one area of the Centre where there was nothing but bush last April there are now over 1,100 excellent houses all constructed by Africans themselves."[821]

Stabilisation and control therefore function through ownership. However, other than critical positions towards African urbanisation and stabilisation articulated for example by Rheinallt Jones, for whom stabilisation means politicisation and more demands by Africans, Cohen sees the process in a positive light, referring to the ordering and (self)controlling effects of ownership to produce "respectable and law-abiding citizen[s]". Even more so, the term citizen alone would have probably caused reactions of unease amongst some whites in Northern Rhodesia, especially within the settler community. Ownership and self-help are not only considered more economical, but constitute a form of (colonial) discipline and ultimately a way of getting rid of or avoiding the repercussions of uncontrolled urbanisation such as crime. Another aspect that marks an important difference is the positive attitude towards "fully" urbanised Africans in contrast to– following his rationale – the probably less controllable "casual labourer who drifts to and from the tribal area". Conversely, the discourse on urban Africans without "tribal ties" mentioned earlier in the paper follows exactly the opposite logic, which appreciates the necessity of an urban workforce, but looks with fear at the effects of permanent urban housing.

Ownership and Control

After these two dispatched reports an official visit was paid to Elisabethville by five Members of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia in 1954 to study and examine CEC housing "with particular reference to the owner-built housing scheme".[822] The deputation consisted of the Member for Health, Lands and Local Government, the Financial Secretary, the Member for African Interests, the Commissioner for Local Government, and the Commissioner for Native Affairs. The short report gives an overview of the scheme, but leaves out certain details that are revealed in the two reports on the CEC-scheme discussed above. What seems to be most important to the five officials is the restrictive nature of the scheme concerning control of entry, medical certificates and work permits as well as the responsibility of the workers to find housing, since "neither the Government nor the employer is under any obligation with respect to permanent house".[823] The four officials conclude their brief outline stating that:

> "[t]he system enables the average African to build and own his own house. It is considered the system achieves two objectives, namely (i) a stabilised urban population, and (ii) a sense of responsibility in that the house owner feels he has a personal stake in the town. It should be

[821] NAZ: LGH 1/16/57. Extracts from Despatch from the Governor, Uganda, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, dated January 24, 1953.
[822] LGH 1/16/57. Report on a visit to the Belgian Congo to Examine African Housing, 1954.
[823] Ibid.

> noted at the present time no title to the land is given to the African. […] it is considered that the scheme is reasonably satisfactory and that with certain modifications an experimental scheme should be tried in this Territory."[824]

The cornerstones of the report are stabilisation through control and discipline, and a financial relief for government and industry. However, access to towns should not be granted to everyone. Hence, for John Roberts, one of the five members, the adaption of the scheme implicated that at the same time it has to be ensured that the "hereditary power of the chiefs is maintained" to avoid that "the whole of African population will not flock into towns".[825] However, Roberts was also worried about the political implication in favour of such a scheme. He therefore went on to say:

> "At the same time there is a springing up amongst us a class of African who needs stabilising because if they are not they will turn into extremists, agitators and malcontents. Therefore, I submit that it is quite reasonable that where an African proves himself to be in economic and sound work, allow that man to stabilise himself by owning his home."[826]

Other aspects of the CEC-system, such as leisure time and entertainment or education and participation, did not find their way into the report. Even the sense of responsibility derives from a mere "feeling" of a having a stake in town rather than being an actual stakeholder. The report reflects the general problem of and with urbanisation, ideologically and factually. The fear of masses flocking into towns because of an ownership system for instance was unfounded, since relatively few could afford the calculated amount of 2£ 12s. per month anyway. Harry Franklin, Member for African interests and one of the five officials in the Congo, was therefore quick to announce that "Congo housing is for 'well-to-do'".[827] A strong and concise critique, not of the Congo scheme but how it was portrayed by Roberts, was formulated by Ernest Kapota, member of the NRANC (Northern Rhodesian African National Congress), in 1954 in the "Northern News" in an article on "African housing plans in N. Rhodesia". Kapota contextualised the whole discourse of African owner-housing within the general urban housing debate. Central to his critique was that the statements by John Roberts on the Congo-scheme were unfounded insofar as they portrayed a state of rigidity that was not given in the Congo. Specifically, he mentioned the matter of job stability and urban housing. Roberts emphasised that before Africans are allowed to build a house, they have to prove before the authorities that "he [the African] does not 'jump from job to job like a grasshopper'".[828] Kapota corrected that statement of Roberts by pointing to the fact that "even old African women are allowed to put up their own buildings with added facilities for brewing beer at very little cost, and selling it to their own fellow Africans as they please".[829] Furthermore, he argued

[824] Ibid.
[825] Ibid., Extract from "Northern News", December 16, 1954.
[826] Ibid.
[827] Ibid., Extract from "Northern News", September 27, 1954.
[828] Ibid., Extract from "Northern News", December 6, 1954.
[829] Ibid.

that owners were even allowed to accommodate other Africans in their houses for rent. All of that was not possible in Northern Rhodesia. Kapota concluded that the

> "system of African housing in this Territory has not been proposed as a favour to the African, but it is a thing we have fought for. The scheme was part of the 10-year plan for African advancement which should have been started as long ago as 1946. In the Congo it started then, but in this country it is probably going to start at the end of the 10-year plan."[830]

In November 1954 the report was discussed at the office for the member for Lands, Health and Local Government. Besides the five members who visited the Congo the following people were present: the Commissioner for Native Development, the Secretary to the Development Authority, the Commissioner of Works, and the Senior Government Architect. It was agreed that the scheme should be tried out despite the indication made by Harry Franklin as well as the Secretary for Native Affairs that "any proposals such as those under discussion would only result in houses of a superior type being built for more advanced Africans, and that they would not alleviate the present housing shortage to any appreciable extent".[831] Furthermore, although it was put forward by the Commissioner of Works that model houses could be provided, the members, however, doubted that the "average African would not be able to copy such a house".[832] It was therefore agreed that artisans and contractors would be needed and that the foundation and necessary building materials should be provided by local authorities.

Subsequent to the meeting a plan of a model house was created by the office of the Department of Works in January 1955. According to the plan the model house should have an area of 536ft² (50m²), which would allow for three bedrooms of 80ft² (7.4m²) each, and was calculated to cost £347. The plan and the considerations and suggestions developed in the meeting of November 1954 were then discussed in the Legislative Council. In general the members of the Council had positive attitudes towards the scheme, especially the African member Mr. Sokota, who had already been asking that self-help housing should be considered for three years prior to the investigation of the Congo-Scheme. However, criticism was also voiced. Mr. Watmore, Provincial Commissioner for Western Province, directed his opinion to the Member for Health, Lands and Local Government, John Roberts, parts of which will be discussed here as they illustrate some of the fears of many Europeans in Northern Rhodesia of (uncontrolled) urbanisation. Watmore began his speech by advising Mr. Roberts

> "to give consideration to the danger of creating an even greater unbalance in our rural and urban economies by accelerating too quickly the possibility for providing housing for Africans no longer gainfully employed in the urban areas. The scales are heavily weighted already against rural settlement and I ask myself what is going to be the effect of encouraging – I say

[830] Ibid.
[831] Ibid., Minutes of meeting to discuss a report on African Housing in the Congo Belge and its possible application to Northern Rhodesia, November 24, 1954.
[832] Ibid.

> encouraging advisedly – Africans who are not contributing to the well-being of the urban areas in which they live. […] If we encourage them to acquire a house and remain in the urban area […] their standard of living is bound to fall as soon as they cease their employment, because their income will be reduced as all pensioners realise. But the important thing is the effect on their children and indeed on the whole Territory if they are going to pursue a policy – and it is a delightful policy because it is so much easier to say "Yes" than to say "No", particularly where Africans are concerned – if we are going to say, "Because you wished to live here we are going to agree to it and to accede to your wishes and will educate your children here", a third generation of Africans born in the urban areas are going to know precisely nothing about the hoe."[833]

The whole speech by Mr. Watmore is filled with caution, and the logic he is trying to pass on here is clearly framed by a socio-economic and technical discourse that does not openly concede the segregationist rationale between urban Europeans and rural Africans. Indeed, it is not for the European to deny the African to become urbanised, in Mr. Watmore's words, but rather this is a result of the economic circumstances, the decrease in wages or income, or the loss of employment. Furthermore, the assumption that education of a second or third generation of urban Africans could eventually lead to further economic integration and development towards a diversified and skilled urban workforce is not part of his thought. Instead, the "delightful policy" will do more harm than good, by producing a third generation of Africans that is not at all familiar with agrarian skills and ways of life, as the symbol of the hoe illustrates. Watmore's vision of urban areas in Africa does not necessarily exclude Africans in general, yet he clearly envisions having some selected Africans in (European) towns instead of seeing the realisation of an African urban town life and culture. One could therefore say that in Mr. Watmore's vision, the hoe, and not the pen or calculator, not only is but also should remain *the* tool and direction of African development. Notwithstanding these voices of opposition against the urbanisation of Africans, which were not only uttered by settlers but also colonial officials, it was agreed that the scheme should be tried out in some urban areas.

In August 1955 a pilot loan scheme was set up based on the meeting in November 1954 and the subsequent calculations by the Department of Works. The legal aspects on which the loan scheme was based reveal the strong aspect of control and supervision that was envisioned by the colonial administrators. The local authorities or – depending on the legal status of the land the house was to be built on – the Township Officer retained the right to stop the process of construction or even demolish "any dwelling or portion thereof which has not been constructed in accordance with the plan and materials approved".[834] Moreover, article 16 of the draft stated that the "borrower shall keep the house in good sanitary conditions and repair to the satisfaction of the local authority, who shall have the right to enter and repair and to recover all costs so incurred by civil suit". Thus, the right for inspection was not temporally confined to the phase of construction, but basically extended to the whole period of the loan. In other words, the participants of such a scheme basically always had to be prepared to be inspected and controlled.

[833] Ibid. Extract from Hansard No. 85, Column 133-134, July 8, 1955.
[834] Ibid. Pilot African Housing Loan Scheme – Draft Regulations, August 22, 1955.

The report and the pilot scheme were discussed at length in different local government councils. It was agreed that the scheme should be tried out in some towns. Areas in Lusaka, Ndola, Kitwe and Broken Hill were chosen for the experiment. Whereas the houses under the CEC-schemes could be paid off within 7-10 years, the low wages in Northern Rhodesia made necessary a loan scheme of 33 years.[835] For Mr. Sokota, African member to the Legislative Council, even 33 years were not enough, since it "does not give security to that particular man who puts up an expensive house".[836] In any case, given the life expectancy of people in the 1950s and the lack of tenure security, the proposed scheme was not always met with enthusiasm, although at least some parts of the African urban population showed great interest in the idea of ownership in general. In the following some aspects of the debates concerning the Congo-Scheme as they were held in the various Municipal and Advisory Councils will be discussed.

The African Urban Advisory Council of Livingstone, for example, dismissed the scheme, because of uncertainties and insecurities connected to it. On the 9th January 1956 the scheme was discussed in the Meeting of the African Advisory Council in Livingstone.[837] While the decision to implement or try out the scheme was made in the Municipal Council, views by the African Advisory Council were to be considered. The members of the council took the month prior to the meeting to discuss the matter in the different compounds. However, the members themselves predetermined who would or could possibly be interested in the scheme based on their income and economic situation. While Mr. Malenga was unsuccessful in gaining an interest in the matter, Mr. Kabalata informed the District Commissioner that although there was little interest in the scheme, individuals nevertheless "requested that they be informed of the proposed siting of houses which would be built under such a scheme". Interestingly, however, he added that perhaps "more interest might be shown if the area to be covered by such a scheme were to be free from Municipal Control".[838] It has already been established that control was an essential feature of colonial ownership-housing schemes, both in technical as well as in economic and legal ways, and in a social context, ownership was apparently perceived by those Africans interested in it as a means to get rid of control that was being imposed upon them.

The most comprehensive account on the matter was presented by Advisory Council Member Mr. Mbangweta, who added to the above mentioned points of concern that many reservations against the scheme articulated by Africans he talked to were due to the economic insecurities, as well as uncertainties regarding the availability and quality of African contractors, who would be needed to build the houses. If African contractors could be found they "could not be relied upon to build to the required standard. Thereby possibly involving the participator in unnecessary and unlimited expenditure". Mr. Mbangweta further clarified this matter by putting forward that "Africans in the past had only spent capital on projects which they thought would bring in immediate returns" and was doubtful of the notion that "many would be prepared to spend capital on houses

[835] Ibid., Extract from "The Chronicle", 19th November, 1954.
[836] Ibid. Extract from Hansard No. 85, Column 156-157, July 8, 1955.
[837] NAZ: SP 4/12/66. African Urban Advisory Council: Livingstone, General Correspondence and Minutes of Meeting (1953-1956), Jan. 9th 1956.
[838] Ibid.

which would not be theirs for many years to come".[839] Finally, Mr. Mbangweta proposed instead that the Local Authority could provide these houses, including their construction and service, and could then offer them to interested Africans on the basis of a hire-purchase scheme. As a final suggestion to his proposition he added that this scheme should not be free of control, but the control of the different sizes and designs of the houses should instead lie in the hands of the African Advisory Council.

The members and, according to their accounts, also other Africans in Livingstone clearly understood self-help schemes as a means to overcome control, both in a social sense and a physical sense. Since Africans were aware that the spatial divide within urban areas would not be overcome and chances to take part in urban management and politics were not very high in the near future, the only possible solution to them was to at least control their own sphere of urban everyday-life.

On 1st February 1956 the Town Clerk's office in Livingstone informed the Commissioner of Local Government in Lusaka that the scheme would not be implemented in Livingstone at present. The rather short letter states that "the [Municipal] Council is of the opinion that local Africans should not build their own houses at the present time"[840] and enclosed a copy of the discussion of the African Urban Advisory Council. However, the suggestions made by the Members of the African Council, particularly those articulated by Mr. Mbangweta, seem not to have been further discussed at any administrative level. In Ndola and Kitwe, however, the scheme was approved by the Municipal Councils. In Livingstone, it was not until the early 1960s that home-ownership schemes were on the agenda of the local authority, due to the promotion thereof by the Municipal Association, however, only in a very limited sense. At a Municipal Council meeting in October 1962 it was reported that the council "had drawn the attention of the Municipal Association to the high costs involved in the local authority area concerned, the fact that Building Societies were not likely to be prepared to assist in reducing the high rate of interest that would have to be charged."[841] It was therefore recommended that the government be asked to make loans available for an extended term at a very low interest rate. The Town Treasurer recommended, in accordance with an Urban African Service Committee Report, a loan scheme that would run over 20 years. He also suggested that "it was wise for the Government to virtually subsidise the Africans concerned who would be those earning the higher incomes."[842] It was finally recommended that "that the principle of African home ownership schemes be supported, subject to the views of the Town Treasurer as set out above, but that the Council's representative on the Municipal Association be permitted to exercise his discretion after the matter has been discussed at the Executive Committee of the Association."[843]

The promoted self-help scheme neither met local realities nor was it by any means fit to tackle the structural housing problems. Furthermore, the discrepancies between the financial means of Africans and the housing costs was not reduced to the low-income majority. Even better-paid Africans and especially "Eurafricans", who came closest to what could be regarded "middle-class",

[839] Ibid.
[840] NAZ: LGH 1/16/57. Town Clerk's Department Livingstone, Letter to Commissioner for Local Government, 1st Feb. 1956.
[841] NAZ: LGH 3/1/8. Livingstone Minutes: Municipal Council Meeting, October 12, 1962.
[842] Ibid.
[843] Ibid.

could hardly afford houses under owner-built schemes.[844] The general change of paradigm towards modernisation coming from the colonial metropole did not always trickle down to the local level as probably envisaged. However, urbanisation was a social process that could not be denied, let alone reversed. Therefore, the problem of how to cope with the high urbanisation rate and hence the high demand in urban African housing was a pressing issue to be addressed. The core of the problem certainly was the financial aspect of the provision of housing and infrastructure, accompanied, however, by considerations of discipline and control. In discussing the debates on urbanisation not only is the indignation of Northern Rhodesians to accept Africans as fully urbanised on display, but even more so the uncertainty created by the conflictual position between official central policy (in accordance with global development trends) and local ideology. The owner-housing scheme was mainly appreciated for its feature of redirecting the costs of housing to Africans, but it was not intended to entail socially inclusive aspects regarding urban participation. On the contrary, it was accompanied by visions of strict control not only of urban areas, but also control of and within housing. Finally, the structural problems of the urban housing situation, the hesitancy to accept African urbanisation, and a lack of will to invest in African development made the scheme impossible to function within Northern Rhodesia. Even though it must have been obvious – and indeed it was obvious to some – that without radical alterations of the economic and education system the scheme would neither be successful in reaching more than just a small minority, nor entail features to retroactively adjust the structural urbanisation problems, it was still actively discussed as a solution to the urban housing problem.

4.4. Malota – Resilience of Informality

Malota developed gradually over the first three decades of Livingstone's history alongside Maramba, the official municipal compound. Africans who were not employed by the BSAC or later colonial administration, but who worked as traders and hawkers, built their houses in close proximity to Maramba. These houses would eventually form Malota. Since it used to be continuous with Maramba – today it is surrounded by it through the sections Maramba MA to ME that were built after 1959 – Malota was inside the municipal boundaries and the land was therefore owned by the municipality, which collected rents of 30 Shillings annually from the people living in Malota.[845] By the 1940s it had attained its shape from scattered houses to an almost rectangular area of about 15 hectares divided into 5 sections, A to E, comprising about 500 plots with houses.[846] The time of this formation, however, is hard to determine, since most of the colonial maps of Livingstone do not give clear and detailed indications of African housing areas. Based on the fact that section E was added to a compound survey for the year 1941 but not 1940,[847] it can be assumed, however, that its present form developed in the 1940s.

[844] NAZ: LGH 1/16/49. Housing for Eurafricans (1949-54): Memo on Eurafrican Housing in Lusaka, 1954.
[845] McCulloch, p. 5.
[846] This did vary due to some plots being amalgamated or put to a different use.
[847] NAZ: SP 4/1/16. Livingstone Municipal Council Minutes: Municipality of Livingstone Census. Maramba Compound, April 1941.

Fig. 19. Sections in Malota (A-E) and Maramba (MA-ME)



Moreover, during the 1940s the population rate seemed to have been relatively stable with 1,314 people living in Malota in 1940, 1,530 in 1941, 1,423 in 1945[848], and 1,820 in 1953.[849] Of the 493 plots in 1945, 419 were occupied and 47 were unoccupied or used for latrines.[850] According to Merran McCulloch, most of the plots in the 1950s had an area of 50 square yards (about 42m²).[851] On the housing situation she reports that on some of the plots

> "there are good brick houses with glass windows, on others there are simply mud huts or corrugated iron shacks. Some lease-holders who build second houses on their plots have relatives and work-mares living with them, although this is officially not permitted. […] On many plots the children of the plot-owner sleep in separate huts. Anyone may be granted a lease, and there is keen competition for the few plots which fall vacant. Leases may be inherited, and this applies to the widow as well as to the son of a plot-holder who dies."[852]

For a long time Malota was the only area where Africans could lease land and build their own homes. It was convenient for the authorities, since the municipality collected money and did not have to worry about providing houses. Only sanitation infrastructures, however insufficient and

[848] Ibid. For the year 1945 see: SP 4/3/5. Livingstone Municipality – Native Affairs Committee: Municipality of Livingstone. Location Superintendent's Report for July 1945.
[849] McCulloch, p. 7.
[850] SP 4/3/5, Report for July 1945.
[851] McCulloch, p. 5.
[852] Ibid., p. 5-6.

provisional,[853] were built. While the fact that land could be leased seems to indicate a rather stable situation, in fact local authorities during and after colonialism until the early 1970s considered it to be a temporary site. Although McCulloch underscores that plots could be inherited, this need not detract from the fact that the plot lease was, however, limited onlyto a couple of years. In 1945 the Location Superintendent for instance reported that many applications had been received from persons desirous to build their own huts on vacant plots in the D section of Malota. It was suggested that until the national government could implement a new housing scheme and permanent buildings could be ready, the plots should be let and a time limit of two years imposed on the houses. In view of the "urgent necessity of limiting the growth of unauthorised settlements within the local authority area" it was agreed that the erection of temporary buildings in the native compound would be permitted. These buildings, however, should not be allowed to stand for more than two years.[854]

The housing schemes of the 1948 town planning legislation did not change anything, and furthermore the erection of Libuyu did not render Malota obsolete, since it could not even satisfy the existing housing shortage. Not only was the threat of demolition a constant companion, but also police raids ordered by the municipal council. When in 1955 Mr. Malenga from the African Urban Advisory Council asked if the Grass Compound could not be declared permanent, he was simply advised to withdraw the motion, since the time was not deemed ripe for such a debate.[855] In 1956, he asked the Location Superintendent Mr. Beaton why it was that the search for loafers was mainly limited to the Grass Compound, where residents claim the houses as their own property. Mr. Beaton, the Superintendent, reminded Malenga that the plots were leased to Africans so that they could own their houses, which, however, would not mean that the municipality thereby relinquished control over these areas and that loafers were often found therein.[856]

Malota was for many parts of its history some sort of grey-zone, since people could lease plots and build houses, but it was not considered a proper compound. Administratively, it was therefore subsumed under Maramba, the formal municipal residential area for Africans. Yet it was neither based on a rent-system, nor later in the 1950s was it considered as an ownership-housing area. It was somewhere in-between, without being formally accepted as a permanent housing area. The problem regarding what exactly was considered owner housing was therefore not a technical issue, but primarily a legal one. Technically, one could say, Africans in urban areas, in particular in unauthorised ones, had practiced self-help and owner-housing for as long as there had been urban areas in Northern Rhodesia and in particular in Livingstone. In 1947, for instance, in a letter from the General Manager of the Rhodesian Railways to the Municipal Council it was suggested to re-plan the area between Beaufort Road and Katombora Road in order to provide

> "plots for railway employees desirous to build their own houses. In view of the increasing difficulty in providing accommodation for its employees, the provision of these plots would go a

[853] See debates in the African Urban Advisory Council Livingstone. i.e. SP 4/12/66. African Urban Advisory Council – Livingstone. Minutes of Meeting, . August 5, 1955 and December 3, 1956.
[854] SP 4/3/5: Minutes of Meeting of the Native Affairs Sub-Committee, July 14, 1945.
[855] SP 4/12/66: Minute of Meeting, August 5, 1955.
[856] Ibid., August 7, 1956.

> long way towards solving the housing problem and it would be greatly appreciated if Council could expedite the re-planning of the area."[857]

In the same year, in a meeting of the Native Affairs Sub-Committee Councillor Gaunt suggested that the Council should mark out plots which could be let to individuals to build their own huts to standard design, which would make housing provision more economical and the occupants would take more interest in the maintenance of their hut.[858] Such a practice, however, was not recognised by colonial or local authorities as ownership. Practically, Africans in Malota who would lease plots and pay rent could not only build, but also rent out and even sell these houses. Legally, however, these practices were not really considered ownership, because the land, usually crown-land, was rented out on a perpetual short-term basis. In legal terms it was not until 1961 that even the term 'owner' was applied to lessees whose lease period exceeded 14 years. Prior to that, an owner was only such a person who held a lease of 99 years. But even 14 years would not have been sufficient in the case of plot rents in Malota.[859]

All of these obstacles notwithstanding, the people living in Malota developed in the opposite direction to what was the common knowledge or rather common narrative on Africans in urban areas. Urbanised and stabilised Africans were generally thought to be found as skilled workers in the mining towns and industrial compounds, and as white-collar workers in better-equipped municipal housing areas, ready to enjoy the amenities and products urban spaces had to offer, but less so in the unauthorised or unofficial compounds where people were considered to come and go from and to the villages. In the mid-1950s, when Merran McCulloch conducted her research in Livingstone, she concluded the following regarding Malota, which hints at the very opposite:

> "The most striking feature of the *Grass Compound* population, compared with the overall population are: the predominance of men in the older age groups, and the comparatively balanced sex ratio; the considerable numbers of children and other dependants and co-residents living on the plots; the presence of a large proportion of skilled men and traders and of men who were self-employed; and the presence of a comparatively large number of both men and women whose attitudes to town life suggested that they were 'permanently stabilized'."[860]

Thus, not only was the social structure "stabilised", but also the attitudes of people towards town-life. Nevertheless, the bad reputation Malota had gained as a place where many unemployed and loafers lived under bad sanitary conditions followed it until the end of colonial rule and even beyond. When in the last years of colonial rule the municipality finally wanted to get rid of Malota, it

[857] SP 4/1/26. Municipality of Livingstone Minutes. Public Works Sub-Committee: Meeting of the Public Works Sub-Committee, December 4, 1947.
[858] SP 4/1/30. Municipality of Livingstone Meetings of the Native Affairs Sub-Committee: Minutes of meeting of Native Affairs Sub-Committee, September 18, 1947.
[859] LGH 1/1/4. Town Plans – General: Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Memorandum on the Town and Country Planning Bill, June 9, 1961. ; see also LGH 1/1/31. Town Planning Board Minutes: The Town and Country Planning Ordinance, 1961.
[860] McCulloch, p. 67.

raised the plot-rents in the hope that people would start to move out. In order to do that, the Municipal By-Laws had to be adjusted. The District Commissioner of Livingstone sent a letter to the Provincial Commissioner explaining the issue. In this communication, many of the attributes Malota was attached with discursively come to the fore.

> "For decades the Grass Compound has been an unsightly blot on the Maramba landscape – an amorphous accretion of dilapidated, unsanitary, sub-standard shacks whose demolition has long been desirable in the interest of health, hygiene, and improved housing standards. Each plot-holder has, from time immemorial, paid 2/6d. a month rent for his plot. Although the services that Council have provided in the Grass Compound have been negligible, residents have enjoyed the increasing services and amenities in the Maramba African Township as a whole. […] Council therefore decided that such an increase was both necessary and justified, particularly as it has recently agreed to improve the services within this area and felt that residents should contribute to their cost. Another reason for the increase was a tactical one – to persuade residents to move out of houses that were unhealthy and sub-standard and to discourage loafers and the erection of new buildings."[861]

The District Commissioner further said that he would generally support the increase in rent, only, however, if Malota were to exist for another couple of years. He thought it unfair to increase rents shortly prior to the area being demolished and thus without improving the conditions. He had "little sympathy with this argument in view of the Council's total neglect of this unsightly slum until a year ago. These services should have been provided many years ago; if they had been, then an increase in the rent would have ben justified much earlier."[862] In his capacity as a District Commissioner he managed to prevent the amendment of the by-law. The rents were neither raised, nor was Malota demolished.

In another attempt to get rid of Malota in 1962 the Chief Officer of African Affairs surveyed the site and assessed the value of Malota at about £3,000 in order to determine its future and how much reimbursement would have to be paid when demolishing it. The question was raised as to the future of the people living in Malota "on a mere existence basis". The Committee was reminded that the Municipal Association had recently re-affirmed a previous decision that the people living in Malota were the responsibility of the national government, but that houses could only be demolished if alternative homes could be found.[863] In May of the following year the Chief Officer reported that it had been the Council's wish for many years that Malota should be removed as soon as possible.

> "The Chief Officer expressed the view that if compensation was paid, as had been approved by the Council, a number of the residents would for all practical purposes disappear although some would seek to be housed in the new home for the aged. […] The Chief Officer African Affairs also reminded the Committee that tenants in Malota had made repeated representations to the

[861] LGH 3/4/6. Livingstone – By-Laws: Letter from the D.C. Livingstone to the P.C. Southern Province, September 29, 1960.
[862] Ibid.
[863] LGH 3/1/8. Livingstone Minutes: Monthly Report of the Chief Officer African Affairs, October 12, 1962.

> Government for the setting up of a township outside the Municipal area: the Government had never expressed approval for such a scheme although if it were in fact introduced it was probable that Malota would be emptied over night."[864]

Again, Malota and its residents persevered. Besides being yet more evidence to the Municipal Council's aversion for Malota, the report includes another interesting facet. The same aspect that interested people in ownership schemes in Livingstone during the Congo-housing scheme debates in the mid-1950s were also relevant to the people of Malota in the 1960s. They wished to be able to form, shape and control their own space without the interference of the municipal authorities, without police raids and without the constant threat of being evicted. The very physical space of Malota, its geographical location, therefore, seemed to have been less important to the residents of Malota than the prospect of being free of control and surveillance. The following images (Fig. 20-23) provide evidence of such control. The inspection tour during which these photos were taken was conducted to determine the different living conditions of "coloured" people in Livingstone, which in the racist colonial logic should have received higher amenities and education than other Africans. Very few in numbers at Livingstone anyway, the social reality of "Coloureds" was, however, different. What is more interesting about the photos is the difference in composition of Fig. 20 to 22 on the one hand and Fig. 23 on the other, not in relation to people investigated, but the spatial contrast between compounds and housing types.

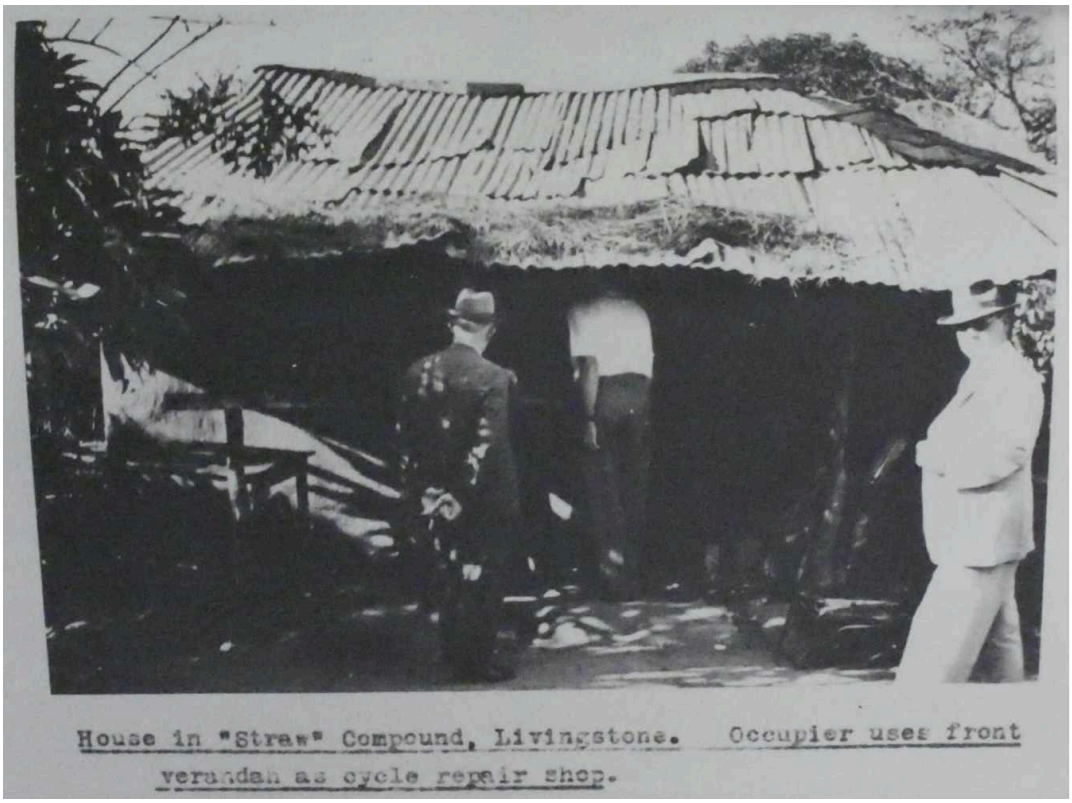


Fig. 20: Inspection of Housing in Malota and Maramba, 1950.[865]

[864] Ibid., Monthly Report of the Chief Officer African Affairs, May 9, 1963.
[865] LGH 1/16/90. Coloured Committee Report, 1950: Report on the Committee to Inquire into the Status and Welfare of Coloured Persons in Northern Rhodesia, Appendix.



Fig. 21: Inspection of Housing in Malota and Maramba, 1950.

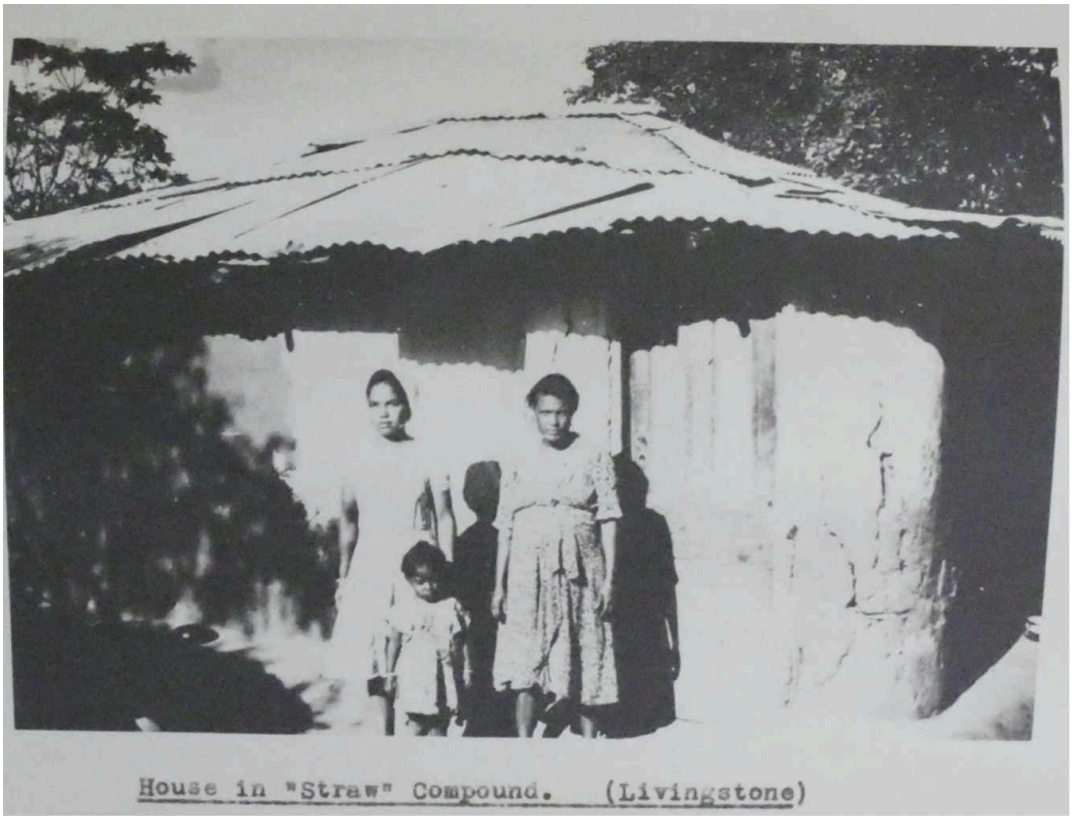


Fig. 22: Inspection of Housing in Malota and Maramba, 1950

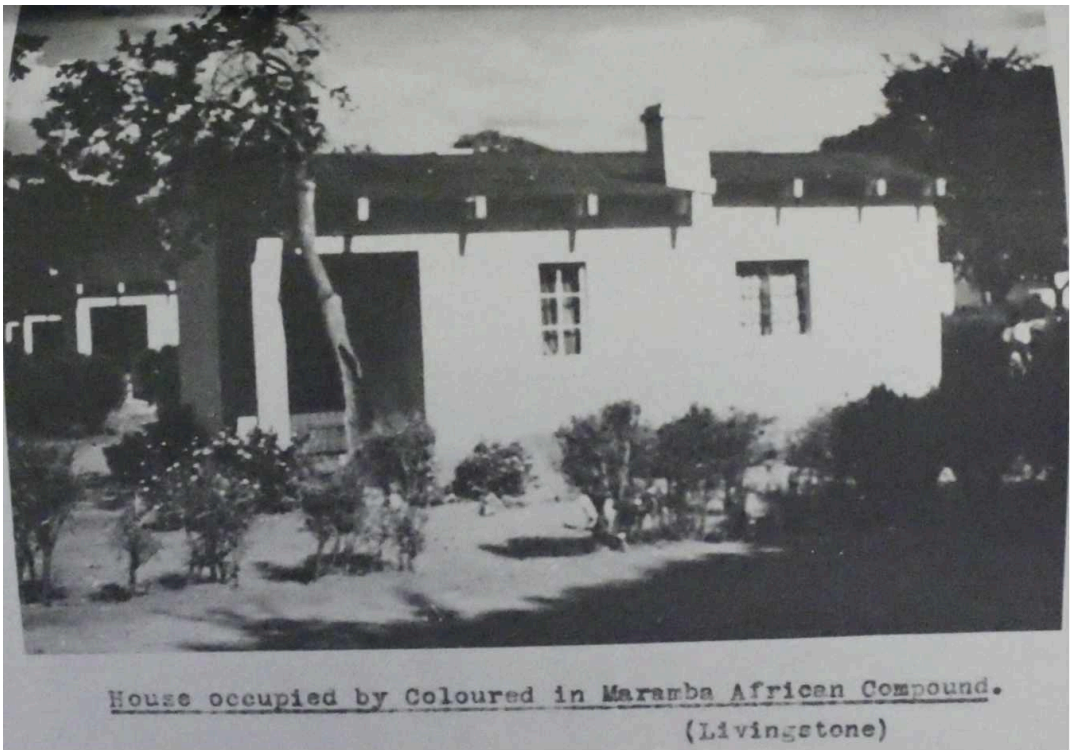


Fig. 23: Inspection of Housing in Malota and Maramba, 1950

The First three photos show houses in Malota, while Fig. 23 displays houses in Maramba. One aspect that becomes immediately obvious is that there are no people in the last photo. Its function – and I have sorted them according to how they were positioned in the file – is to present how housing should look like according to the ideal of the authorities. It thus serves as a spatial reference and contrast to the dysfunctional and provisional state of Malota housing. There is therefore a scale of development immanent to the arrangement of the photos. The Maramba houses accordingly need no control and the people living inside them need not be disturbed in their private realm. They are granted space and distance, while the poor conditions in Malota deserve attention and the people living inside them have to stand witness to these very conditions at close proximity. The way the two women and the child are positioned in front of their house to satisfy the controlling gaze – seemingly not amused – is thereby as unnatural as the European inspectors, who seem to wander around rather aimlessly. Finally, a subtle yet nevertheless important distinction is the difference in angle and focal length. While the Malota houses are captured at a close focus and a perpendicular angle, thereby leaving no space to escape the view, the Maramba houses (similarly to the housing front in Fig. 3 and 4) are captured at an off-axis angle with a wider focus, highlighting the spaciousness of the main subject and at the same time allowing the viewer to get a sense of the ordered spatial arrangement the main subject is embedded in.

While control was partly fostered through the spatial layout of Malota including the plots, which were of colonial origin, this layout was filled with meaning and social life from within, counteracting colonial narratives and discourse of dysfunctional and quasi-rural conditions. Indeed, "the grid is

what you make it".[866] In spatial terms and referring to Martina Löw's concept of *(An)Ordnung*,[867] one could therefore say that the *Ordnung*, the colonial spatial ordering, was being constantly re-structured by means of *Anordung*, thus the placing and re-arranging of people and social objects in space. Practices of *spacing* and *synthesis*, thus (re-)arrangements and representations not least of home and urban belonging, would strengthen the will and agency of people to inscribe themselves into Livingstone's urban landscape.

Times of Independence – Malota and Postcolonial Urbanism

After independence town planning and housing again became important ideological tools in the attempt to re-structure and re-formulate colonial urbanism. While many of the newly independent states relied on the assistance of planning experts from the former colonial metropoles, they focused on the social need of the urban poor which tried to combine late-colonial modernisation initiatives with postcolonial political and cultural values.[868] Although financial and technical aspects would sooner or later determine whether public housing, or rather owner-housing schemes or a combination of these approaches would be implemented, the unauthorised and un-serviced colonial left-overs were still visible reminders of how fast postcolonial urban change would actually happen and therefore would act as a litmus test of how effective postcolonial planning would be. In Zambia the "decolonised version"[869] of owner-housing, now termed site-and-service schemes, was considered an essential tool in tackling the housing shortage. The area in Livingstone where this was first applied is called Dambwa Site. Thus, compounds like Malota would soon be considered an obstacle to national urban planning. Many difficulties were "being experienced in the control of unauthorised settlements or squatter houses and doubts have been raised to the legality of certain steps which are taken to effect this control", especially in ensuring "the effective administrative control of unauthorised settlements by humanistic means, and to find adequate legal powers for its implementation".[870]

[866] Kostof 1991, *The City Shaped:*, p. 271.
[867] Löw 2016, *The Sociology of Space*.
[868] Gruffydd Jones 2012, Civilising African Cities: International Housing and Urban Policy from Colonial to Neoliberal Times, p. 30-31.
[869] On the urban scale, according to John Tait "metropolises could not be decolonized due to the failure to decolonize the economic production structure" Tait 1997, *From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Settlement*, p. 156.
[870] NAZ: LGH 1/1/30. Unauthorised Locations: Letter from the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Works and Housing, to the Attorney General, Ministry of Legal Affairs, April 10, 1968.



Fix. 24: Houses at Dambwa-Site, Photo taken May 14, 2018.

A couple of years after Nalumino Mundia's upgrading plans, Malota was once again framed as a shanty town. Following the plans of the Ministry of Local Government to "end colonial-inspired segregated housing by creating cosmopolitan communities in all towns",[871] Malota and other similar compounds were again under threat of being demolished. Sokota Wina, Minister of Local Government, highlighted that "all our towns still bear the ugly imprint of colonial segregated housing. Low density housing, in garden setting, contrast unhappily with the monotonous rows of the high density housing".[872] After Malota, "Livingstone's shanty compound", had been declared a disaster area by the Minister of State and Rural Development in 1970, where "the population of about 4,500 huddle together in poorly ventilated shacks",[873] plans were again made to demolish it. It was agreed that the demolition of Malota would be undertaken in gradual stages.[874] In order to determine what intermediate steps should be taken and how the removal of Malota should be undertaken, the Town Clerk decided to have the area surveyed.[875] Mr. Yuyi, the Chief Housing Community Development Officer, was assigned with the task.[876]

[871] SP 3/16/4. Housing – General Areas: Extract of "Times of Zambia", November 12, 1968.
[872] Ibid.
[873] Ibid., Extract from "Times of Zambia", May 11, 1970.
[874] Ibid., Letter from Permanent Secretary to the Provincial and Local Government Division to the Town Clerk, Livingstone, April 7, 1970.
[875] Ibid., Letter from the Town Clerk, Livingstone to the Permanent Secretary to the Provincial and Local Government Division, May 7, 1970.
[876] Ibid., Minutes of Meeting between Officials of the Provincial and Local Government Division and the Project Management Team, June 18, 1970.

In the following, I will analyse some of the insights gained from this survey which includes a description of the site, an overview of the population divided into 10 categories[877] in relation to their social position and function, aggregated accounts of their views and perspectives regarding Malota and planning policies, recommendations by Yuyi as to the measures that should be applied to Malota, and the raw-data of the survey. I will be looking especially at the social compositions of Malota and also use the raw-data, which I digitised, to make some statistical tests concerning possible internal variations. The report starts by presenting the structure of Malota, the number of individuals, plots and sections.[878]

Table 1. Malota Population and Plots per Section A to E

Descriptive Statistics

	Population				
Section	**A**	**B**	**C**	**D**	**E**
Valid	98	112	98	98	70
Missing	0	0	0	0	0
Mean	8.89	8.96	9.11	7.86	8.37
Std. Deviation	5.22	5.34	4.55	5.83	5.46
Minimum	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Maximum	29.00	26.00	29.00	29.00	25.00
Sum	871.00	1003.00	893.00	770.00	586.00

Note: Valid = Number of Plots per Section; Sum = Number of people

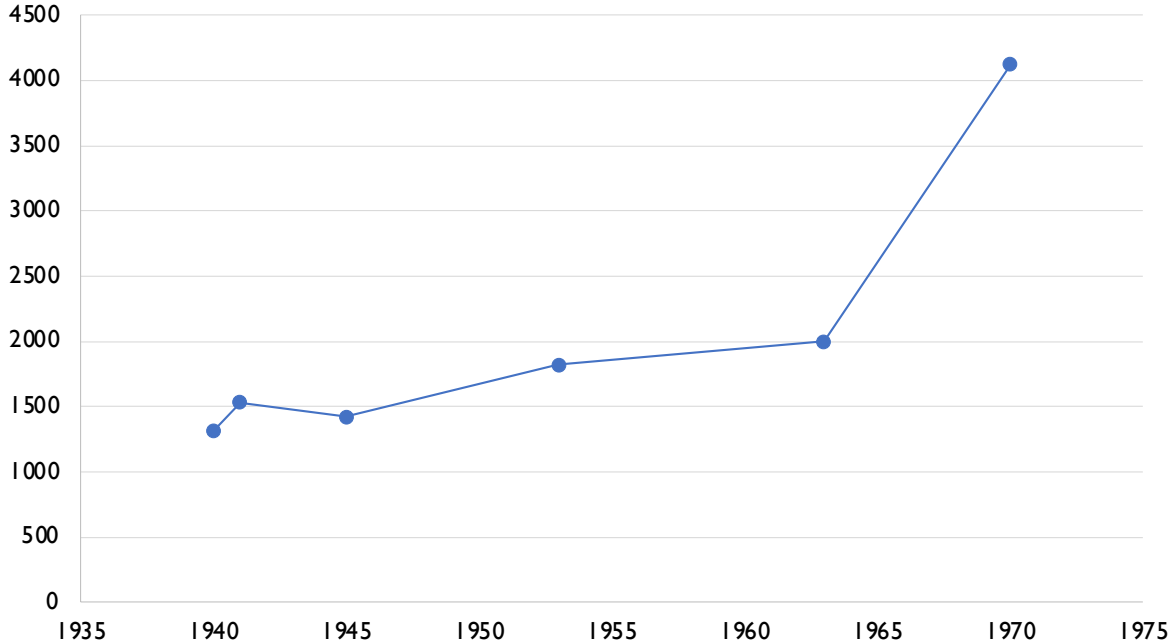
Outlining the site of Malota, Mr. Yuyi writes that after the 1962 survey by the Chief Officer African affairs mentioned above, no new buildings were permitted to be erected:

> "Malota was likely to be demolished at any time as over 40 houses in A and B section were pulled down during 1959/60 to give way for the construction of MA section. We only allowed repairs to existing houses but not to erect new permanent structures because this was going to be difficult to the house owners if ever Council decided to re-settle Malota people somewhere else."[879]

[877] These are: Landlords/Owners; Tenants; Sub-Tenants; Employed; Self-Employed; Unemployed; Aged; Disabled; Children; and Dependents.
[878] After digitising the data I noticed some minor variations between the aggregated data presented in the survey-reports and the counts by the computer. For section A instead of 865 the computer counted 871 and in section C instead of 895 the computer counted 893. I checked the sheets twice to see if I had made a mistake in recoding it. However, these minor variations of a few individuals are not statistically significant. I also noticed a counting mistake in the children column of the A section.
[879] SP 3/16/5. Local Authorities – Housing General: Malota Survey Report, June 21, 1971, p.2.

However, formally while it was not allowed to build more houses inside Malota, this was obviously not practiced when looking at the number of inhabitants of 4,123 recorded during the survey. Looking at the population trend between 1940 and 1970 taken from the surveys of the 1940s, McCulloch social survey in 1952/2953 and Yuyi's data, this becomes quite apparent.[880]

Fig. 25. Population Development in Malota 1940 - 1970



The real strength of the Malota survey lies in the accounts of the inhabitants and social actors. Especially the landlords played a large role, since this group was on the one hand composed of people living on the plots, many of them old people and widows, who had inherited the plot from their husbands, and owners who lived outside of Malota. In total 102 individuals or 21 percent of all landlords did not live on the plots, but instead either in other compounds in Livingstone (78 people or 16 percent) or outside Livingstone (24 people or 5 percent).[881] Yuvi refers to those "sleeping landlords" as "the worst exploiters of man by man".[882] While he did not explain why, I suppose the reason is the purely capitalist nature of such a practice and perhaps that these landlords did not much care about the plots and houses. Moreover, other houses were often built by landlords on the same plots to attract sub-tenants, most of whom were workers on a waiting list, who could not get houses due to the housing shortage. Many of the aged landlords, who lived on the plots, apart from sub-letting their plots were engaged in small businesses like carving and selling curios, healing, carrying out repairs, or illegal brewing.

[880] The numbers for Malota in 1963 are just an estimate based on the population data for Maramba, which experienced an increase of 10 percent in the total population between 1953 (data of McCulloch) and 1963. See: Preliminary Report of the May/June census 1963 of Africans in Northern Rhodesia, Ministry of Finance, Lusaka, 1964.
[881] SP 3/16/5. Malota Survey, p. 2; Note: Only a handful lived on a different section inside Malota.
[882] Ibid., p. 3.

Only 55 individuals (about 1.3 percent of the total population) were identified as tenants. Tenants in this case were people who did not own the plot or buildings, but occupied them instead of the owners, which usually were relatives or friends, and paid the rent directly to the councils. Thus, they acted as caretakers of a sort. They consisted mostly of middle-aged and self-employed people. The number of sub-tenants was therefore considerably larger and amounted to 582 people (or 14 percent), most of whom were employed by larger companies like Burton, McKillop and Sons, Zambia Textiles, or Mabro Enterprise, while some were even municipal employees. The number of landlords living in Malota, tenants, and sub-tenants amounted to 993 or about 24 percent of the total population. The 721 dependents (18 percent) were people related to either landlords, tenants or sub-tenants and in most cases were unemployed. They, too, often acted as guardians and caretakers. By far the greatest number of individuals in Malota were children, who amount to 1,744 individuals (42 percent), which, based on my experience from conducting research in Malota myself, might still be the case today.[883]

Table 2. Aggregated Population Data, Malota

Section	Population	Land Lords/ Plot Owners	Tenants	Sub-tenants	Employed	Self-employed	Unemployed
A	871	96	12	128	120	50	18
B	1003	111	18	167	165	69	29
C	893	97	8	116	132	52	40
D	770	95	9	97	91	53	29
E	586	65	6	73	92	31	18
Total	4123	464	53	581	600	255	134

Section	Aged	Disabled	Children	Dependants	Owner/ Landlords not living on plot	Living inside Livingstone	Living outside Livingstone
A	44	9	382	192	12	10	2
B	19	3	406	171	26	14	12
C	20	5	395	153	19	15	4
D	53	2	352	115	26	24	2
E	25	0	231	119	19	15	4
Total	161	19	1766	750	102	78	24

During my field research in Livingstone, I spent much time in Malota, conducting interviews, doing town-walks, and having meetings with Jonathan, who is from Malota. My impression has always been that many of the better shaped houses were to be found at A and E section of Malota, whereas the inner sections were a bit more rough around the edges, and I have been wondering if there is any internal socio-spatial variation. With the data from the 1970s survey, which covers the total population (or at least near total population) and not only sample estimates, I decided to test whether some of the 10 population types recorded in the survey correlate on the plot-level, and if

[883] Ibid. p. 3-4.

there were differences or similarities between the sections in relation to these types.[884] For the first question I did a correlation test using Spearman's ρ, since except for the total population data the other variables are not normally distributed.

Table 3. Correlation Matrix of Malota Population

Spearman's Correlations

Variable		Population	Land Lords/ Plot Owners	Tenants	Sub-Tenants	Employed	Self-Employed	Unemployed	Aged	Disabled	Children	Dependent
1. Population	Spearman's rho	—										
	p-value	—										
2. Land Lords/ Plot Owners	Spearman's rho	0.27***	—									
	p-value	< .001	—									
3. Tenants	Spearman's rho	0.09	0.06	—								
	p-value	0.06	0.23	—								
4. Sub-Tenants	Spearman's rho	0.47***	0.18***	0.03	—							
	p-value	< .001	< .001	0.56	—							
5. Employed	Spearman's rho	0.46***	0.2***	-5.76E-03	0.7***	—						
	p-value	< .001	< .001	0.90	< .001	—						
6. Self-Employed	Spearman's rho	0.11*	0.14**	0.02	0.08	-0.27***	—					
	p-value	0.01	3.17E-03	0.73	0.10	< .001	—					
7. Unemployed	Spearman's rho	0.03	0.09	0.08	0.21***	-0.03	-0.12**	—				
	p-value	0.53	0.06	0.09	< .001	0.49	< .001	—				
8. Aged	Spearman's rho	-0.03	0.1*	0.05	-0.02	-0.12**	0.03	0.08	—			
	p-value	0.56	0.03	0.28	0.70	< .001	0.50	0.07	—			
9. Disabled	Spearman's rho	-0.07	0.03	-0.07	0.04	-0.06	-0.02	-6.63E-04	0.19***	—		
	p-value	0.11	0.49	0.14	0.40	0.20	0.66	0.99	< .001	—		
10. Children	Spearman's rho	0.8***	0.23***	0.06	0.2***	0.27***	0.03	-0.01	-0.07	-0.09	—	
	p-value	< .001	< .001	0.18	< .001	< .001	0.50	0.82	0.11	0.05	—	
11. Dependent	Spearman's rho	0.45***	0.18***	0.09	0.1*	0.1*	0.14**	-9.82E-05	0.08	-0.04	0.12**	—
	p-value	< .001	< .001	0.06	0.04	0.03	< .001	1.00	0.09	0.40	9.87E-03	—

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

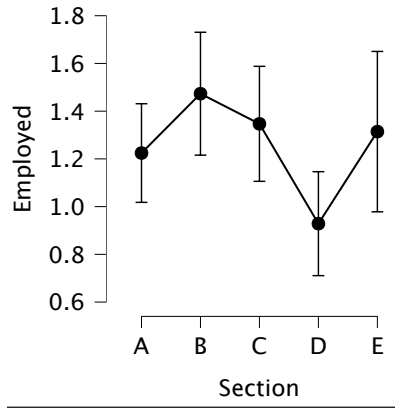
Looking at the correlation matrix, there are no particular strong correlations on the plot level, except between the number of individuals and the number of children per plot, which is obvious given the high number of children to the total population. However, some of the weaker ones are nevertheless highly significant. What was reasoned in the report that many of the sub-tenants were employed, is reflected in the highly significant and strong positive correlation of 70 percent between the number of sub-tenants and employed per plot. It is also important to highlight the positive correlation, however weak, between the number of children per plot and the number of employed. By contrast, there is no correlation between the number of children and the number of unemployed, which at least to some extent falsifies one of the prejudices about people in unauthorised or poorly-serviced areas as being unemployed and having many children, or that relatives from the villages would bring their whole family. This is also true for Malota in general. Thus, the overall proportion of unemployed amounted to only 3.2 percent. Finally, another interesting aspect is the negative correlation – again it is not very strong, but highly significant – between self-employed and employed

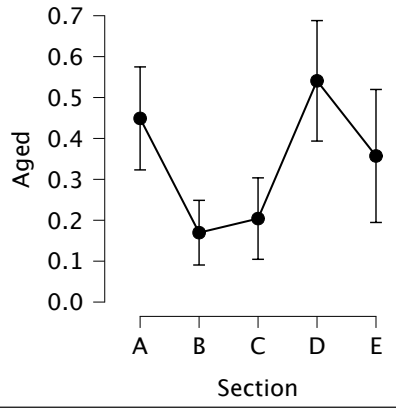
[884] It is important to note that such tests (inferential statistics) might be considered irrelevant, since the statistics at hand cover the true population (or at least near true population for a specific moment in time), not merely a random sample (thus the p-value becomes meaningless). There is an ongoing debate whether or not inferential statistics can be used with true populations. Possible errors during data collection and the stochasticity of the social world in genereal – thus, we assume the population not to abide to any deterministic law – are arguments for still using inferential statistics. Especially, the first arguments and the fact that the methodology in the field was not made transparant in the survey is sound enough for me to proceed with these tests. On such debates see: Berk, R. A., Western, B., & Weiss, R. E. (1995). Statistical inference for apparent populations. *Sociological methodology, 25,* 421-458.; Andreas, B., & Gschwend, T. (2005). Zur statistischen Analyse von Vollerhebungen. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift, 46(1),* 16-26.; JASP was used to perform the tests. JASP Team (2021). JASP (Version 0.16) [Computer software].

people per plot, which suggests that workers and hawkers or otherwise self-employed were less likely to share plots.

Concerning the similarities and differences between the sections A to E in Malota in relation to the 10 population types, I decided to test these by using ANOVAs. Again, since the data is not normally distributed I again used a non-parametric test, the Kruskal-Wallis of H-test. From all the types only two showed a significant variation across the five sections. These were employed and aged. Thus, fewer aged people are found in sections B and C compared to the other three sections, and in terms of employed people section D, where most of the aged people live, has significantly fewer than all the other sections. While the tests show that Malota itself is not a totally homogeneous compound on the scale of sections, but displays certain differences during the period the data was recorded, those differences are, however, not very large.

Fig. 26. ANOVAs on Malota Sections against Variation in Age and Employment





Kruskal-Wallis Test

Factor	Statistic	df	p
Section	11.66	4	0.02

Kruskal-Wallis Test

Factor	Statistic	df	p
Section	30.15	4	< .001

The surveyors also recorded accounts from people concerning their views and perspective on Malota, and on the question of upgrading or demolishing the compound. These were, however, not part of the raw data collection, but were apparently recorded separately. On the question by the surveyors as to why they chose to reside in Malota, three main reasons were given by Malota sub-tenants.. Reason number one was that the site-and-service (owner-housing) scheme at Dambwa was too expensive for them. The second reason, especially for sub-tenants with large families, was that the waiting list in the Housing Department was too long and people were forced to find shelter in Malota instead. Reason three was that they did not intend to partake in the site-and-service scheme to erect their own houses, but preferred paying rent.[885]

[885] Ibid.

As in previous times, most of the houses in the 1970s were made of pole and dagger with galvanised zinc roofs. Some were constructed of kimberly-bricks. Depending on the size of the house and the personal agreement between the parties the rents ranged between 3 and 5 Kwacha. The number of houses seemed to have been more important than their quality, according to the surveyors, which might explain the generally poor conditions, especially of sub-tenant houses. The ventilation was often insufficient and the out-look "not attractive". Most problems, however, would (as during colonial days) derive from poor sanitation.

> "There is an abominable smell from the bucket-toilets which are being used. The toilets are filthy despite the fact that cleaners are employed by the Council. The bad conditions in which the toilets are has led most of the residents to neglect them. The children in several cases never make an effort using the toilets. They turn ordinary grounds as toilets and this should not be laid on Malota residents who have not been provided with proper sanitary system which is running through underground their Township to other Townships to the West and East leaving it neglected."[886]

The reason for the neglect is attributed by the author to the fact that the once sufficient amount of toilets for the population during colonialism was no longer compatible with the increased population after independence. This reasoning is indeed sound when looking at the population development between 1940 and 1970[887] in Malota in relation to the development of latrines, which basically stayed the same. Additional problems occurred because of the lack of drainage and the fact that refuse vehicles were not able to collect refuse.

The surveyors also collected some interesting accounts from Malota residents towards the new housing schemes. On the one hand they felt neglected and not integrated by the municipality concerning the site-and-service schemes. On the other hand many people from Malota had negative attitudes towards Dambwa, because of its supposed muddiness – this is interesting because of the lack of drainage in Malota itself – and because it was situated close to the cemetery, which would be home to ghosts and evil spirits. To the question of Malota being demolished, people wanted to be compensated. Yet most were of the opinion that Malota should be improved rather than destroyed. Malota residents also reasoned that the bad conditions were due to the constant threat of Malota being demolished, which is why people were reluctant to invest in improvements themselves. The deepest dedication towards Malota was thereby uttered by landlords. Tenants and sub-tenants were less attached to the compound. Their reason for wanting Malota to be upgraded instead of it being demolished was rather pragmatic, because rents were comparatively cheap.

Yuyi concluded that especially children, aged and disabled people would suffer if Malota were demolished, since aged and disabled people would have a difficult time finding new homes, and in some cases their income from sub-letting their plots would be gone. In the case of children, new schools would be needed in the places where they would be resettled, which at that time was practically limited to Dambwa-Site. He therefore argued for upgrading Malota, but also cautioned

[886] Ibid., p. 5.
[887] See Fig. 25.

that such a step would need great care. While most of Yuyi's suggestions for improving Malota were technical ones (especially sanitation, water and drainage improvements), he also proposed that the plots of the sleeping landlords should be given away for re-development. This action was, however, not taken.

While before and after the survey many wanted Malota demolished, the financial means needed were not available to resettle Malota's inhabitants and re-build the area from the ground up. In October 1971 it was finally decided to upgrade Malota instead.[888] In 1972 out of 5 million Kwatcha made available for "squatter improvements" 173,290 were used to upgrade Malota.[889] Additionally a system of self-help was introduced, whereby people could apply for low-interest funds from the government to buy building materials. It was reasoned that the houses should at some point match the improved services. Moreover, people should be encouraged to participate not only to make the compound more respectable, but the scheme was also intended to "install the spirit of self-help which is a very essential component in the successful implementation of the Housing Policy".[890] This self-help scheme was in place until the 1990s. Jonathan's mother, Mrs. Banda, remembered this scheme and explained that it often took several years to improve the houses, bit by bit as she said. First, however, the toilets would be improved by the municipality.

> "When the government looked at us, they called us as a community. Then they said "What should we do?", then they said "We agree on it (for) one reason" [for people to build themselves]. They gave us a loan. So that they can build the toilettes. Flushing toilettes [and people would build the houses]. In 1986, then they started building the toilettes, one by one, one by one, one by one, until we saw that the toilettes were ok. Now, it was (..) it remains from us now […] to build the houses. To break those muddy houses. Yes. So when you have some money, you buy a bag of cement, you make some bricks, bit by bit, bit by bit, bit by bit. I started with one room. A one room house. That's where we were sleeping, all of us, with the children. And after it is finished, then you start another room."[891]

People would go to the Malota Up-Grading Office to apply for a loan and buy a bag of cement and bricks. When the loan was repaid after a year or more, one would go again to the office and repeat the process. Sometimes over the course of some years a small mud-house would turn into a brick house with a cemented yard. Especially for widows with children, like Jonathan's mother, or otherwise single mothers whose income was based on largely informal labour, like selling fried bread or fruits and vegetables in town, the self-help scheme was even harder.

[888] SP 3/16/5: Letter From the Permanent Secretary for Ministry of Provincial and Local Government and Culture to the Town Clerk, Livingstone, October 8, 1971.
[889] SP 1/5/17. Livingstone Municipal Council and Councillors: Republic of Zambia. National Housing Authority. Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the Period 1st January, 1972 to 31st December, 1972, p. 3.
[890] Ibid., Letter from the Permanent Secretary to the Town Clerk, Livingstone, March 24, 1972.
[891] Interview 1: April 27, 2017.

Against the Ideological Grain

It was not until the 1970s, after so many attempts and plans to get rid of it, that officials finally accepted Malota. However, this does not mean that it was developed accordingly to those plans of Minister Mundia. Even today, water, electricity and other services are not connected to every house. For many people, though, it has for decades proved to be a point of entry to the town, because plot-rents or room-rents were fairly cheap compared to other residential areas. During colonial days, unauthorised compounds such as Malota lacked many amenities and services, but in many ways they also presented opportunities for its residents. Prithvish Nag in his study on population, settlement and development in Zambia from 1990 summarises the advantages such settlements had in relation to the official residential areas:

> "These settlements, not looking strange to rural population, had a degree of convenience over the location houses, though they lacked in amenities, such as water, removal of garbage and the like. In oder to reside in these settlements marriage certificate was not required. No administration as that of location was imposed on them and there was no restriction on the number of persons staying in such dwellings. The residents would not lose their houses if they lost their jobs. These settlements were free from police interference and selling of local beer (sic!)[was possible]. The small fields around them made an additional advantage for a squatter household. The private landlords made a business by collection about £1 per month for each hut during colonial days."[892]

Now, much of what Nag presents was quite place-specific and cannot be considered to have occurred in every unauthorised compound. As he later correctly explicates, other than Garneton near Kitwe for instance, Malota received a lot of attention by the colonial local government[893] and was actually somewhat of an officially recognised "unofficial" part of Maramba. Also, the rent of 2 dimes and 6 pence, or about 5 kwacha as Mrs. Kumoyo remembers,[894] was paid to the municipality and not private landlords during colonial days. There were also police raids in Malota and illicit beer brewing was not tolerated either. However, what is true even for Malota is the fact that people could build their own homes and, more importantly, would not lose them if they became unemployed.[895]

In a temporal sense Malota is fascinating, because it had been understood as a temporary compound for much of its history, as a place not meant to be in the first place, and whose very existence depended on the imagined and later aspired progress of what Livingstone could become. It was a spatial antithesis to what was considered a modern urban space and through modernity itself it would, so it was hoped, eventually be cast away. It was therefore considered a place of (temporal) transition, a stepping stone towards a more ordered and prosperous future. In colonial days it was

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[892] Nag, P. (1990). *Population, Settlement, and Development in Zambia.* New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, p. 148.
[893] Ibid.
[894] Interview 23: May 16, 2018.
[895] This last point presented a real problem to many people during colonial days and was therefore also addressed in the African Urban Advisory Council. For instance Location Superintendent Beaton asked the council members if rental schemes would be appreciated, because of this problem. SP 4/6/3. African Urban Advisory Council: Livingstone General Correspondence and Minutes of Meeting, October 9, 1951.

imagined that the transition from the unordered and poorly managed township to an orderly and more controllable African residential area would lead through places like Malota. In postcolonial times, Malota was seen as a colonial spatial left-over, a reminder of the colonial neglect towards urban Africans, which the postcolonial local and national governments tried so hard to overcome. However, realistically it could not simply be razed to the ground, for there were too many people living there over too long a period. By 1940 it was already a place where people had lived all of their life. By 1970 it was a place where generations had been raised, plots had been inherited, houses had been adapted and indeed "modernised". In many towns these places were eventually demolished, re-arranged, or re-purposed. Not so in Malota.

Fig. 27. Google Satellite Image of Malota with Boundaries (red)



The temporality of Malota here is therefore crucial to understanding its spatial nature as a permanent transitional district, since the prolonged temporary status eventually stabilised its very existence. The duality between formal and informal, colonial and postcolonial that elites tried to impose was counteracted by formalisation and normalisation through everyday life and practice by the people of Malota. To be sure, there were times when the threat of it being demolished was quite real, and the fact that Malota is still there is not self-evident, especially not in its general layout-structure. It is impressive that a district that had been considered temporary for much of its existence has on the plot-level almost entirely maintained its structure – it still consists of about 500 plots. Socially, too, its function as a space of entry into the urban space of Livingstone for many people from rural areas seeking a new life in town, or from other towns, was maintained at least until the 1980s, when other "temporary" settlements developed at the east fringes of Livingstone such as Ngwenya, which would eventually perform a similar function. The fact that these settlements

developed especially eastwards during postcolonial times can, by the way, be understood as a continuation of the colonial spatial ordering, where the areas to the north (along the slope and watershed) and west (towards the Zambezi) were under stricter control, whereas the east and southeastern areas away from where the formal, i.e. European, town development was supposed to take place were handled in a more *laissez-faire* manner.

Even today, although land prices have been rising ever since the tourist boom from year 2000 onwards came into effect, as many Livingstonians will tell, Malota is still a place where people with fewer means can find a place before they eventually move on to buy or rent a place in higher priced neighbourhood. However, Malota also still has an image of a potentially dangerous area, where thieves, muggers and pushers dwell – the street where Jonathan's mother lives is sometimes referred to as 'drug avenue' or 'weed-street' by younger generations. It is also still notorious for being congested. People are said to live there *chitakataka* which means piled up, as Mr. Sirus explained, which according to him has an effect on how people are treated. Coming from good low density areas like Highlands or Notti Brodie one has better chances in job interviews, for instance, than coming from Malota, where people are more likely to be considered unreliable and irresponsible.[896]

On the other hand, even Sirus, who has a house in Highlands, is ready to admit, as other people are, that there is some sort of social cohesion, yet no social closure, between the people of Malota. Neighbours tend to know each other and there is said to be a stronger sense of community. Yet, there is also more control, social and otherwise. An "informal" interethnic system of elders is in place to advise and council in different social domains. During one of our town walks Jonathan and I witnessed a known drug addict receiving punishment by such elders in front of a crowd after being caught stealing. As Jonathan later explained, people in Malota prefer not to call the police for such incidents, because according to their experience and reasoning convicts will gain even more criminal energy in prison and come out worse than they were before. They prefer on-site punishment and some sort of re-integration.

While certain stereotypes, that to some extent have their origin in colonial discourses, are still associated with Malota, since the 1980s at least the service infrastructures have started to improve and many, though not all, houses have running water. The area is now also drained and the bucket-system no longer exists – Jonathan, born in 1986, still remembered it being in place during his childhood. Besides all the negative attitudes about Malota that might still exist, almost all people from Malota, but also from Livingstone in general, agree that Lusaka is much worse in any case. As one interviewee, Mr. David Mkwalela nicely put it: "In Lusaka you dwell, in Livingstone you live".[897]

[896] Interview 13: May 1, 2018.
[897] Interview 15: May 5, 2018.



Fig. 28. Malota Streets, Photo taken May 7, 2017



Fig. 29. Malota Drainage, Photo taken May 7, 2017



Fig. 30. Malota, Multiple Buildings on the same Plot, Photo taken May 7, 2017



Fig. 31. Frame from Drone-footage over Malota by Mujala Malama, February 2016

5. Practicing Urban Spaces – Urban Participation, Spatial Agency and Segregation

The urban space is composed of various social and physical constituents, which are dynamically interrelated over time, at different scales. The social ones include individuals and informal social networks composed of individuals as well as formal organisations such as interest groups, political or religious organisations, administrative bodies, or economic networks. The physical ones are infrastructures such as water and transportation systems, physical spaces e.g. markets, or different kinds of buildings, streets and the like. These social and physical structures not only define space itself in its relational and physical form, but also represent the arena in which everyday social life unfolds. At the same time, space is co-created by social life. The social and the physical are thus constituted by each other. Therefore, the degrees of segregation or exclusion and integration of different groups and individuals in an urban context might be defined by the relative accessibility to and distribution of these social and physical spaces and infrastructures. Robert Home highlights that "significantly, the term 'segregation' (in the context of some formal residential separation of races) seems to have arisen at the same time as 'town planning' [around 1908]",[898] which renders the relation between urban structures (both social and physical) and segregation/ integration even more apparent. Thus, the urban form as well as social formations reflect how societies distribute power and resources. Social and spatial practices then reflect these (un)equal distributions and the segregational or integrative logics on which they are based.

In Livingstone the possibilities for Africans to shape the urban space seems to have been particularly difficult. Being a tourist town Livingstone was in many ways different from the rest of Northern Rhodesia.[899] Trying to promote "their" town as the "cultural capital"[900] and "brain capital"[901] after 1935, the traditionally high proportion of upper and middle class white settlers had strong segregationist attitudes[902] mixed with – or rather fuelled by – romantic feelings towards "their good-time town".[903] This conservatism and racism, which was increasingly challenged by the modernisation paradigm coming from London since the 1940s, had to be concealed in technical, economical, political and legal discourses which become especially apparent in the provision and negotiation of infrastructural services for Africans.

Against this backdrop, this chapter revolves around two questions. How was the provision and practise of urban resources, infrastructures and power discussed and negotiated? And, on a broader

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[898] Home 2013b, *Of Planting and Planning*, p. 118.
[899] Lewis 2011, Rivers of White
[900] McGregor, J. and L. Schumaker (2006). Heritage in Southern Africa: Imagining and Marketing Public Culture and History. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 32*(4), 649-665, p. 652.
[901] Lewis 2011, Rivers of White, p.159.
[902] A good everyday example of these attitudes is reflected in an incident that happened in a restaurant in Livingstone in 1954 and was discussed in a correspondence between the Secretary of Native Affairs and the Provincial Commissioner of Southern Province. When a member of the Parliamentary Commonwealth Party from Antigua of African descent went into the restaurant together with a Mr. Bird the owner Mr. Robinson told Mr. Bird that he could only serve Europeans. When they were finally still served after some discussion some people immediately left the restaurant leaving their drinks behind. SP 1/1/1. Race Relation Ordinance 1951-64: Letter from the Secretary of Native Affairs to the Provincial Commissioner of Southern Province, September 16, 1954.
[903] Lewis 2011, Rivers of White, p. 161.

scale, what conclusions can be drawn from these local discourses and negotiations concerning the everyday spatial dynamics in colonial urban areas and the ideologies guiding these discourses and negotiations? Central to investigating these questions will be an analysis of the minutes of African Urban Advisory Council (AUAC) at Livingstone. I will first introduce the chapter in section 5.1 by discussing some relevant literature on urban segregation and its political implication in relation to spatial agency, politics and spatial practice, which represents the underlying focus of the chapter. In section 5.2. I will then turn to elaborate on the historical genesis and establishment of the AUAC and situate it between a space of inclusion and knowledge production and segregation. I will also present some findings of my quantitative investigation of the Council, whose minutes over the period of ten years I coded according to the actors involved, the issues discussed and the spatial references made, and which I fed into a database.

Sections 5.3. to 5.5. represent the core of chapter, where I will use some of the issues discussed in the minutes and analyse them along a spatial framework. 5.3. will deal with urban infrastructures. I will discuss the cases of (public) transportation and sanitation and water in Livingstone during the 1950s by looking at the negotiations between the African Urban Advisory Council and the local authorities to scrutinise the technical, economical and legal discourses concealing the underlying segregationist structure. In section 5.4. I will focus on the role and functions of women and domestic servants that were often underrepresented in the minutes. Finally, I will elaborate on infrastructural practice and discourses in Livingstone on a more general level and also reflect on the legacies and memories produced by them in order to highlight the significance of infrastructure within the wider context of colonial urban struggles and its function as a spatialised tool of colonial power guiding everyday life.

5.1. Urban Segregation – On Local Variation of a Global Phenomenon

One of the obvious aspects of the colonial city was its divided nature. But residential and other (also non-material) forms of segregation are not as simple or clear cut as they may appear to be. Thus, while segregation can be considered a structural feature of colonial cities and colonialism in general,[904] it nevertheless unfolded within and outside colonial contexts through different manifestations across time and space. Therefore, the very system, the forms and functions of segregation, and its trajectories over time need to be discussed. This is important in order to make sense of segregation in various contexts and understand the ways segregational policies and practices changed in Northern Rhodesia and Livingstone in particular. My aim in this first section of the chapter is to provide a framework that locates regional and local policies and practices of segregation within larger debates and processes. In this sense it is possible then, not by simple comparison, but by contextualisation, to see the connections between different ideas, forces and processes.[905]

[904] i.e. Njoh 2008, Colonial Philosophies, Urban Space, and Racial Segregation.

[905] Such an approach is masterfully elaborated by Jens-Uwe Guettel in chapter 3 of his monograph, where he illustrates how the [American] "New South" [after the civil war] was exemplary for colonizers all over the world, particularly for settlers in Germany's African colonies and for colonial administrators in Berlin" Guettel, J.-U. (2012). *German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism and the United States, 1776-1945.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.127.

Regarding urban segregation or segregation within urban spaces, Carl Nightingale's "Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities" is a good entry point into this issue.[906] Nightingale, an urban historian, considers segregation not only to work on different spatial scales, but sees it as an agent that acts across the whole societal spectrum, and this might be understood as a common feature across spatial and temporal variation. It, therefore, connects different social fields of politics, economics and everyday social relations. However, it is also fragmented and chaotic. There are always cracks in a system of segregation where people meet and intermingle either as part of the system itself out of some form of pragmatism, or because certain rules are difficult to enforce and people are for instance hard to surveil, as was the case in many African compounds concerning the identity and pass-law system.

What is most striking within Nightingale's history of segregation is its complexity and multifacetness, which he tries to show through different, yet often linked examples throughout history. His approach is therefore oriented along a diachronic time-frame that identifies different modes of segregation that are either interrelated or evolved out of common socio-political discourses, ideas and events. This allows him to compare several segregational models and policies for instance, during the period of the "Archsegregationists". Beyond Facism, Nazism and Stalinism, Nightingale is particularly interested in the effects of these extremes in the wider world, that is for instance in South Africa, where Apartheid and its segregationist policies had their origins long before World War II, but which started in its immediate aftermath. Here segregation revealed its face, as it were. Conversely, in Chicago, as in other US cities like New York at that time, Nightingale, by referring to Charles Abrams' seminal study on housing and segregation,[907] stresses that although

> "eugenics and social Darwinism lingered over the whole business, no dictatorial proclamations, no *Einsatztruppen*, no deliberate starvation measures, and no gas chambers were involved. Instead, during the age of extremes, the drama of American segregationism took on its new momentum under the much cheerier leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt from technically race-neutral legislation fully debated by representative institutions and from his otherwise benign-seeming New Deal programs designed to expand access to decent housing. Within these programs, segregationists found new ways to whitewash explicitly racist city-splitting practices, this time within the nonlegislated and technical practices of government bureaucracies."[908]

This sounds quite familiar to those who study late colonialism, especially in British Eastern and Southern Africa, where segregation moved along silently in official records with the technocratic language of development and modernisation. While for the bureaucrats in the colonies as well as in London, the South African model was at least officially not considered an option, it remained unclear to them, what option there was then. Segregation, the elephant in the Colonial Office, might therefore be identified as one of the factors that created the ambiguous and contradictory situation of late colonialism that has been highlighted by many postcolonial theorists in particular. But the

[906] Nightingale, C.H. (2012). *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
[907] Abrams, C. (1955). *Forbidden Neighbors: A Study of Prejudice in Housing*. New York: Harper.
[908] Nightingale 2012, *Segregation*, p. 341.

issue of segregation is even more complicated. Nightingale partly follows Ceri Peach in his suggestion that not every form of segregation is per se negative or problematic.[909] However, he stresses that it is hardly ever voluntary. Nightingale argues that,

> "[m]ovements opposed to segregation face painful paradoxes too. If underprivileged peoples destroy urban color lines and disperse themselves everywhere in the city, they may undercut the urban territorial base that gives strength to their own collective and institutional power in a hostile world. Jews faced this dilemma in their early modern ghettos; so, in a different way, did American blacks during the civil rights movement. In these instances, whites can lay claim to an additional political benefit from segregation, namely that their opponents cannot claim to be strictly antisegregationist and thus seize the higher moral ground that might come from such a principled stand."[910]

Loic Wacquant's theory on the phenomenon of ghettos, which he understands not in the common and everyday sense as simply segregated spaces that are comprised of social malaise and economic deterioration, follows a similar logic. Arguing against the tendency to identify the problems of or within the banlieues or other similar areas in European cities as a symptom of an "American syndrome" of ghettoised crime and violence, he identifies Ghettos, of which there are only few examples in history, as urban spaces that developed out of racism and segregation, but that turned into quasi self-administered urban units. Hence, the *Judenstadt* in Prague formed a dense network of markets, cultural institutions, clubs, businesses, and had its own town-hall. In Chicago's South Side or New York's Harlem the situation was similar. There, churches, welfare organisations, recreational facilities, press, businesses, but also administration and politics were organised by the inhabitants of the Ghetto. Out of these spaces an African-American bourgeoisie could emerge.[911] Ghettos were institutionalised complexes, (black) cities within cities, which is mirrored already by Drake and Cayton's Black Metropolis.[912] Therefore, sometimes segregation might contain possibilities of gaining autonomy and political and economic agency.

What happened in Chicago for some 30 years as an unintended by-product of racial housing policies, a glimpse of African-American liberation, however, did not happen in South Africa, where a legal formalisation and bureaucratisation of segregation led to it steadily pervading every societal sphere. This is illustrated by Nightingale, when he compares maps from 1930s and 1970s Chicago and Johannesburg. He thereby shows how different segregational policies – the Group Areas Act of 1950 in South Africa and the "[r]ace-infused dynamics in the real estate market"[913] in Chicago – with a common rationale and, as in the case of slum clearance, similar measures of the practical enforcements, both led to confined residential areas. However, they turned out to provide different

[909] Peach, C. (1999). London and New York: Contrasts in British and American Models of Segregation with a Comment by Nathan Glazer. *International Journal of Population Geography, 5*(5), 319-347.
[910] Nightingale 2012, *Segregation*, p.11.
[911] Wacquant, L. (2006). *Das Janusgesicht Des Ghettos Und Andere Essays*. Birkhäuser: Walter de Gruyter, p.110-113.
[912] Cayton, H.R. and C. Drake (2015). *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press; I say it is mirrored already, since Wacquant situates the Black-American Ghetto between the 1940s and 1970s. Prior to the 1940s possibilities were limited for African-Americans to reach that level of independence and after the 1970s neoliberal policies and politics gradually made it impossible to keep up this independence.
[913] Nightingale 2012, *Segregation*, p. 357.

means and possibilities to its residents.[914] That is to say, whereas in South Africa townships were rather heavily surveilled and controlled spatial formations in the social, political, and perhaps most importantly economic sense, the Ghettos of Chicago and Harlem (some years earlier than in Chicago) turned out to be self-governed units, which opened possibilities for its residents.

This is elegantly captured by Arna Bontemps describing his arrival in Harlem during the high period of the Harlem Renaissance in the mid-1920s in an article and a letter to Langston Hughes.

> "In some places the autumn of 1924 may have been an unremarkable season. In Harlem it was like a forecast of paradise. […] From the window of a small room in an apartment on Fifth and 129th Street I looked over the rooftops of Negrodom and tried to believe my eyes. What a city! What a world!"[915]

In Northern Rhodesia the situation was different to South Africa, Chicago or Harlem. It was not the same state-racism of the Apartheid regime that structured the urban space in Northern Rhodesia. Yet, the level of self-governance that emerged in some US American cities was not practiced either. Thus, while segregation in Africa might generally be connected to colonialism, the issue is more complicated. That is to say, although different modes and structures of segregation and exclusion that separated European and African populations were central features of urban areas in colonial Africa, the degrees of segregation as well as their specific manifestations – materially and symbolically, visible and concealed – varied not only between different colonialisms, but also between colonial states under the same rule, and in some instances even between different districts and urban areas within one and the same colonial state.[916] When in the pre-war era towns and cities were spaces where "many ideological and pragmatic imperatives met",[917] under the new paradigm they transformed into spaces where old and new colonial imperatives clashed, fuelled by a growing African involvement in local and territorial political affairs.

As the chapter proceeds it will become apparent that the struggle for urban integration and participation, encoded in the promise of partnership, was enmeshed in discourses of modernisation and development on the one hand and mechanisms of keeping segregation in place on the other hand, and structured by spatialised questions of agency and hegemony. The position of various actors within social spaces as well as the relation between social spaces is crucial in analysing these struggles.

5.2. The Livingstone African Urban Advisory Council

In Northern Rhodesia the growing involvement of Africans was manifest in the establishment of advisory bodies on the local level, in the early 1940s in the face of Urban Advisory Councils, on the

[914] Perhaps an interesting observation is the fact that African-Americans in Chicago achieved maintaining and expanding "their ghetto" in the inner boundaries of the city, whereas Africans in Johannesburg were forced to live at the outskirts.
[915] Bontemps, A. 1945. The Two Harlems. In *The American Scholar, 14*(2), 167-173, p. 167
[916] Home 2015, Colonial Urban Planning in Anglophone Africa .
[917] Gruffydd Jones 2012, Civilising African Cities: International Housing and Urban Policy from Colonial to Neoliberal Times, p. 26.

provincial level (Provincial Councils) between 1943 and 1944, the territorial level (African Representative Council) in 1948 and finally also in 1948 in the Legislative Council.[918] African Urban Advisory Councils (AUAC) were also installed in 1948 as successors of the not well functioning Urban Advisory Councils to advise and brief District Commissioners on issues and problems within compounds and townships.[919] Its members were composed of elected African representatives from different compounds, with the District Commissioner serving as the Advisory Council's chairman. Other than the African representation in the Legislative Council, however, the function of the AUACs and the Provincial Councils, whose members were composed of representatives of Urban and Rural Advisory Councils to advise the Provincial Commissioner, did not include any executive powers.[920] Since in Northern Rhodesia, as in other British settler colonies, the decentralisation and distribution of powers enabled municipalities, mainly administered by European settlers, to gain considerable freedom in forming local policies on urban laws and developments, the executive powers of Africans in the Legislative Council as well as growing liberal tendencies of Europeans within the central government did not reach far into the urban political sphere.

While informally welfare organisation as well as religious groups and ethnic associations were early to address political and administrative issues in urban areas, the formal constitution of advisory bodies was an invention of mining administrations in the 1930s. Welfare societies were founded by Africans themselves and often presented a problem for local authorities and colonial administration. "By 1950 such organizations had been in existence for over 25 years, and although the European population had hoped that they would develop into 'debating societies and social clubs' they had always, in the urban areas at least, had a significant political content."[921] Ethnic associations were crafted by colonial authorities to better control Africans and channel their political ambitions. Mr. Spearpoint, the Compound Manager at the Roan Antelope Mine in Luanshya established an Elder system in order to have a better line of communication with African workers in 1937.[922] This system was built on the assumption and aim to recreate "traditional", i.e. rural, structures in the mining compounds and also to channel and better manage complaints through these bodies.[923] In Livingstone, however, where the system was introduced last, it did not have the powers and effects it had in other places. Merran McCulloch ascribes this to the fact that Livingstone already had a lot of ethnic associations, which made it difficult to make the Elder system work effectively.[924] In the minutes of the AUAC the Elder system was rarely a topic. According to Robbins, it only had some

[918] see: Hall 1976, *Zambia 1890-1964*: 58; Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 146-147.
[919] Rotberg, R.I. (1965). *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 180. ; Note: The reasons at Livingstone were as Robbins suggests that Municipal Council simply did not accept them as an advisory body. I could not find any internal discussions on the matter except the confidential extract from a Provincial Commissioner's Conference in March 1949, where the conflict between the Native Affairs committees and Urban Advisory Councils was discussed. LGH 1/2/5. Native Authorities Legislation. Extract from P.C.C. Conference, March 1-2, 1949.
[920] For further details on the constitution of the Provincial Councils see: LGH 7/8/18. African Affairs. African Provincial Council, 1951-53: Part 1 – Constitution.
[921] Allen, R. (1981). Reassessing African Political Activity in Urban Northern Rhodesia. *African Affairs, 80*(319), 239-258, p. 245.
[922] see: Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 116-117; Epstein 1958, *Politics in an Urban African Community*, p. 40.
[923] According to Epstein, most of the tribal Elders were related to chiefs. Epstein 1958, *Politics in an Urban African Community*, p. 40.
[924] McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*, p. 8.

effect in the Zambezi Sawmills and the Railways compounds, i.e. to settle minor disputes.[925] From my own research, I can only add that it also did have some effect in the Airport compound for the same reasons. Effectively, the Elder system was superseded by the AUAC, which was eventually superseded by the Area Boards in 1959. However, the system somehow stayed in place until 1963. Then, the Maramba Compound Elders asked the Municipal Council if they were still regarded as an operative body. The answer of the District Officer was that the principle of tribal elders "had not functioned for about twelve years"[926], thus since 1951.

Politically or administratively, however, the system which ceased to exist in 1959 was not very important in Livingstone. The fact that it was not until 1948 that the policy to set up African Urban Advisory Councils was implemented, has to be attributed to the European attitude towards African representation in towns. A.L. Epstein cited an officer whose reservations against such bodies well illustrate the ideological problems in the context of the spatial inclusion, however small, such bodies would generate. This officer saw the urban areas as "White man's country, and no place for experiments in Indirect Rule".[927] But colonial officers were not the actual problem and by the mid 1940s most of them had come to terms with the new policies and colonial paradigms coming from London. The difficulties would lie rather in persuading the white settlers to accept these new policies.

The problem with advisory bodies in the eyes of the colonial administrators was to create institutions that would function in a non-political way only. They knew that welfare organisations were a great nuisance to local governments and colonial officers alike, since they contributed towards creating political consciousness within the wider urban African population. In a conference with the leaders of the welfare organisations from Livingstone, Lusaka and Mazabuka in 1933 the leaders were made aware that "they were approved by the Governor in respect only of the townships within which the members resided, but recently the tendency of the Associations has been to discuss matters entirely outside the scope of the activities for which they were formed. The object for which Native Welfare Associations were approved was to look after the non-political interests of detribalised natives resident in the various townships"[928]. Thus, political space of Africans was understood by Europeans to be bound by the physical space of the compounds and townships they were living in. Any transgression thereof was seen almost as an aggression, an attempt to undermine the ruling ideology and authority. Which matters were understood as being political in the minds of the colonial agents and settlers is not clear, since obviously everything can be political in some sense.

In Livingstone, the first Chairman of the AUAC, District Commissioner Phillips, had a difficult time setting into motion the policy of Arthur Creech-Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, of 1947 to give more democratic rights to Africans in the colonies and to abandon Indirect Rule. While the new Advisory Councils were understood as a platform for Africans to at least manage their own parts of town, the compounds and townships, in Livingstone the settler government did not even

[925] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 120.
[926] LGH 3/1/8: Municipal Council Meeting, June 11, 1963.
[927] Epstein 1958, *Politics in an Urban African Community*, p. 32.
[928] NAZ: SEC 2/ 167. Urban Advisory Councils. Circular Minute No. NAT/M/13. Chief Secretary's Office, Livingstone. September 4, 1933.

accept a minor step towards a more integrative town life. Mr. Phillips' and Provincial Commissioner Leversedge's efforts over some months to persuade the Municipal Council to accept the new policy led to nothing. Eventually, "with the weight of government policy on his side"[929], Phillips could at least manage to get the Municipal Council to accept that the AUAC, the composition of which proved to be another matter of dispute, would make recommendations to the Municipal Council. To the first and rather short lived Advisory Council of the early 1940s the Municipal Council did not even pay attention. Their motions would not even be mentioned in the Municipal Council minutes. At least in this regard, therefore, the new AUAC meant some progress towards more integrative urban politics.

The African Urban Advisory Council in Maps and Numbers

In order to obtain a better understanding of the issues discussed over the ten years of AUAC minutes as well as the social space of the Council itself, I decided to record these minutes and feed them into a database.[930] Within this process some decisions had to be made regarding not only the coding of issues, but also how they could generally be recorded. Before going into that it is, however, important to describe the minutes. The way the minutes are structured and the meetings were held essentially stayed the same over the 10 year period, except for some minor changes in the numbering system of issues. Every minute of meeting mentions the date and time as well as the people present. As is generally the case with minutes of meetings, the minutes started with issues discussed in previous meetings and then moved to new items. Some issues could obviously not be resolved in one meeting because of the complexity of the matter or because additional inquiries needed to be made, especially if other institutions or actors were involved like the Public Works Departments or the Public Health Officer. As will be exemplified later in the case of the public transportation infrastructures, certain issues might remain unresolved, sometimes over months or longer. In some cases, issues would start with a simple request and become more complex. Since I wanted to get a sense and understanding of the diversity of items/ issues in general and how often which kinds of issues were debated and discussed, recording every continuation of an issue would have resulted in skewing the data I wanted to generate. In other words, it would have been confusing to input the same issue multiple times over multiple meetings. Thus, if an issue was not altered with additional requests or complaints for instance, I decided to only record it once when it first occurred.

The first step in recording the minutes was to input the actual dates of the meetings, and the data on the persons present at each meeting, as well as information on their occupation and background.[931] In a next step I recorded and coded the issues under discussion. I started with an

[929] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 149.
[930] I chose a postgreSQL-database which has the advantage of not only being based on an open database standard, but which also allows to store spatial data. This relational database thus consists of multiple tables (like spreadsheets) which can be easily connected and queried, which makes a database a powerful tool, especially in combination with GIS, to investigate data corpora.
[931] Unfortunately, I could not get every information for all persons involved, in particular the members of the AUAC. It might have been the case that the detail in information on the members of the first Council, which lasted three years before new elections were held, was not resumed and that for instance information on the ethnic backgrounds of the members ceased to be important. But I cannot rule out that some files are simply missing.

open coding and refined it afterwards. In the end I used a hierarchical tree structure.[932] This allows aggregating and clustering the issues in order to be able to provide a more meaningful statistical description. In many cases, it was not easy to decide which code to ascribe to certain issues and which parent code to align to which code. Additionally,[933] I also took notes to further describe each issue starting with the type of motion. Essentially, I clustered the issues in six types of motions "complaint", "request", "notice", "suggestion", "inquiry", and "other" which for example read like "complaint about difficulty in obtaining water". If there was one person who started an issue this was also recorded. Complaints, requests and inquiries are in all cases attributed to issues started by African members. The type "notice" on the other hand denotes the answers given by the Chairman or other Europeans invited to meetings. Suggestions as well as some other types of utterance, clustered as "others", could come from either Africans of Europeans. Finally, I also took notes of certain spatial references of issues. Thus, if for instance the Maramba beer-hall was under discussion the spatial reference would be Maramba. Except for the cemetery and the Coillard Memorial School, which are not inside the boundaries of any compound, all spatial references come in the aggregated form as compounds. The compounds were treated as separate units by the colonial and municipal administration, which is reflected not least in the composition of the Advisory Council, the seats of which would be based on the numbers of Africans employed in certain occupational groups or livings in certain compounds. Accordingly, I decided to make visible to what extent certain compounds were more or less visible within the minutes and in relation to which issues.

These codings of the notes and also the codings of the issues are obviously abstracted from the minutes and are therefore based on my own decisions. They are in most cases not written in the minutes – in a few cases the word complaint or a similar term might be used. Thus, in some cases other researchers might have coded a request as a complaint or vice versa or generally structured the data differently in the first place. Some complaints are more apparent than others. In many cases an issue that comes in the form of a request might imply a critique. In order to differentiate between the complaint and request, I decided to code issues as a request that included some sort of question, for example to install lights at a particular place. By contrast, issues that began with a statement of some negative condition, for example that water taps are not working properly, I coded as complaint. Again, the request to install lights at a place could be understood as a form of complaint and the complaint that water taps are not working properly as a request to repair them. These decisions of mine must be taken into account. The following presentation of the minutes should therefore not be understood as definitive in some sense, but as an open approach that allows providing shape to how the Council and the issues discussed were structured and changed over time. I will start the presentation of the results with the actors involved in the meetings as well as the dates and times of the meetings.

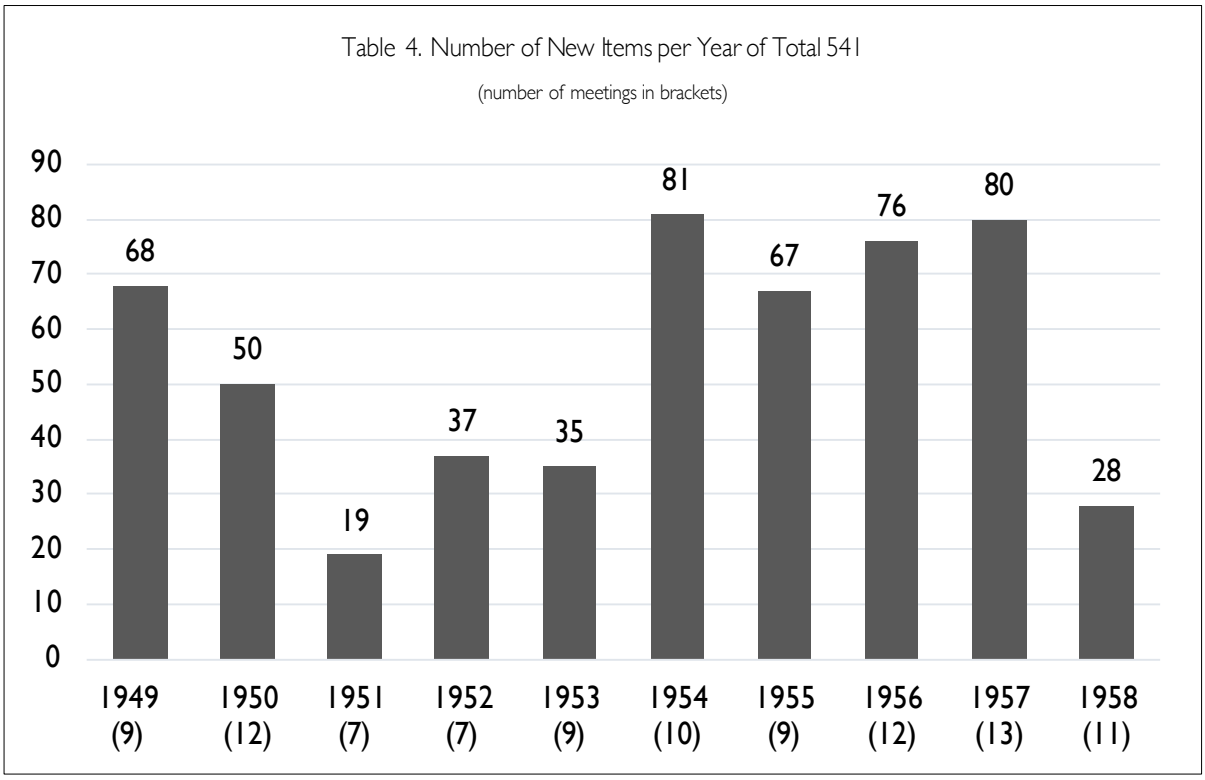
Over the ten years between 1949 and 1958 which I could investigate, 99 meetings were held as far as can be calculated from the records, and in total 98 different people attended those meetings

[932] Thus, an item might be structured in three steps. For instance, the code "Light" has a parent code "Electricity_Power" which also has a parent code "Infrastructure_physical".
[933] Thus, I attributed to the code for latrines the parent code "Infrastructure_physical" and not "Health _Security", although the functioning of latrines is a matter of public health too.

over these ten years with 12 people being present per meeting on average. Some months are missing and, while in these months there might have been no meetings, it cannot be ruled out that the files are simply missing. On the other hand, in the months of April 1950, April 1955 and March 1956 two meetings were held and in October 1953 even three meetings were held. On average, 8 of the people present were members of the council and the remaining 4 were constituted by the chairman, a secretary and/or a translator, some of whom were members prior or after their position as translators or secretaries, and about 2 visitors, of whom Mr. Beaton, the Location Superintendent, alone was present at 53 meetings. Over the ten years there were 6 different regular chairmen. In this context 'regular' means that their position as District Commissioners formally made them chairmen. However, on some occasions, when the D.C. was on sick leave, holiday or not present for other reasons, the role of the chairman was performed by Mr. Beaton or one of the colonial officers, who were often present to observe, learn and get acquainted with the members of the Advisory Council as well as the topics under discussion.

Their main role as observers for the purpose of gaining experience can be deduced from the fact that they were not like other visitors, such as the Town Engineer or the Health Officer, invited to discuss specific issues. Visitors like the Town Engineer or the Health Officer are therefore not only mentioned as being present, but their active role is reflected in the written minutes. The colonial officers on the other hand are only mentioned as being present. They rather remained silent during the discussions, at least as far as the minutes can be trusted in this regard. Since minutes are not meticulous transcripts after all, but highlight important moments, statements, or arguments – important to the secretary, who writes them down that is – it is indeed hard to tell if and what the colonial officers were contributing to the meetings. The 60 to 90 minutes a meeting usually took was minuted on only two to six pages. Thus, not every conversation or utterance was minuted. It can therefore be assumed that the colonial officers were not silently sitting there for over an hour just to watch the meeting. Still, what and to whom they spoke cannot be answered by reading the minutes.

In total 541 (new) issues were recorded for the 10 year period (table 4). The chart shows the numbers per year. The differences in new items is partly a result of the difference in meetings per year. However, both in 1949 and 1953, for example, the number of meetings held is 9. Yet, in 1949 there were 68 items discussed whereas in 1953 only 35, almost half. Thus, the difference in new items discussed might have had other reasons. From reading the minutes, it seems that many pressing issues discussed during the first two years took some time, and debates had to be resolved. Also, the year 1951 stands out, since from 7 meetings held only 19 new items were discussed. In two meetings, in May and August, no new matters were even raised. As can be seen, the most "productive" phase was between 1954 and 1957.



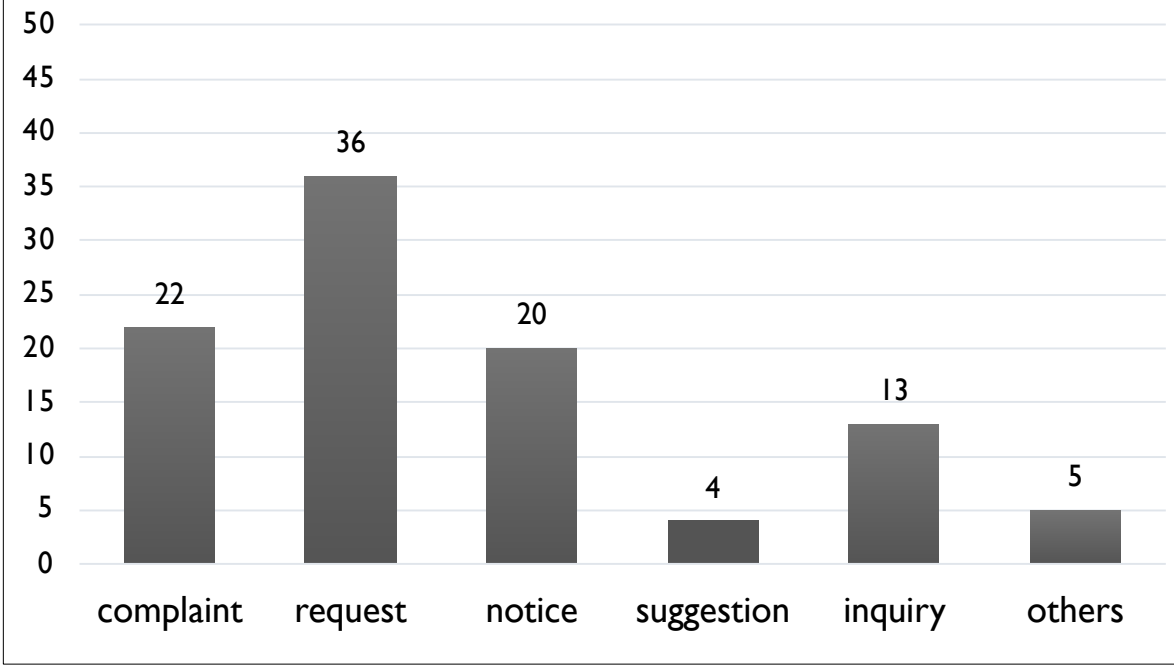
There might be some possible explanations for that. One explanation might be found in the composition of the AUAC itself. Thus, the year 1953 marks the first true elections of the AUAC. Previously, the first Council was nominated by the Livingstone Welfare Association, the District Commissioner and popular vote.[934] In 1953,[935] the members for the new Council were elected from 7 different compounds (or wards), which were Maramba, Libuyu, Maramba Plots, Railways, Airport, Industrial, and Zambezi Sawmills.[936] However, given that the most active members, the top three being Malenga, Mbangweta and Kabalata, were already present in previous Council, this does not really satisfy the argument. What is more probable are two events, one on the larger territorial and one on the local, urban scale. Firstly, after the formation of the Federation in 1953 the demands for improving the immediate urban living conditions would increase on the basis of the discourse of partnership. Secondly, the increase in population and the completion of the two compounds Libuyu in 1951 and Linda in 1953 would also have increased the number of debated issues. The drop in 1958 might be attributed to the great number of matters that needed to be resolved. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, the AUAC was gradually replaced after 1958 by the so called African Area Boards,[937] whose minutes of meetings, unfortunately, I could not find in the Zambian National Archives.

As mentioned above, I coded the discussed matters, as well as the way these matters were addressed. Of the total number of 541 items, 22 percent came in the form of complaints, 36 percent as requests, 20 percent as notices, 4 percent as suggestions and 13 percent as inquiries. The

[934] AUAC 49-53: Letter from the D.C. to the Provincial Commissioner, March 3rd, 1949.
[935] According to the letter of the D.C. to the Provincial Commissioner, the elections should have been held already in 1951. AUAC 49-53: Letter from the D.C. to the Provincial Commissioner, March 3rd, 1949.
[936] see Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 228.
[937] Ibid: 266

remaining 5 percent are organisational matters or some other form of discussion (table 5). When looking at the requests and the complaints in detail, both were in most cases meaningful in relation to what the AUAC was established to represent. That is to say, rarely was the Advisory Council used openly as a platform for general politics, although in many cases this would have been quite reasonable to say the least. However, most members were quite aware of the tactics that would be most effective in achieving their goals, which I will explain shortly.

Table 5. Percent of Different Types of Motion (n = 541)

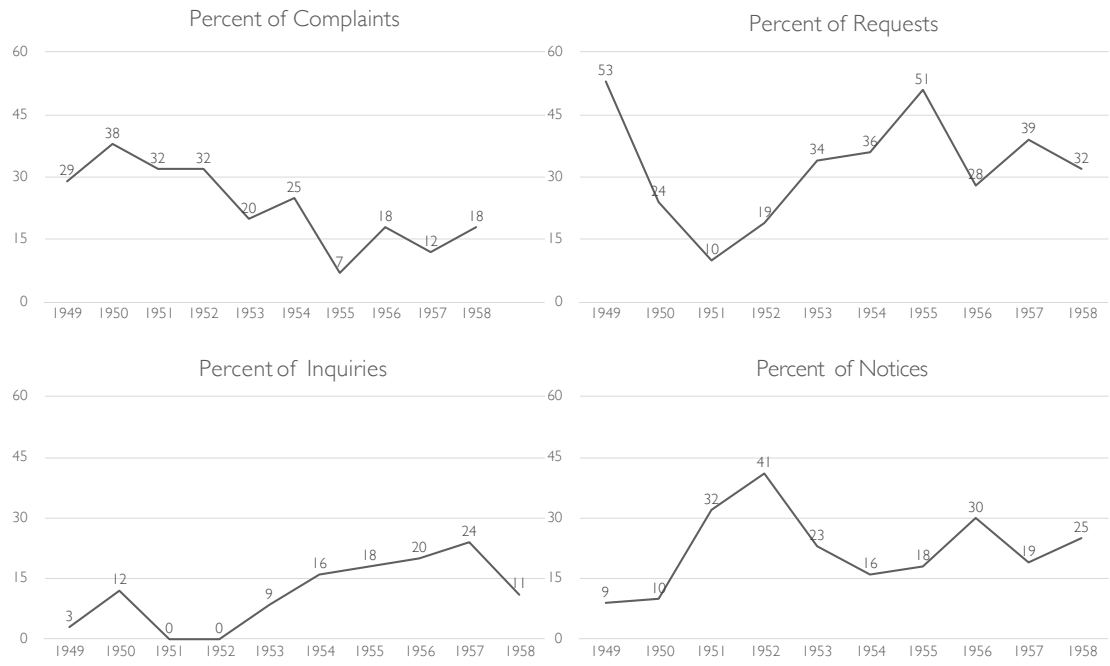


This trend in different types of motion also has a temporal dimension that might be worth looking at. If plotted on time charts (table 6) the change in distribution of these different types of motions over the 10 year period can be visualised. In the following I will try to interpret these changes in distribution. However, it is important to point out that the intervals, the temporal structure, are also a matter of choice. This decision to subdivide the temporal range by years is based on the fact that most colonial or local administrative bodies also structured their summary reports in years. One could say that this is simply a matter of convention. I could have also subdivided it by the elected councils. However, this would not necessarily have been more meaningful. For one, the councils did not always stay the same over the whole period. Thus, some individuals were replaced for various reasons. Another thing is that, rather than looking at the composition of a council in relation to the matters discussed, the work of single members might be more meaningful, as will be shown later in the section.

The first aspect that might be interesting to study is the development of requests and complaints over the whole period, since they represent the most frequent types of motion. As can be seen from the chart, the number of requests was highest in the first year of the existence of the AUAC

with 53 percent of the issues being requests, followed by a marked drop in the years of 1950 to 24 percent, and more so in 1951, to merely 10 percent. The year 1951, however, as pointed out above is perhaps problematic, since only 19 new items were discussed. Yet, the general trend in requests can be explained by the many issues that needed to be addressed in the first year of the existence of the Council. Thus, at practically every one of the nine meetings of 1949 – the first meeting really was just an organisational one – the African members made requests for problems that needed solving. These requests included a variety of issues, ranging from the provision of houses, access roads or urban infrastructures to requests to take away beer from the beer-halls, equip sanitary workers, the so-called "night soil collectors", with lamps, or provide boots for hard labour prisoners who were found guilty of illicit beer brewing. The African members were therefore quite active in this first year, so that in the years 1950 and 1951 many of these issues had accumulated and needed to be processed, which often took some time and debate. The rise in requests until 1955 is connected to the constructions of Libuyu in 1951 and Linda in 1953, which will be analysed in more detail further below.

Table 6. Time-Series of Types of Motions in AUAC



Looking at the second most frequent type of motion, complaints, it was quite high from 1949 until 1954, whereas it certainly dropped to only 7 percent in 1955. Viewed along the total range the frequency in complaints gradually decreased, while at the same time the frequency in inquiries rose. As I pointed out before, requests and complaints might imply the respective other to some extent. With inquiries it is similar. The rise in inquiries exemplifies the extent to which the way African members addressed certain issues changed over time. That is to say, many motions that would be uttered at the beginning of the period in the form of a complaint would later be addressed as a

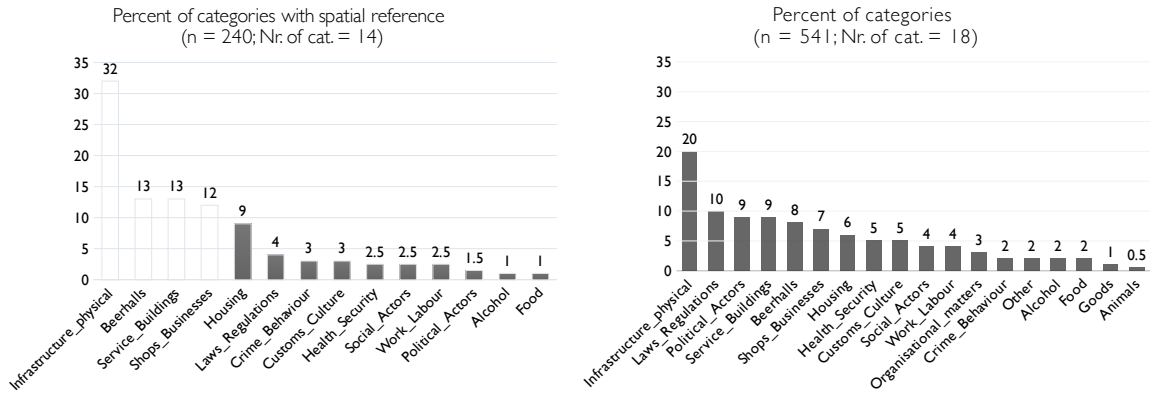
question. For instance, Mr. Mbangweta made an inquiry in 1955 into the difference in fees between lodgers and visitors in Livingstone, which in the early days of the AUAC might perhaps have been addressed as a complaint that lodgers and visitors were treated differently.[938] Another example is an inquiry made by Mr. Kabalata, also in 1955, into when the Maramba market area will be macadamised to prevent it from being dusty in the dry and muddy in the wet season.[939] Again, issues of streets being in bad conditions or areas being not well drained would in earlier years rather be addressed in the form of complaints. I chose these two examples not only because of their content, but also because of the members who made these inquiries. Both Mbangweta and Kabalata were active from 1949 to 1959 and are therefore good examples for how the social space of the Advisory Council transformed.

Obviously, complaints were still made before the Advisory Council, especially regarding pressing or politically laden issues. My impression, however, of studying the minutes as already highlighted is that certain issues were gradually approached more tactically. It seems to me that the African members perhaps saw a greater chance in getting certain matters accomplished if they were addressed in a different manner. In some sense an issue addressed as an inquiry was perhaps a means to highlight more clearly the Municipal Council's inability to properly manage certain urban matters that should be functioning. That is to say, other than a complaint, an inquiry indicates that these matters should "naturally" be working, and has some potential to signify that the fact that they are not is somewhat embarrassing (to the Municipal Council).

Perhaps more important than the types of motion are the topics discussed. In the following I will present the results of some of the queries to the dataset. I will thereby focus on the aggregated data, since it is more meaningful in terms of the distribution.[940] Table 7 shows the distribution of the aggregated codes with spatial and non-spatial reference. In both cases the most frequent code is "Infrastructure_physical" which includes Latrines, Roads, Water, Transportation (in particular Bus), Bathrooms and Electricity. Here, the spatial divide in urban infrastructures, which I will turn to in section 5.3, becomes quite apparent, especially on the compound level.

[938] SP 4/12/66. AUAC, September 5, 1955.
[939] Ibid., November 7, 1955.
[940] The non-aggregated codes count 98 out of 541 items discussed or 57 out of 240 items with a spatial reference as opposed to 18 and 14 aggregated codes respectively. Thus, the non-aggregated distributions have quite long tails, with the 5 most frequent codes out of 98 (Beerhalls, Latrines, Hospitals_Clinics, AUAC, and Bus) taking up 25 percent and the 8 most frequent codes out of 57 (Beerhalls, Latrines, Markets, Water, Light, Bus, Roads, and Housing_Quality) taking up 50 percent. It has to be also noted that there are no sub-codes for "Beerhalls".

Table 7. Percentage of Types of Issues Presented before AUAC



Viewed across the period of observation between 1949 and 1958, the percentage of infrastructural issues was always between 15 and 24 percent, with a peak in 1954 of 31 percent and only 4 percent infrastructural issues debated in 1958. This peak in 1954 is quite important, since this year marks the completion of the Linda compound, which was supposed to further relieve the housing shortage as well as problems of over-crowding. Also, Linda was planned as a sort of middle-class compound, which some years later it would eventually turn out to be. Yet, immediately after completion the promised housing conditions and infrastructural services did not live up to people's expectations and the new compound suffered many problems ranging from non-functioning water taps to problems with latrines.[941] The same issues happened two years earlier in Libuyu.[942] This can also be observed in the data. After many infrastructural problems were addressed in 1949 concerning Maramba, Railways and Zambezi Sawmills compound, the percentage went down and rose again after the completion of Libuyu.

Other important issues were the infamous beer-halls as well as legal matters, the latter of which include pass-laws and discriminatory legislation, prices, fees, market licences, etc. Beer-halls were monopolised facilities in African urban areas – usually one or two in each compound or township – where "native beer" and food was served to Africans. Implemented in Northern Rhodesia based on the South African "Durban System", they essentially had two functions. The first was to control alcohol consumption in African urban areas spatially – Africans were not allowed to consume alcohol outside the beer halls – as well as in terms of the product itself, grain beer, since Africans were not allowed to drink wine, spirits and European beer until the 1950s. The second function was to use the revenues of the beer-halls through the channel of the municipalities' general revenue fund for different purposes of African welfare, however, the actual types of welfare were not specified.[943] In a way, beer-halls symbolise the ambiguity many colonial spaces represented. That is to say, they

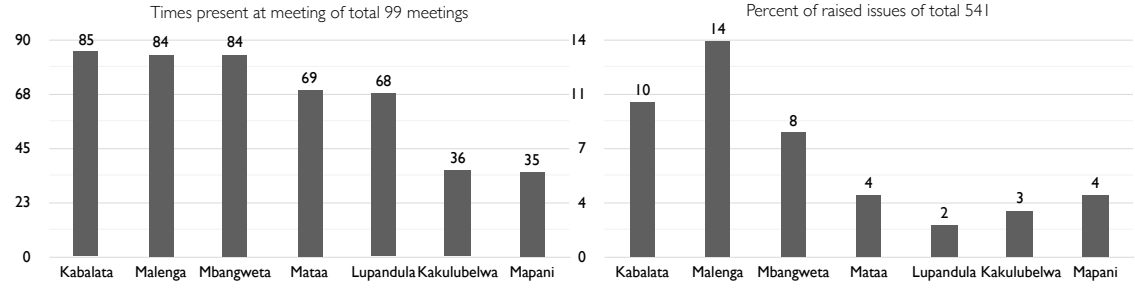
[941] i.e. compliant about overcrowding, see: SP 4/12/66. August 9, 1954 and complaint of about inadequate water supply Ibid. September, 7, 1954.
[942] See: SP 4/6/3. October 12, 1951.
[943] For Northern Rhodesia see: Ambler, C. (1990). Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia. *The Journal of African History, 31(2)*, 295-313; see also: LGH 1/18/3. African Affairs. African Beer Brewing, 1945-67: The Production and Distribution of Kaffir Beer, 1951; For the "Durban System" see: Whelan, D. (2015). Ematsheni: The Central Beer Hall as Social and Municipal Infrastructure in Twentieth Century Pietermaritzburg. *Historia, 60*(1), 75-91.

were heavily contested spaces on the one hand, but they also were representative of a certain kind of urban lifestyle. The degree of freedom in terms of different kinds of alcohol consumption, opening hours, or for instance regarding the possibility to use them as spaces for purposes other than simply drinking beer, in some sense also gives a measurement of urban integration and segregation.

Beer-hall issues thus include the quality of beer sold, the quality of the beer-halls themselves, or opening and closing hours, which often were seen to be in conflict with working hours and distances to housing areas. For a long time the Maramba beer-hall was the only one in town and since it was forbidden to cross the police lines between Maramba and the Railways and Industrial compounds, travel distances were quite long. Moreover, certain service institutions and buildings were important, such as libraries, welfare halls, or post offices. The fact that the AUAC was not only an advisory body for technical urban matters is reflected by the trend that certain discussions on political actors, meaning political organisations and parties like the ZANC (Zambian African National Congress), the Municipal Council, colonial institutions or the political aspects of the AUAC itself would arise frequently. Here, especially Mr. Phillips and Mr. Beaton, who were not always on good terms with the Municipal Council,[944] often raised such debates. Finally, matters of shops and businesses, involving especially markets, restaurants, or hotels, and matters of housing were important, which mainly include the quality of houses, home ownership, and rents.

There are great differences concerning the activity of different members and their contributions to the AUAC. Among the members who were elected in the later period of the AUAC, between 1955 and 1958, a lower level of attendance at the meetings and of being active can be observed, compared to older members. An exception to this is Mr. Sithole, who was elected in June 1957 and was only present in the Council in 13 meetings. However, during his time as a member of AUAC he was a quite active discussant and raised many issues. Although the contribution of members is not necessarily a matter of them being always present and raising issues, for example even a single raised matter by an otherwise inactive member might be very important, the social space of the AUAC nevertheless was predominantly structured by the work of 4 or 5 people out of 24. These were Jeremiah Kabalata, Isaac Malenga, Willis Mbangweta, Walusika Mataa, and Yona Lupanula. All of them were active throughout the entire period under study. Except for Kabalata and Malenga, who were 36 and 32 years old in 1949, most of the members were over 40 years of age.

Table 8. AUAC Members Present at Meetings and Percentage of Raised Issues



[944] see for instance Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 149.

These five were present at more than two-thirds of all the meetings and, together with the members Kakulubelwa and Mapani, raised 45 percent of the issues discussed (table 8). It has to be noted that raising issues or not does not mean being active or not. Thus, one can be active during debates without raising many issues, which was often the case. However, especially Kabalata, Malenga, Mbangweta and Mataa certainly were active members in every regard.

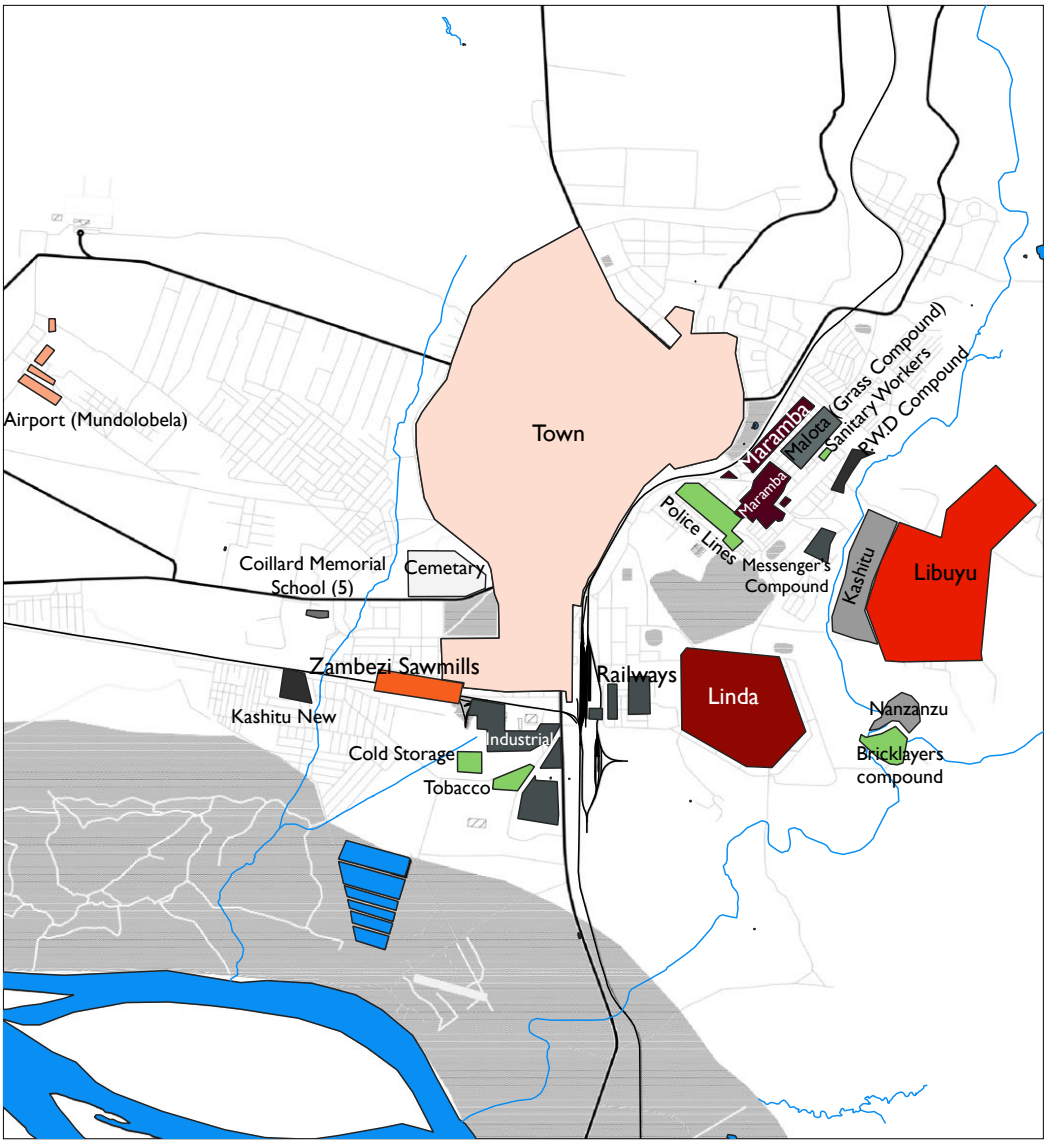
Before discussing the AUAC as a social space, I will try to illustrate how the issues debated in the AUAC relate to different compounds in Livingstone. The map in Fig. 35 shows the distribution of issues with a spatial reference (n=240) among the different compounds in Livingstone. The one compound that stands out the most is Maramba. This can be partly explained by the fact that, together with Malota (the Grass compound), it was the oldest compound. Another reason is the population size which was the highest of all compounds. Thus, in 1951 approximately 8,820 people were living in Maramba as opposed to 3,290 in Libuyu, 1,340 in the Railways compound and 1,750 in the Industrial compound. Linda turned out to have a slightly higher population size than Libuyu. By 1961 it would be home to some 6,000 people, as opposed to 5,350 people in Libuyu. Maramba, Libuyu and Linda received not only the most attention because they were so-called Municipal compounds, as opposed to employer's compounds, and the majority of Africans were living in these compounds, but also because most council members were elected from them. Also, the most active members presented above all came from Maramba.

The situation with employer's compounds is not easy to interpret. The housing conditions in the Railways, Zambezi Sawmills and Industrial compounds were generally quite similar to those in the Municipal compounds, as were the problems within them. However, it seems that employers were not happy about the AUAC and attempted to have issues about their compounds handled internally. Robbins discusses in this regard events where AUAC members from Zambezi Sawmills would for instance lose their jobs.[945] When other members protested that one member, Mr. Chisulo, had been fired and, in the course of this, lost his right of housing at Zambezi Sawmills and therefore his seat on the AUAC, the management of Zambezi Sawmills assured that this had nothing to do with Chisulo's activity as a member. Although the members did not trust the management's word, they did not have any powers to intervene.

Apart from these main compounds, what is easily missed is that by 1951 many of the 2,640 domestic servants were living in town. However, only in 2 of the 12 matters raised in reference to town were the living conditions of domestic servants under discussion. The rest of the matters dealt with public latrines for Africans in town, and markets in the second class trading area. The life and space of domestic servants will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. For now it is important to highlight that their concerns were not as frequently addressed in the AUAC minutes as their high number and, according to Merran McCulloch their comparatively poor living conditions on their employer's plots, would have suggested.[946] Another group that received less attention than one would expect were women and girls. Matters concerning them will also be discussed later in the chapter.

[945] Ibid., p. 233.
[946] McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*, p. 6.

Fig. 32. Number of References of Compounds
in African Urban Advisory Council Minutes 1949-1959



Nr. of References
in Minutes
(green = 0)

- 2 (PWD, Kashitu New)
- 3 (Messeng., Industr., Railways)
- 4 (Malota)
- 5 (Coillard School)
- 6 (Kashitu_Nanzanzu)
- 7 (Cemetary)
- 12 (Town)
- 16 (Airport)
- 26 (Zambezi Sawmills)
- 30 (Libuyu)
- 32 (Linda)
- 89 (Maramba)

The second map, Fig. 36, finally shows the distribution of infrastructural issues within Livingstone. Unsurprisingly, the trend of the first map is repeated here. Issues in Maramba are still most frequent. However, infrastructural issues in Libuyu were higher than in Linda, almost twice as many, even though Linda was mentioned slightly more often in the minutes. Thus, while both Linda and Libuyu suffered many problems in the first years of their existence, the situation in Linda was perhaps marginally better. This might be explained on the one hand by the possibility that Richard Costains, the construction company that had built both compounds and in effect most of the housing projects in Livingstone,[947] had planned and built Linda more carefully than Libuyu, where the first problems arose immediately after the first people had moved to their new homes. Another factor might have been the greater distance between Libuyu and the rest of the town compared to Linda. In Libuyu all infrastructure such as bore-holes, latrines, electricity, etc. had to built from scratch. In Linda, being closer especially to the Railways compound, some infrastructure was already in place.

A final aspect that is important to address is the generally low representation of Malota in the Minutes. As discussed in the last chapter Malota is contiguous with Maramba and was often on the brink of being demolished.[948] The problems in Malota, especially the lack of drainage, were most severe of all the compounds.The AUAC members nevertheless perhaps knew quite well that when Malota was discussed it was usually referred to as soon to be demolished,. Furthermore, the Municipal Council and colonial authorities would regularly refer to the unofficial status of Malota, which made it difficult to have the situation improved. While Malota could use some of the resources and infrastructures Maramba was provided with, generally it was under-represented and neglected.

[947] For construction projects in Livingstone and other towns see: LGH 1/16/52. Local Government – African Housing General Policy. File LG/GEN/390: Proposals for expenditure of funds in revised development plan for urban African housing.
[948] See for instance SP 4/1/16. Municipal Council Minutes, 1941: Minutes of the Municipal Council of Livingstone, May 15, 1941 ; SP 3/16/4. Housing General Areas: Letter form the Regional Secretary to the Permanent Secretary, Provincial and Local Government Division, February 11, 1970.

Fig. 33. Distribution of Issues Concerning Urban Infrastructures in African Urban Advisory Council Minutes, 1949-1959



Number of Infrastructural issues
(green = 0)

- 1 (Railways, Coillard School,Airport)
- 2 (Malota, PWD, Messengers Industrial)
- 4 (Town, Kashitu/ Nanzanzu)
- 6 (Zambezi Sawmills)
- 7 (Linda)
- 13 (Libuyu)
- 32 (Maramba)

Having outlined how the African Urban Advisory Council was structured internally, how it functioned, and what kinds of issues were discussed over time, two aspects will receive more detailed attention in the following two sections. These are, on the one hand, infrastructural issues, since they not only represented the most frequently discussed topic, but also exemplify how boundary-making and modes peripheralisation transgressed the urban space on multiple scales and domains. On the other hand, I will analyse issues concerning women, especially single women, in Livingstone as well as personal servants. While they were under-represented in the discussions in AUAC, their social and spatial position is worth looking into, since both, albeit in different ways, can be considered as strangers in the Simmelian sense highlighting their important, yet ambivalent roles and positions.

Urban Participation: The Advisory Council as a Social Space

All meetings of the AUAC were held at the Boma in Livingstone, which was located south of Queensway in the second class commercial area. The AUAC, which, apart from unions, presented the only formal administrative and political exchange between Africans and Europeans on the local scale, was therefore placed in a transitional space. This in a way underscores the position of the Council within the political space of Livingstone. The transitional space – ecologically one might say ecotonal space – thus took the form of a neutral zone and symbolic edge,[949] where Africans and Europeans encountered each other in a non-employment context. It also resembles the position of the colonial administration in town and the gatekeeping function of its representatives, who would, in their capacity as chairmen, mediate between the African concerns and the Municipal Council.

Being a member of the African Urban Advisory Council was certainly a way of addressing various issues, ranging from reminding the local government and colonial officials of their ignorance or bare neglect of certain grievances in compounds, to questioning and criticising colonial and settler ideologies that were often the foundation of this ignorance and neglect. The possibilities of the AUAC were, however, limited. It was an advisory council after all and more often than not the gatekeeping of the chairman, usually in the person of the District Commissioner, prevented certain criticisms from being brought before the Municipal Council. In doing so, some D.C.s and other colonial officials like Mr. Beaton were not generally unsympathetic to African criticism or certain demands, but quite aware of the negative attitude toward these criticisms and demands by the local authorities. One could argue here that it was perhaps a false sense of harmony that had guided much advice given by different chairmen to rethink, reformulate or withdraw altogether certain motions. Although the final decision to forward a motion to the Municipal Council was in the hands of members, a chairman's word of caution surely had an effect on whether or not a motion was forwarded.

As a social space of political negotiation on the local level the AUAC was at the same time a space of knowledge and of experimentation. Besides being a platform of knowledge exchange and communication, it was after all meant to "educate" Africans in urban politics and management. The role of the "teacher" in this situation was performed by the chairman and every now and then

[949] Shields 2013, *Spatial Questions*, p. 81

"experts" would come in to tell the members about their respective fields of expertise. This might be such individuals as the Town Engineer, the Medical Officer or a member from the sub-Committee of Native Affairs. This is perhaps not a new insight. However, what often remains unacknowledged is the fact that rather than being an educative space only for Africans, who in reality already had ample experience with urban management and politics through years of political work in the Welfare Society prior to the establishment of the AUAC in the late 1940s, it was a space of education for colonial officials as well. Looking at the numbers of visitors – in the minutes they are referred under the term "present by invitation" – the AUAC can be regarded as a training field for new officers or assistants.

As mentioned above, after a while, often these visitors would even act as chairmen for some meetings. To the members of the AUAC, who were usually in their 40s, this surely did not go unnoticed, since age is an important social category in many African societies, and a young officer in his 20s or early 30s acting as a chairman did not contribute in amplifying the confidence that the AUAC could bear the possibility of serious political undertakings. Some members, most notably Mr. Kabaleta and Mr. Mbangweta, who served over the total 10 year period, certainly did not let themselves be demotivated, and persevered. Others quit their membership after a few meetings. However, the reasons why they did so are not always clear. Some moved to a different district or town and lost their seat. Still others saw more possibilities in being involved in unions or saw their role at a higher level, like Nelson Nalumango, who was only briefly present in the Livingstone AUAC – he nevertheless was an active discussant – after having been a member in the Livingstone Welfare Organisation, and soon was elected to the Provincial and later Legislative Council. In the Livingstone African Municipal Workers Trade Union, whose constitution, significantly for a stronger political self-conception, states that the membership of the union "is open to all workers employed by the Municipality of Livingstone (Trade/Industry) regardless of race or sex",[950] some members found perhaps a more direct representation of their own immediate needs. This is understandable when measured against the attitude of the municipal authorities, especially in Livingstone. I will discuss this in some detail in the following and try to analyse it in spatial terms.

An argument often proposed partly by the colonial administration, and to a larger extent by local governments and other settler institutions, against the political and administrative integration of Africans was that in their view Africans were not (yet) ready to take on full political responsibilities, because they lacked proper political and policy education. For instance, an inquiry in 1950 by Advisory Council member Chilamana to give a seat in the Livingstone Native Affairs sub-Committee to an African was turned down by D.C. Phillips, who was usually quite sympathetic to African political and social advancement, partly on the grounds that some subjects discussed in this body would be hard to follow by Africans.[951]

Still in 1960, three years after the Brown Report, in the "Oral evidence memoranda submitted to the Committee appointed to inquire into The Participation of Africans in Local Government", the Municipal Council of Lusaka concluded that "It is felt that this period of training and teaching will take many years before Africans can shoulder any more responsibilities than they do at present

[950] See: SP 2/3/5. African Municipal Workers Trade Union: Constitution of the African Municipal Workers Trade Union, 1958.
[951] see SP 4/6/3. September 6, 1950.

insofar as Local Authorities are concerned".[952] Additionally, it was highlighted that the question of taxation of the African population would be equally relevant, since as "[i]t is a well-known maxim that there should be no taxation without representation", it would conversely be "equally true, that there should be little or no representation without taxation and at the moment the great bulk of African population are certainly not in a position to bear any taxation whatsoever."[953] This reasoning is further explained in the argument that "[a] community that has services provided freely does not appreciate the cost of providing such services and tends to demand bigger and better ones. It is only when a person's wealth is used to pay for such services that the demand therefor becomes more responsible."[954] Mr. Thom, the former mayor of Livingstone, who was generally in favour of Africans (two in his opinion) serving on the Municipal Council, however, articulated the reservations against direct representation in saying that he had "found the Africans, generally speaking, came along with lack of experience and they were inclined to make wild statements. He thought that there should be a training ground and that the local authority was the best training ground that could be wished for".[955] Such arguments were often underscored by the allegation that especially ethnic boundaries would be an obstacle in this regard, since tribal allegiance would lead to ethnic clientelism.[956] This is interesting, because both scientific evidence in regard to "tribalism" in Northern Rhodesian towns as well as experiences from the conversations with African representatives were obviously ignored.[957]

Concerning this lack of reflexivity on the side of the colonial administrators and local political actors, many arguments, propositions, and suggestions made by Africans could be cited that underscore the informed and professional manner in which they practiced their roles as political representatives.[958] The one I will present here might at first seem arbitrary, but on close examination it reveals not only the political or administrative pragmatism of the actors involved – a supposed lack thereof was at the core of the argument that "Africans are not (yet) fit for political work". It also shows the manner in which problems were approached and discussed together with colonial officials. To avoid any misunderstanding, my point here of course is not to give evidence regarding the capability of Africans to handle administrative issues or political problems, but to highlight that, despite these daily efforts in various councils to manage urban issues and improve the lives of Africans in towns that were right in front of colonial officials and local governments, arguments against a more inclusive and comprehensive participation and political integration were still not thought through and weighted against the obvious evidence to the contrary.

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[952] LGH 1/5/17. Participation of Africans in Local Govt. Report + Minutes of Evidence: Participation of Africans in Local Governement) Government of Northern Rhodesia. Urban African Local Government Committee Minute of oral evidence and written memoranda submitted to the Committee appointed to inquire into THE PARTICIPATION OF AFRICANS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT in Municipal and Township areas, October 1960, p. 65.
[953] Ibid.
[954] Ibid. ; For similar reasonings see for instance arguments in the Brown Report, cited in Chapter 4.
[955] Ibid. p. 82.
[956] c.f. Larmer 2021, *Living for the City*, p. 132.
[957] An example of this ignorance and also the difficult relationship between the RLI researchers and the colonial and local administration is presented by Peter Fraenkel. On one account he cites the conversation with an unnamed anthropologist who angrily explained to him "If only those bloody fools in the Secretariat would read the stuff they wouldn't talk such bullshit" Fraenkel 1959, *Wayaleshi*, p. 124. Perhaps, if they had read "the stuff" or had been more reflexive about the conversations with African representatives these arguments would not have been possible.
[958] The work by Nina Tanner Robbins on the political participation of Africans in Livingstone is exemplary in this respect as it follows the historical trajectories and struggles of Africans to inscribe themselves into the political space of urban relations from the early 20th century till independence.

The discussion I will present deals with a request to the local education authority for the introduction of a "system of providing fresh milk for African School Children"[959] in Livingstone. Mr. Kabalata as a headmaster set this request in motion by pointing to the "great need for further nutrition amongst the poorer of his pupils. These were often drowsy and listless during lessons dues in the main to lack of nourishment." The Chairman, Mr. Long, "stated that he was certainly not in disagreement with this worthy object, but would request Mr. Kabalata to explain just how he envisaged the scheme operating, and the quantity of milk required." A close reading of this short passage might unfold the everyday manner and practice of such issues, that can be thought of as having limited potential to bear political controversy on a political scale of issues, as opposed to pass-laws for instance. The answer this motion received by the Chairman exposes the patronising undertone. Thus, the framing of this motion as a "worthy object" already implies that, in the view of the Chairman, there are apparently also non-worthy objects under discussion, and furthermore that there is a need to point out when something is worthy or not. The statement of approval by the Chairman is already a reflection of the problematic and difficult relationship between African representatives and colonial officials. The former are in an advisory position, a position that suggests that they explore, describe and make recommendations on issues regarding Africans living in urban areas. Yet, the space of possibilities of issues that could be brought to discussion was somewhat limited to whatever was deemed "worthy" in the eyes of the Chairman.

The important point here is that the interventions of the Chairman, which were surely based on his knowledge and experience of the segregationist settler attitudes present in the Municipal Council, often resulted in the fact that issues and motions raised by members of the AUAC were not forwarded to the Municipal Council. In other words, the Chairman would often advise the members of the AUAC not to make certain requests or utter a complaint to the Municipal Council or one of its bodies. Therefore, the Chairman advised the advisers in what and how to advise, and thereby tried to structure and bound their space of political agency and participation.

In the case presented above, the Chairman further requested that "a memorandum should be prepared for discussion with the District Education Authority", an institution whose responsibility it would have been to think about such issues in the first place, but apparently failed to do so. Mr. Kabalata suggested that a local farmer could provide a regular supply of milk for sale at the schools and that this could be subsidised by the Municipal Council through the beer-hall funds, since many parents would perhaps lack the means to pay for the milk. Mr. Beaton turned down this suggestion by stating that the beer-hall funds would at the moment not be sufficient, since they were mainly used to pay off the new Almak plant (a brewery) that was being built. It is not lacking in irony that the beer-hall funds could not be used for milk for children, because the money was intended as a means of selling more beer. Malenga then also added that a milk scheme could be implemented also for adults, since there would be demands for fresh milk in the population.

In the end, the matter could not be resolved. The reply from the Municipality could not have been more ignorant about the importance of the matter. Rather than contributing to the improvement of nourishment of children through some scheme, it turned down the entire matter

[959] SP 4/12/66. AUAC, November 7, 1955.

based on three technical arguments. The Municipal Council let the AUAC know that "(a) it is not the proper function of the Municipality to supply and sell milk and that in any case it has no power to operate such an undertaking. (b) it is not the practice for Government to assist in the supply of milk to school children. (c) milk supplies in Livingstone are in any case inadequate for the institution of a large scale supply."[960] Mr. Malenga could not but deconstruct the absurdity of this bundle of arguments by stating that he "was surprised that the Municipality could not undertake to supply milk, an essential commodity, when they can supply beer not only in Livingstone, but even to Kalomo."[961] He also added that beyond the school issue, adults would also appreciate having some real milk in their tea instead of milk powder.

Milk might after all be political, for what is more English than tea with milk … real milk that is. In any case, what the issue shows to my mind is that even the most modest and considerate requests to improve conditions for Africans in urban areas were turned down without showing any appreciation for the matters concerned nor any attempt to solve the issue in a different manner or make some other suggestions. The reasons for that might really simply be economical – the Municipality really did not want to spend money on Africans – or be based on ignorance and contempt – the settlers just did not care. However, as I will argue in the next section, there is an ideological explanation too that has a strong spatial component to it.

The matter of political participation and integration is one of the strikingly obvious examples of the ambiguous colonial situation and the conflict between modernisation and development or "African advancement", as it is sometimes referred to, and the spatialised politics of sustaining the social and racial boundaries between Africans and Europeans. The ideological difference between "tribal" and "urban" Africans that colonisers and settlers in particular tried to uphold against (perhaps daily) evidence to the contrary is an inherently spatial issue, since it informs about the problematic of the relative position of Africans within the social space. Through notions of "tribal" and "urban" this relates back to the physical distinction between urban and rural spaces; that is, the naturalised spatial conceptions of where Africans and Europeans belong in the eyes of colonisers. It is the transgression of these roles and the shifting of positions through forms of political agency that bear the potential to create cracks and holes in the ideological wall that forms this distinction. In this context, it is useful to refer to Pierre Bourdieu's writings on colonialism. Julian Go summarises Pierre Bourdieu's argument "that the colonial system entails distinct and logically necessary roles for colonizer and colonized: For the former, colonialism necessitates racism and paternalism, for the latter, subservience and the adoption of related stereotypical behaviors."[962] With reference to the colonial situation in Algeria, Bourdieu thus writes that the Algerians needed to "play the role of the Arab-as-seen-by-the-Frenchman".[963] Playing a role means keeping the social position that one is ascribed. Conversely, playing a different role, namely that of politically conscious, "modern" and urban representatives of an oppressed class, or rather "caste", as Bourdieu describes the distinction

[960] SP 4/12/66. April 5, 1956.
[961] Ibid.
[962] Go, J. (2013). Decolonizing Bourdieu: Colonial and Postcolonial Theory in Pierre Bourdieu's Early Work. *Sociological theory, 31*(1), 49-74, Decolonizing Bourdieu, p. 58.
[963] Bourdieu, P. (1961). *The Algerians*. Boston: Beacon Press, The Algerian, p. 161.

created by the combination of racial and political privilege,[964] means trying to change one's own position as well. The debates on African representation in municipal politics and administration in Northern Rhodesia and Livingstone in particular are therefore as much a debate on the political participation of Africans as they are a debate on the social positions of Africans in the social space of the colony. The strong reservations in Livingstone against such representation can be understood as a way to keep alive not only segregation in its physical and social forms, but to hinder Africans from entering the entirety or totality of the European social space, through its various social fields of European culture, politics and economy.[965]

That is to say, beyond the explicit political debates about participation and integration, it is easy to miss the political meaning of such seemingly unpolitical issues like milk for school children. Debates regarding the provision of such goods, and also services and infrastructures, render visible not only the actual struggles, practices and tactics of Africans in manoeuvring through urban everyday life, but also how the availability and distribution of such goods and services represent the making and re-making of socio-spatial boundaries in a material sense and thereby also structure how physical spaces in urban areas are used and utilised. By the same token, a lack of certain goods and services maintained the social and in some instances physical distance between African and European parts of society. The "African-as-seen-by-the-European" is therefore kept alive not only by the roles played by Africans, but also by counteractive strategies of colonial agents and settlers against the attempts to break with such roles, as well as against the material and symbolic signifiers that could break such roles.

5.3. Divided Infrastructures

Infrastructures represent such material and at the same time symbolic signifiers that might act as a means of either balancing out or amplifying existing social boundaries. Thus, entering a social space often involves a material dimension through the distribution of the physical space and its constituents, its structures and infrastructures. Moreover, entering or accessing certain physical infrastructures also means gaining access to amenities of social life, in particular in urban spaces. Of the different urban infrastructures discussed in the AUAC I will focus on two of them in this section, beginning with (public) transportation, the constraining of which not least acted as a means of hindering Africans in their mobility. The second focus will be placed on water and sanitation infrastructures.

[964] See: Go 2013, Decolonizing Bourdieu: Colonial and Postcolonial Theory in Pierre Bourdieu's Early Work, *Decolonizing Bourdieu*.

[965] Julian Go argues that "Bourdieu implicitly theorized colonialism as a field and deployed relational thinking to apprehend it" ibid., *Decolonizing Bourdieu*, p. 64. However, I claim this is a misinterpretation of the field. Colonialism can be understood as a field where different actors engaged in colonialism as such, for example Colonial Officers, settlers, anthropologists, missionaries, etc. See for instance: Steinmetz, G. (2016). Social Fields, Subfields and Social Spaces at the Scale of Empires: Explaining the Colonial State and Colonial Sociology. *The Sociological Review, 64*(2), 98-123, *Social Fields*. However, "Bourdieusian field theory rejects the assumption that all social practices take a fielded form" Ibid, p. 108. Thus, it does not make sense to understand the relationship between colonisers and colonial subjects as a field. The reason for that is that one needs certain forms of capital to enter the field and partake in the game, which Africans, however, lacked.

The Means of (Public) Transportation

Since freedom of movement for Africans was limited due to pass laws designed to prevent uncontrolled migration into or between towns, not much attention was directed towards public transport services for Africans, especially within municipal boundaries and the surrounding areas. Livingstone itself was and still is a rather small town after all. However, the spatial segregation of African and European areas made short distances quite long. What was even more immediate than busses within town, however, were connections between Livingstone and the Victoria Falls which are located about 10km outside of town, and therefore only practically reachable for those few Africans who owned a bicycle. Apart from serving as an attraction and a place to spend one's leisure time, to Africans it was also important as a place of economic opportunity. Because the Victoria Falls have been a tourist site since the very time Livingstone and its sister town Victoria Falls across the Zambezi were founded, locally made arts and crafts could be sold to tourists.

The first request of the AUAC concerning the bus service to the falls on weekends and public holidays was made on June 7, 1949.[966] A month later the council members suggested that Africans would be willing to pay the same fare as Europeans if they would be allowed on the bus. They also pointed out that Africans were allowed to travel to the falls by bus before the government-run service was privatised.[967] The Native Affairs Committee[968] rejected this proposition, but followed the suggestion made by the AUAC that a bus for Africans could be provided with possible losses to be compensated by the beer-hall revenues. However, since the municipality did not want to use a European bus for Africans, it decided to purchase one for them.[969] After a trial period of a couple of weeks between December 1949 and January 1950 the municipality came to the conclusion that a continuation of the service was uneconomical, because not enough people, although the numbers were steadily increasing,[970] were using the weekly Sunday bus, and over a period of seven weeks costs of £42 for running the bus stood against total takings of £12. A member of the AUAC, Mr. Malenga, then asked why the nearly empty European bus to the falls was kept in service.[971] As with most unequal service provisions, as well as the denial of African votes and representation in municipal elections and councils,[972] the municipalities used the popular ratepayers argument which basically said that "the African does not [via property taxes] contribute to the rates"[973] and is therefore not entitled to certain infrastructures if they were not economical. Still, another member of the AUAC, Mr. Chilalama, proposed as a resolution "[t]hat the African bus service should be discontinued, but that the Municipality should be asked to make seats available for Africans in the back of the European bus on Sundays and weekdays".[974] It took the municipal council two months to answer and object to the request made by the AUAC for Africans to use the back seats. Instead, in

[966] SP 4/6/3. June 7, 1949.
[967] SP 4/6/3. July 15, 1949.
[968] The Municipal Council consisted of committees and sub-committees that dealt with various matters, ranging from finance and public works to matters concerning African urban areas.
[969] SP 4/6/3. September 20, 1949.
[970] Ibid.: January 18, 1950.
[971] Ibid.: February 17, 1950.
[972] For the property rate-based election system in general see: Freund 2007, *The African City*, p. 186. For Lusaka see: Myers 2006, The Unauthorized City: Late Colonial Lusaka and Postcolonial Geography, p. 296.
[973] LGH 1/16/64. Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia, 1950-56: Ninth Annual Conference, Rodes Livingstone Museum Library, May 12-13, 1956.
[974] SP 4/6/3. February 17, 1950.

April 1950 the Municipal Council let the AUAC know that "it was hoped that a bus service would be made available to Africans when the new Libuyu compound was completed".[975] However, Libuyu was not completed until the end of 1951.[976] Eventually, seats were made available in the back of the European bus to the falls, which, in leading to new problems, was not a solution after all. Even though Mr. Malenga's observation concerning the nearly empty bus seven years earlier still proved to be true in 1957, Africans were regularly left behind at the bus station, although there would have been free seats in the European bus section. Mr. Ross, the representative of the Rhodesian Omnibus Company, answered to Mr. Lubinda, who issued the complaint, that in future the bus times will be changed to overcome the problem.[977]

The back and forth between the AUAC, the Municipal Council and the Bus Company over nearly a decade illustrates the enormous efforts made and fortitude shown by Africans to achieve even some degree of participation within the urban sphere. The infrastructure of the bus is not only important here as a mere object of transportation and mobility, but as one of urban integration, or rather integration into the amenities of urban life. The Municipal Council was eager to ensure that the segregation which defined the built and immobile structures within town was implemented and maintained at other levels as well. Segregation within the struggles over transportation infrastructure is a salient yet silent discourse. Instead, economic arguments and technicalities obscure the underlying motivation. Furthermore, due to the lack of a proper bus service, the Victoria Falls as a place of encounter between Europeans and Africans – of which there were not many – becomes also important here. When Henri Lefebvre observed for mid 20th Century Europe that the urban society produces spaces which are lacking "places of simultaneity and encounter",[978] for the (Southern) African cities of that time one could say that the European minority was eager to create spaces that prevented and prohibited simultaneity and encounter. The insufficiency of transportation to the Falls thus spatially regulates the Falls at the same time.

The issue concerning the bus service to the Victoria Falls was not the only transportation problem Africans faced. The bus services within the boundaries of the town, hence between compounds and workplaces, was another issue discussed within the AUAC. Busses for Africans operating in town were put into service not earlier than 1954. The first request was made by Mr. Kabalata in April 1954.[979] When the deal between the municipality and the Rhodesian Omnibus Company was finally made, a number of problems arose, ranging from the inadequacy of the busses' interior, to inappropriate bus times or stops, and discriminatory practices in running the bus. Since, for example, the municipality did not want to spend much money on the bus service for Africans, the busses did not have proper seats. In September 1954 Mr. Kabalata put forward that "Africans would be prepared to pay higher fares for the greater comfort of cushioned seats".[980] The chairman's response was that the municipality already subsidised the (private) service, since it did

[975] SP 4/6/3. April 18, 1950.
[976] NAZ: SEC 2/139. SEC/NAT/66E, VOL. IV. Southern Province Annual Report, 1951-53: Annual Report on African Affairs Southern Province, 1951.
[977] SP 1/4/11. African Urban Advisory Council: L/Stone, 1957-59. January 7, 1957.
[978] Lefebvre, H. (1996). The Right to the City. In Kofman, E. and E. Lebas (Eds.), *Writings on Cities: Henri Lefebvre*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, p. 148.
[979] SP 4/12/66. AUAC: Livingstone General Correspondence and Minutes of Meeting, 1953-56. April 5, 1954.
[980] SP 4/12/66. September 7, 1954.

not make any profit.[981] While many of the nearly empty European busses did not make profits either, it was no question after all that their condition and service in general were still subsidised by the general revenue fund of the municipality. Again, the economic argument here based on the ratepayer system ensured that a visible and tangible (or feel-able) difference was maintained that translated the unevenness of service provisions to the wider European claim over the urban space. The visibility of European entitlements in town is therefore yet another way to display (spatial) superiority and hegemony. Interestingly, Mr. Kabalata made use of the economic argumentation put forward by the municipality to stress the willingness of Africans to compensate their position as non-ratepayers with higher ticket fares to enjoy a comfortable bus service.

When cushioned seats were finally made available in 1957 it was important to Mr. Ross to appeal "to members to use their good offices and influence in restraining their fellow Africans from wilfully damaging seats and windows at present".[982] While these incidents are hard to definitively make sense of, using Michel de Certeau's notion of strategy and tactics, one could assume here that the strategy of the white minority (in de Certeau's words "owners and producers") to control and organise *their* space is counteracted by the tactics of Africans to "consume" or appropriate and therefore "produce" that space.[983] In any case, either if these acts of damage and/or theft – some of the seats and windows were apparently dismantled – are ascribed to some kind of political motivation, or simply to an economic motivation to get hands on a window or a piece of furniture for one's house – no other possible use for a piece of glass and a bus seat comes to my mind –, they are still a reminder of the urban divide and the inaccessibility of and exclusion from social and economic accumulation processes.

Problems in connection with bus stops ranged from a lack of them, to inconvenient locations of the stops. On November 14, 1954 Mr. Brown Mapani of the AUAC suggested that the inconvenient bus stop at Zambezi Saw Mills road should be exchanged for a stop at the Saw Mills railway station.[984] While the chairman did not oppose Mr. Mapani's suggestion in principle, he was of the opinion that such a bus stop would not be possible at the moment due to the bad state of the road, and that the AUAC should wait for the road to be repaired before forwarding the suggestion to the Municipal Council. In May 1955 the issue was still not resolved, although it was observed by Mr. Mapani that repairs had been carried out on the road. Mr. Ross responded to the renewed request by stating that the difficulty now would be the capacity of the entry bridge to support a bus which has to be certified by the district municipal engineer prior to being used. The second problem mentioned by Mr. Ross was the lack of a turning point.[985] Issues with the bus to Zambezi Saw Mills continued over the following years.

Requests for new bus lines were also put forward by the AUAC, but on several occasions were turned down for financial reasons. Propositions for new lines were evaluated by approximating possible users so as to determine the costs of running the service. For instance, a request for a school bus service to Coillard Memorial School was made in January 1957, but turned down for the

[981] Ibid.
[982] SP 1/4/11. January 7, 1957; Unfortunately, I have no detailed information about these incidents.
[983] Certeau 1984, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p 35-36.
[984] SP 4/12/66. November 14, 1954.
[985] Ibid.: May 10, 1955.

above mentioned reason in April of the same year.[986] Instead, the chairman proposed building a hostel for the pupils, since schools would be built in the compounds in the future. Furthermore, the chairman was of the opinion that a hostel would solve the problem of insufficient accommodation within the compounds.[987] The same problem existed for the Airport Compound. In 1955 the bus service to the compound was withdrawn. In September 1957 Mr. Mwale from the AUAC suggested that it should be reinstated, since there were 500 workers living in the compound and the lack of passengers was only due to the fact that the bus had not driven to the compound, but only to the terminal building. The chairman suggested that Mr. Mwale should organise a meeting to determine the amount of possible users and accurate times to run the service profitably.[988]

While the municipality could not dismiss or ignore the need for a work-related bus service in general, and therefore the need of industries to ensure that efficiency was maintained and workers would appear (on time), the negligence of providing sufficient bus stops and times, as the above mentioned cases illustrate, point to the overall tendency not to provide infrastructures that reach beyond the basic needs, not merely of Africans but also of industries. Therefore, this type of provision of infrastructure has to be understood as one that stems from purely technical and economic considerations, and does not point to a deeper acknowledgement of a stabilised African urban society and workforce. The efforts to ameliorate the way this service was provided and improve its deficiencies were solely on the African side; no tendency from the European side can be deduced from such cases that would help Africans to feel comfortable within Livingstone. The negligence and lack of support are yet again a reminder of how spatial divisions and ideologies are mediated through infrastructure, while likewise the efforts to improve them are a means to further access to urban social space.

Sanitation and Water

Sanitation and the availability of water, as well as problems with stormwater drainage, were also pressing issues. Environmentally, certain preconditions need to be stressed that contributed to the effects of the infrastructural divide in terms of water and sanitation in particular. Livingstone is situated in a larger biogeographical transition zone between subtropical savannahs and subtropical desserts, which seasonally leads to three different hydro-climatic conditions, a hot and wet season between November and March, a dry and cold season (in particular at night) between April and July, and a dry and hot season between August and October. Thus, as Robbins highlights, "[t]he rains that fell on Livingstone during the rainy season could be torrential, but their total was inadequate to serve the needs of an urban population the size of Livingstone"[989]. Even water that was in theory available at the Maramba and Nanzanzu River – often after a long period of drought these tributary rivers of the Zambezi would run dry – were not safe for human consumption. The Zambezi on the other hand was too far away for everyday water consumption and use. This made boreholes necessary, which, however, were not an improvement on the rivers, both in terms of the availability

[986] SP 1/4/11. January 7, 1957.
[987] Ibid.: February 2, 1957.
[988] Ibid.: September 9, 1957.
[989] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 174.

and quality of water. Thus, they would often run dry as well, and the water was frequently polluted especially because of the lack of proper latrines.[990] What Orde-Brown in his report described already in the 1930s in regard to Livingstone that "sanitation consists of the unsuitable bucket system, and water had to be fetched from distant taps"[991] did not change much until the 1950s.

While the water and sanitation problem was a pressing issue in all the compounds, including the newly erected ones, obviously people in some compounds suffered more from such neglect than others. In the early days, the first two years of the AUAC, especially Kashitu and Nanzanzu, the two compounds that would be turned into Libuyu, were often the centre of such sanitation problems. But in particular in smaller compounds of construction or bricklayer firms for instance, which should have been inspected theoretically on a regular basis, conditions were most unsatisfactory. Already in July 1949, Mr. Mataa raised the issues under the heading "Sanitation and Water for Employees of certain Europeans" and provided evidence of the infrastructural neglect by saying that "I have worked for years for Mr. McKillop, no sanitation and little water for the brickfield employees".[992] The Labour Officer's assessment of the smaller employer's compounds illustrates the magnitude of the problem, while his answer, unfortunately, did not turn out to be very promising. He said that

> "he had been to every compound and written full reports. Mr. McKillop said he was making new latrines. Messrs. Schenk and Rama and Krantz have none, Livingstone Dairy Co. none, Susman Bros & Wulfsohn Ltd. at abattoir, none, Sanitary compound none but being made, Horton and Co. have 1 or 2, Zambezi Cane Products have none, Kashitu and Nansanzu none. All told to instal latrines. As to water it is being looked for at Kashitu and Nansanzu, Mr. McKillop draws out of the Nansanzu stream, but most cannot get it for lack of piping. Tobacco Cooperative has 1 pipe for 400, Railways compound and others are over-crowded. Have been told to improve. Susman Bros & Wulfsohn have now separated cattle from employees. He was doing his best to improve matters."[993]

Clearly, most of the employees' smaller compounds often simply lacked latrines and water taps altogether. The inspection of these compounds is another issue, since the answer given by the Labour Officer leads to the assumption that rather than inspecting the actual compounds the Labour Officers perhaps simply went to the management of these firms with a list of items on a paper to check whether they are available at the compounds. In other words, if he had carried out proper inspections he would have known the exact number of latrines in the compound of Horton and Co., for instance. As with so many other issues, it was the responsibility of the Labour Officer and other colonial agents to make sure that at least the most basic services according to the territorial laws and local by-laws were provided. The last item on the Labour Officer's list is especially peculiar, since it is not clear in what sense the Susman Brothers had now separated cattle from employees. Assuming that it has something to do with either latrines or water, the situation must have been

990 Ibid. 175.
991 Orde-Brown, J (1938). Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia. London, p. 62.
992 SP 4/6/3. July 15, 1949.
993 Ibid.

quite severe. But the fact alone that employees and cattle shared any form of infrastructure is bad enough, exemplifying the attitude towards Africans, the lax inspection by the colonial agents, whose instruments of power were obviously not sufficient to coerce settlers to comply with the laws, and indeed the lack of legal repercussions. With regard to animals, the space of Africans in relation to animals is well captured by an extract from the life-history of a Basotho teacher in Charles Coulter's contribution to Merle Davis' "Modern Industry and the African". The Basotho teacher insightfully argues that "[i]f they [Europeans] own a horse the animal receives much more sympathy than their servants, for often they visit the stable to see how it is housed and fed. This teaches us that the humanity of the European is very shallow although his education is very deep".[994]

The ways the sanitary system functioned in general was also problematic. The so-called bucket system was used to collect and empty latrines usually once a day during the night hours by so-called "night soil collectors". This type of labour was one of the few sectors that were in a way ethnicised, since the only people employed as sanitary workers, who also had their own compound near the Maramba river, were Luvale-Luchazi people, who originally came from what today is eastern Angola.[995] While officially the postcolonial governments in Zambia have been using the narrative of equal multiculturalism since independence, to denote that the great variety of ethnic and linguistic groups does not lead to ethnic divisions and boundaries within society, especially in relation to politics and economy, in reality such boundaries have of course existed and become occasionally relevant, although perhaps less so than in other African countries. Therefore, the social divisions within African society in Livingstone during the colonial days are also readily remembered. Speaking about the bucket-system, the first thing that came to mind to an interview partner from Maramba, Friday Mayumberu, a Lozi, was the fact that it was performed by Luvale-Luchazi people, which he found somewhat amusing, adding that "they enjoy this work".[996] Mr. Aongola remembered that the night-soil collectors were also called *mazai,* which in Chinyanja means eggs. Especially children would often laugh at them, calling them *mazai*.[997] One may assume that this work was anything but enjoyable. Their working conditions were equally as precarious as the latrines they tried to keep in order. Although at times complaints arose that they did not do their work properly[998], usually the members of the AUAC would try to improve their labour conditions by requesting protective overalls[999] or lamps, so that they would not trip at night and spill the buckets.[1000] The latter issue is somewhat interesting, since some members suggested that "the sanitary men themselves who were sensitive about the nature of their job, might prefer to work in darkness".[1001]

The problems of the system, however, arose not only from the precarious labour conditions of the sanitary workers, but also the means to properly do their work. Three issues provide vivid

[994] Coulter, C.W. (1967). The Sociological Problem. In Davis, M. (Eds.), *Modern Industry and the African: An Enquiry into the Effect of the Copper Mines of Central Africa Upon Native Society and the Work of the Christian Missions*. London: Frank Cass, p. 92
[995] Merran McCulloch argues that the in Livingstone "social distinctions are being re-emphasized by the fact that while Lozi tend to become white collar and clerical workers, Luvale-Luchazi tend to perform the most menial types of labour." McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*, p. 36
[996] Interview 19: May 9, 2018.
[997] Interview 23: May 15, 2018.
[998] see for instance a complaint by Chilalama SP 4/6/3/: February 8, 1952.
[999] Ibid: March 17, 1950.
[1000] Ibid: Juli 15, 1949.
[1001] Ibid.

examples of the deficiencies of the systems.[1002] Firstly, the water used for cleaning the buckets was often taken from the water taps that were installed for human consumption, which not only caused pollution on the surface around the taps and produced an unpleasant smell, but which also increased the likelihood that the water sources themselves would be polluted. Secondly, the numbers of latrines and buckets for many compounds was insufficient in relation to the number of people who frequented these latrines, which together with the problem that they were often not emptied and cleaned sufficiently, again made conditions unsatisfactory to say the least. Lastly, the lack of proper disinfectants forced the sanitary workers to use urine to wash the buckets.

Apart from such public health issues, the privacy within latrines was also an issue. Mr. Malenga for instance complained that the latrines in the Messengers' compound were not equipped with doors, which "from the African point of view, if the father was in the latrine one of his children might find him there, which was not permissible".[1003] Similarly, Mr. Mbangweta argued in relation to new latrines and semi-detached houses in the Industrial compound that "a two latrine block serving two families could well be a source of embarrassment to Africans".[1004] However, complaints came also from the other side. In August 1953, a letter from the Town Clerk was read in which he pointed out that "a number of public health nuisances were being caused by Africans misusing sanitary arrangements, and asking what could be done to educate the African in modern use of sanitation."[1005] In the following meeting the issue was discussed at some length. Apparently, some people had used aqua privies at Libuyu for different kinds of garbage, which led to blockages in the system. Since the municipality planned to connect at least the Industrial compound to the municipal sewage system – the system ran through the industrial area towards the Zambezi which is why connecting the African housing areas to the system was relatively cost effective – it wanted to make sure that the integrity of the system would not be compromised by improper usage. It was finally agreed that educational measures and by-laws against misuse would be established.

While most of the severe problems in relation to latrines and the bucket systems arose in the first three years of the existence of the AUAC, the issues of water supply and latrines at large were present for the entire period of the AUAC. Up to 1954 the problems would mainly include unsanitary conditions of latrines and lack of water on a larger scale. From 1955 onwards, the issues were directed at specific latrines. Although, therefore, overall the system started to improve, nonetheless certain latrines caused problems every now and then. Also, members of the AUAC started to request more and more latrines outside the housing areas. In 1954, Mr. Kakulubelwa requested, for instance, that a public toilet be installed near North-Western Hotel at Katombora Road.[1006] In 1956, Mr. Kabalata complained that the public toilet at Barotse Gardens in town lacked toilet paper. According to the chairman, the problem was that the toilet paper was frequently stolen.[1007] On a more general scale, it was not until the late 1950s that some measures were taken to tackle the shortage of public toilets within and outside African compounds. In 1958 for instance a

[1002] Ibid: July 7, 1949.
[1003] Ibid: March 17, 1950.
[1004] SP 4/12/66. October 14, 1953.
[1005] Ibid: August 28, 1953.
[1006] Ibid: August 28, 1954.
[1007] Ibid. December 3, 1956.

loan was granted to erect two public conveniences along Maramba and Libuyu road near the market. In the Minutes of the African Housing Board it is stated that the "Livingstone Municipal Council is concerned at lack of adequate public conveniences on the main road from Livingstone town to the Maramba and Libuyu African housing areas and at the African market"[1008]. What should have been equally concerning is that it took the Municipal Council until 1958 for such a concern to arise.

Spatially, the meaning of such infrastructures cannot be overstated, in particular in urban contexts, since the availability of, for instance, clean drinking water and public conveniences allow people not only to move more freely within the urban space, thus less constrained by bodily needs, but also allow them to structure how they move within and use urban spaces. This is particularly true for women. What today in the context of (gendered) urban sanitation inequalities is a much debated issue in urban studies of the Global South[1009] is, however, by no means a recent problem. The fact that such infrastructures were only insufficiently provided to African housing and market areas not only points to the generally divided urban space, but exemplifies how this divide structured everyday life in its very elementary forms, furthermore presenting a hindrance to movement and mobility in spaces that were not seen as immediately necessary for labour productivity. While toilets for workers and personal servants were understood as a necessity for the functioning of the work force, in African housing and market areas these were not a priority, since African compounds were first and foremost seen as spaces of providing shelter to the African work force. In a way, public conveniences co-create public spaces and *the* public as an urban social institution in general, which represents an important discourse of modernity itself.[1010] The lack of such infrastructures is therefore a signifier of the colonial understanding of compounds as (non-public) housing areas and not as (public) urban areas in a social sense which present a multitude of functions including, but not limited to housing and shelter.

Culturally and symbolically, too, sanitation inequalities reinforce socio-spatial boundaries in the context of cultural forms and experiential patterns of urban life. The urban divide between European and African society, which was partly justified by supposed cultural differences, thus reproduces the difference on which it is partly grounded. Contrary to such supposed difference, Africans did, however, try to address problems of olfactory nuisance, unhygienic conditions or matters of personal privacy in this context for years, until some measures were finally taken. Thus, olfactory and hygienic orderings[1011] form a dialectical relationship with the spatial orderings imposed by the colonial and settler regime.

All of the problems that arose in connection with sanitation and water distribution could have been solved by a municipal-wide water and sewage scheme. Even the most basic services could often

[1008] LGH 1/16/6. African Housing Board. Agenda and Minutes of Meeting: Agenda of the 18th Meeting of the African Housing Board, Monday, August 11, 1958.

[1009] i.e. Desai, R., C. McFarlane and S. Graham (2015). The Politics of Open Defecation: Informality, Body, and Infrastructure in Mumbai. *Antipode, 36*(98-120; Joshi, D., B. Fawcett and F. Mannan (2011). Health, Hygiene and Appropriate Sanitation: Experiences and Perceptions of the Urban Poor. *Environment and Urbanization, 23*(1), 91-111; McFarlane, C., R. Desai and S. Graham (2014). Politics of Sanitation: Informality and the Constitution of Urban Metabolic Life in Mumbai. In Shrestha, K., H. Ojha, P. McManus, et al. (Eds.), *Inclusive Urbanization.* New York: Routledge.

[1010] On the concept of public and private in the context of urban modernities see Arendt, H. (2012). Der Raum des Öffentlichen und der Bereich des Privaten. In Dünne, J. and S. Günzel (Eds.), *Raumtheorie. Grundlagentexte aus Philosophie und Kulturwissenschaft.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

[1011] On olfactory orderings and urban spaces see for instance Inglis, D. (2016). Sewers and Sensibilities: The Bourgeois Faecal Experience in the Nineteenth-Century City. In Jill Steward and A. Cowan (Eds.), *The City and the Senses.* London: Routledge.

not be provided, while £95,000 were spent on a sewage system at the same time in the European parts of town in 1950.[1012] In September 1954, Mr. Kabalata made an inquiry into when the municipal sewage system would be extended to Maramba, since it was the compound where most Africans were living. However, Mr. Beaton told the members of the AUAC at the following meeting that it was impossible for the moment to give any information on when the sewers would be built other than that the technical officers were preparing a scheme.[1013] There is no other mention of the sewage system being extended to Maramba. Most of the compounds were connected to the system after 1964. Some, however, are today still operating with pit latrines.

Infrastructures Beyond Materiality

The infrastructural divide in Livingstone has to be understood within a wider context of colonial urban struggles particularly at work in settler colonies and, within these, especially characterising settler towns like Livingstone – as opposed to the industrial mining towns of the Copperbelt. Infrastructures in this sense not only resemble visible or at least visualisable features of urban relations, and consequently power relations, within urban spaces. As a potentially complex web of interdependent elements that guarantees the very functioning of agglomeration processes inherent in towns and cities,[1014] infrastructures also produce and structure ideas and imagination of the urban itself. In this way they inform about who is entitled to have access to the urban and how this access is provided or restricted.[1015] Segregation in this context is not first and foremost a matter of clear lines, but rather shifting (things of) boundaries that are negotiated between Africans, settlers, colonial administrators and industries. Since the colour bar did not exist officially, infrastructures and services could not simply not be provided. Instead their provision was subject to technical and economic conditions that rendered their realisation and materialisation impossible or at least difficult, or that would confine the very functioning of the infrastructure. These conditions would then also act as a means of concealing the underlying colour bar. The spatial production of infrastructures for Africans, the thing of boundary, was realised by detaching and de-centralising them from European infrastructures in order to be able to maintain the underlying boundary. Especially the provision of transportation has another important dimension as well, namely, personal mobility. In conclusion, confining or constraining such infrastructures is a means of keeping people in place and constraining their mobility.

5.4. Strangers and the Urban Space

Women and personal servants were not only immensely important to the functioning of the urban space, but their social and spatial positions are interesting for several reasons. Personal

[1012] Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 176.
[1013] SP 4/6/10. Oktober 4, 1954.
[1014] Scott, A.J. and M. Storper (2015). The Nature of Cities: The Scope and Limits of Urban Theory. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 39*(1), 1-15.
[1015] For another interesting aspect of infrastructure, namely the dimension of exploitation through infrastructure, that is not discussed within this paper, but equally relevant to the working of colonial systems with regard to infrastructure see: Olanrewaju, S.A. (1987). The Infrastructure of Exploitation: Transport, Monetary Changes, Banking, Etc. In Falola, T. (Eds.), *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development.* London: Zed Books; and Oshin, O. (1988). Developing Infrastructure of Exploitation: The Example of Colonial Transport on the Bauchi Tin Fields, 1902–1914. *Transafrican Journal of History, 17*(123-138.

servantry was among the first forms of employment for Africans in towns. Servants' relations to their European employers put them in a specific position as intermediaries, as carriers of certain forms of knowledge and goods. Although constrained by some boundaries, they were nevertheless the only Africans to legally transgress the rigid system of the "dual city" and enter, at least physically, some segments of the European space. Single women, on the other hand, were theoretically not even considered to be a part of the general urban space. Practically, they were accepted, however, not as persons, but as a necessity to maintain some sort of social stability. Their acceptance in town was furthermore dependent of the type of compound they inhabited. Although in different contexts, both personal servants and single women were in a position of strangers, for they were able to enter a space to which they otherwise did not belong.

Gender and the Dual City

From the earliest days of anthropological and sociological research in African urban and rural areas, the role of women within different societies was studied – in the 1930s and 1940s by Audrey Richards[1016], Godfrey Wilson[1017], and Charles Coulter[1018] in Merle Davis' "Modern Industry and the African," and later by Clyde Mitchell,[1019] Monica Wilson[1020] and other RLI researchers. They were interested in particular in how town life changed the social position of women and how this affected marriages, finding that urban marriages were less stable than rural ones before 1945, but later on increased in stability. Jane Parpat argues that while the patriarchal alliances between European and African elites were responsible for this increase in stability, the whole matter was full of "contradictions that opened up space for redefining and renegotiating the nature of African urban life".[1021]

The role of African women in towns was debated in various contexts, especially between chiefs and colonial officials, but also among urban Africans and local authorities. These debates not only give an idea of different ideological positions on morale and social politics, both between and within groups of European and African representatives, but also exemplify how urban life was spatially mediated and negotiated. The position of both the chiefs and the colonial administration was clear. Single women from the villages did not belong to the town. This was discussed quite frequently between chiefs and authorities. In 1941, chief Sinadambwe for instance said that he was much concerned with the problem of unmarried girls and women leaving their villages for the line of rail and asked if something could be done about it. As a solution, the District Commissioner suggested that "compulsory registration of marriages would help and the introduction of an order such as the

[1016] Richards, A.I. (1939). *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe*. London: Published for the International Institute of African Languages & Cultures by the Oxford University Press.
[1017] Wilson, G. (1941-42). An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia. Rhodes-Livingstone Paper, 1(5-6).
For a detailed analysis of Wilson's work see Tranberg Hansen 2015, Urban Research in a Hostile Setting: Godfrey Wilson in Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia, 1938-1940.
[1018] Coulter 1967, The Sociological Problem.
[1019] Mitchell, J.C. (1957). Aspects of African Marriage on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia. *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, 22*(1-30.
[1020] Wilson, M. (1977). *For Men and Elders: Change in the Relation of Generations and of Men and Women among the Nyakyusa-Ngonde People 1875-1971*. London: International Africna Institute.
[1021] Parpart, J.L. (1994). "Where Is Your Mother?": Gender, Urban Marriage, and Colonial Discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945. *The International journal of African historical studies, 27*(2), 241-271, p. 242.

Plateau Tonga had forbidding unmarried women from going to the railway line unless they had written permission from their Chiefs."[1022] Such registration would indeed have been the only possible way to determine whether a woman were legally in town or not. However, apart from the fact that practically it was not easy to surveil Africans in the compounds to such an extent, urban Africans would eventually also find ways to circumvent such legislation. Thus, Jane Parpat argues in this regard that "[p]rostitution provided an option for some women as it is fairly easy to get temporary access to the single men's mining quarters, especially at night. Unattached women were often introduced as sisters or sisters-in-law and permitted to remain as visitors for a time in spite of suspicions about their status".[1023] While loafers and squatters could be more easily identified, since they built their own homes, the situation with single women was therefore more difficult.

Women moved to town not necessarily permanently, but their urban migration seems sometimes to have followed a circular pattern. Thus, some women would come at certain times of the year, when work in the villages was less needed. The time women and also men left the town for the villages during the year was usually September or October, since the planting season started with the rainy season. These circular migrants would return to town in May.[1024] Although single women, or so-called "undesirable" or "loose" women, would not remain permanently, they were viewed equally as a problem to the ones who set out to stay in town permanently. At a meeting of the Municipal Council in 1941, the Local Superintendent reported "a noticeable increase in the number of loose women in the Native compound for this time of the year, when they should be at their villages attending to their gardens."[1025] While one might expect that these women were invisible to the general European population, some European Livingstonians seemed to have had an interest in their welfare. At least a letter from a Mrs. A.H. Brew to the Municipal Council suggests that. In this letter she suggested that the council consider "the erection of one or more native huts in or near the Maramba Compound, for accommodating any homeless African woman or girl, for a limited number of nights, unable to find accommodation elsewhere".[1026] Perhaps Mrs. Brew knew or could at least imagine the social contracts that usually went along with cohabitation of "loose" women and single men and she wanted them to be safe from this. While her reasons remain unknown, the fact is that such accommodation was never built by the Council – perhaps because the council reasoned such a place would only increase the rate of in-migration by single women.

Africans were divided on the issue of single women in towns. Colonial administration, chiefs, and settlers were in agreement that they only caused problems. Even the Native Welfare Association of Livingstone in the 1930s argued that single women would not only be a financial burden to urban African men, but their absence from villages would hinder development in rural areas. The Association was furthermore of the opinion that they would not have to carry passes and therefore speculated that the colonial government would "pact" with them.[1027] For settlers and administrators

[1022] SP 4/1/31. Native Authority Minutes of Meeting. Minutes of Meeting of the Gwembe Tonga Superior Native Authority, September 15 to 17, 1948.
[1023] Parpart 1994, "Where Is Your Mother?": Gender, Urban Marriage, and Colonial Discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945, p. 252.
[1024] McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*, p.10.
[1025] SP 4/1/17. Municipal Council, Livingstone. Minutes of the Native Affairs Sub-Committee, December 11, 1941.
[1026] Ibis. March 12, 1941.
[1027] SP 4/12/118. Native Welfare Association, Livingstone, 1936-7.

the problems would arise out of the uncontrolled increase in urban population by women, and subsequently of providing housing and services for them and their children. For them, African urban areas would be inhabited by either single men living in bachelor housing units and, especially since the 1940s, also African families. Single women, however, were not part of the plan. It was imagined that African women and girls were "wilful and properly subordinate to men – to chiefs, fathers, brothers, and husbands",[1028] a view on which the court system was based as well. Thus, the courts often "tried to reduce the freedom of women to move from partner to partner by expelling single women from town and by encouraging women to return to their estranged husbands".[1029] A woman could, with some exceptions[1030], only claim a space in town legitimately as a wife of an urban worker. For the chiefs, women who left the villages for the town were not only suspiciously mobile[1031], which meant a loss of control and power of chiefs, but their absence, especially if it was permanent, had of course an impact on the social and labour relations in the villages, since women not only contributed to the workforce, but a lack of women also meant a lack of possible wives. The study by Monica Wilson "For men and elders" well captures the chief's loss of control and the social change created by urban migration of women. Although it was carried out in Malawi and Tanzania, the discourse might equally be applied to other parts of Southern Africa. Thus, the chiefs of the Nyakayus were not only convinced that the divorce rate had been increasing since the mid-1930s when urbanisation began to accelerate, but that so-called "runaway" women would have a hard time of re-integration into the village system, since "'a wise man did not marry a runaway, only a man without wisdom did so'".[1032] For most urban Africans single women were, however, considered in a positive light. For single men this is quite understandable. For married men, the existence of single women meant that their own wives would not be approached by single men, as will be discussed shortly. Audrey Richards already discovered that "single men often went to neighboring compounds looking for women, especially at night"[1033].

This issue was part of a longer debate in the AUAC. In July 1949, Mr. Mbangweta complained about the fining and arrest of women and girls, stating that this would be "unfair, as some were married, and some sisters and daughters who having no plot live with them. Did Government want single women sent away, in which case men would go after married women and break up homes?"[1034] The chairman then replied that "Native Authorities for a long time have been very anxious for their women to stop living bad lives in towns and asking for them to be sent back to live good lives at home. Government have agreed with this view and have helped to send the women home."[1035] The opposition between "good lives at home" and "bad lives in town" is a reflection of the general morale by which chiefs and especially missionaries tried to demonise town life. The

[1028] Geiger, S., J.M. Allman and N. Musisi (2002). Women in African Colonial Histories: An Introduction. In Geiger, S., J.M. Allman and N. Musisi (Eds.), *Women in African Colonial Histories*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p. 6.
[1029] Parpart 1994, "Where Is Your Mother?": Gender, Urban Marriage, and Colonial Discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945, p. 263-264.
[1030] These exceptions were few. McCulloch mentioned only a handful of single women would legitimately stay in town as nurses or nuns for instance and describes employment opportunities in Livingstone for women as negligible. McCulloch 1956: 19.
[1031] Barnes 2002, Virgin Territory? Travel and Migration by African Women in Twentieth-Century Southern Africa.
[1032] Wilson 1977, *For Men and Elders*, p.140.
[1033] Parpart 1994, "Where Is Your Mother?": Gender, Urban Marriage, and Colonial Discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945, p. 253.
[1034] SP 4/6/3. July 15, 1949.
[1035] Ibid.

colonial agents and local administrators, however, while occasionally complicit, generally did not share this belief. They were concerned with issues of overcrowding rather than morale. Not all members of the AUAC, however, were in agreement. Mr. Chalumanga for instance argued that the "Native Authorities were doing good work. He did not like to see African girls going about in towns living bad lives and bearing no children. Also they eat the towns-people's food and worry them. Would prefer them to go home and produce children and food".[1036] Indeed, the hard labour of producing children and food was one of the reasons why many women would go to towns in the first place, as an interview with three women conducted by Taylor and Lehmann exemplifies. "We want to rest; there is no hard work in town, but plenty in the village".[1037]

Mbangweta acknowledged that there were good arguments to both sides, but asked if misbehaving men should not be equally punished. He added that some girls would not have support at home and that an "institute [would be good] where girls could learn nursing, etc, they could also be dance partners".[1038] Mr. Mbangweta at least seems to have had an interest in the welfare of single women to some extent. Chalumanga, however, was not satisfied with the argument and confirmed his position in saying that the institution of marriage in urban areas should rather be strengthened and those who would not comply should be penalised. The debate went on about the general opinion of Africans in towns concerning single women. Mr. Beaton, the Location Superintendent, argued that he was very interested in the topic and also sympathetic to the situation of women in compounds. However, he still reasoned that a woman without a guardian should not be allowed in town and that "the objective was when the new Location was built and even now, to encourage family life and discourage loose women. This was more necessary in a general compound than in a compound belonging to one employer, where some women could be allowed in to serve the needs of single men because there was full control".[1039] Here it becomes apparent how different discourses regarding single women would go along with the spatiality of certain compounds. This attitude also explains why single women in mining townships were rather accepted in order to keep workers happy than in municipalities like Livingstone, where women were sent home comparatively often.[1040] Thus, the spatial variability of the function of different compounds is important with regard to how social life within compounds was organised, or was supposed to be organised. It was finally agreed that women without fathers or guardians should be sent home.

However, not only the question if, but also how women could be sent back to the villages was a matter of discussion. In October 1949, members complained about the way women were arrested, since the chiefs would send their "kapasus into the compounds to find out those women who had been disobeying their law"[1041], whereas the urban courts should be responsible for handling these issues. Although it was agreed that single women who were not under some form of guardianship should not have a right to stay in town, it was seen as an intrusion for the chiefs to enforce town laws themselves. These orders by the chiefs were therefore understood as a spatial transgression

[1036] Ibid.
[1037] Taylor, J.V. and D.A. Lehmann (1961). Christians of the Copperbelt: The Growth of the Church in Northern Rhodesia. , p. 62.
[1038] SP 4/6/3. July 15, 1949.
[1039] Ibid.
[1040] i.e. Heisler 1974, *Urbanisation and the Government of Migration.*, Chapter 5
[1041] SP 4/6/3. October 10, 1949.

into a realm where they should not have any authority. Again, Mr. Mbangweta was the only member to generally defend single women in Livingstone without, however, having much success.

Gendered aspects of the urban space under colonialism are often constituted by a division of public and private, in the sense of family and greater society. This can be observed for instance in the case of an issue that was raised by a number of male marketeers in Livingstone concerning female marketeers. Interestingly, this issue was not brought into the discussion by a member of the AUAC, but instead by Mr. Beaton, Officer for African Affairs. Mr. Beaton asked the members of the AUAC and the Chairman to state their view on the matter of an increase in women working as marketeers. The issue was that these women were "all wives of husbands who were at work and because of their association with the buying public it was feared that matrimonial troubles were bound to arise".[1042] The Chairman then reasoned that "legally there was nothing to prevent a woman becoming a marketeer if she so wished and that therefore there was nothing that could be done in the matter other than to trust to the good sense of the individual". The member finally "agreed that there could be no objection to female marketeers. If difficulties arose in the market this must be accepted as the normal hazards of their 'trade'".

What the marketeers meant by "matrimonial troubles" is not mentioned. One can only speculate that the husbands of these marketeers feared that their wives could be unfaithful to them, or that they might neglect their domestic work and the duties that were imposed on them. Indeed, the latter case was discussed in different instances. It was after all considered the women's responsibility to keep the house clean, and if conditions were not satisfactory they were the first to be blamed. During an inquiry into bad housing conditions in compounds Nelson Nalumango even suggested that more action should be taken to "encourage the women to be clean, and wanted prizes for cleanliness"[1043] and Mr. Muyinda even suggested punishments after some warnings. However, the phrase "normal hazard of 'their trade'" points to the former. It could of course easily be the case that these husbands, whose direct voices are absent on this issue, did not have any troubles with their wives working as marketeers, and that the male marketeers simply tried to find an argument to decrease competition. Through this debate another important aspect needs to be stressed. While those women who came to town as single women had difficulty acquiring spatial legitimacy in town, other women who had a legal basis in town would enjoy certain freedoms. Thus, there was indeed nothing the chairman could do to prevent women from participating in the urban economic sphere, which was perhaps an important reason why women migrated to towns in the first place.

Another important aspect of women's economic role in towns was "illicit" beer-brewing. Since selling beer was monopolised, the brewing and sale of so-called "traditional beer" or *chibuku*, usually made from sorghum, was considered an illegal activity. Women's role as entrepreneurs was not only important to support themselves, but also to support unemployed husbands. Because the brewing and sale of beer often considerably reduced the revenue generated from the beer-halls, local authorities responded to these activities with compound searches and arrests. Already in the mid-1940s protests against such searches were articulated in the Provincial Council, Southern

[1042] SP 4/12/66. February 1, 1955
[1043] SP 4/6/3. April 18, 1950

Province, in Livingstone by African members. They criticised the "arrest of female brewers as an unwarranted criminalization of women."[1044] The "impossibility of stamping out beer brewing"[1045] and the negative reactions that such practices created led to a government report, the so-called Chicken Report (written by R.T. Chicken)[1046], which advocated private licensed brewing in 1948. This, however, was heavily opposed by mining companies and municipalities alike, though for different reasons. While the former feared losing control over the workforce, municipalities saw this as a potential competition, which would decrease the revenues created by the monopolised beer sales. The latter was indeed was the case in Lusaka, where significant losses in municipal beer sales eventually led to increased police raids.[1047] At Livingstone, the Chicken Report was discussed at the AUAC in 1952; after a meeting with African town-dwellers the members reported that the suggestions made therein – i.e. to allow individual brewing, but in a controlled manner through certificates – would be acceptable to them.[1048] However, this was never realised.

In Livingstone as in other towns protests against the actions taken against women were formed and organised by women in 1954 to the surprise of the authorities, who saw the ZANC behind these protests. However, it was only during later beer-hall protests of 1957, although economic considerations were still on the agenda,[1049] that indeed more direct political involvement was the case. Members of the Congress framed beer-halls as the source of many (urban) evils. Women in this context were again put into the position of passive agents, though not just by the British authorities alone, but also by the Congress members themselves. They portrayed beer-halls as spaces that produced "poverty, juvenile delinquency and especially idleness and improper behavior among women".[1050] A. L. Epstein recorded a statement that vividly captured the African male attitude towards women in beer-halls when he cites one of his interviewees saying "I never go to the Beer Hall with my wife...that can easily lead to fighting between you and even divorce"[1051]. Many believed women would spend all their husband's salary on beer. It is perhaps almost needless to say that the opposite story was not only told by women, but in fact rather reflected the daily situation in many households, where women lacked the money to buy food, because their husbands spent it on beer.[1052] Moreover, beer-halls were considered a place of adultery, both for men and women. In the popular advice-column "Tell me, Josephine" by Barbara Hall, published in the Central African Post, this is vividly illustrated in multiple requests for advice. One reads the following way:

> "Beerhall women have stolen my husband. Schoolgirls in frilly petticoats hang around the place always, giving him favours for money and beer. If I stay at home I shall lose my husband forever. So I go to drink with him and then we are fighting and it is a sad home we have and I am

[1044] Ambler 1990, Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia, p. 305.
[1045] Ibid.
[1046] Chicken, R.T. (1948). A report on an inquiry into the prevalence of illegal brewing and its causes and effects in the urban areas near the railway line in Northern Rhodesia. Lusaka: Government Printer.
[1047] Ambler 1990, Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia, p. 305.
[1048] SP 4/6/3. February 12, 1952.
[1049] LGH 1/18/3. African Affairs. African Beer Brewing, 1945-67: African National Congress Northern Rhodesia. Beer Halls. Explanation Of Brewing, October 6, 1957.
[1050] Ambler 1990, Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia, p. 308.
[1051] Epstein 1958, *Politics in an Urban African Community*, p. 107.
[1052] Parpart, J.L. (1986). The Household and the Mine Shaft: Gender and Class Struggles on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1926–64. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 13*(1), 36-56, p. 53.

ashamed. One day perhaps they will turn beerhalls into schools for our children. Until then, what can I do to keep my marriage?"[1053]

It is perhaps not surprising then that many of my interview-partners and practically all women I interviewed denied having gone to the beer-halls. Although the closing of beer-halls was one of the first policies implemented by the independent government, the strong discursive link between beer-halls and colonialism still remains in the collective memory. In any case, the transition towards moral discourses in connection with the beer-halls was also propagated by women themselves. Members of the "Women's League helped the UNIP boycott beerhalls, charging that beer drinking led women to neglect children and household duties, and encouraged prostitution".[1054] In independent Zambia through popular music, as Miles Larmer shows, "urban women [were still criticised] for adopting immoral activities such as beer drinking and prostitution, idealising and essentialising the 'traditional' African woman".[1055]

Most of the discourses involving African women and girls in town are either implicitly or explicitly of a sexual nature. That is to say, they involved matters of marriage, adultery, chastity, teenage pregnancy, etc. This sexualised nature of the discourse around women and girls also included those who stayed in town legally, as the above example shows. One aspect that was particularly relevant to (male) Africans and that until today remains a widespread issue in many African countries is teenage pregnancy that might occur within the marginal timeframes when girls would not be under parental or educational control, the way to and from school. In March 1956, the members therefore requested that the local education authority provide boarding for girls at the Coillard Memorial School. When the item was discussed in the following meeting the chairman reasoned that it was unlikely that the education authority would accept the request. Mr. Mapani then explained "that the underlying reason for the request was that parents had discovered that their daughters' chastity, and consequently their financial value on the marriage market, was better safeguarded at boarding schools. In fact, continued Mr. Mapani, parents were seriously concerned at the high incidence of pregnancy amongst the pupils of day schools."[1056] Mr. Kabalata and Mr. Mbangweta agreed with Mapani. Mr. Mbangweta then suggested that the authority might consider three ways to alternatively deal with the issue: "(1) An examination of the conduct of girls immediately after school hours. (2) Staggering the times at which boys and girls finish schooling each day. (3) Arranging escorts for parties of girls from the school to the built up area of the town".[1057]

From these debates one can infer that the spatial characteristics of colonial towns were not only predominantly male, but that spatial difference between village and town life regarding women and girls was not mediated by a simple and quick transformation process. Thus, the systems of dowry and the value of girls within household reproduction was not simply discarded at the municipal boundary lines. As Jane Parpat highlighted[1058] these transformations were often contradictory. After

[1053] Hall, B. (1964). Tell me, Josephine. New York: Simon and Schuster, p. 134.
[1054] Ibid., p. 54-55; see also: Schuster, I. (1983). Constraints and Opportunities in Political Participation: The Case of Zambian Women. *Genève-Afrique/Geneva-Africa, 21* (2), 7.
[1055] Larmer 2021, *Living for the City*, p. 248.
[1056] SP 4/12/66. March 6, 1955
[1057] Ibid.
[1058] see quote above

all, women and girls had been living at Livingstone for decades already. Nonetheless, schooling for girls, for instance, was a rather recent development. Such debates therefore highlight the conflictual nature of cultural and socio-economic re-negotiations. Clearly, visions and expectations of modernity and social change as promised by town life did not span the entirety of the social field. In other words, spatially, women, girls and unmarried ones in particular, were considered to belong to the village, safe from the dangers of town life such as the lack of social control and all sorts of so-called social evils. It is in such debates that biblical tropes of promiscuous town life are set against the ordered and safe spaces of the village, an antithesis that spans across such large geographical and temporal spaces in human history as to almost make it a universal. The important point to make here is that especially African elites, both urban and village based ones, like the colonial authorities had an equal interest in restricting access to towns for fellow Africans, women in particular.

Practically, however, the ability of women to move to towns was not necessarily more constrained than that of African men. While men usually needed employment, women usually required husbands with employment to be able to stay in town legally. However, their space and mobility within towns was highly limited at least until the 1950s, especially when they were in town illegally. Many women were therefore bound to a certain house or small areas. The acceptance of single women and the appreciation of their "value" to town life, beyond serving the needs of single men, only gradually developed in the final years of colonial rule. At a meeting of the Municipal Association in 1958 it was discussed if hostels for single women should be considered. A letter was received by the Secretary of the Central Race Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee that raised the question of the provision of hostels "in the major towns of the territory to accommodate coloured and African women in employment […] which, it has been suggested, would meet a need and which would enable more African women to obtain work in European households".[1059] This consideration, however, did not receive much attention by all municipalities. Of the towns in question only Lusaka, Chingola and Mufulira were in general support, while Lusaka already had plans that also included social and cultural institutions such as libraries, training and recreational facilities. Choma and Broken Hill did not see a need for hostels, since there was little opportunity for single women to obtain employment. Livingstone also said that there was no demand and that it would rather make available single quarters, if circumstances were to change.[1060] From the debates presented above we know that there indeed was a need for housing for single women in Livingstone. While Lusaka at least understood that education and training facilities would have to be made available for single women to gain employment opportunities, and thereby somewhat accepted the fact of their presence, Livingstone did not officially acknowledge the roles of single women beyond the tacit acceptance of their formally illegal status and the informality they were living under, both in terms of housing and labour.

A fact to which atttention is often not paid is that many Africans were not only employed as "domestic servants" in European residential areas, missionary stations, or colonial administration facilities, but also – women and children in particular – by Africans themselves. Sacha Hepburn

[1059] LGH 1/16/66. Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia, Agenda: Executive Committee Meeting, December 2, 1958, p. 23.
[1060] Other municipalities such as Ndola were not mentioned.

highlights that the data on domestic service in Northern Rhodesia that was collected by the Labour Department "did not include African households, even though officials knew that significant numbers of Africans employed domestic workers".[1061] A letter from a Senior Labour Officer to colleagues in the Labour Department in 1950 provides evidence of this fact.[1062] We can therefore speculate, however with good reason, that many single women and perhaps also children in Northern Rhodesian and later Zambian towns were part of an informal urban labour force in domestic services. As interviews Sacha Hepburn conducted with active and former domestic workers suggest, the conditions under which they were and are still working and living can often be considered precarious at best and inhumane at worst.[1063] As illustrated above, the situation of African women in urban areas under colonial rule was by no means coherent in a juridical or normative sense, and local socio-cultural, political and legal practises have to be taken into account in terms of the spatial variability of women's position. Yet the underlying discourses and ideologies allow us to generalise that the space of women in towns was not secured in any sense. Even if their presence was tolerated by urban Africans and colonial or municipal authorities, they were hardly tolerated for being single women; instead, it was their function in town which was tolerated.

Spatial In-Betweenness of Domestic Servants

It is perhaps an evil irony that many "domestic servants", as they were called, from the very beginnings of colonial rule until its demise lived in closest physical proximity to the European population, but were usually kept at great social distance by that very population at the same time. With some amusement Ndabaningi Sithole, co-founder of ZANU, explained in the British documentary series "End of Empire" that "every white man expected to be called Ngozi or Mambo, that is king. Every European housewife was called queen. Every European daughter was princess. Every European son was prince. The whole European community was composed of royalty."[1064] While Sithole is speaking of Southern Rhodesia, it is safe to say that such attitudes were not much different in Northern Rhodesia, and were most apparent in the social constellation of a master-servant relationship.

In Livingstone, the history of domestic servants of various kinds dates back to the first settlement at the Old Drift, where practically all employment of Africans came in the form of domestic service, almost all of them being male workers. They worked as cooks and houseboys, launderers, waiters, or hotel servants.[1065] At that time the housing situation was the same for basically all Africans working in town. Only in the 1920s and 1930s, when the physical conditions and legal frameworks became more formalised, did difference in quality start to reveal the stratification within the African urban society. Domestic servants, even those employed by high ranking colonial officers, were known to be living under comparatively poor conditions.. In 1937 the Medical Officer at Livingstone wrote in his inspection of the government stands that with the

[1061] Hepburn, S. (2019). Service and Solidarity: Domestic Workers, Informal Organising and the Limits of Unionisation in Zambia. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 45*(1), 31-47, p. 4.
[1062] Ibid.
[1063] Ibid.
[1064] End of Empire. The Rider and the Horse. 1985. Produced by: Granada Television, UK. Minute 02:35-02:58.
[1065] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 137.

"exception of the houses in "Morocco" and N.O.P.Q.R.S.T. quarters, the accommodation provided for native servants on Government stands is definitely unfit for habitation owing to the absence of sufficient light and ventilation. Over 50% of the huts are of corrugated iron and on three stands, although brick huts are provided there is, when the door is closed, no light or ventilation"[1066]

Unfortunately, information on the different housing types (A, B, C and D) is not given by the officer, and I could not find it anywhere else either. However, since houses would be typed according to the number of rooms, it might be that A-D refers to 1- 4 room houses. Accordingly, most of the servants would be housed in one-room houses or huts, which does not necessarily mean that only one person would be living in one house. The housing legislation therefore suggested a minimum floorspace per person, not a room per person.[1067] Apart from the houses in "Morocco" and N.O.P.Q.R.S.T. quarters[1068] as well as the Police compound and Bachelor Quarters, the following figures could be obtained for 62 different houses and thus 62 different civil servants (Table 9).

Table 9. Housing Types in Servants' Quarters, 1942

Housing Type	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Brick	Corrugated Iron
Nr. of Houses	103	3	10	1	73	1

The conditions did not change, however, as they had not changed in the years prior to the Medical Officer's inspection in 1937. In 1940, the then Chief Medical Officer wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary and corrected the view of the Labour Officer, who insinuated that the slow process of improving the housing conditions was due to the fact that the Provincial Commissioner was waiting for the Council, and the Council for the Medical Officer's report.

"The Labour Officer is in error. In 1935 in my annual report I used the following words: "Far too many quarters provided by Europeans for Natives, and the corrugated iron shacks for servants on Government officers' stands at Livingstone are a bad example, are frankly degrading and definitely worse hygienically than the grass huts which natives build themselves in the bush". Nothing resulted from that report and in my report for 1936 I used the following words: "Among the very worst housing in the territory is the accommodation provided for many Government officers' servants in Livingstone."[1069]

[1066] LGH 3/5/1. Livingstone African Housing Personal Servants. Native Housing, Health Department, Livingstone August 31, 1937.
[1067] A report on Housing of African employees considered a minimum of 4,6 m^2 per person or a maximum of 4 persons per room. See: NAZ: MLSS 1/24/1. African Housing Committee Meetings: Report submitted by the committee appointed to consider and report upon the Housing for African Employees in the Protectorate, 1942.
[1068] Unfortunately, I could not find out what these terms refer to.
[1069] LGH 3/5/1. Letter form the Chief Medical Officer to the Chief Secretary, September 23, 1940.

Thus, living and housing conditions of domestic workers were particularly poor, especially until the late 1940s when at least some improvements were undertaken. At that time, poor treatment of domestic workers became socially less acceptable within European society, and domestic workers themselves took stronger initiatives to make explicit their social and political agency.[1070] Peter Fraenkel remembers in this regard a story that his later wife, anthropologist Merran McCulloch, told him.

> "She told me she had been invited to dinner at the home of the secretary for African Affairs [in Livingstone] – the top man in the provincial administration. The invitation happened to coincide with the first 'day of prayer' [a national strike in 1953 against the Federation]. When the guests arrived the lady of the house apologized profusely: it was going to be an improvised meal. Her cook had not turned up. He was such a faithful servant, she was certain he had made every effort to get through the picket lines. He knew she was expecting guests. There was so much intimidation. Wasn't it terrible? Back at the institute [RLI], Merran mentioned this to one of the African research workers. He doubled up with laughter: 'that man -the cook – is one of the organizers of the pickets!'"[1071]

Although most domestic workers were not as involved in politics as other groups,[1072] they certainly did not lack political consciousness. Notwithstanding the generally poor housing conditions and low salaries, their proximity to Europeans nevertheless put them in a specific social position. Merran McCulloch argued that among the different occupational groups, such as workers with different skills, hawkers and traders, or clerks, domestic workers expressed relatively stable attitudes towards town life. It is therefore all the more surprising that they were ignored in ethnographies and social surveys at the time. McCulloch attributes this omission to the fact that they were rarely active in urban organisation and politics. To that end, her fellow anthropologists focused on mine workers, supervisors and clerks, who were not only more visible, since anthropologists did not conduct their field research in European homes, but who were also involved in unions and other organisations. "Yet they [domestic workers] are an important section of the population. In Northern Rhodesia Europeans and Africans hardly ever meet socially, either in hotels, restaurants or private houses. Few Africans other than domestics are familiar with the interior of a European house, or the customs of a European household."[1073]

Because the social status of Africans in towns was not only dependent on their economic standing and income, but equally so on their familiarity with European housing, interior decoration and furniture, as well as customs, fashions and to some extent also family life, domestic workers occupied an important position as intermediaries and provided other Africans with information on eating, clothing, interior spaces or even the upbringing of children. Furthermore, domestic workers

[1070] Hepburn 2019, Service and Solidarity: Domestic Workers, Informal Organising and the Limits of Unionisation in Zambia.
[1071] Fraenkel 2005, *No Fixed Abode*, p. 216.
[1072] Although Hepburn highlights that domestic workers were active in the formal labour movement "since at least the 1930s, with small groups of workers seeking to establish associations and trade unions beginning in the early 1950s". Hepburn 2019, Service and Solidarity: Domestic Workers, Informal Organising and the Limits of Unionisation in Zambia, p. 2. While some formal organisation emerged during the 1950s and 1960s, it was, however, rather short-lived.
[1073] McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*, p. p. 61

often acquired material goods from their employers which they no longer had use for, such as tools or kitchenware. The comparatively low wages were sometimes compensated by additional food or clothing. The status of domestic workers within African society was thereby also dependent on their employer's social status, as Fraenkel argues.

> "Northern Rhodesia's elaborate status system was mirrored among domestic servants. The prestige of a 'houseboy' depended on that of his employer. The employees of European households looked down on those who worked for Indians. But even more lowly regarded were those who worked for poor white Afrikaner – one so impoverished that he lived on a staple diet of maize porridge, just like his African labourers."[1074]

Thus, the physical and socio-spatial constellation of the relationship between domestic workers and Europeans as well as that between domestic workers and other Africans in town needs to be stressed. As McCulloch's and Fraenkel's implications suggest, the position of domestic workers within African society very much depended on their employers' wealth and, perhaps more importantly, on their employers' social position. For example, many Indians made good profits as traders, but were still not regarded as equals to Europeans, neither by Europeans nor Africans. Wealth alone was therefore not the only criterion of distinction. Similarly, a South African or British worker, who perhaps not only treated his domestic workers badly, but who himself did not occupy a high status within the rigid and hierarchical British class structure and lacked social and cultural capital, had a negative effect on the position of the domestic workers he employed. Tranberg Hansen writes in the context of the increasing arrivals of South Africans to the Copperbelt from the late 1940s onwards that "[m]any of these new employers [of domestic workers] took for granted the low-paid servants, always on call, and allowed their children to address them rudely and order them around".[1075] This in a way is quite well illustrated by Sithole's remark on royalty at the beginning of the section.

A report on an angry South African who wanted his servant to be brought before a judge gives a vivid example of the combination of cheap domestic labour in the form of young men, who often had only recently moved to town, and white working class. The incident happened because the servant did not understand what to do with his employer's boots, which the employer had thrown at his feet, and decided to put them on instead of cleaning them.[1076] For a colonial officer or a member of the colonial upper class on the other hand, especially in the late colonial period, mistreatments and low salaries might have been socially more unacceptable. However, this is not a matter of a supposedly humane upperclass and inhumane working class, but rather one of social convention and structuration. That being said, ill treatment can come in different forms and where corporal punishment became rarer within some social groups, social or symbolic mistreatment might still be used. Peter Fraenkel remembers that "[a]t a dinner party a black 'houseboy' served a guest from the

[1074] Fraenkel 2005, *No Fixed Abode*, p. 128
[1075] Tranberg 1989, *Distant Companions*, p. 176
[1076] Ibid. p. 174

'wrong' side. Her hostess seized a table napkin and used it to whip the man to the 'right' side."[1077] In any case, to some extent the position of employer and employee were inextricably linked in terms of salary, social prestige, and the knowledge and skill of domestic workers.

In the minutes of the African Urban Advisory Council these personal relationships between servants and employers had little to no relevance. In general, the matters of personal servants were not discussed frequently, contrary to what Robbins suggests in her thesis[1078]. Robbins argues that the members of the AUAC were concerned about the housing of their fellow Africans. While this was generally the case, domestic servants were rarely mentioned. What is correct, however, is that if their living conditions were debated, it was always a matter of housing. Thus, while problems within personal relations between Africans and Europeans were discussed on many occasions, these discussions never involved personal servants specifically, but usually general forms of discrimination or, if work related, they involved usually industrial workers or railway workers. The housing condition on the other hand came up a couple of times.

Already in 1949 Mr. Luapandula raised a complaint about rain entering the houses of personal servants, because the doors were too large, and the bath rooms lacked roofs.[1079] Since the servants in question were working for European civil servants, the Public Works Department was responsible for such issues. Thus, those personal servants were actually not employed privately by the civil servants, but they were part of the contract between the European civil servants and the colonial administration, much like a housing allowance. During the meeting of February 17, 1950, the chairman passed on the information by the PWD that it lacked staff and materials to deal with these issues to the AUAC. Mr. Luapandula raised the issue again in December 1952, thus almost three years later. The issue could not be resolved, however, because apparently not all personal servants were housed by the government. Some were living in privately owned houses, which made negotiations on their housing conditions difficult.[1080] It was the responsibility of the servants to address their issues to their own employers. Only if they were housed in government houses would the PWD be responsible. Hence, in many cases personal servants had little chance of improving their situation, since their space in town was outside the realm of local government or colonial administration, if not legally then practically. They were housed in town, but often outside governmental control. Although employers were legally obliged to conform to certain rules, in practice the situation was quite different. The fact that it took the PWD and the chairman three years, and the continued efforts by Mr. Luapandula to come up with a reason why the housing conditions were still poor, underscores the difficult position of domestic servants.

Mr Luapandula and Mr. Mataa actually turned out to be the only ones to raise issues concerning personal or domestic servants. Some personal servants, as McCulloch has already highlighted, did not even have proper places to sleep. Mr. Mataa for instance issued a request to provide personal servants of railway workers with sleeping and bath rooms. As it turned out, after the chairman had approached the head office of the Rhodesian Railways at Bulawayo, the practice of workers

[1077] Fraenkel 2005, *No Fixed Abode*, p. 233.
[1078] see Robbins 1977, *A Study of African Participation in Urban Politics in Livingstone, Zambia, 1905-1966*, p. 168.
[1079] SP 4/6/3. November 14, 1949.
[1080] SP 4/12/66. January 9, 1953.

employing personal servants in the railway area was illegal, or at least not in accordance with the railways workers ordinance, since the railways would employ domestic servants for their workers, who would be housed in a separate compound.[1081] This, too, points not only to the precarious social space many of the domestic servants in the service of less wealthy employers found themselves in, but also to the physical repercussions thereof. Perhaps even less than so-called illegal squatters, they would not even have a place to stay. The last issue that was raised in connection with servants was again raised by Mr. Luapandula in 1955, when he requested, similarly to Mr. Mataa, that domestic servants living on their employer's stands be provided with better sleeping conditions, instead of corrugated iron huts.[1082] Instead of trying to find a solution, the chairman, Mr. Long, simply reminded Mr. Luapandula that "this whole issue had been discussed at great length before, and that a very full explanation of the position had been given in 1953"[1083]. At large, therefore, not much had changed in the context of personal servants between the 1940s and 1950s. Perhaps some domestic servants were better housed over time, but the basic problems remained the same.

This becomes quite apparent by looking at an issue on servant's quarters that arose in 1962, when the housing committee were reminded that

> "municipal houses did not have servants quarters attached although change rooms were provided: these change rooms were not suitable for accommodation. It was suggested that a number of people applying for municipal houses would possibly be prepared to pay an increased rent for the satisfaction of having a servant living on the stand."[1084]

Hence, it took the Municipal Council to address the problem of unsuitable living conditions for domestic servants on their employers' stands and make explicit that this could only be done by providing proper houses. Although it had been illegal to have servants use either the kitchen floor or a shack on the premise as a sleeping place, this was nevertheless a common practice.

However, here possible variations within Northern Rhodesia need to be stressed. Thus, Tranberg Hansen historicises the overall changing position of domestic workers according to several changes in post-World War II Northern Rhodesia with particular reference to Lusaka and the Copperbelt. She argues that "[e]xperienced servants with good references who had worked for years in white households among upper ranks of colonial officials saw their honorable occupation becoming less reputable during the postwar years."[1085] The decline in occupational or class status she attributes to three processes that developed simultaneously: firstly, the increase in rural to urban migration after World War II and the coming to town of often uneducated young men with no experience of domestic service. The second process she identifies is the migration of white workers mainly from South Africa to the Copperbelt, "who had little prior experience with servants"[1086] and finally "the gradual occupational differentiation within African society at large,

[1081] SP 4/6/3. May 6, 1950.
[1082] SP 4/12/66. February 25, 1955.
[1083] Ibid.
[1084] LGH 3/1/8. Municipal Council Meeting, December 13, 1962.
[1085] Tranberg 1989, *Distant Companions*, p. 173.
[1086] Ibid.

through which better paid and more skilled jobs gradually came into the purview of more African men".[1087]

The fact that domestic workers were available as "houseboys", "gardenboys", cooks, and later nannies – the average number of domestic workers in a European household in Livingstone as probably across the territory was three, for garden, house, and cooking[1088] – influenced how households were equipped and run, since practically no manual labour was done by Europeans. Speaking of his friend and colleague Peter, Frank Bennett in his "Memories of a Colonial Officer in Northern Rhodesia" argues that especially within South African society, to which Peter belonged, it was an almost "universal philosophy" not to do any kind of manual labour when an African was present to do it for them. While the writing of Bennett suggests that he did not see that as problematic, another former Colonial Officer, John Wood, unlike Bennett viewed such "philosophy" critically, even though he is not speaking of personal servants specifically. "Foremen are gentlemen here", he writes, "wearing ties and clean clothes, telling their Africans what to do. [...] Even if they work themselves, there is always an African to do the heavier and dirtier work. I remember having my car serviced in Livingstone. There was a European in charge with about three assistants [...] His manner to his assistants was rude and even abusive. There is always an African to fetch and carry."[1089]

The fact that there was always an African present to do the work even in the not so well-off parts of European society, which by the 1950s, in contrast to the first three decades of the century, was nevertheless very small, rendered certain technical and household devices unnecessary. Bennett remembers that most of his friends "did not have electric vacuum cleaners or washing machines and dryers, or any other labor-saving device. Instead they had mops, brooms, dustpans and African elbow grease to clean their homes."[1090] The term African elbow grease alone denominates and points to the position of African domestic workers within the European household. Indeed the floor was not only cleaned by kneeling servants, but in many cases the kitchen floor was the sleeping place of domestic workers. But more importantly, the very social relation between domestic workers and their employers structured the way many households were equipped. This has to be understood against the background that many white workers, especially on the Copperbelt, were heavy consumers of all kinds of goods, technical and non-technical alike, especially cars. It was one of the pleasures of white society during the prosperous copper-years. However, even the pleasure of consumption reaches a limit if a vacuum cleaner or washing machine loses its use value when cheap labour is available.

The physical distance in relation to the social one is crucial in the relationship between domestic workers and their employers. As with the general relationship between Africans and Europeans that structured the colonial city as a dual city, the relationship between domestic servants and employers in an even more direct sense renders visible the seemingly paradoxical situation of distance and proximity between colonised and colonisers. As a reminder, this is how Simmel constructed the

[1087] Ibid.
[1088] McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*.
[1089] Wood 1961, *Northern Rhodesia*, p. 56-57.
[1090] Bennett, F. (2006). *Under an African Sun: Memoirs of a Colonial Officer in Northern Rhodesia.* London: Radcliffe Press, p. 132.

type of the stranger[1091]. Thus, the servants are physically and indeed temporally very close, but socially far away. They are fixed within certain spaces, the household of Europeans, but their position is fundamentally affected by the fact that they do not initially belong in them. On the micro-scale of the household the relationship furthermore denotes a boundary in the sense of Andrew Abbott's proposal as a thing of boundary.[1092] Thus, it is the boundary of the master-servant relationship that creates its respective social entities, the master and the servant, not vice versa. This boundary thereby constitutes the social space of domestic servants within European households and structures their practice and movement within it. The elbow grease is perhaps the most drastic reminder of such a boundary. However, this need not detract from the fact that some domestic servants indeed enjoyed high social status within their own social space, because of the social and material resources they could acquire through their position, namely, knowledge and goods.

Yet, as Tranberg-Hansen elaborates, individually their status was dependent not only on the social position of their employers, but their social position as a collective would be bound to changes in society over time as a whole.[1093] Most notably, the end of colonialism was a drastic turning point. Although not all Europeans left at once, many domestic servants lost their employment. Even with practically the whole society of colonisers gone, however, the system of domestic servants did not simply disappear, for already during colonial days Indians and some wealthier Africans had also employed domestic servants. In this manner the system continued albeit,in a different way. The work of domestic servants, or domestic workers as they would soon be called, stayed the same, as did their social position within the household, but they were not strangers anymore in the above sense, although they remained distant companions, as Tranberg-Hansen argues. That is to say, if not the "thing of boundary"[1094] then the quality of the boundary changed, which again does not mean that the attitude towards domestic workers by their employers or their social position within the household changed. The boundary was simply no longer based on a racial rationale, but a social one. If not within the households, the effect of this would become relevant in relation to society as a whole. The position of a domestic worker within society would, therefore, gradually decrease in relation to other strata of the postcolonial society, and perhaps today more than ever it is a quite precarious economic sector.

5.5. Urban Segregation at the End of Empire

The infrastructural and social divides within towns was did not only structure everyday life at the time. Its aftermath is embedded in specific memories that serve as a reference point or cut vertex of urban colonial history itself. These specific memories refer to the relations and boundaries between Europeans and Africans in pointing to the colour bar ingrained in various urban infrastructures. One reference used by my interview partners on multiple occasions was the practice of shopping from

[1091] Simmel 1971, *On Individuality and Social Forms*, p. 143.
[1092] Abbott 1995, Things of Boundairies, p. 860.
[1093] Tranberg 1989, *Distant Companions*, p. 173
[1094] Abbott 1995, Things of Boundairies, *Things of Boundaries*

the window.[1095] In commercial zones – in Livingstone as in other towns this was the area where Indians were housed and resembled one of the few non-work related spaces of everyday encounter between Africans and Europeans[1096] – Africans were allowed to buy goods from European shops. However, they were not permitted to enter these shops. Instead they had to buy from a small window usually located behind the stores.[1097] Not only the discrimination itself, but probably equally the fact that this mode of selling goods created long queues because Europeans were served first, caused a lot of indignation, especially since it added another dimension to the overall spatial division within the towns.

An amusing story that exposes this racist practice of the window system to ridicule is told about Simon Kapwepwe, second Vice-president of Zambia. After having saved enough money to buy a car, he is said to have gone to a Land Rover dealer and asked him to put the car through the window, since, as a law-abiding citizen, he would not be allowed to enter the shop.[1098] This story survived in different variations, that is with different characters and different items. In Livingstone, Friday Mayumberu told the same story only with Harry Nkumbula as the main character and the item not being a car, but the head of bovine. With much amusement Mr. Mayumberu explained how the head of the bovine was too large to fit through the window and the business could not be completed.[1099] By ridiculing the system, the stories were also a way to lay bare the colour bar and metaphorically bring the matter of back-windows to the front.

Africans were not only physically excluded from European shops and, consequently, from some sort of shopping experience or act of shopping often associated with urban life(-style), such as window shopping, testing out or discovering potentially new and unknown goods.[1100] The queues forming in front of these windows were spatially visible and temporally perceptible reminders of the narrow, confined and limited spatial possibilities of Africans within towns in contrast to Europeans, and thus creating a very blatant "sense of one's place" and "a sense of place of others".[1101] In the discussions between colonial administrative bodies about that system not only the underlying ideologies, but also the ambiguities of the colonial system become apparent, as the example below illustrates.

[1095] For Mr. and Mrs. Mpiri, him born in 1925 and her in 1938 in Nyasaland (Malawi) and living in Zambia since 1944 (Mr. Mpiri) and 1959, for example, three changes were important to mention to describe the transition from colonialism to post-colonialism. These were the materiality of houses (from mud to brick construction), the toilette infrastructure (from bucket systems to flushing toilettes) and the mode of buying from the window. Interviews 7 and 8: May 23, 2017

[1096] Planning and placing Asian housing and commercial districts as barrier zones between African and European parts of cities was common among colonial urban areas under British rule. For Nairobi for example: Amutabi, M. (2016). Buildings as Symbols and Metaphors of Colonial Hegemony: Interrogating Colonial Buildings and Architecture in Kenya's Urban Spaces. In Dimissie, F. (Eds.), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories*. New York: Routledge.

[1097] Protests against the practice of banning Africans from entering European-owned stores as well as against the law that prohibited Africans from establishing shops outside African compounds was challenged and criticised already in the 1940s by Dauti Yamba of the Western Province African Provincial Council. Musambachime, M.C. (1991). Dauti Yamba's Contribution to the Rise and Growth of Nationalism in Zambia, 1941-1964. *African Affairs, 90*(359), 259-281, p. 265.

[1098] See: Huffman, V. (2004). Stories from the Cha Cha Cha. In Loeb, P.R. (Eds.), *The Impossible Will Take a While: A Citizens Guide to Hope in a Time of Fear.* New York: Basic Books, p. 161.

[1099] Interview 19: May 9, 2018.

[1100] The interest of urban Africans in new products (especially clothes) was on many accounts already observed by Manchester Anthropologists from the 1940s onwards. See for instance: Wilson 1941-42, An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization ; Mitchell 1956, *The Kalela Dance*.

[1101] Bourdieu 1989, Social Space and Symbolic Power, p. 19. Author's note: Citing Erving Goffman, Bourdieu uses the "sense of place" to describe the structuring effects of the habitus. Other than my strategic adaptation of the phrase here, however, Goffman and Bourdieu use it to explain the inner and mostly unconscious workings of hierarchical relations within social space. See also: Goffman 1959, *The Presentation of Self*.

Since this visible discrimination of the "window system",[1102] as it was called, caused a lot of anger on the African side, it formed an aspect of inquiries during the 1950s until independence; some of these, however, have to be understood in the advent of the establishment of the Federation, because in order for it to be realised the acceptance of Africans had to be at least partly ensured. The policy of partnership between Africans and Europeans should abolish at least some elements of the officially non-existent colour bar.[1103] The dichotomy between general attempts and specific practices, however, renders visible the problem of these inquiries and policies as being mere lip service. A good example of this is a confidential letter from the Secretary of Native Affairs to the Provincial Commissioner of the Southern Province in Livingstone. While the discriminatory practice of the window system is acknowledged, it is nevertheless defended on the grounds of superficial reasons masquerading as pragmatism or practicality. In the letter, the Secretary of Native Affairs agrees with a response of the Legislative Council to a motion of the African Representative Council to abolish the window system:

> "It is clear from the wording of the motion that it was inspired by a desire to improve race relations. Government is of the opinion that legislation to prohibit the window system in stores, even if it were possible, would do nothing to improve race relations and might well have the opposite effect. Improvement in race relations can only come about as a normal consequence of an effort on the part of the different races. Government believes that the window system will come to an end as result of economic expediency as soon as wealth of Africans has increased to an extent which makes them valuable customers at stores which at present cater for European tase."[1104]

"Race relations" here are quasi-naturalised. They are understood as a consequence of economic matters and of mere taste. Any attempt to legally interfere with these "normal consequences" would do more harm than good. After all, the very possibility of prohibiting such a system is called into question, probably based on the liberal rationale that sees any (state) interference with private business matters critically, but certainly, because such an interference would "likely cause a breach of peace and harmony".[1105] Furthermore, the paternalistic language used in the response to the notion acts as an intermediator between the modernisation and development discourse of late colonialism and the open segregational discourse of earlier periods. It acknowledges the "desire to improve race relations" while at the same time lecturing the African Council that the abolishment of the system would be counterproductive. Priority is given to the economic realm over the political. In

[1102] NAZ SP 1/1/1. Confidential Letter from the Secretary of Native Affairs to the Provincial Commissioner in Livingstone, October 22, 1951.
[1103] Apart from some multi-racial interest groups like the Capricorn Africa Society the most notable official attempts to overcome the so called "racialism" was the Moffat Resolution of 1954 and the Benson Constitution of 1959. See Phiri, B.J. (1991). The Failure of Multi-Racial 'liberal' parties in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia: Prelude to the One-Party State? *Asian and African Studies, 25*(1), 55-80, p. 64-68. Although the Moffat Resolution should ensure that "Every lawful inhabitant of the Federation has the right to progress according to his character, ability and industry without distinction of race, colour or creed", the reality was quite different. Cited in Sanger, C. (1959): The Last Great Fight. In: The Spectator, May 22, p.7.
[1104] SP 1/1/1. October 22, 1951.
[1105] Amutabi 2016, Buildings as Symbols and Metaphors of Colonial Hegemony: Interrogating Colonial Buildings and Architecture in Kenya's Urban Spaces, p. 244.

his attempt to find a solution, the Secretary of Native Affairs reaffirms that these matters of taste and custom – but also reasons of security, since "goods laid out for display are apt to become soiled, even if not lifted!"[1106] and reasons of hygiene, since "[i]t is hardly reasonable to expect Africans, so many of whom are diseased, to be allowed to try on clothes which are stocked for European consumption"[1107] – are important arguments not to abolish the system. Instead, he proposes to make adjustments to the system, since

> "it is equally unreasonable for Africans to be kept waiting for hours before they can make their purchase, to be treated rudely, or to be expected to spend a sum of money which may represent several month's wages on an article which they are not allowed to examine first."[1108]

On the local level the infrastructural divide is kept in place not only as an informal practice. It is therefore legally and institutionally legitimised using discourses of hygiene and security that are paradigmatic of segregational discourses of the early colonial period. At the same time, however, discrimination is in theory understood negatively – or at least the contestation against it is accepted as legitimate – according to the modernisation and development paradigm after World War II. The colonial administrators are thus caught between two approaches, leaning, however, towards the segregationist one.

In the letter, the Secretary of Native Affairs goes through a list of different economic sectors, from shops to banks, cinemas and hotels, post offices, and railways. In case of the banks, the issue is seen as easiest to solve in the eyes of the Secretary, since segregation there would be simply based on wealth rather than colour. This would similarly apply to railways. In the case of cinemas and hotels, the case would be more difficult, since "these places are less unreservedly open to the public".[1109] However, other than stating that this was a difficult subject that required both work in the field and the headquarters, and suggesting that the Provincial and District Commissioners should talk to local authorities and try their best to find some middle ground, no real solutions were proposed. The reason for the confidential letter was to somehow square the circle between not upsetting the settlers and appeasing Africans at the same time. For many colonial officials – even though they might have had different personal positions – segregation was perhaps rather seen as a nuisance than a personal moral problem, but so were African voices that tried to abolish it. In the end the whole issue revolved around the success of the Federation. The Secretary therefore reminded the officers that

> "the representatives of the African interests in Northern Rhodesia stated at the Falls Conference that Africans would be willing to consider questions of the federation on the basis of the Report of the London Conference of officials after the policy of partnership in Northern Rhodesia had been defined and, as so defined, put into progressive action. It has been made

[1106] SP 1/1/1. October 22, 1951.
[1107] Ibid.
[1108] Ibid.
[1109] Ibid.

very clear that there is a strong feeling amongst many Africans that partnership is negatived by discriminatory practices, and it is definitely practices rather than legislation which concerns them most."[1110]

However, he ended the letter by also warning against too progressive steps.

"We must remember too, how easy it is for enthusiasm to lead to a course which does more harm than good. The whole object is an improvement in race relations, and a theoretical advance is of no use if it results in a practical reverso of what we intended."[1111]

The enthusiasm did in fact not lead to much anyway, since segregation, as perhaps envisaged by the Secretary and some colonial officers, did not decrease over the course of time, at least not in Livingstone. For example, on the question of African participation in local government Livingstone was the only municipality to vote against the motion during a meeting of the Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.[1112] Thus, while some municipalities did eventually loosen the tight segregationist grip on their African residents, the situation at Livingstone in this regard was basically the same in 1960 as it was in 1951. Furthermore, the new race relations ordinance, too, was only challenged by Livingstone. However, the motion from Livingstone that the association support its proposal to suspend the implementation of the ordinance was not seconded and therefore was abandoned.[1113]

The new ordinance was especially directed to remove segregation within certain spaces, most notably shops and hotels, as well as the segregation of toilets and latrines. The reactions from settlers at Livingstone to the report of the select committee on racial discrimination that recommended the "deletion of the reference to 'races' in the Public Health (Tea Rooms, Restaurants, Boarding Houses and Hotels) Regulations and the Public Health (Drainage and Latrine) Regulations, and that the Regulations should only require provision to be made for latrine accommodation for different sexes"[1114] gives vivid evidence thereof. In the minutes of the Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland from September 10, 1960, different responses to the recommendations of the committee from municipalities are collected. While Ndola and Chingola were in favour of the recommendations, although they wanted to give medical officers a say in whether or not to keep segregation in place in staff facilities, the response from Livingstone was to reject the recommendation altogether, in particular on the basis of different toilet habits, which would lead to unsanitary conditions. Moreover, such a liberation would soon affect the private premises of Europeans too, who would then have to share toilets with their domestic servants, the undesirability of which needed no elaboration.

In general, the letter from the Town Clerk of Livingstone to the Municipal Association reads like a warning that such legislation would have not only severe consequences for the tourist industry, but

[1110] Ibid.
[1111] Ibid.
[1112] LGH 1/8/3. Minutes of the Municipal Association of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Minutes of October 13, 1960, p. 21.
[1113] Ibid, p. 16.
[1114] LGH 1/8/3. Minutes of September 10, 1960, p. 23.

also the relations between Africans and Europeans. He summed up the Municipal council's reasoning for the motion to abandon the implementation of the Race Relation Ordinance in four points.

> "1. The gravity of the position now developing in Northern Rhodesia and the potential worsening of the relations between European and African citizens. 2. The ordinance is depriving responsible Africans of any reasonable hope of successful integration, and is only establishing African eating houses and African bars. 3. The ultimate effect of this ordinance on the South African tourist to Northern Rhodesia in general, and Livingstone in particular; Livingstone, designated as the Tourist Capital of the Federation, with its many business houses and hotels is dependant on tourists for its livelihood. The economic position in which these businessmen may find themselves, with the full effect of the implementation of the Race Relations Ordinance is apparent. 4. The Ordinance is encouraging segregation – segregation of the European. He is being asked to share everything he brought into this country, and yet is deprived of any trading rights in African locations."[1115]

The victim blaming in argument four is perhaps the most blatant example of the attitudes at Livingstone against sharing their social and physical spaces and opening up the town, its infrastructures and facilities, to Africans. The attempt to conceal their segregationist ideologies by pretending to have an interest in the integration of Africans, which had been held back and prolonged over at least a decade of an already slow integrative process, was perhaps not even believed by other municipalities or the colonial authorities.

The race relation ordinance evoked not only fear and outrage among the settlers at Livingstone, but also legal inquiries into ways and means by which this ordinance could be bypassed. In a response letter by the Secretary of Legal Affairs to the Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province, in Livingstone the question on what kind of premises might be considered as bars and lounges, the absurdity of the matter becomes quite apparent. Since the race relation ordinance speaks of bars and lounges, the latter of which would now be open to Africans, some hotels approached the Provincial Commissioner to make this inquiry with the hope of finding some ways not to allow Africans to be in certain areas. Although the Secretary of Legal Affairs did say that a bar was the place where liquor was sold, and a lounge where it was consumed, and therefore a proprietor would not be entitled to refuse admission to Africans to lounges, he did say that this was possible with verandahs. He explained that "a verandah may or may not be a lounge depending upon its construction but, normally speaking – the Kafue Hotel for example – I would say that the verandah is not a lounge and, as far as the Race Relation Ordinance is concerned, a proprietor is under no obligation to admit Africans thereto."[1116] In the post-script the Secretary added that he was assuming that the question would relate to a branch of the Liquor Licensing Ordinance and not, as stated, to the Race Relations Ordinance. This sounds rather as if he wanted to ensure not to be dragged into a matter of race relations.

[1115] LGH 1/8/3. Minutes of October 13, 1960, p. 26
[1116] SP 1/1/1. Letter from the Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province to the Secretary of Legal Affairs, October 10, 1960.

But even such loopholes were not enough. The Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province, explained the complications which arose from the term "bar-lounge" to the Secretary of Administration. He thereby referred to a letter dated October 17, 1960 from the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Hotel Association, Livingstone and the criticism therein on the subject of hotel bar lounges. A certain Mr. Habbershaw in particular made a quite negative impression. "It is idle for Mr. Habbershaw in his paragraph 3 to write "I view with dismay the dictatorial attitude implied in this letter..." when he is well aware of the content of paragraph 4 of the District Commissioner's letter". The letter was dispatched by the D.C. of Kalomo, wherein it is stated that the Race Relations committee would not be empowered to issue directives, but rather that their intention was to remove, within the range of their capacities to do so, any cause for complaints of discrimination.[1117]

The fact that many of my interview partners referred to discriminatory practices might perhaps also be found elsewhere in Zambia or Southern Africa, for that matter. After all, practices and policies like the window system were such apparent and structuring features of urban everyday life that they would quite naturally survive as reminders of what colonialism meant. Moreover, they were utilised as discursive resources too, as the anecdotes mentioned above illustrate. However, at Livingstone the strong settler opposition and resistance to changes to the various constituents of the system of segregation in the early 1960s, which in other municipalities were less problematic to get rid of, suggest that discriminatory practices were not only in place, but that their endurance was understood as an existential issue. It is therefore quite understandable that, when asked about everyday life during the colonial days, the injustice of the system was often explained by referring to these discriminatory structures and practices embedded in urban infrastructures. Maurice Amutabi speaks of a colonial legacy of memory and trauma when referring to the spatialised segregation embedded in built urban structures.[1118]

Segregation comes in different forms, is embedded in different structural mechanisms, and performs different functions. It is physical and social, economic and political, and culturally encoded in different practices and discourses. In a context where settler culture finds itself confronted by Africans' political demands for social and economic inclusion, and metropolitan directives that run counter to their spatial and social conceptions of how urban areas and infrastructures are lived and practiced, certain legal and technical discourses should conceal and uphold the things of boundary, the peripheralisation of spaces, places and infrastructures. Africans on their part used their political means to discursively re-centre peripheralised spaces and bring to the foreground what settlers tried to push to the back. Segregation is thus inherently spatial and full of contradictions. In most cases it is brutal and inhumane, but might also encompass possibilities. However, the urban *Eigenlogik*[1119] of colonial Livingstone, thus the local settler culture and their modes of peripheralisation towards Africans and their spaces in combination with control and surveillance, would counteract such possibilities. Returning to Arna Bontemps mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, he elucidated not only the underlying complexities and contradictions, but also managed to connect the relationships between segregation, participation, and space in a most elegant form, when he wrote:

[1117] SP 1/1/1. Letter from Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province, to Administrative Secretary, November 15, 1960.
[1118] Amutabi 2016, Buildings as Symbols and Metaphors of Colonial Hegemony: Interrogating Colonial Buildings and Architecture in Kenya's Urban Spaces.
[1119] Löw 2018, *Vom Raum Aus Die Stadt Denken*.

"The young intellectuals who came to Harlem in the middle twenties made a wonderful discovery. They found that it is fun to be a Negro under some conditions. Those who, like myself, had grown up in mixed or predominantly white communities even found segregation can be fun, when it's completely voluntary. But the "New Negroes" have lived long enough to learn that it is never fun to be an alien. It is neither pleasant nor wholesome to be deprived of freedom of movement or of friendship or of participation in the essential life of one's country."[1120]

[1120] Bontemps, 1945. The Two Harlems, p. 172-173.

6. Constructing Urban Spaces – Imagined Morphologies and the Prospects of Prosperity

In this final chapter on the colonial period I will analyse and discuss a fragment of the urban history of late colonial Livingstone which in a way is a reflection not only of the settler-society's aspirations and imaginings at Livingstone, but also perhaps elsewhere in the Federation at that time. While such aspirations were in themselves perhaps not unique, at Livingstone the identity and self-conception of its white settler-population was concentrated in a cultural space and indeed (physical) place at the same time that these aspirations and imaginings could develop into concrete plans and policies. One of these plans, however unsuccessful, was the attempt of the Municipal Council of Livingstone to submit a proposal for the town to become the capital of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. If successful, this plan would have given back a status to Livingstone which it had lost 18 years earlier to Lusaka, an event that was followed by economic hardship and a loss of European population and which deeply inscribed itself into the self-conception of the settlers. They not only felt abandoned once again by the administration/ government and the Colonial Office – both institutions that had served as resourceful projections for everything that went wrong in and around Livingstone since the first settlers set foot on the left bank of the Zambezi. This feeling also nurtured a frontier spirit and fostered communal cohesion within a town that was not simply an administrative centre like Lusaka or a resource-extracting urbanity in the likes of the Copperbelt towns. Instead, the spatial identity of Livingstone as a town could draw from its history of being one of the first settlements in Northern Rhodesia, its name, and its spatial and geographic qualities of having the Victoria Falls in close proximity as symbolic resources.[1121]

6.1. Context and Background

To the best of my knowledge, this plan has not been previously studied in detail. The existence of the plan and the respective source was only mentioned twice by Joanna Lewis in connection with correspondence of Roy Welensky.[1122] While the plan and its submission seem to be indeed not more than footnotes in the history of Livingstone, I claim they are important for understanding not only the political and cultural discourses of the settler society during the 1950s in the Federation and Northern Rhodesia in particular, but also the spatial aspects that had governed these discourses. I will therefore not situate this plan within the narrow temporal space in which it was produced and discussed, mainly in 1953, but try to understand it as a reflection of a set of larger trends and discourses. While the two documents, presented in detail further below, that form and give shape to this plan will be central to this chapter, I will also show how the urban aspirations and imaginings they are based on transgressed the year 1953, acting as a political and ideological tool until the very end of the Federation and Northern Rhodesia respectively. This will be exemplified in the last

[1121] Lewis 2011, Rivers of White ; McGregor 2003b, The Victoria Falls 1900–1940: Landscape, Tourism and the Geographical Imagination.
[1122] Lewis 2011, Rivers of White, p. 173 and 183; Lewis 2018, *Empire of Sentiment*, p. 173.

section of this chapter through an analysis of two proposals of the Municipal Councils in the years 1959 and 1962 for Livingstone to receive the city status, when the settler-spirit of the year 1953 was still alive despite the political and social changes.

Two conceptual tools will be deployed to address these aspirations and imaginings. The first one deals with the spatiality of imaginaries in the particular context of urban planning, which I call imagined morphology. It encapsulates both the literal and the abstract meanings of morphology. Hence, on the one hand it means the ways urban morphology, in the context of a physical space, was envisioned and on the other hand how such a vision translates to aspirations of socio-spatial morphologies or configurations of late colonial towns. The second conceptual tool to analyse the document is Ann Stoler's notion of historical negatives or non-events, which she describes not in a context of a history of ideas or mentalities, but as "what was imagined as possible, the tension between what was realizable and what was romance, between plausible plans and implausible worlds"[1123]. I will discuss both terms briefly in what follows.

Imagined Morphologies

On a first account, there seems to be a resemblance with the academic concept of Imagined Geographies or Imaginative Geographies as originally used by Edward Said and later Derek Gregory and others.[1124] These concepts are based on the notion of spatial perception and practice that is articulated through discourses and visual or textual representations of geographical units (places, regions, nation-states, or whole continents) in combination with social and cultural formations. Much like Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" which represent the outcome of a (continuous) construction process, the essence of the concept of imagined geographies, too, lies in the constructions of social or cultural units onto a physical reality. In Anderson's work this construction is based on a group of people, whereas Said's and others' works are based on a geographical place or extent. The physical (topographical) properties of the area or the people themselves, therefore, are not imagined, for they represent the very prerequisite for the construction. They are there, so to speak, which means that here, imagined is not equivalent with non-existing.[1125] The social construction of societies as well as geographies happens when (usually through encounter) a group of people is "imagined", or rather perceived by themselves and/or others, as a social entity with respective cultural properties and values, or a part of the physical world is perceived as a continuous place or extent representative of certain properties and values. This practice of construction happens at practically all social and spatial scales. A village community constructs its social and physical space and that of others, as does a nation. The critique immanent to Said's and Gregory's work is then directed especially towards the euro-centric and (neo)colonial dimensions of this process through the naturalisation of certain geographies – i.e. the construction of the "Orient" – in

[1123] Stoler 2010, *Along the Archival Grain*, p. 108

[1124] Said 1978, *Orientalism* ; Gregory, D. (1994). *Geographical Imaginations.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell ; Gregory, D. (2004). *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq.* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

[1125] Anderson himself understands the word "imagining" as quasi analogous to creating Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* New York: Verso books, p. 6. Like the term "invented" in the work of Hobsbawm and Ranger: Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger (Eds.). (1983). *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, the term "imagined" might be criticised for giving the impression of being similar to "making something up", which, however, does not diminish or devalorise the very concepts behind the terms.

combination with the execution and reinforcement of unequal relations of power – i.e. through geopolitics.

In a way, therefore, any colonial town or territory might represent an imagined geography. One could then assume or argue that the materialisation of this imagined geography – hence, the materialisation of a spatial ideology – would result in an imagined morphology, the ideological manifestation in concrete space. However, one could also argue that an imagined geography and an imagined morphology are almost the same thing, with the former being more general and the latter being more specific. Or, it could mean something different still.

The term imagined morphology was first used, to the best of my knowledge, by Partha Chatterjee to describe a "moral map", a vision of how in his example the industrial Indian metropolis would or could be.[1126] This term entails both the material form of the city, since Chatterjee refers to the postcolonial planning of Chandigarh by Le Corbusier, and the social implications of this "moral map". The term was later adopted by Ipsita Chatterjee in conjunction with what she calls "violent morphologies" of urban ethnicised politics and spatial violence.[1127] My use of the term is more in line with what Partha Chatterjee means by it, an ideology of concrete spatial manifestations, or, put simply, how something is supposed (or imagined) to look like under a given (planning) ideology or societal discourse, rather than being just a version of the concept of imagined geographies.[1128]

Therefore, the discourse and practice of (urban) planning does entail certain geographic imaginaries or imagined geographies. These form one of the ideological cornerstones of any colonial endeavour. Thus, an imagined morphology as I understand it includes or rather assumes an imagined geography. I claim, furthermore, that the concept of imagined morphology is more appropriate to capture how built (urban) forms are envisioned within a given ideological framework – again this includes imagined geographies – in that it particularly draws on the notions of future-making, aspirations and imaginaries in relation to concrete spatial (urban) forms. That is to say, an imagined geography can be both the social construction of space by the group who inhabits it, or the social construction of spatial otherness as in the case of orientalism. Obviously both of these imply the respective other construction – every (spatial) ideology is relational after all. Imagined morphology as I understand it conversely always rather implies spatial otherness (the former version of an imagined geography). It is not an explicit discourse or practice of othering per se (the latter form of an imagined geography).

[1126] Chatterjee, P. (2006). *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World.* New York: Columbia University Press, p. 141.

[1127] Chatterjee, I. (2009). Violent Morphologies: Landscape, Border and Scale in Ahmedabad Conflict. *Geoforum, 40*(6), 1003-1013.

[1128] However, it is worth mentioning that for Partha Chatterjee "imagined morphology" is as much an analytical term as it is a political one. For him, it also serves as some form of "strategic essentialism". Although at the end of the monograph he suggests that "it is possible that the absence of a plan — a moral map or an imagined morphology — is not a bad thing" (2006: 146), he nevertheless questions the ability "of unselfconscious local practice to beat back the formidable challenges posed by the material as well as the imaginative forces of the new regime of globality" (ibid.). Therefore, he critically remarks that it can be argued from Jawaharlal Nehru's invitation of Le Corbusier that "no organic [here meaning vernacular] idea of the Indian city of the future was available to him [Nehru]" (Ibid. 141).

Historical negatives and non-events

History is usually written along events and occurrences, or at least representations of such events and occurrences, but also on plans, proposals and intentions. Ann Laura Stoler addressed the need to differentiate in such a context between the histories of plans and proposals and the history of ideas and mentalities. Beyond ideas and mentalities that can be discovered in archival records, for Stoler archives therefore also entail "records of uncertainty and doubt" and of "anxious efforts to 'catch up' with what was emergent and 'becoming' in new colonial situation"[1129]. The establishment of the Federation was one of these new colonial situations that created events of trying to catch up, which, however, "are not really 'events' at all"[1130] in the sense that their intent would materialise in the way it was intended or envisioned. They are events, or occurrences, of planning practices that entail a "*subjunctive mood* of official imaginings"[1131]. For Stoler then, the research on such records is "a genre of archival production ledged less in 'what happened' than in the anticipatory, the foreseen, and the possible", which draws on "narratives not about what might *have been* – as counterfactuals are – but more about what *might yet be.*"[1132] Therefore, this never realised plan to turn Livingstone into the capital of the Federation is perfectly in line with what Stoler identifies as constituting such non-events, like plans, proposals, or failed projects which can be read not simply as ideas, but as a "political diagnostic"[1133] of a certain historic time and space.

The Federation's Capital in Public Debate

The plan to turn Livingstone into a new capital was discussed publicly in 1953, the year in which the three countries of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were amalgamated to become the Federation. It was the beginning of a phase in the history of Northern Rhodesia in particular where both the "fears and fantasies of settlers"[1134] were intensifying and "where one group's fear was another's aspiration"[1135]. The fear of settlers was an intensification of the African nationalist movements and ultimately majority rule and independence, which was often encoded in rumours of violent riots and upheaval.[1136] The aspiration on the other hand was based on the notion of self-government and control over resources and the African labour-force. The spatial orientation was directed towards the south, where the developing apartheid state of the newly independent South Africa served as an ideological blueprint which in turn represented the fear of Africans, and which is reflected in their strong opposition to the formation of the Federation in the first place.

Judging by the sources at hand it is not easy to determine when exactly the idea to propose Livingstone as the capital of the Federation was born, and by whom. However, the idea started to be openly debated in early 1953. The Guardian from April 6, 1953 discusses the debate over the

[1129] Stoler 2010, *Along the Archival Grain*, p. 4
[1130] Ibid. p. 5
[1131] Ibid. p. 106
[1132] Ibid.
[1133] Ibid.
[1134] Gewald, J.-B. (2011). Fears and Fantasies in Northern Rhodesia, 1950–1960. In (Eds.), *Living the End of Empire*. Leiden: Brill
[1135] Ibid., p. 208
[1136] Gewald 2008, Rumours of Mau Mau in Northern Rhodesia, 1950-1960; Gewald 2011, Fears and Fantasies in Northern Rhodesia, 1950–1960.

Federation's capital in a short article titled "Another Problem for Federation. A site for Capital"[1137]. Therein, it is argued that while the government of Southern Rhodesia in Salisbury sees its capital as the best option as the Federation's capital, many are of the opinion that the planning mistakes made both in Salisbury and Lusaka make these locations unsuitable for such a purpose. It has to be noted that it is not specified who is meant by 'many'. Within this debate Livingstone was one among a few towns that had applied to become the capital. Aside from the Municipal Council, the *Livingstone Mail* was involved in pushing the project and promoting the planning proposal. It proclaimed that "now is the time and there can be no delay – to boost Livingstone (the old capital of Northern Rhodesia) for the Federal capital."[1138]

Although chances were slim for Livingstone to become the Federation's capital, by mid-1953 the Municipal Government nevertheless tried to promote the idea by discussing the matter at the Annual Conference of the Municipal Associations in May 1953 in Livingstone. Aside from seeking political support the Municipal Council also applied for a grant by the government of £500, as a note for the Standing Finance Committee in Lusaka reveals, which was forwarded to the Chief Secretary, the Director of Survey and Land, the Commissioner for Local Government and the Provincial Commissioner on the 29th of July. The note states that "the Mayor of Livingstone and the Member for Livingstone suggested that there might be advantages to be gained in approaching a firm of expert planning consultants to submit a preliminary report on a possible site for the Federal Capital in Livingstone", which would cost around £1,000. In the note it is further stated that the "firm of consultants in view is Messrs. J.C. Collings and Partner, who are considered admirably qualified for such a work both by the C.L.G. [Commissioner for Local Government] and the D. of S. & L. [Director of Survey and Land]"[1139]. It was reasoned that it would be undesirable to let the survey be performed by the town planning staff working for the Department of Survey and Land, since this would shed a bad light on the promotion. It was further argued that while "it is not suggested that Government should commit itself to making any recommendations, or to proposing that Livingstone in Preference to other Northern Rhodesia towns should be the Federal Capital, it is nevertheless the view of the C.L.G, that considerable advantages would accrue from the proper presentation of Livingstone's case to the Federal Government"[1140].

It has to be stressed that the points made in this request for financial aid to pay a private contractor instead of using the public resources has another side to it, one that is perhaps more relevant than those uttered. Using a private firm to conduct a survey and write a report therefore ensures that the verdict on the feasibility of turning Livingstone into a new capital will at least be positive, and that the report will, with relative confidence, be supportive of the idea. In other words, for J.C. Collings and Partner a negative verdict could have possibly led to a bad reputation for their company by not satisfying the wishes of the client.

In August 1953, the Standing Finance Committee held a meeting at which the request for financial support was denied. The Committee's argument, which to my reading implies a somewhat

[1137] The Guardian, April 6, 1953
[1138] "Livingstone Mail" cited in The Guardian, April 6, 1953.
[1139] NAZ: LGH 1/1/9. "Federal Capital – Livingstone": Letter from the Municipal Council to the Standing Finance Committee, July 29, 1953.
[1140] Ibid.

ironic and critical tone, was the following: "The committee was not prepared to recommend the provision of funds for this purpose, as it considered that the possible benefits to Livingstone were such that the Municipality should be prepared to meet the whole cost of the report."[1141] In other words, the Committee argued that if Livingstone was prepared to take on the responsibilities of administrating the Federation, it might as well manage to pay for the reports out of its own pocket. Aware of such an implication, an article by the *Livingstone Mail* two weeks earlier does not even mention the request for financial aid when writing about the calculated costs of the report, which according to the article amount to £800 plus £100 of travelling fees and out-of-pocket expenses. [1142]

On the question concerning the chances of Livingstone to be chosen as a site for the Federation's capital the article stresses that "no definite decision about the siting of the capital had been made nor could be made until the Federal Parliament met." More importantly, the article states that British MP Julian Amery had been reported as having supported the claims of Livingstone in the House of Commons, giving the whole matter an international spin. Indeed, Amery did not simply support the idea. His argument entails much more than that, as it stresses the implicit notion of a future of the Federation that does not defer to the possibilities of an end of the British empire or even a "wind of change" which Amery's father-in-law Harold Macmillan would announce seven years later. His support for Livingstone, to which he did not seem to have had any deeper connection, is therefore much more a support for the idea of the British Empire.

> "One of the first decisions that the Federal Parliament will have to make will be to choose a Federal capital. It does not seem a very great point, but there is an important symbolism about the location of a capital. I am told that the decision is likely to fall on Salisbury because it is the most developed and, from the European point of view, the healthiest situation. At the risk of being thought fanciful, I should like to press the claims of Livingstone. To call a country "Rhodesia" after Rhodes, and to call its capital "Livingstone" after David Livingstone and situate it by the noblest of African rivers and in sight of the greatest waterfall on earth — these are things which might well inspire the imagination of all the people in Central Africa and perhaps of the countries outside it. "Rhodesia, capital Livingstone, by the Victoria Falls," would not be a bad entry for the encyclopaedia."[1143]

As will be seen, the connection between the settler's aspiration of Livingstone's future and the ideas of British imperialism is an important one. The symbolism Amery is fantasising about indeed was one of ten points that were summarised to promote Livingstone as a good choice for the capital of the Central African Federation. In his speech Julian Amery, who became known 25 years later as an intellectual ally and defender of the Ian Smith regime during the Rhodesia crisis, represented Livingstone as a cornerstone in the symbolic representation of British imperial history in Africa, defined by an explorer, a businessman, and a geographical landmark dedicated to a queen. The frontier-spirit of the settler community at Livingstone was very much nurtured by the same symbolic

[1141] LGH 1/1/9. Extract from the Minutes of a Meeting of the Standing Finance Committee, 19th August, 1953.
[1142] LGH 1/1/9. Extract from the Livingstone Mail, 4th of August 1953.
[1143] House of Commons Debate 27 July 1953 vol 518 cc899-965

triad which in a way stands for individual self-fulfilment and a certain risk-taking propensity, resourcefulness, and a British (or perhaps English) cultural heritage.

It is perhaps worth noting that while Livingstone's claim turned out to be unsuccessful and was certainly not primarily guided by a wish or opportunity to push the role of Northern Rhodesia within the Federation, this very role was indeed a matter of dispute between Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The Northern Rhodesian government often felt like the junior partner in this constellation, which can be partly explained by the fact that the political system in Southern Rhodesia allowed its government to act more independently from the Colonial Office. Therefore, the question on the siting of the capital as a means to balance out this political and spatial disequilibrium was addressed once again seven years later. However, this time it was not initiated by the Municipal Council of Livingstone, but Lusaka was proposed as a potential capital instead, even though this was not made explicit. The "Northern News" reported on March 24, 1960 that the "Lusaka Council told the Monckton Commission of the need for more adequate representation for Northern Rhodesia in the Federal House and that the siting of the Federal Capital on the northern side of the Zambesi would assist in dis-associating the seat of the Federal Government from the seat of the Southern Rhodesian Territorial Government."[1144] The spatial politics at play in this argument were therefore situated at a higher scale. The town in which the capital would sit and its spatial properties, and perhaps qualities, were not the main priority; instead, the country in which this town would be located was paramount. The role of Africans and African urban life which, as will be discussed later in the chapter, occupied only a very small part of Livingstone's proposal in 1953, also were not given a higher priority in the appeal of 1960.

Outline and Content of the Documents

As has been pointed out above, the planning report was written by J.C. Collings and Partner, a town planning consulting firm from Johannesburg, South Africa, that had been active in Northern Rhodesia especially during the 1950s. Projects they were involved in included the planning of a new township in Kitwe[1145] and a "Report on African Housing in Urban Areas"[1146] in 1956. The fact that the choice fell on a South African firm might well be explained by a lack of private planning offices in Northern Rhodesia and the relative proximity to South Africa as opposed to the UK for instance, which translates to an important cost factor for travel expenses alone. However, South Africa in many ways represented the system settlers in Northern Rhodesia and Livingstone in particular aspired to see fulfilled in their sphere of living and politics. Surely, hiring a town planning firm from South Africa therefore went beyond economic considerations and pragmatism guided by this reasoning as well. Furthermore, it has to be noted that this assignment not only allowed J.C. Collings and Partner to enter the scene in the sphere of town-planning in Northern Rhodesia, but J.C. Collings himself in 1956 became a member in the Town Planning Board, a position he held until 1962 when the Board ceased to exist.[1147] While the Board's means and possibilities were rather

[1144] LGH 1/1/9. Extract from Northern News, March 24, 1960.
[1145] see. LGH 1/16/ 60. African Housing Board – Agenda and Minutes of Meeting: Municipal Council of Kitwe, Application for Loan Funds For the Construction of African Housing and Ancillary Services, November 21, 1957.
[1146] see: LGH 1/16/58. African Housing Board – General: Report on African Housing, February 6, 1956.
[1147] LGH 1/1/1. Town Planning Board Constitution. "The Town Planning Board History" by Chairman Quiggin, November 1962.

theoretical and thus practically did not reach far beyond that of an advisory body, since the respective power was in the hands of local planning authorities (the mining companies or Municipal Councils)[1148] – the Commissioner for Local Government Mr. Coleman simply remembered it as "a body I shall always associate with sausage rolls"[1149] – one must not forget the political and economic networking effects of such bodies.

The archival document LGH 1/1/9, upon which this chapter is mainly based, contains both the planning report produced by J.C. Collings and Partner, hereafter referred to as the Report, and the submission by the Municipality of Livingstone, henceforth referred to as the Submission. The first one, which in its full length reads "Report on the Outline Advisory Development Plan for the Expansion of Livingstone Northern Rhodesia to Accommodate the Federal Capital of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland" was produced between September and November 1953. It is comprised of 13 sections including introduction and summary covering 16 pages, and two plans, the "Plan of Proposed new Government Centre" and the "Map of Proposed new Federal Capital". The 13 sections[1150] of the report can be condensed into three segments plus introduction and summary. The first segment (sections 2 to 4) provides general information on the planning of towns and capitals. The second segments (sections 5 to 8) discusses the qualification of Livingstone and the preconditions of planning a capital at this location. The third segment (sections 9 to 12) finally provides an outline for the planning of a capital at Livingstone, focussing on the technicalities of planning and building the extensions, accounting for a future growth of the capital and the estimated immediate and future costs of such an endeavour.

The Submission of the Municipality, in full length "Submission of the Case for the Expansion of Livingstone as the Capital of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland", is a summary of the planning report, in which important points are highlighted and some additional arguments are made by Municipal Council on six pages. Additionally, the Submission includes a map of sub-equatorial Africa, which will be discussed in detail further below, showing the boundaries of the Federation and the location of Livingstone. The Submission produced by the Municipality was published in December 1953. On these six pages the following points, representing arguments that would favour Livingstone as a capital, are covered: Historical; Geographical; Political; Climate; Economical, Geophysical, and Financial; Services; Recreational.

In the following I will analyse both of these documents starting with the Report. However, I will approach the two sources differently, since they represent different textual forms. While the Report is indeed an outline of a planning proposal, the Submission is rather a political proposal, though both obviously follow and contain certain ideological and political discourses. I will therefore analyse the Report more or less section by section regarding the underlying planning ideologies. Because the Submission includes in essence a condensed version of the Report where certain aspects which the Municipal Council deemed particularly relevant are highlighted, I will approach it by focusing on how the findings of the Report are adopted and integrated. I will furthermore look at

[1148] Rakodi 1986, Colonial Urban Policy and Planning in Northern Rhodesia and Its Legacy.
[1149] LGH 1/1/1. "Letter from the Commissioner of Local Government S.W. Coleman to Chairman Quiggin, December 12, 1962."
[1150] The report uses the word sections as a different term for paragraph, of which there are 119. However, by section I refer to the main points in the outline.

the additional arguments and statements produced in the Submission, how they reflect and further shape the imagined morphology laid out in the Report, and how these arguments also draw on broader spatial ideologies and aspirations of the Municipal Council concerning the spatial relations of Livingstone within the territory of the Federation and the wider region of southern Africa.

As a last note on the source I shall briefly address the issue of authorship and agency. The Submission does not state any names regarding the authorship. Since it was published on behalf of the Municipal Council and signed by the Mayor as well as the Town Clerk, I suppose it was written (or dictated) by the latter. Since I cannot be sure, in the context of the Submission I will therefore speak of "the author". It is, however, safe to assume that the Submission was passed around among the Municipal Council members before being published, and that the positions in it essentially represent their points of view. The Report on the other hand is signed by two employees of J.C. Collings and Partner. However, only their titles are printed in typescript. Their names cannot be identified from their signatures. I will therefore refer to them as "the authors". As with the Submission it is safe to assume that the Report was reviewed by the heads of the company before being presented to the Municipal Council.

For the analysis of the Report and the Submission it is important to understand the role of these agents, the planners and the Council, in the whole planning process. Oliveira points out that "the process of plan making depends mostly of [sic] the planning team and of [sic] the promoter of the plan – bounded by the specific planning system, the planning team interprets the fundamental needs and ambitions of the city"[1151]. The city in this case is effectively the Municipal Council and their idea of Livingstone. Therefore, the ideas, views and indeed ideologies of the promoters can be assumed as having been taken into account by the planners. As argued above, the planning system in this case was loosely based on the British system, where, much as with the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, the Local Planning Authorities were given many planning powers and the Central Planning Authorities were in effect mere advisory bodies.[1152]

6.2. The Report

In the short introduction to the document the scope and function of the Report is presented. Therein the authors state that the Report is not a detailed plan, but rather deals with the main principles of town planning and how they could be adopted at Livingstone. Yet, the authors highlight that this does not mean that the planning principles are indefinite. It therefore is supposed to serve as a foundation for a more detailed master plan that not only includes the overall spatial layout and land-use patterns of the Report, but also detailed building and construction plans. Thus, the Report has to be read in this context. It integrates both a feasibility analysis and a provisional planning outline. However, while it is lacking in details, from the planning principles and layouts one can still detect the aspirations, imaginings and ideologies on which they are based.

[1151] Oliveira 2016, *Urban Morphology, p. 44*; see also Larkham, P.J. (2014). A New Vision: The Role of Municipal Authorities and Planners in Replanning Britain after the Second World War. In Conzen, M.P. and P.J. Larkham (Eds.), *Shapers of Urban Form*. New York: Routledge

[1152] A detailed mapping of the responsibilities can be found in LGH 1/2/11. Town Planning Ordinance 1953-1960: Northern Rhodesian Municipal Association. Report of the Sub-Committee on the Report of the Town Planning Bill, 1954".

Morphological Constraints and the Economics of Planning

In the first section of the Report the authors discuss the developments of great capitals in Europe and South America during the 19th and 20th century and their inability to keep up with the rapid urbanisation rates since the industrial revolution. They have become "unwieldy to manage, expensive to administer, inconvenient to move around in" and they would have to deal with "the growth of slums and the attendant social evils that have not been eradicated to this day" according to the authors.[1153] Decentralisation is argued to be the "only hope of restoring healthy conditions"[1154], which represents the first possible option for a city to be turned into a capital. In the context of decentralisation they name a further trend regarding security issues, namely, urban dispersal. The widening of cities and what today is known as the problem of urban sprawl is therefore not understood as a problem per se, but as a means to ensure the security of cities in the atomic age. It is argued that dispersal makes them less vulnerable to attacks (from outside), since concentrations are easier targets. The implication here is that it is not easy to turn large existing urban structures with high densities into capital cities from a security perspective, both seen from within (social evils) and from outside (enemy attacks). The problem is, as the authors rightly point out, that such an endeavour to decentralise and disperse large existing city structures is costly and not easily done.

The second possibility would be the creation of a capital from scratch, as was done in the then recent cases of New Delhi or Canberra. The problem that is identified by the authors in this context is one of service provision and land use management. It is argued that such a capital city planned from scratch would need to be based on a liberal scale "to allow for its eventual growth. The various centres of activity such as the Government centre with its Parliament Houses, Departmental offices, and residential buildings must be sited at some distance from the business centre, the industrial centre the educational centre and the African Residential areas."[1155] The possible difficulty of such a scheme then is to account in advance for the space necessary for all these centres, which in turn necessitates infrastructures that run over very long distances. The authors reason that if this space would not be made available for economic reasons, since infrastructural service provisions over long distances are expensive, there would be the immanent danger of overcrowding.

This in a nutshell represents the pitfalls of modernistic town planning of the CIAM programme that had developed since the 1930s, which represented one of pillars of late colonial urban planning in Africa and elsewhere[1156] and to which the planners of J.C. Collings and Partner also partly adhere. They do so partly, because the Garden City model of town planning which served as the model for

[1153] The Report, p. 1.
[1154] Ibid.
[1155] Ibid.
[1156] c.f. Silva 2015, Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Overview; Uduku, O. (2006). Modernist Architecture and 'the Tropical' in West Africa: The Tropical Architecture Movement in West Africa, 1948–1970. *Habitat International, 30*(3), 396-411; Nuzzaci, A. (2015). Architecture and Town Planning in Italian East Africa During the Years of the Empire (1936–1941). In Silva, C.N. (Eds.), *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-Colonial Planning Cultures*. New York and London: Routledge; Harris and Parnell 2012, The Turning Point in Urban Policy for British Colonial Africa, 1939–1945; Parnell, S. and A. Mabin (1995). Rethinking Urban South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 21*(1), 39-61

colonial urban planning from the turn of the century till the 1930s,[1157] can still be detected in their vision of Livingstone as the capital of the Federation.[1158] In their perspective, the problem of overcrowding – a problem which by the way is not discussed in detail as if it was almost self-explanatory[1159] – can only be solved by disentangling the urban structure from the functional intermingling of earlier periods, where political administration, industry, business and residential areas had not been planned as single spatial units.[1160] Since the separation of functional spatial units would necessitate that they are planned at great distance from each other in order to preserve the spatial separation throughout future urban developments – they would almost grow towards each other – they would have to be more or less far apart from each other.

As an example of a capital that suffers from such problems, the authors refer to the situation in Lusaka, which, as they argue, is not a problem of faulty town planning in general, but rather that the growth of the town in population has not yet caught up with the area it covers. "Distances are great, street construction, stormwater drainage and sewage programmes are sadly in arrears, and the cost of providing these services is an exceedingly difficult problem which must for years mean a heavy burden on the rates".[1161] Through this initial discussion of the many constraints and problems the planning of a capital city in the mid-20th century bears, the authors are approaching Livingstone as a perfect case where all of these constraints disappear and where the imagined morphology of the perfect future capital of the Federation can unfold.

Since Livingstone was never an economically important town with large industries, other qualities needed to be presented in its favour. In order to define what a capital city is in relation to other urban forms, in the second section the authors differentiate between urban planning of industrial towns and capital cities. Displaying a clear fascination for the industrial power of the Copperbelt, the Goldfields of the Orange Free State and the resource exploitations at Witwatersrand, the authors emphasise that with such urban forms planning would be a matter of economic potential at certain sites which arises as a result of the industrial exploitability of the local resources. The areas needed at every stage of the resource extraction could thus be calculated, which would turn planning into a matter of simple mathematics. According to the authors, "the planning of these towns is interesting and fascinating because so much can be defined"[1162].

[1157] Home, R.K. (1990). Town Planning and Garden Cities in the British Colonial Empire 1910–1940. *Planning Perspective, 5*(1), 23-37

[1158] Perhaps similarly, concerning these two planning traditions, but with a different background and context, was Ernst May's approach to the planning of Kampala. see Gutschow, K.K. (2012). Das Neue Afrika: Ernst May's 1947 Kampala Plan as Cultural Programme. In Demissie, F. (Eds.), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa Intertwined and Contested Histories*. New York: Routledge, p. 390

[1159] The fear and problem of overcrowding was initially one of the main drivers of the Garden City movements. It is perhaps most directly articulated in Raymond Unwin's 1912 pamphlet "Nothing gained by Overcrowding" Unwin, R. (2014). *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*. New York: Routledge. Yet, the fear of overcrowding and large and dense urban agglomerations is not only a direct consequence of the 19th century industrial towns and urban pauperism, but can be found already in the writings of Leonardo da Vinci: Mumford, L. (2015). Der Gartenstadtgedanke und Moderner Städtebau. In Bauwelt Fundamente Band 21: Gartenstädte von Morgen: Ein Buch und seine Geschichte (pp. 183-193). Basel: Birkhäuser;; and even in Aristotle: Posener, J. (2015). Howard's "Tomorrow" – Ein Gründlich Mißverstandenes Buch. In Bauwelt Fundamente Band 21: Gartenstädte von Morgen: Ein Buch und seine Geschichte (pp. 7-50). Basel: Birkhäuser.

[1160] Ed Soja highlighted that such separation, in particular of home and word, is a reflection of the condition of modernity and its structuring effect of spatial knowledge and experience: Soja 1990, *Postmodern Geographies*, p. 151. See also: Griffiths, S. (2016). From Lines on Maps to Symbolic Order in the City? Translating Processional Routes as Spatial Practice in Nineteenth-Century Sheffield. In Griffiths, S. and A. von Lünen (Eds.), *Spatial Cultures: Towards a New Social Morphology of Cities Past and Present*. London: Routledge, p. 85.

[1161] The Report, p. 2.

[1162] Ibid.

The planning discourse of the CIAM programme becomes quite apparent in this statement, which does not even partly rely on an idea of "organic" growth[1163] – thus urban development and planning that is in a way being constantly readjusted based on the social and economic developments – but where every step of the development is instead already planned and calculated in advance, just as the "pioneers" in the quantification of urban forms like Le Corbusier or Raymond Unwin envisioned..[1164] Hence, the fascination for these planners lies in the computability of urban forms. It is what Leslie Martin called "the doctrine of the statistically ordered city [… which] is the raw material of the outline analyses and the town maps of the 1947 Act [the Town and Country Planning Act]"[1165].

These modes of planning of industrial towns, however, are said to stand in stark contrast to the planning of capital cities, since such a degree of certainty would not be given. The different functions of industrial and capital cities are identified as the reason for this uncertainty. An industrial town is said to be self-sufficient, since the revenue created from industrial produce is being re-invested, whereas a capital would generate its main revenue from taxation, making its economic growth dependent on the economic growth of the country it serves. It would thus "grow in direct proportion of the growth and prosperity of its county"[1166].

The problem that is identified by the authors in this context especially in the early phases of a capital is the relative lack of income and, at the same time, the expectations regarding a capital that would need to be answered. Therefore, economic but not cheap means of planning and building would have to be applied and "nothing but the best in architectural expression and civic design must be contemplated"[1167]. What remains unacknowledged by the authors in all of this is the economic potential and importance of Africans for the functioning of these towns in general, and the fact that "the economic growth depended largely on African labour"[1168] in particular. As will be elaborated in more detail, this blindspot with regard to African agency and their contribution to the urban economy is underscored by how the Report and Submission positions Africans within the urban social space as a mere technical inventory.

Not too big, but large enough: What makes the perfect capital?

Based on their discussion on the character and planning of existing capital cities and the economics of creating a capital the authors define the properties and features on which a location for a capital should be based. These are presented in the form of three conclusions: .

> "(i) The capital should not be associated with any existing town that is developing rapidly and likely to become a large community;
> (ii) No attempt should be made to create a completely new community as the capital city;

[1163] Jacobs 1961, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* King 2007, *Colonial Urban Development*.
[1164] Berghauser Pont, M. (2018). An Analytical Approach to Urban Form. In Oliveira, V. (Eds.), *Teaching Urban Morphology*. Springer International, p. 104.
[1165] Martin, L. (2000). The Grid as a Generator. *Arq, 4*(4), 309 - 322, p. 310.
[1166] The Report, p. 2
[1167] Ibid, p. 3
[1168] O'Connor 2007, *The African City*, p. 87

(iii) The new capital should be associated with some existing community that has no great basic industry to warrant a very large town but one that can assist the creation and early growth of a capital by offering its existing services, amenities and facilities."[1169]

Looking at these three points it is clear that they are perhaps too readily applicable to Livingstone, for it was not a large town, it had been in existence for about 50 years, and a community – or rather multiple communities – did already exist there. The implications are that, beyond the modernism that is envisioned for a capital with all the technical infrastructures and service amenities to meet the requirements of the 20th century, the approach the planners follow is not one of radical renewal. Instead, it is a combination of the functional, technical and sterile tone of modernist planning, where the rationality and calculations of modernism with its straight lines supersede the idealisations of preceding periods with its aristocratic spandrels and ornaments, combined with or rather masked by the seemingly unpolitical and innocent beauty of the Garden City.[1170] It is needless to say that this masking could not really conceal the fact that all cities are "repositories of power in varying degrees and patterns"[1171]. Where the traditions of the Grand Manner and their ceremonial axes or the socialist urbanism with its magistrales openly presented and celebrated power,[1172] the "Garden City and Modernism downplayed or rejected a monumental public realm"[1173]. However, this downplay or rejection in style could and should not diminish the spatial power of colonial urban planning directed especially at those who were confronted with it on a daily basis through segregation and spatial exclusion on various scales and dimensions of the urban and social fabric. The urban form after all does not prescribe the social function in its totality, or in other words, "[t]he grid is what you make it"[1174]. As a "generator" the grid "can accept and respond to growth and change"[1175], but it might also act as a deadlock. And what was intended to be made out of the grid was a combination of a little-English-town-like Garden City with a modernistic touch. In Livingstone, the first part was already at place. In the words of the Report, Livingstone is

"a very pleasing and beautiful town blessed with the amenities of the Zambezi River and valley. It is somewhat unique in Central African towns in that it does not suffer from "growing pains" meaning the painful and expensive process of catching up with rapid developments by the way of essential services. Livingstone is a mature town, it is compact and convenient, has an adequate water supply from the Zambezi River, a complete waterborne sewage system, ample electric

[1169] Ibid.
[1170] c.f. Odendaal, Duminy and Inkoom 2015, The Developmentalist Origins and Evolution of Planning Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, C. 1940 to 2010, p. 288
[1171] Kostof 1991, *The City Shaped:*, p. 271
[1172] On magistrales and socialist urbanism see for instance: Hatherley, O. (2016). Landscapes of Communism: A History through Buildings. New York: The New Press.
[1173] Ibid p. 217.
[1174] Ibid, p. 157. This is for instance shown by Eric Ross in his historical analysis of the grid plan in Senegalese urban design. c.f. Ross, E. (2015). The Grid Plan in the History of Senegalese Urban Design. In Silva, C.N. (Eds.), *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-Colonial Planning Cultures*. New York and London: Routledge.
[1175] Martin 2000, The Grid as a Generator, p. 314.

> power from hydro-electric plant below the Victoria Falls, all its streets are surfaced and many bituminised, and the street lighting system is good."[1176]

The urban discourse presented here is perfectly in line with the settler's imagination of their town, a town without the urban problems encountered elsewhere, a town one could argue without urban properties beyond technical infrastructures, an essentially anti-urban town. The reason that it did not have to catch up with any developments was not because they would not have been necessary, but because it was decided by the urban minority that the majority of Livingstone's population would not need them. Therefore, and most importantly perhaps, what is portrayed is essentially the European town. It is only one part of the dual city[1177], for neither the waterborne sewage system, nor the ample electric power, nor the bituminised street, and except for some streets not even the street lighting system were part of the second half of that dual city, the residential areas of the African population.

Nevertheless, apart from the mere technical and economic considerations in the context of the urban layout and service infrastructures, population mattered too. That is to say, the "pleasing and beautiful town" still had to meet some requirements concerning its population size. Here is where the uncertainties of official statistics regarding the African population is strategically used as a means to present a good case. Frankly, it is the comparatively high number of the African population that allowed this plan to be presented in the first place, for the 4,000 non-Africans, of whom roughly 500 were Indians – who were by the way not mentioned at all in the whole Report and the Submission – would not have sufficed to even consider Livingstone as a possible capital. The very fact that the Indian population of Livingstone is not mentioned is actually already a strong indicator that the arguments to present this case which were made involving Africans represent no genuine interest in Africans, but were simply rhetorical strategies. This is also the case when it comes to the number of Africans living in Livingstone.

In essence, the authors argue that a capital city should be neither too big, as this would result in over-crowing and problems in administering it, nor too small. In this context an interesting strategy of presenting unrealistic population data can be observed. Generally, the accuracy of colonial population statistics has been met with critique not only in recent years and decades,[1178] but also already during colonial times and shortly thereafter. According to George Kay, for instance, the population estimates from the 1963 demographic survey in Northern Rhodesia were off by around 900,000 individuals, which amounted to around 35 percent of the total population.[1179]

According to the Report, the number of the African population in Livingstone totalled 25,000 for the year 1953. In brackets next to the year there is a note stating "Local Authority Estimates". The

[1176] The Report, p. 5.
[1177] King 1985, Colonial Cities: Global Pivots of Change ; Bissell 2011a, Between Fixity and Fantasy: Assessing the Spatial Impact of Colonial Urban Dualism.
[1178] c.f. Fetter, B. (1987). Decoding and Interpreting African Census Data: Vital Evidence from an Unsavory Witness. *Cahiers d'Etudes africaines, 105-106*(83-105 ; Cordell, D., K. Ittmann and G. Maddox (2010). Counting Subject. Demography of Empire. In Cordell, D., K. Ittmann and G. Maddox (Eds.), *The Demographics of Empire. The Colonial Order and the Creation of Knowledge.* Athens: Ohio University Press; Frankema, E. and M. Jerven (2014). Writing History Backwards or Sideways: Towards a Consensus on African Population, 1850–2010. *The Economic History Review, 67*(4), 907-931)
[1179] Kay 1967, *A Social Geography of Zambia*, p. 46

general numbers for the population data in the Report from 1911 till 1953 are, however, based on the Central African Statistical Office. Thus, all the population estimates which are presented in two separate columns – one for the African and one for the European population – are taken from official statistics with the exception of the numbers for year 1953, since there was no official data. Merran McCulloch in her social survey on Livingstone estimated the African population size to be around 18,000, and the general population size to be around 21,000 for the year 1952, and refers to the numbers of the Central Statistical Office for 1951 to amount to 17,800 for the African population of Livingstone.[1180] An increase of 7,000 individuals or around 39 percent within one year (hence, between 1952 and 1953) is quite unrealistic. This would have amounted to around 134 new people settling at Livingstone per week.

The surveyors and authors of the Report were in close contact with the Municipal Council during their surveying. The numbers they present and the conclusions they draw can thus be understood as a result of these contacts to the town administration. The Report can therefore be seen as already influenced by not only the local knowledge, but also the political and ideological views, instead of being an "objective" or "impartial" planning proposal. Regarding the census, one could of course speculate that the local authorities did not trust the demographic estimates of the Central African Statistical Office for the year 1951, which in this case do not seem very inaccurate if compared to the numbers presented by McCulloch, whose method of sampling and the time spent in the field make them seem quite reliable. This might be a sound argument given the general mistrust of the (settler) authorities at Livingstone against colonial or governmental institutions. However, in light of the circumstances and the context of this application for the capital of the Federation, population size might be understood as an asset. In other words, a large population size provides more symbolic capital to such a proposal; since the statistics of the European population were, on the one hand, more accurate and better known and the population size too small compared to the African population on the other hand, in order for such a statistical tuning to be effective the African population size had to be overstated instead. At the same time the population of Lusaka against which Livingstone is being measured is understated, although the growth rate at Lusaka is implicitly portrayed as phenomenal; this seems strange at first, but makes sense when understood as a strategic move. The report states the following:

> "Livingstone was once the Northern Rhodesia capital and the effect on Lusaka of the capital being moved to that locality is evident from the census statistics which show that in 1931 there were 433 Europeans and 1,280 Africans in Lusaka, and in 1951 there were 4,556 Europeans and 14,756 Africans in employment, while it is estimated that in 1952 there were 6,000 Europeans and a total African population of 26,000. Livingstone itself has displayed no phenomenal rate of growth. On the other hand it has survived the loss of the territorial capital and progressed to the sizeable and settled population it has today."[1181]

[1180] McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*, p.1 and 3
[1181] The Report, p. 5.

Looking at the official statistics, the total African population living in Lusaka in 1956 was around 60,000, of which 22,447 were in employment according to the Central Statistical Office.[1182] It is not stated in the Report where these estimates for the year 1952 came from, but looking at the numbers and the ratio between the total African population and those in employment, again, the figure of 26,000 is quite unlikely. It must have been a lot larger. The aim of this comparison between Lusaka and Livingstone is evidently to portray Livingstone as not only resilient, since it is said to have managed to cope with the loss of the capital in 1935, but also as a "settled", that is, well-managed and sizeable town that, despite a growth rate that is not phenomenal, can still compete with Lusaka. The overestimated 25,000 people for the year 1952 in Livingstone thus stand against the underestimated 26,000 people for the year 1953 in Lusaka. The difference between the two figures is negligible in numbers, but still used to present different urbanities. This matter of a town having to be not too big, or rather not having experienced growth rates beyond a certain extent, while at the same time being still large and significant enough in order to be suitable as a capital, thus perfectly fits the three conclusions the authors state at the beginning of the section.

Furthermore, the authors also define the different spaces and infrastructures that would have to be available at a new capital, and how these would have to be adjusted according to the rate of growth. Here, the population size is portrayed as being in direct relationship with the functioning of the urban space as such.

> "A new town must provide, inter alia, for shopping, recreation, cultural, social and business facilities. There is a minimum size for any community below which it fails to be practicable as a balanced unit; as the size increases social facilities can be enlarged proportionally, but beyond a certain point the correct balance between industry and housing is difficult to maintain, internal distances become too great, economy in administration suffers, towns become unwieldy and the sense of corporate living and responsibility vanishes."[1183]

In terms of the perfect population size the authors refer to an unreferenced study conducted in urban areas in Europe, the United States, South America, and South Africa, which comes to the conclusion that urban spaces not exceeding 80,000 people were most economical to administer. Since they expect the capital to grow beyond this threshold, they deem it unwise to situate the capital at a site that is already home to a large population. Regarding the geographical location of Livingstone the authors emphasise the connectivity of Livingstone through road and railway networks and the newly built Airport, which would have the benefit of being very close to the town and the proposed site of the extension. Furthermore, the tourist industry at Livingstone and its "world-wide fame because of its proximity to the Victoria Falls"[1184] is perceived as an advantage both symbolically as well as economically.

Therefore, based on the presented population in place and the infrastructural advantages, they conclude that they "know of no other locality within the territories of the Federation where

[1182] Central Statistical Office 1956, Census of Population 1956, Salisbury, p. 4.
[1183] The Report, p. 4.
[1184] Ibid.

facilities are so readily available for the early establishment of a new Capital and at the least cost."[1185] The authors therefore summarise the advantages of Livingstone in six points, which include the communication and transport infrastructures by air, rail and road; the existence of basic services and amenities such as a business centre, cultural, social, and recreational facilities; the availability and extensibility of water, electricity, and sewage; the presence of large areas of Crown land surrounding the town; the general environment (the Falls); and the spatial properties regarding the extensibility of residential areas over short distances.

Finally, the fact that Livingstone is known to be exposed to hot and humid climatic conditions especially during the end of the dry season in September and the wet season between October and February is not seen as a huge problem by the authors. Modern tropical architecture and methods of ventilation would make this problem manageable. Moreover, the proposed site for the extension, situated on a plateau around 45 metres higher in altitude than the Airport and about 100 metres higher than Mainway, would guarantee less humid and hot conditions due to the exposure to wind.

Topography of Power

In their description of the proposed siting of the capital, the authors assess the overall developments of Livingstone. The plateau in the north of the existing town that is envisaged as the appropriate site is said to be situated within the expected expansions of the town to the north and west. The town that is described here is again the European part of Livingstone, which is positioned or portrayed as the whole. The African residential areas within this overall spatial analysis conducted by the authors play no major role. They describe the proposed site and its topographical relations to the surrounding area in the following way:

> "In elevation the Zambezi River nearest to Livingstone is approximately 2,900 feet above Sea Level. The principal business street of the town, "Mainway" is 175 feet above the river at altitude 3,075 feet above sea, while the highest point of the present municipal area, on the Great North Road, is 3,200 feet above sea level or 300 feet above the river. The airport too has an altitude of approximately 3,200 feet. The site for the proposed Federal Capital rises gently from the town and Airport to the north and achieves an altitude of 3,350 feet before the land falls away to the valleys of the Kabanda River northwards and the Sinde River westwards. The site for the new Government Centre may be said to range between 3,300 feet and 3,350 feet above sea level, or 400 feet to 450 feet above the Zambezi River, or about 250 feet above the business centre of the town."[1186]

Note that the focal points of reference in this arrangement, apart from the Zambezi and the valley, are the business centre, the main roads and the airport. The overall focus of the location of the capital lies in the economic and technical infrastructures.

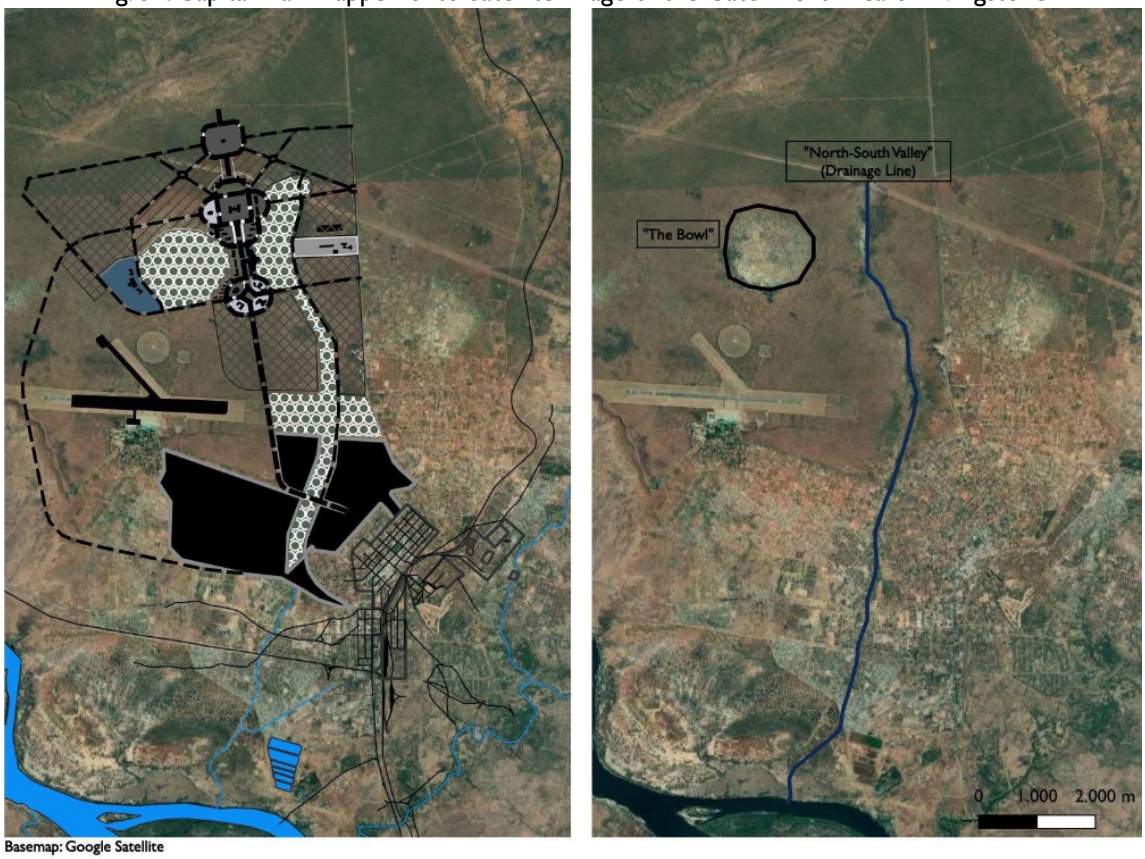
[1185] Ibid, p. 5
[1186] The Report, p. 7.

In terms of the function of the topography, the authors emphasise its significance for the proposed plan. Two physical features are thereby important: firstly, what they termed the "North-South Valley", which is the main drainage line that runs from the highest point, in whose direct vicinity according to the plan the Parliament House should be situated, all the way down to the Zambezi; secondly, a depression they termed "the Bowl" which is about 12 metres deep, 1,6 km2 in surface area and devoid of trees. The ridge or watershed between these two formations should serve as the main boulevard. In the words of the authors "the topography thus formed will afford added interest and beauty in the development of the Capital by allowing prominence to important buildings"[1187].

Ambe Njoh has argued that physical features and conditions, especially "locations, soils, temperatures and rainfalls were all determinants of health conditions. In other words, the health status of a place was considered a function of its locations. […] This belief is one of a number of rationales that were advanced in defence of the selection of higher ground"[1188]. These higher grounds were traditionally hilltops or plateaus, which is the "generic name for the quarter where Westerners lived in colonial towns, normally referring to a higher and better-ventilated area."[1189] While sanitation is not a major discourse any longer in the Report, except for the climatic advantages of the proposed location on higher ground highlighted above, the essence of this 19th- and early 20th century planning rationale is still silently in place.

[1187] Ibid.
[1188] Njoh 2007, *Planning Power*, p. 205.
[1189] Sinou, A. (2014). The 'Plateau' in West African, French-Speaking Colonial Towns: Between Garden and City. In Bigon, L. and Y. Katz (Eds.), *Garden Cities and Colonial Planning. Transnationality and Urban Ideas in Africa and Palestine*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 92.

Fig. 34. Capital Plan Mapped onto Satellite Image of the Catchment Area of Livingstone



That is to say, the implicit considerations of health and security in the conception of the capital were masked by the discourse of style and beauty, another ideal of early 20th century planning, where, as Odendaal et. al. put it, "[t]he spatial ideal was associated with that of the colonial masters: order and beauty combined with an acknowledgement of the local climate and topography."[1190] What is more apparent, however, is the power structure that is articulated and indeed reinforced by not only the choice of location and the topography, but also the general layout. As Christopher Winters pointed out, "[i]n all their cities Europeans used topography – real or imagined – to symbolize the unequal distribution of wealth and power and the separation of ruler and ruled that characterized colonial urbanism."[1191] In the following section I will discuss and analyse how the general layout is envisioned by the authors and how this late-colonial vision of a capital is morphed onto the existing structures.

The town plans and the imagined morphology of the Capital

Usually, urban morphology (meaning here the study of urban form) and town-plan analysis, as one of the methods of the historico-geographical approach,[1192] relies on town-plans that provide information on the different elements at various scales of which the urban fabric is composed. These include first and foremost the street-level, the block level, the plot-level, the buildings and the open

[1190] Odendaal, Duminy and Inkoom 2015, The Developmentalist Origins and Evolution of Planning Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, C. 1940 to 2010, p. 288.
[1191] Winters, C. (1982). Urban Morphogenesis in Francophone Black Africa. *Geographical Review, 72*(2), 139-154, p. 141.
[1192] c.f. Oliveira, V. (Eds.). (2019). *J.W.R. Whitehand and the Historico-Geographical Approach to Urban Morphology.* Cham: Springer.

space.[1193] In some approaches to urban morphology, the building heights and floor-plans might also be included into the analysis. Such rigorous analyses are often based on multiple town-plans with detailed information on the different urban forms and units in order to assess their functions, relationships, and transformations over time. However, such analyses would not be possible in this context, since the provisional plans of the Report do not provide the details necessary for such an approach. The plan will thus be analysed along the descriptions that are provided by the authors. Sam Griffiths has noted that historians are usually less interested in the actual maps, but rather analyse their context of production and the map itself as an artefact of social and cultural processes. However, he asks

> "why not approach the map itself critically in terms of what it can tell us about the materialities of everyday life and develop the analytical capacity to assist in generating descriptions of spatial practice that can beg questions and help to provide answers about the role of material life in different historical contexts?"[1194]

Hence, I will approach this analysis with this question in mind, although the question here, again referring to Ann Stoler, is not directed towards the material life as it actually happened, but as it could have happened or rather was supposed to happen. The plan might thus be read as a "political diagnostic".[1195]

As highlighted above, the ridge or watershed should have functioned as the main boulevard. The focal points in this arrangement are the Parliament buildings, which are situated directly between the two depressions. The authors describe their vision of this arrangement in the following words:

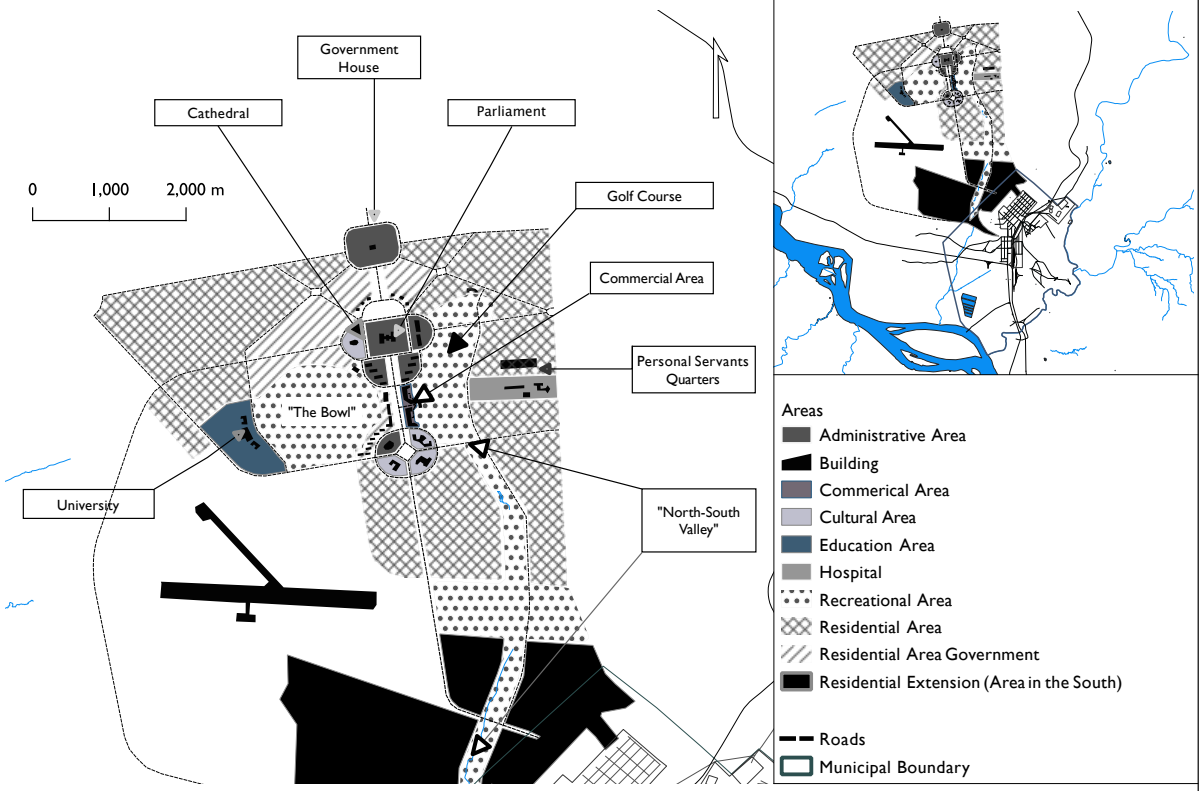
> "The centre or focal point of the whole plan of the Government Centre is the Parliament Buildings situated on high ground above and between the head of the "North-South Valley" and "the Bowl". The point is a prominent one and looks across "the Bowl" and the University site and other developments that will take place there, it looks down southwards along a Boulevard on a line passing over the Victoria Falls, and it looks across the Golf Course and parkway designed in the "North-South Valley". In the reverse direction, to the north, the Boulevard extends to Government House. Not only is the outlook open, attractive and interesting in all directions, but the House of Parliament, by their prominence, will be observed as a terminating vista to many of the streets as planned and will be conspicuous from across the open space."[1196]

Fig. 35 is a digital reproduction of that plan based on the original, highlighting the different functional zones. Looking at the proposed plan and the description given by the authors, the overall arrangement follows a hierarchical structure. From the Government House at the top, through the centre of the arrangement represented by the Parliament and the courts of law, to the cultural

[1193] Oliveira 2016, *Urban Morphology*, chapter 2.
[1194] Griffiths 2013, Gis and Research into Historical "Spaces of Practice": Overcoming the Epistemological Barriers, p. 160.
[1195] Stoler 2010, *Along the Archival Grain*, p. 107
[1196] The Report, p. 9

spaces at the bottom, this line of attraction is flanked on the lower west side by the University and the "Bowl" and on the lower east side by the golf course and the hospital. The Government House and Parliament are thus guaranteed the overview not only across the areas in their direct vicinity, but indeed the whole catchment and the Victoria Falls.

Fig. 35. Proposed Plan for the Extension of Livingstone



This pattern can also be observed in the spatial relations of the overall town. Thus, like a self-similar fractal structure, the inner hierarchy of the proposed extension appears like the relations between the Capital extension and the rest of the town. At the top of this overall hierarchy is the Capital extension, at the middle position is the old town, and at the lowest level are the African residential areas, thus the political space, the economic space, and space of labour. Again, the combination of the early and late colonial planning and urbanism, of Garden City style and modernist planning, structures the plan.

Mueller-Friedman argued that "Le Corbusier's urban creations […] segregated city inhabitants on a vertical rather than a horizontal level"[1197], which constitutes in a morphological context a reflexion of the notion of Garth Myers' "Verandah's of Power"[1198], where each verandah-level represents a stratum of the colonial society. Like the three Verandah's, one could argue, the spatial differentiation is manifest in this imagined morphology of the plan in the functional differentiation of

[1197] Mueller-Friedman, F. (2000). Deconstructing Windhoek: The Urban Morphology of a Post-Apartheid City. . *Working Paper No. 111*, 1-34. Development Planning Unit, University College London. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/development/sites/bartlett/files/migrated-files/wp111_0.pdf, p. 20
[1198] Myers 2003, *Verandahs of Power*.

the modern capital, the old and traditional settler town and economic centre, and the African compounds.

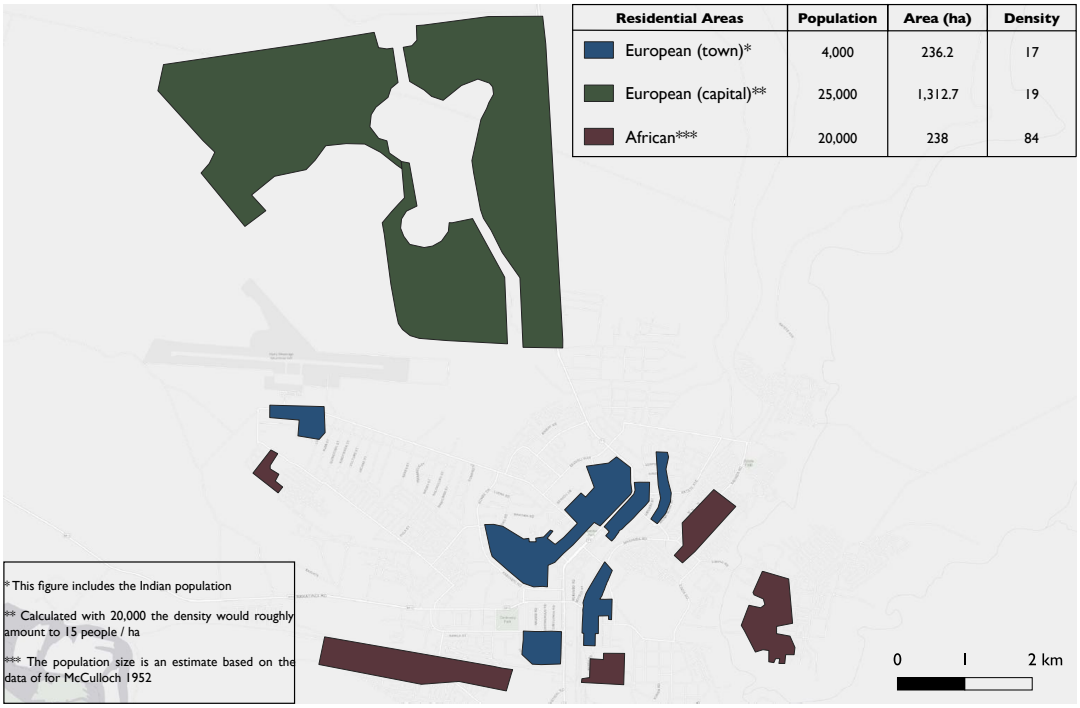
On the architectural form of the boulevard the authors add that "[c]areful detail planning and a strict control of the architectural form will here be necessary to ensure that nothing will detract from the amenities of the Government centre."[1199] Although representationalism in the like of the old Grand Manner is certainly not what the authors intend to see fulfilled here, the Government centre is still supposed to stand out visually and it is important to the planners that the significance of the main boulevard is underscored architecturally instead of simply disappearing in the functional and rational assemblage of modernism.

The functional differentiation within the arrangement of the capital extension and the overall town is repeated in the residential areas. These are sub-divided into those reserved for government purposes and for general purposes, the former of which is attached to the boulevard and together with the "Bowl" and the "North-South Valley" forms a buffer zone between the boulevard and the general residential areas. In its initial phase, the authors argue, the residential zones to the west of the "Bowl" spanning to the Great North Road and the section southwest of the cultural zone should be developed, as it would "contain all the chief requirements of the Government Centre in a compact form as a whole, but without losing a sense of spaciousness around the component parts."[1200]

Although there are no indications as to how the density distribution should have been, or indeed how the different parts of the residential areas should have looked like, the authors calculate that the overall residential area would house between 20,000 and 25,000 people and that perhaps not more than 10,000 would be housed in the initial phase. They emphasise, however, that the residential area would need detailed planning in order to "obtain the most attractive setting for the garden city. Densities will vary according to the "localities" being created […]"[1201]. Indeed, a garden city it should have been. Although there is no indication of the actual morphology on the plot-level and street-level, from the population size given by the authors, the density of people per unit area can be approximated. For the three divisions (capital extension, the existing town, and African urban areas) pointed out earlier, Fig. 36 shows the densities that can be calculated for the year 1953:

[1199] The Report, p.9.
[1200] Ibid. p. 11.
[1201] Ibid. p. 10.

Fig. 36. Urban Densities - Livingstone, 1953



To be sure, densities in themselves often do not reveal much, and of the many different forms of density[1202] that might be calculated in urban contexts, indeed density "seen largely as a matter of *number of people per unit area* […] is not a very useful approach"[1203]. However, the point here is not "to show" that more space means better living conditions, for that is simply not true as a general statement, but that the notion or discourse that this would indeed be the case – thus the Garden City ideal of much space for small communities as opposed to overcrowding – is important as it explains the respective areas reserved for different groups of people. Calculated with 20,000 instead of 25,000, which would amount to about 15 individuals per hectare, the trend of the urban hierarchy presented above could even be found in density distribution as well, however, only by a very small margin. The similar figures of 19 individuals per hectare in the capital plan and 17 individuals per hectare in the town indicate the similarities in the basic planning rationale in these two areas. Moreover, despite the fact that the plot-sizes in the residential areas of the capital extension were not mentioned, it is reasonable to say that based on the space available they would have been similar to the mean-area in town of about 2,000m², while obviously in both areas the space available per

[1202] i.e. floorspace, buildings, or people per unit area c.f. Dovey, K. and E. Pafka (2019). Densities. In Dovey, K., E. Pafka and M. Ristic (Eds.), *Mapping Urbanities morphologies, Flows, Possibilities*. New York and London: Routledge.

[1203] Rapoport, A. (1975). Toward a Redefinition of Density. *Environment and Behavior, 7*(2), 133-158, p. 133. That is to say, the common conception of low densities indicating better living conditions as opposed to high densities is for most parts not valid and is as a discourse and indeed ideology very much in line with Unwin's famous 1912 pamphlet "Nothing gained by overcrowding" Unwin 2014, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding* and Garden City urbanism. Elek Pafka in "Nothing Gained by only Counting Dwellings per Hectare" Pafka, E. (2013). *Nothing Gained by Only Counting Dwellings Per Hectare: A Hundred Years of Confusing Urban Densities*. State of Australian Cities Conference, Sydney, Australia. https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01423244/ document ironically referred to this and argued that "dwellings per hectare alone is not useful for historic comparisons, urban versus suburban comparisons, or comparisons between different social contexts" p. 1.

person far exceeded that in African residential areas of 84 people per hectare. This reflects the general differentiation of building regulations between African and European urban spaces "regarding plot size, population density, building and room size and building materials"[1204]. Assuming that a plot was occupied by three to four people on average – perhaps a nuclear family of 4 – the average plot-size in the capital extension would have amounted to 1,500m² (for 25,000 people) or 2,100m² (for 20,000 people).

Except for a quarter for personal servants next to the proposed hospital, which is not mentioned in the text, Africans or African residential areas are only mentioned briefly under the section "The Growth of Livingstone as a Capital" that deals with its future growth.

> "The African population at present is accommodated to the east of the railway line and in the Maramba River valley. This arrangement encourages the extension of the African residential area northwards in the form of a wide belt along the eastern side of the Great North Road. Africans would then be conveniently near to the Government Centre as well as to the business and industrial zones. The European areas will then be entirely westwards of the Great North Road."[1205]

Thus, the Great North Road in this planning outline is understood as the logical extension to the railway line that had acted as a fixation line[1206] between the European and African parts of the town since its foundation in 1905. This fixation line, as the second map above shows, creates a fringe-zone that further separates it from the Capital extension. While the words of the authors suggest that the planning scheme is integrative in this regard, in reality it is not. The proposed government centre and the boulevard are almost encapsulated or cocooned, not only by the residential areas directly around it (the black areas in the map below), but also the surrounding areas envisioned as future European residential areas. Finally, the space between the proposed African and European areas, which are supposed to develop in eastern and western directions and thus grow further apart from each other, as a fringe belt (area marked blue in the map) further reinforces the spatial divide.

[1204] Gruffydd Jones 2012, Civilising African Cities: International Housing and Urban Policy from Colonial to Neoliberal Times, p. 28. See also Rakodi, C. (1995). *Harare: Inheriting a Settler-Colonial City: Change or Continuity?* C.Chichester: John Wiley; Njoh 2007, *Planning Power*; Bigon, L. (2009). *A History of Urban Planning in Two West African Colonial Capitals: Residential Segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar (1850-?1930).* Lewisto: Edwin Mellen Press.
[1205] The Report. p. 12.
[1206] c.f. Carter, H. and S. Wheatley (1979). Fixation Lines and Fringe Belts, Land Uses and Social Areas: Nineteenth-Century Changes in the Small Town. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 4*(214–238). The fixation line is "a linear feature, such as a town wall, marking the traditional stationary fringe of an ancient town, or any other strong linear feature on the ground creating a critical topographical fixation of consequent streets, structures and land uses." Conzen, M.P. (2018). Core Concepts in Town-Plan Analysis. In Oliveira, V. (Eds.), *Teaching Urban Morphology.* Cham: Springer, p. 134.

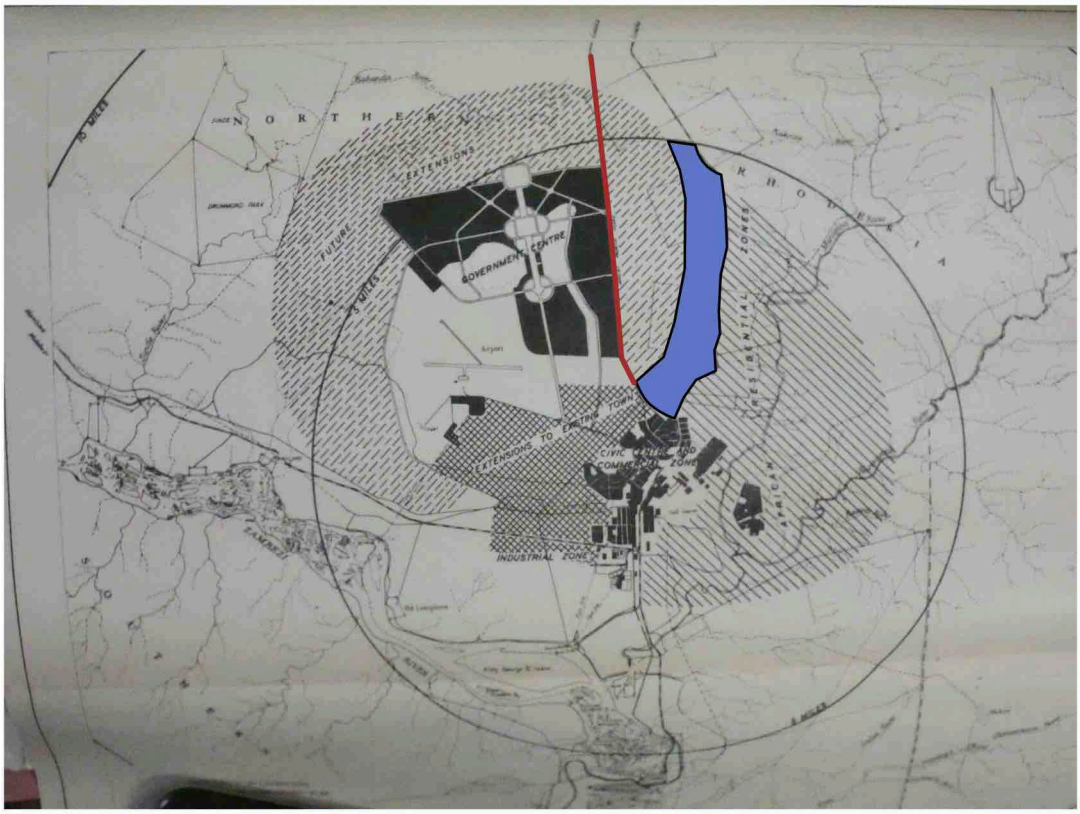


Fig. 37. Outline Advisory Development Plan, 1:50,000 by J.C. Collings and Partner, 1953
(fringe-belt separating European and African Residential areas illustrated by blue area; fixation line in red)

Therefore, the dual city that had shaped colonial urbanism, especially in southern Africa, and spatial segregation as its most visual, sensual and material manifestation were alive and well in the visions and aspirations on the colonial future of a small settler-town in Northern Rhodesia from the perspective of the year 1953. It was the year that had at least theoretically brought the discourse of partnership, political participation and socio-economic integration of Africans to the attention of the colonial administrators and settler representatives. Yet, such a discourse, which entailed its own future aspirations of perhaps housing and living among and not segregated from each other, divided by physical and social boundaries alike, was clearly not one that was granted any space in this Report and Submission. Therein, Africans are portrayed merely as a silent part of the overall spatial arrangement, without agency and without any notion of participation.

Functional separations, implying in this case also racial segregation, was envisioned in the economic and social spaces within the arrangement of the capital extension as well. In terms of business and economic spaces it is made clear that the capital extension should not be mainly associated with such. Thus, the only shops and businesses that are planned to be situated in the extension are "professional practices, insurance companies, a post and telegraph office, restaurants and cafes, and a limited number of shops to provide commodities for daily needs, including a bookseller and stationer, florist, chemist, dairy and, in a proper setting, a petrol filling station"[1207]. In other words, no manufacturing or other industries, wholesale businesses or the like were planned,

[1207] The Report, p. 10.

industries in which Africans would usually find work. Thus, while the role and space of Africans within this arrangement is not made explicit except for the personal servants quarters shown on the map, based on the list of shops and businesses one can assume that Africans were not anticipated to be present in either of these spaces.

The overall arrangement should resemble and display the amenities of modernism, political strength and stylistic beauty. Therefore, the general spaciousness should have been underscored by the large green-belt – or "'Howardian open space'"[1208] as Ambe Njoh refers to such structures – of the "North-South Valley", which was planned as a parkway in the southern half of the valley and a golf-course in the northern half. Such green-belts were usually one of the various forms of how "sanitation-as-segregation"[1209] was imposed. Robert Home highlights that the initial plan of the Garden City advocates of large green-belts between town and country in some cases, for example in New Zealand, fell prey to laissez faire capitalism due to the need for land as a financial resource, while in regions such as South Australia, where land was abundant, such structures were prominently used.[1210] This was also the case in and around Livingstone, and the abundance of land represents one of the arguments which received particular attention in the Report and the Submission that Livingstone would be the perfect site for the capital. Thus, the large areas of Crown Land not open for speculation received much emphasis. However, the green-belt in this case was oriented along the north-south axis and not as an encirclement. It would not have functioned as a segregating structure per se, but, in taking up more than 10 percent of the entire area, as a means of opening up and widening the entire arrangement in order to underscore the Capital's beauty and glory, and of course as a recreational facility. The authors make the argument that

> "Apart from the recreational value and convenience of a golf course situated in the very heart of the Parliamentary Centre, where it will be at hand to the many who will work and live there either permanently or temporarily, no more beautiful setting could be given to the centre than a well kept golf course below the Government buildings and along the slopes of the valley."[1211]

Apart from the golf course, social clubs and hotels were planned to be situated in and around the "North-South Valley". Facilities like a hospital and a military station should have been situated at the boundaries of the planned area. The hospital would have been situated east of the golf course, between the valley and the Great North Road, while a military depot was planned to be situated in the north-western part of the area. The urban space would therefore have been structured according to the modernist ideal of a functional separation of Governmental facilities, spaces of culture and recreation, to some degree spaces of commerce, housing areas and health and security infrastructures.

All of these features the planners understand to be important for the initial phase of growth. The vision of the capital, however, is not limited to spaces outlined in the plan. As a final outlook the

[1208] Njoh 2007, *Planning Power*, p. 179.
[1209] Bissell 2011b, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power*, p. 168.
[1210] Home 2013b, *Of Planting and Planning*, p. 17.
[1211] The Report, p. 10.

authors picture how the capital extension might grow beyond the limits set out in the plan. Thus, looking at a future where the comparatively small town and capital might outgrow the boundaries drawn to meet the initial requirements, the authors even broaden the outlook of the urban space to reach beyond the 3 mile radius across the Zambezi.

> "If in the years to come the city still grows, the circle may be completed and even increased in radius and so include the land on the southern side of the Zambezi River. With the development of the resources of Central Africa and the increase of its population over the years, its Capital City of the future might well include the Zambezi River flowing through it and the Victoria Falls within its environs"[1212]

This imagination and aspiration of the future of the Capital therefore not only includes, but rather absorbs and incorporates physically into the urban space the two most iconic and symbolic resources of Livingstone, and in a way closes the circle of European domination that in the self-conception of the settlers at Livingstone had started 100 years earlier with the "discovery" of the Falls by the very man whose name the town had appropriated. This incorporative imagination transports the final claim over two natural formations that were important not only to settlers, but even more so to Africans, many of whom "were displaced and lost access to the Zambezi" though "their claims were not […] silenced"[1213]. Some groups bore the significance of the Zambezi to their culture even in their endonym such as "bamulwizi" ("people of the river").[1214] Especially Joanne McGregor has highlighted the multifacetedness of the symbolic and material dimensions of these formations for the social history of the region around Livingstone.[1215] Indeed, the Falls and the Zambezi function like the symbolic cornerstones of the Report and the Submission. If not by naming them, this is still highlighted in the final verdict of the authors, when they write that "Livingstone is recommended as the locality of the new Capital: its history, climate, character and growth are reviewed and the reasons for the recommendations are set out."[1216] Thus, the history, the climate and the character are all structured and influenced by them. This becomes even more apparent in the Submission which I will turn to in the next section.

6.3. The Submission

While the Report was meant as a planning outline, the Submission instead focused on highlighting the important points and condensing the overall findings of the Report on a few pages. However, far from being just a summary, the Submission included its own perspectives and interpretations of Livingstone as a town, its character, and not least its history and space, thus the surrounding environment and landscape. Moreover, the author not only highlighted the overall

[1212] Ibid. p. 12.
[1213] McGregor 2009, *Crossing the Zambezi*, p. 3.
[1214] McGregor 2003a, Living with the River: Landscape and Memory in the Zambezi Valley, Zimbabwe.
[1215] c.f. McGregor 2003b, The Victoria Falls 1900–1940: Landscape, Tourism and the Geographical Imagination ; McGregor 2003a, Living with the River: Landscape and Memory in the Zambezi Valley, Zimbabwe; McGregor 2009, *Crossing the Zambezi*.
[1216] The Report, p. 16.

findings, but also pointed out certain aspects he felt the authors of the Report had omitted or not articulated with the necessary emphasis. In my analysis of the Report I have roughly organised the sections according to the structure of the survey. The analysis of the Submission will be instead structured along certain discourses. These are 1) the historical dimension, thus, Livingstone as a space of historical significance; 2) the spatial and infrastructural dimension including its environment, climate and facilities; 3) the political dimension in the context of the Federation; 4) the geographical and 5) cartographical dimension, with both emphasising the geographic imaginaries of the Municipal Council concerning the relationship between Livingstone and the wider region of southern Africa.

Livingstone comes to Town

The significance of Livingstone's history to this Submission, or to be precise, the settler's perspective thereon, is emphasised not only by the fact that it is positioned right at the beginning of the text, but that it takes up a whole page out of a six pages long document. Unsurprisingly, the section starts with the following passage.

> "The great explorer, Dr. David Livingstone, in 1855 discovered for European Civilisation the now famous Falls on the Zambezi that he named after Queen Victoria. It was not until many years later, in 1898, that the first European settlement was established on the North Bank of the River a few miles upstream from the Falls."[1217]

This first sentence in a way already encapsulates the agenda of the Municipal Council, their vision of and perspective on Livingstone and their aspirations for its future. Neither the narrative of discovery nor the narrative that the Falls were discovered for European civilisation is thereby surprising.[1218] However, its function is not only to affirm the legitimacy of European colonisation in Africa in general and the region around the Falls in particular, but also to entrench the claim of the town to become the capital. Thus, apart from the town being named after David Livingstone, it is the discourse of heritage, the symbolic construction of the Falls and Livingstone as a space of meaning and European history that becomes effective. The second sentence then underscores this effectiveness even more, as it creates a time-space that reaches far beyond the history of European settlement at the Falls and doubles the temporal reach of "European history" at Livingstone. Moreover, much like nation states or social or ethnic groups, this "pre-history" to the history of the town creates a space of myth and legend, a founding narrative of some sort. In this context of the symbolic and historical construction of the Falls it is important to note that "the Falls has a much longer history of being placed in a very different geography of connections and associated with identities and memories other than those of the British empire or Southern African settler culture."[1219]

[1217] The Submission, p1.
[1218] Joanna Lewis somewhat ironically points out that "although initially underwhelmed by the 2km wide Falls that later became one of the officially recognised wonders of the natural world, he quickly felt obliged to replace the local name of Mosi-oa-Tunya – Smoke that Thunders – in order to honour his monarch and simultaneously prevent any continental European rival from doing the same to his." Lewis 2011, Rivers of White, p. 147.
[1219] McGregor 2003b, The Victoria Falls 1900–1940: Landscape, Tourism and the Geographical Imagination, p. 718.

Over the following two paragraphs, the author continues the historical overview of the early developments of the town up to the 1920s by pointing out the construction of the Falls Bridge, the translocation of the administration from Kalomo to Livingstone in 1907, the establishment of the Village and later Town Management Board in 1913 and, most importantly for the application of the Submission in this regard, the granting of municipal status in 1928. He explains that "[i]ts local affairs are directed by a Mayor and Council, and only one other Northern Rhodesian town – Ndola – at present enjoys full municipal status"[1220] thereby emphasising the significance of Livingstone as a self-sufficient town with a long history of administration within the urban landscape of Northern Rhodesia. Interestingly, unlike the first part, the historical trajectories that are presented by the author in these paragraphs rather read like encyclopaedic notes. The same is true for the following one, where Livingstone's loss of capital status – "a blunder of the first magnitude"[1221] as Livingstonians in their outrage then called the translocation of the capital – is presented. Therein, the author argues that due to the developments on the Copperbelt during the 1920s "it was realised in those days of land travel, that Livingstone was too remote for efficient administration and in 1933 it was decided to move the seat of Government to a more central point"[1222]. However, what the author omitted to mention was that remoteness alone was not the only reason. The plan to move the capital was based on two main reasons "having regard to (1) health and (2) communication"[1223]. Also, the removal of the capital had already been discussed four years earlier. The respective letter from the Colonial Office was from March 1929 and the plan was accepted in the Legislative Council in April 1930 with only the representative from Livingstone voting against it.[1224] To be sure, Livingstone was less representative and glorious as its settlers perhaps imagined and had foreseen it. Andrea Arrington-Sirois argues in this context that "[d]espite some early forays into industrialization, Livingstone slowly faded into a provincial, outdated town"[1225]. Despite the removal, the author emphasises that some institutions retained their seat at Livingstone, such as "the Judicial, Postmaster-General's, Customs, Prisons and Immigration Headquarters"[1226]. Finally, in the last paragraph the author emphasises that the town "survived the removal of the Government" and still retains certain economic advantages such as "its tourist attractions, its prominence as a railway centre (it is now the fourth largest in the Rhodesias), and its indigenous timber industry"[1227].

This first part of the Submission thus sets out some the basic arguments why Livingstone should become the capital of the Federation. These are its symbolic and material/geographical spatial qualities, its resilience and self-reliance as a town and community, and its basic industries. With different examples these basic arguments are presented throughout the Submission.

[1220] The Submission, p. 1.
[1221] Quoted in Sampson 1971, *So This Was Lusaakas*, p. 62.
[1222] The Submission, p. 1.
[1223] Letter from the Colonial Office quoted in Home 2013a, Introduction, p. 7.
[1224] Ibid., p. 7.
[1225] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 260.
[1226] The Submission, p. 1.
[1227] Ibid. 1-2.

Visions of Modernity

The different qualities and properties of Livingstone's infrastructures and its surrounding area, its environment and climate are of particular importance to the Submission. In the section on Climate the author starts by correcting the analysis in the Report on the climate table comparing different towns in southern Africa. It is emphasised that the difference between temperature and climate was not stressed enough. Therefore, the climate would in reality not be as uncomfortable as the figures on the thermometer would suggest, and the humidity felt at the banks of the Zambezi when staying "at the splendid Victoria Falls Hotel"[1228] would not reflect the situation in town, and even less so at the proposed site for the capital extension on higher ground. Also, "[w]ith cheap and abundant water and electricity, air-conditioning is simple and inexpensive [and] [w]herever the new capital was built, air-conditioning of offices and public buildings would certainly be installed". Overall, therefore, it "would be difficult to find a more pleasant climate than in Livingstone during the greater part of the year"[1229].

The natural amenities around Livingstone have co-constituted the town's identity – at least the communicated one – since the capital was moved to Lusaka and Livingstone had begun to reinvent and proclaim itself as the "Cultural Capital" and "Tourist Capital" of Northern Rhodesia and later Zambia. These two self-decorations are indeed one of the most apparent immaterial remains of the colonial era until today. It is therefore somewhat surprising that neither of them were mentioned in the Submission, other than perhaps to avoid provoking mockery. The Livingstone Museum and the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, too, did not find their way into the Submission or the Report, which could be explained by the difficult relationship between the RLI-sociologists and the settlers. However, the grounds on which these self-decorations were based are indeed emphasised. In terms of the natural qualities of Livingstone the author therefore claims:

> "There exist in the Federation no better natural playground than the Zambezi River and its banks above the Victoria Falls. All this area could, without detracting in any way from the natural scenic beauty of the surroundings, be made into a recreational paradise. Yachting, rowing and boating generally; excellent fishing for miles up the River; bathing in the rapids or rockpools, or in floating swimming baths that could be constructed; rock-climbing and exploration in the canyons for a considerable distance below the Falls; splendid picnic places on both sides of the River – all these are natural advantages provided by the Zambezi on the doorstep of the capital site."[1230]

The certainty with which the natural environment is portrayed as the best in the entire Federation reflects the self-decoration pointed to above. To be sure, this passage reads more like a tourist-brochure than a case-submission for a planning proposal. It is nonetheless an exemplary reflection of the vision the Municipal Council had aspired to see fulfilled, for their town to become a bustling tourist destination, a vision that, however, did not turn into reality until the end of the

[1228] Ibid. p.2
[1229] Ibid.
[1230] Ibid. p 5.

century[1231]. This is despite the fact that it originated at the beginning of the century even before Livingstone was moved away from the "Old Drift" at the banks of the Zambezi to the less hazardous location further away from the river.[1232] The spatial construction of Zambezi and the Falls simultaneously addresses them as natural and wild spaces of scenic beauty and their potential to be economically exploited and controlled. The very waters of the Zambezi that transport the images of nature and wilderness are at the same time the resource with which the humid climate they co-create can be managed and controlled through modern technology.

Thus, apart from the environmental and symbolic qualities the river provided, it was of immense practical importance to the town as it provided it with sheer endless amounts of fresh water and power. "As to water", the author highlights, "there is the great Zambezi three miles from Livingstone and it could supply the largest city in the world with vast quantities of pure soft water – there could never be any real problem in regard to this, the most important requirement of any community"[1233]. He thereby underscores not only the potentials of the river, but its quality to provide safety, security and stability. Apart from these natural amenities, the technological advancements at Livingstone were also emphasised in order to present Livingstone as a space of modernity as well. Chief among them was the newly created international airport, but also the sewage system and the hydroelectric power plant. The environment and facilities in and around Livingstone therefore co-constitute the visions and imaginations of Livingstone's white population. Apart from being a space of historical and symbolic meaning of settler-culture and frontier legends, it also becomes a space of security and safety, and not least a space of modernity.

From how all of these qualities are portrayed by the author, it is easy to miss for whom they were actually available and for whom they were not. The discourse of safety and modernity, and the physical as well as symbolic appropriation of the Falls and the river, are therefore universalised, whereas in reality especially safety and security, but also the provision with modern technology stopped at the railway-line and would have stopped at the Great North Road according to the plan. The author thus concealed the fact that the majority of Livingstone's population would not benefit from either of these amenities, even as it did not even benefit from the existing ones. The African population in Livingstone is, however, not entirely missing in the Submission. It is strategically placed to address the political implications of the siting of the capital at Livingstone.

From the Space of Politics to Politics of Space

One section in the Submission deals with the political implication of the siting of the capital at Livingstone. This section is perhaps the most interesting, as the supposed perception of Africans is used as an argument. Therein, the author claims that "one of the most important political factors affecting the Federation is the impact of the siting of the Federal Capital on the minds of Africans who make up such a large proportion of the population."[1234] As I have already pointed out several

[1231] While tourism had been an important economic sector for Livingstone, the tourist potential was mainly absorbed by its sister town Victoria Falls on the other side of the Zambezi. c.f. Arrington, A.L. (2010). Competing for Tourists at Victoria Falls: A Historical Consideration of the Effects of Government Involvement. *Development Southern Africa, 27*(5), 773-787.
[1232] McGregor 2003b, The Victoria Falls 1900–1940: Landscape, Tourism and the Geographical Imagination.
[1233] The Submission, p. 5.
[1234] The Submission, p. 2.

times in this thesis, the settler culture and politics in Livingstone was particularly exclusionary and segregationist. The welfare of Africans was rather perceived as an obstacle to the town's potential, and every policy coming from the central government or the Colonial Office that was intended to improve the lives of Africans in towns was met with suspicion and often a sense of betrayal. It is therefore surprising that an African perspective is even acknowledged, let alone so openly used as a relevant discourse. Needless to say, one must not misinterpret this argument to represent a genuine interest in the perspective of Africans. The background of this argument are the political problems in connection with the establishment of the Federation, thus the mistrust of Africans especially in Northern Rhodesia and the debates concerning partnership. The author explains that the concept of the Federation was met with suspicion by a majority of Africans, in particular those living in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, who were concerned that conditions for Africans could worsen due to the influence of Southern Rhodesia,

> "which to them is a faraway land where their own race is not, to their minds, as well treated as in the northern territories, and where they are not allowed the same freedom of movement and expression. From their psychological viewpoint, grossly incorrect though this may be through European eyes, it would be not far short of a calamity to be governed from Southern Rhodesia."[1235]

In essence, the author portrays Africans and their legitimate protests against the Federation not only as ill-informed or even paranoid – after all their political argument is being degraded to a psychological viewpoint. He is also implying that the siting of the capital at Livingstone – again, itself not unknown for its reactionary politics – would suffice to soothe this "grossly incorrect" feeling. While Africans who were politically active during these times were quite aware of the political dominance of Southern Rhodesia over its two partner states, and were also aware of the spatial politics of the colonial system that were being acted out on many societal scales, they would not be fooled by such a simple symbolic politics of space. Moreover, for the everyday lives of Africans in general the location of the capital in this context would not have made any difference, since their freedom of movement and expression would often be determined by the very town they were living in. This spatial factor regarding exclusionary politics is even in a way acknowledged by the author, who claims that there "will be very serious problems if the capital of a multi-racial state is situated in a locality which has any strong racial bias, and an ideal solution would be the ultimate creation of an extra-territorial area."[1236]

An odd notion that is apparently used by the author to further delegitimise African critique to a mere feeling, serving to underscore the general lack of political (and spatial) knowledge that is implied, is represented in the insinuation that Southern Rhodesia to Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is "a faraway land". It is odd because most Africans, especially those living in towns,

[1235] Ibid. p. 3.
[1236] Ibid.

were not only well informed via radio and newspapers about places outside their home towns,[1237] but also labour migration was a contributing factor in this regard.[1238] Thus, the multi-ethnic composition of the towns in the Federation that had developed since the 1920s renders this argument completely invalid.

In the last paragraph the author summarises his argument and thereby adds a further dimension to it, addressing the cultural significance of the Victoria Falls and its apparent potential to act as a means to getting rid of all suspicions raised by Africans.

> "The Victoria Falls, on the greatest of all African rivers south of the Equator, are well known to and beloved by all the native Central African races as "Musi wa Tunya" (The Smoke that Thunders). If the new capital were sited close to this famous place no criticism could be forthcoming from any African, and it would be demonstrated in the simplest manner to all his race that federation is to mean real partnership and not the surrender of the northern territories to the south."[1239]

Apart from the fact that the author does not explain why a natural formation that bears different cultural meanings for different groups[1240] – however all of which do not reflect any political dimension in such a context – might perform such a function, he contradicts his own claim uttered above. On the one hand, Southern Rhodesia is presented as a faraway (i.e., unknown) land to Africans from other territories, and on the other hand Mosi-oa-Tunya is known to all Africans of the wider region of Central Africa. One could read this whole section as it was intended, namely that Livingstone is in Northern Rhodesia and has the Victoria Falls in its direct vicinity, which would give reassurance to Africans afraid of Southern Rhodesian politics. However, especially this last sentence opens another dimension. Supposed African interests or rather feelings that are used here as an argument could very well be the actual interests of the settlers, who were on the one hand always looking southwards in terms of politics and therefore generally very much in support of the Federation, but who were on the other hand perhaps somewhat suspicious themselves too, since with the Federation the political (and economic) cake would now have to be divided into thinner slices. At least this was a major reason why Livingstone opposed the first plans of amalgamation in the early 1930s.[1241] The wording of "a surrender of the northern territories to the south" that is used here re-directs attention from the politics of space back to the space of politics that is altered by this new Federation.

[1237] Fraenkel 1959, *Wayaleshi* ; Roberts, A.D. (2011). Northern Rhodesia: The Post-War Background, 1945–1953. In Gewald, J.-G., M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola (Eds.), *Living the End of Empire: Politics and Society in Late-Colonial Zambia.* Leiden: Brill ; Englund, H. (2015). Anti Anti-Colonialism: Vernacular Press and Emergent Possibilities in Colonial Zambia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 221-247.
[1238] c.f. O'Connor 2007, *The African City*, p. 86.
[1239] Ibid.
[1240] McGregor 2003a, Living with the River: Landscape and Memory in the Zambezi Valley, Zimbabwe.
[1241] c.f. Wetherell 1979, Settler Expansionism in Central Africa: The Imperial Response of 1931 and Subsequent Implications.

Cartographic Representation as Tactics of Scale

While the Report did include two plans – or one plan and one map to be precise – of the proposed expansion, to the Submission was added what might be called a general map showing Livingstone's location within the territory of the Federation and southern Africa. Most such general maps that are added to reports or studies frequently remain unexplained and often serve the purpose of mere convention. One has only to take a look into any historical monograph to find such a general map silently sitting there, although obviously they are never completely silent. In this case, however, the general map is explained. In the introduction to the Submission, where the Report itself and the two detailed maps (town-plans) are listed as an addendum, the purpose of the general map, which is prominently placed right after the title page, is explained. In the short introduction to the Submission it is stated that "[a] third map – of Southern Africa – showing the relationship of Livingstone to the Federation and the neighbouring Territories, and to coastal ports is included as a frontispiece."[1242]

The first important aspect is the fact that the general map is not only mentioned, but that its purpose is described immediately in the introduction, which is unusual. The general map itself therefore becomes an active part in the Council's proposal, perhaps more than the actual town-plans. It serves the purpose of highlighting the (imagined) spatial properties, the geographical potential as it were, that Livingstone supposedly bears within and beyond the boundaries of the Federation. This active part of the map is thus not concealed in any way, but openly displayed. However, the author not only emphasises what the map shows or is supposed to show, that is, the relationship of Livingstone to the Federation and southern Africa in general, but this relationship, more imagined than real, is also cartographically underscored; this will be analysed in the following.

As has been pointed out earlier, the geographical location of Livingstone made it unattractive as a capital of Northern Rhodesia even before 1935. Thus, in a way Livingstone has always been a provisional capital. Unfortunately for Livingstone, its location at the edges of the territory of Northern Rhodesia was not altered through the Federation. It still and actually even more so was situated at the very periphery of the territory of the Federation, at the borders to Bechuanaland, Southwest Africa, and Angola. If any place, Lusaka now would have truly lain in the centre of the Federation. This unfortunate situation made it necessary to cartographically transgress the boundaries of the Federation in displaying Livingstone's potential in the wider region of Southern Africa. Fig. 38 shows the General Map and Fig. 39 shows the position of Livingstone based on two different scales, highlighting in the small scale the relations emphasised by the author.

A tactics or practice of scale[1243] was therefore employed to turn the periphery into the centre by overcoming the deficiencies of medium scale through the small scale. The scale and segment that was used underscores Livingstone's central position in Southern Africa with, at least visually, almost equal distances to the costal regions to the Atlantic in the West and the Indian Ocean to the East as well as a similar situation on the North-South axis, making it the heart and centre of central and

[1242] The Submission, p. 1.
[1243] Fraser 2010, *The Craft of Scale Practices.*

southern Africa. Apart from this practice of "scale-bending"[1244], the unfortunate location inside the Federation is furthermore diminished by the cartographic stylisation. The glowing centre of Livingstone is portrayed to shed what seem to be beams of light across the territory of the Federation, for these lines serve no functional purpose of cartographic communication. That is to say, the thickness in stroke of the boundary lines render the other lines that emanate outwards across the Federation's territory redundant.

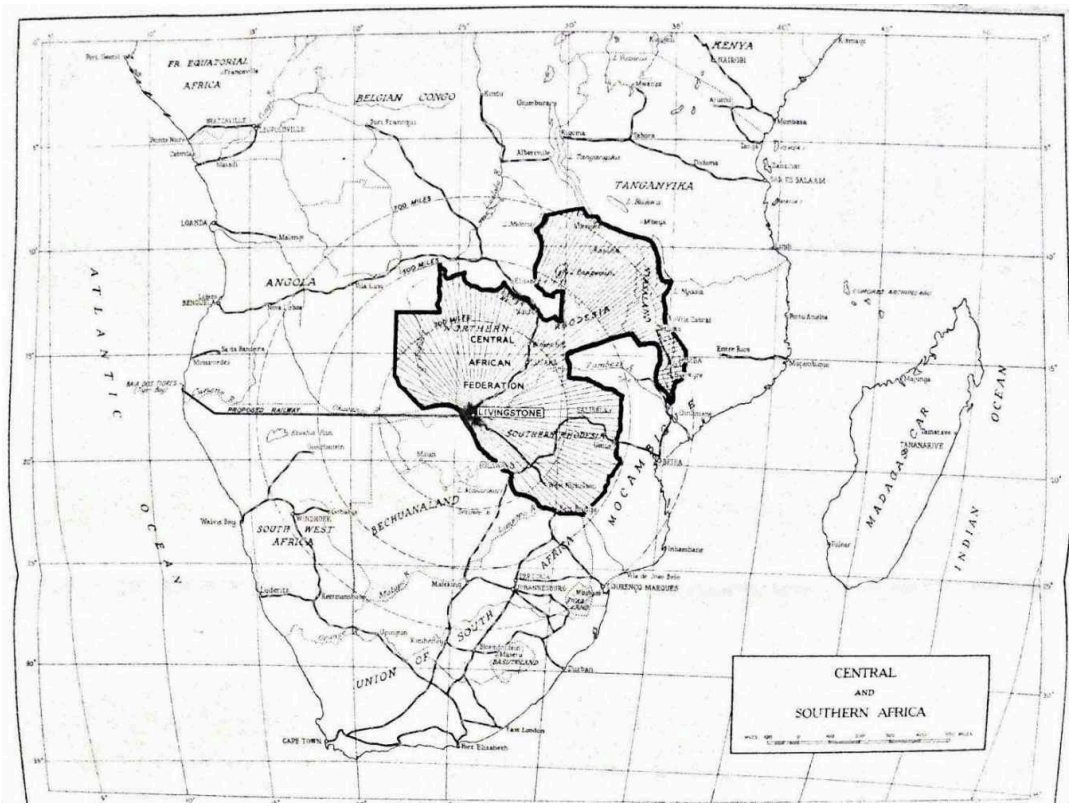
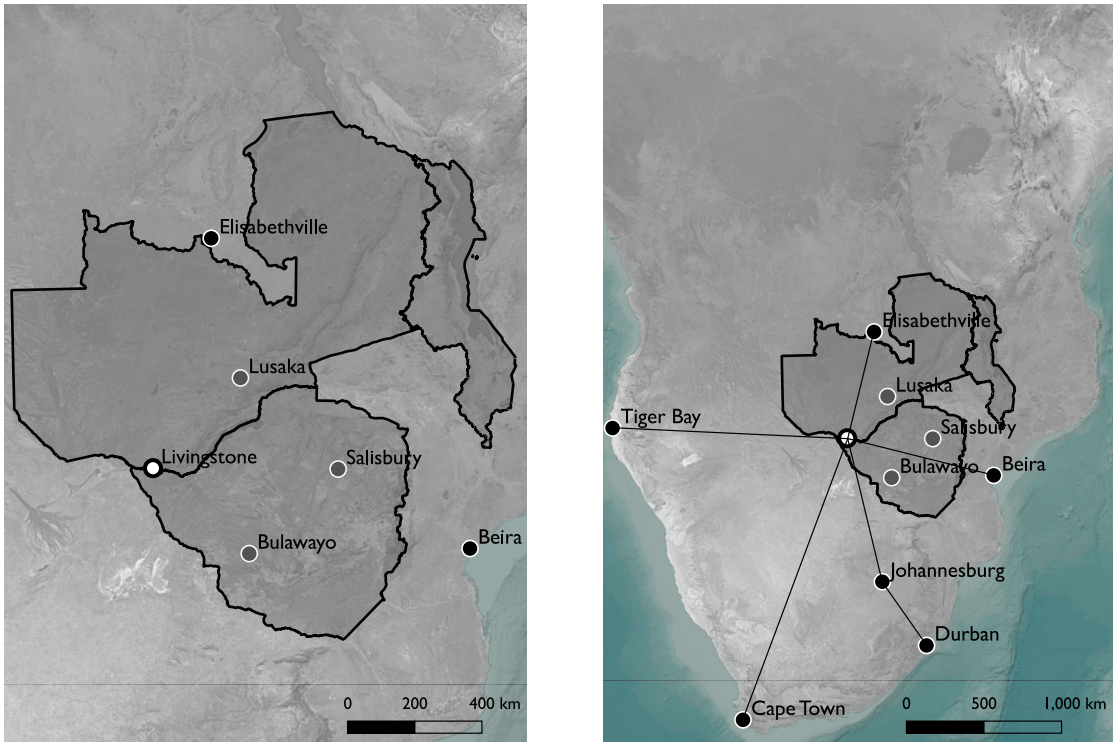


Fig. 38. General Map of Southern Africa and the Federation, LGH 1/1/9. "Federal Capital – Livingstone"

Additionally, the central position of Livingstone within the map is visually highlighted by concentric circles showing the 300, 500 and 700 miles radii around it. The 300 mile radius includes the major towns of Lusaka and Bulawayo. The 500 mile includes all Southern Rhodesia and the central, western and southern parts of Northern Rhodesia including the Copperbelt. The 700 mile radius finally shows the coast-to-coast reach and includes almost all of the Central African Federation except the very north-eastern parts.

[1244] Smith 2004, *Scale and the Bending Fate of the National.*

Fig. 39. Environs of Livingstone at different Scales



Finally, the map is illustrated to display Livingstone as a cut-vertex, a central node, in a network of important ports and cities materialised through the railways. This network connects the Copperbelt in the north with the port of Beira in the east, the Union of South Africa in the south, and Tiger Bay (Baia dos Tigres) in Angola in the west. This last connection is particularly interesting as it was never realised, like many other colonial infrastructural projects and like the extension of Livingstone, to accommodate the Federation's capital itself. On the map this particular line is labelled as "proposed railway" and would have run for about 9/10 of its length as a straight line on the 17.5 parallel south starting from Livingstone along the Angolan-Namibian border. As it turns out, the proposal for the line was already discussed in 1931.[1245] However, the plan did not survive for very long. It is therefore even more surprising that in 1953 the line was still included on this map so prominently. In the next section this connection will be further analysed. Above all, its destination Tiger Bay, or Great Fish Bay as it was called for its rich fishing grounds due to the Benguela Current, was not particularly significant. The small town that had slowly developed over a century was eventually abandoned in 1975 and has since then been reclaimed by the sands of the Namib, a fate that Livingstone, while unsuccessful as a candidate in the competition for the capital of the Federation, fortunately did not share.

[1245] Dierks, K. (1997). The Development of the Namibian Railway Network. The Rail History until the 1990s. http://www.klausdierks.com/Namibia_Rail/3.htm

From Real to Relational to Imaginative Geographies

The issue of Livingstone's somewhat unfavourable geographic location within Northern Rhodesia and the Federation had been strategically addressed both in the Report as well as in the Submission, perhaps to counter one of the most obvious disadvantages of choosing it as a capital. Not even the historical fact that the status of the capital was taken away from Livingstone would have been needed to address this disadvantage; a simple look at a map would have sufficed.

In the Report this matter is dealt with in paragraph 28, where it says that "the Federal Capital should be fairly centrally situated in relation to the territories it serves."[1246] The authors thus addressed a possible critique concerning Livingstone's geographic location directly, in order to counter it in the following sentence by arguing that "[p]recision in this regard is not important because of high speed air travel which today has brought the world's capitals within a matter of hours of one another"[1247]. It is further argued that aviation "has in recent years been one of the main contributory causes of the progress of Central Africa and it will continue to be a vital factor in reducing space and distance. What is important in choosing the capital site is that it should already possess ready means of communication."[1248] What is meant by means of communication are transportation infrastructures such as airports, roads and railways, all of which would already be available at Livingstone.

Thus, instead of trying to avoid the matter, the dimension of centrality itself is changed to fit the case; according to the authors of the Report, however, centrality is no longer important as a geographical concept, but due to technological progress merely as a topological one. In spatial terms, one could argue that the imperfections or disadvantages of the physical space were eradicated by highlighting the advantages of the relational space. The highly modernist and techno-centric discourse at play in this argument does not account for the fact that aviation was a very expensive way of travelling in the 1950s and not realistically available even for most Europeans, let alone Africans. For an African living in north-eastern Nyasaland, to reach the capital of the Federation at Livingstone the topological centrality of the city would not have made any difference; to traverse the approximately 1,300 kilometres (linear distance) would have taken two to three days. While topological centrality was certainly important then, the reduced role of physical distance and the increase in significance of informational networks is actually a recent phenomenon, connected to the development of the internet and the so-called information age during the 1990s.[1249] Furthermore, the symbolic dimension of a capital that is situated at a de-central location cannot be denied even today.

The Submission also highlights the seemingly unproblematic geographical factor in arguing that "exact centrality of a seat of government is not an all-important factor"[1250] and that Livingstone can

[1246] The Report, p. 4.
[1247] Ibid.
[1248] Ibid.
[1249] see for instance Castells, M. (1989). *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process.* Oxford: Blackwell and Castells, M. (1996). *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume 1. The Rise of the Network Society.* Oxford: Blackwell.
[1250] The Submission, p. 2.

be reached within one and a half hours by air from Lusaka, Bulawayo and Salisbury. It is further emphasised that the distance from Livingstone to the farthest point within the territory of the Federation (north-eastern Nyasaland) is only 800 miles and therefore less than that "between Pretoria and Cape Town (or Walvis Bay), or between Leopoldville and Elisabethville (or Albertville), or between Lourenco Marques and the extremities of Mocambique"[1251].

Additionally, the author also puts into words the tactics of scale discussed above which were realised cartographically in the accompanying map in pointing to the geographically central position of Livingstone in sub-equatorial Africa.

> "Livingstone is on an established communications system, at almost the exact centre of the southern half of the African continent. It is on the main railway line from Cape Town through the Rhodesias to the Belgian Congo, and is an important railway centre – it is on the Great North Road covering the same route – and with its magnificent international Airport, it is on one of the main air routes of the World."[1252]

The north-south connection was indeed well established, as can be visually deduced from looking at the map. However, the connection to the west was not secured. Accordingly, the railway line to Tiger Bay was labelled in the map as "proposed". The Council therefore saw a need to make explicit the significance of this line by reasoning that

> "[i]n recent years far-sighted individuals have given thought to the establishment of a rail outlet to a West Cost Port. We are told that, on the engineering side, the construction of a railway line from some point near Livingstone due west to the excellent harbour of Tiger Bay on the Atlantic would be a comparatively easy matter and the financial commitment, mile for mile, would be appreciably lower than in many other similar undertakings."[1253]

The subjunctive tone of that quote deserves attention, as it captures and exemplifies well the imaginaries that guided the Submission, and ultimately displays "the tension between what was realizable and what was romance"[1254]. As I pointed out above, the railway line to Tiger Bay was already in question in the early 1930s, yet, however, was far from being ever realised. This might be the reason why the "far-sighted individuals" are not named, and "recent years" is indeed a very relative term. Accordingly, the authors of the Submission do not identify who informed them that this line would be realised. Moreover, the harbour of Tiger Bay was excellent only topographically due to its deep waters. The port-town, however, was of minimal significance. In order to make it significant, the Council provides a suitable scenario in arguing that with

[1251] Ibid.
[1252] Ibid.
[1253] Ibid.
[1254] Stoler 2010, *Along the Archival Grain*, p. 108.

> "the advent of cheap hydro-electric power on the Kafue and Zambezi Rivers it will be necessary to find a market for the vast resources of Wankie and other coal-bearing regions. This coal could be readily exported via such a route to countries in South America, for example, and would be an important earner of foreign exchange. In addition, the country through which such a line would pass is capable of enormous agricultural development."[1255]

The "subjunctive mood of official imaginings"[1256] at play here to promote Livingstone as a capital reaches far beyond economic and infrastructural plausibilities, although it perhaps did not exceed the technical possibilities. To be sure, electricity was eventually generated by hydro-electric plants, and a port at Tiger Bay to ship resources to South America is not inconceivable. However, the coal from Wankie would have found its use elsewhere in Southern Africa, first and foremost to melt the tons of copper Northern Rhodesia produced. Yet, seemingly certain about the scenario he constructs, the author finally argues that the railway line will "inevitably be constructed at some future date, and there is no doubt that Livingstone will be very close to the point at which the line will join the present Rhodesia Railway system"[1257]. The only thing that actually came to pass was the abandonment of Tiger Bay some 20 years later. More importantly, the image that is presented by the author provides no good reasons why this scenario would increase the significance of the siting of the capital at Livingstone. After all, the Report explicitly argued that a capital needs to be neither a site nor a hub for industrial production or resources, these being functions usually performed by economic and industrial centres.

The scenario is therefore not only constituted by many ifs, but no attempt is even made to explain why Livingstone's siting "close to the point where the line will join" would be advantageous for a capital. Looking at Livingstone's economic history, the aspiration behind that image could be argued as having been nurtured by Livingstone's economic insignificance in relation to the Copperbelt, as well as the envy and contempt for Lusaka, which in turn saw Livingstone merely as "a reactionary collection of anti-government self styled pioneers"[1258]. Effectively, the settler's dream of greatness rarely met with reality, and even two years later when the town hosted the centenary commemorations for David Livingstone, there was not only "the problem of resources and amenities to match the plans"[1259], but the preparations for the celebrations underscored once again the tensions between Livingstone and the central government and its institutions.

Perhaps aware of the unfavourable symbolic dimension of a geographically non-central capital, the author finally tried to overcome it by literally expanding the imaginative geography of the Federation by including Bechuanaland (modern Botswana) to its future realm.

[1255] The Submission, p. 2
[1256] Stoler 2010, *Along the Archival Grain*, p. 106.
[1257] The Submission, p. 2.
[1258] Lewis 2011, Rivers of White, p.183; c.f. Macmillan and Shapiro 2017, *Zion in Africa*, p. 33.
[1259] Lewis 2011, Rivers of White, p.183.

> "Many well-informed authorities consider that the future of Bechuanaland – the great territory nearly twice the size of Southern Rhodesia and contiguous for over 500 miles of its border with Rhodesia – lies in joining the new Federation at a comparatively early date. If this should occur, Livingstone would be at almost the precise centre of the four territories, and this could be of some importance from the geographical standpoint."[1260]

The first aspect that catches the eye in this paragraph is the direct contradiction of the argument of the geographical importance of centrality with the argument, cited further above, that exact centrality is not important all. The subjunctive in combination with the word "some" that is used to diminish this contradiction cannot, however, eradicate it. Still, the Council tried to make this argument for a good reason. While there is some merit to the claim that geographic centrality is not necessarily of high importance, and there are indeed some bad examples of centrally located capitals, especially during the 20th century, meaning that centrality in itself is not a guarantee for the success of a capital in urbanist terms, the symbolic dimension of a capital at a very non-central location, like Livingstone, places some heavy negative weight on such a proposal.

On the question of Bechuanaland "joining" the Federation, there were indeed at least some signs that people with the necessary political power, in this case Roy Welensky in Northern Rhodesia and Godfrey Huggins in Southern Rhodesia, tried to achieve this appropriation.[1261] Cecil Rhodes' initial dream of a territory that would reach from the Cape to the Zambezi and perhaps beyond was especially pursued by South Africa.[1262]

[1260] The Submission, p. 2.
[1261] c.f. Jackson, A. (1999). Tshekedi Khama, Bechuanaland, and the Central African Federation. *South African Historical Journal, 40*(1), 202-222
[1262] Hyam, R. (1972). *The Failure of South African Expansion 1908–1948.* London: Palgrave



Fig. 40. Pillar at the Victoria Falls Hotel in Victoria Falls still symbolising Rhodes' Dream, Zimbabwe, April 23, 2017

However, the newborn Federation did have similar dreams of its own. Not only did none of them succeed, but judging by Ashley Jackson's account it also did not seem very likely then.[1263] In any case, from the Council's perspective it was merely a matter of time that this would happen. Moreover, and more importantly, the imaginative geography of a large territory with Livingstone at its heart turns the geographic centrality again into a symbolic one. For Livingstone, therefore, the integration of Bechuanaland into the Federation is more or less a reflection of the settler's dream of gaining centrality (in an abstract sense), just on a different scale.

Histories, geographies and industries as symbolic and material qualities constitute the main themes by which the author of the Submission tried to promote Livingstone as the best possible option for the future capital of the Federation. Some of the visions were already realised, others were imagined "not as what might *have been* – as counterfactuals are – but more what *might yet be*"[1264], and again others were strategically manipulated in the sense of scalar tactics as a means to not act *in* space, but rather *on* space itself, as Henri Lefebvre identified such practice.[1265] Through the cartographic representation, space thereby became not only a medium of representation[1266], but the map itself became a space of ideology[1267]. The transported visions and aspirations entail notions of

[1263] Jackson 1999, Tshekedi Khama, Bechuanaland, and the Central African Federation
[1264] Stoler 2010, *Along the Archival Grain*, p. 106.
[1265] Lefebvre 2010, *The Production of Space*, p. 33.
[1266] Goonewardena 2004, Urban Space and Political Consciousness: A Report on Theory, Urban space and political consciousness, p. 168.
[1267] c.f. Lévy 2015, *Mapping Ethics*, p. 196.

tradition and of modernity. They are constructed around a future that is modern only technologically and which therefore remains culturally embedded in an imperial past. The role of Africans in these aspirations is passive and their space, physically as well as in a social sense, remains invisible. Like Simmel's stranger, they might be close in distance, but at the same time they are socially far away.[1268] The way Africans are portrayed when, for instance, their political agency is diminished to psychological views, makes them appear to be devoid of any human qualities. Their politics are thereby not understood as legitimate voices within a discourse of partnership. Instead, they are rather listed among the technical aspects, where the psychological views could be managed in the same manner as the currents of the Zambezi or the humid climate. Accordingly, the author readdresses his main arguments in the conclusion to the Submission.

> "The Municipal Council of Livingstone believes without a doubt that the choice of Livingstone will be in the best interest of the Federation and of all the inhabitants thereof. […] It is certain that nowhere else in the Federation could a capital be achieved at anything like as low a cost – a capital on permanent and established lines of communication, with a very large airport, with unlimited water and a great electricity potential, and with no land to expropriate or pay for, ever. When to all this (even excluding the many other reasons) is added the anticipated permanent effect for good on the African population of so siting the seat of government, then where else can the Federal Capital be but at Livingstone."[1269]

6.4. Procedens Floreo – Aftermath of the Submission

The unsuccessful attempt to become the capital of the newly formed Federation must have been a disenchanting experience especially for the Council. At the end of his second term the mayor of Livingstone, Alf Kohler, expressed this disenchantment in the annual résumé of the Council's activities for the year 1953 from April 4th, 1954. In the penultimate point of the 26-page long résumé Kohler writes in regard to the Capital of the Federation:

> "Council made a determined effort in submitting a case for the Federal Capital to be sited near Livingstone. That this effort was unsuccessful is a great disappointment to me, for I adhere strongly to the view that the selection of the site should have been made by a Commission of experts, who would have dealt impartially with each area entirely on its merits. Had this action been taken, I am still convinced that no more suitable area than Livingstone could have been found. [...] However, although a fairly large sum of money and considerable time and energy were spent in the preparation of the Submission of Case, our efforts have not been valueless. Livingstone has had some excellent publicity throughout Southern Africa and the United Kingdom, and it is hoped that some of the many prominent people and firms who express an

[1268] Simmel 1971, *On Individuality and Social Forms*, p. 143.
[1269] The Submission, p. 6.

> interest will, perhaps, consider incurring capital development in the town in the future. We all know the risk will be small, but the opportunity for reward will be so great."[1270]

This last sentence perhaps describes in a nutshell the strategy of Livingstone as a town and how it meandered through the years, especially between its loss of status of a capital in 1935 to the end of the Federation and ultimately the colony. Although there were plans of greatness, those plans, however, were sought to be achieved economically (and otherwise) at low costs. Needless to say, this strategy was always accompanied by exactly the opposite narrative which was openly communicated towards the central government and the Colonial Office alike. It was a narrative of self-reliance, autonomy and ingenuity, guided by a frontier spirit against all odds and struggles which were framed as originating from the central government and its policies. The supposed burden put on the ratepayers was one prominent example of such a struggle. Another one was the impression that the government would prioritise the welfare of Africans over the interests of settlers.

Geographically at the very edge of Northern Rhodesia and the Federation, the notion of also being decentralised politically is well expressed in the mayor's words. Usually rather suspicious of experts – in particular RLI scholars – the mayor sees it as self-evident that in this case experts would have ruled in favour of Livingstone. The failure of the Submission is thus portrayed as a matter of partiality on the part of the government. However, in the spirit of the town's motto "Procedens Floreo" (proceeding, I flourish), which can be found at the plaque of the statue of David Livingstone, the efforts made by the Council to prepare this Submission are re-used to nurture the aspiration of prosperity, for these efforts, so it is hoped, will help to generate more investments.

However, the setback of the unsuccessful submission did not diminish the aspirations and imaginings of the settlers at Livingstone. From a temporal distance, however, one must wonder about these aspirations, in the light of independence that was in retrospect right around the corner. Time and temporality are indeed crucial in this matter. As Ashley Jackson insightfully argues:

> "There is a temptation when viewing the past to ignore the fact that *actual time* is considerably slower than the compressed, elliptical version presented as *historical time*; 1955 in British Africa was a long way from the 'year of Africa' in 1960 that saw so many newly independent states take their first steps on the world stage."[1271]

Thus, 1953 was an even longer way from that year of 1960. The Federation was born in 1953, and South Africa had successfully declared its independence from the UK five years earlier, thereby drawing the blueprint for settlers' aspirations elsewhere. The 1950s were perhaps a very long decade in southern Africa in general. One could argue, however, that the year 1960 made a difference in this regard even in southern Africa. Nevertheless the settlers at Livingstone still kept their aspirations alive. If becoming the capital of the Federation was not possible, perhaps gaining a city status would be. Therefore, the Municipal Council decided to apply before the Queen for

[1270] LGH 3/4/4. Livingstone Constitution: Municipal Council Resume for the year 1953, April 5, 1954, p. 24-25.
[1271] Jackson 1999, Tshekedi Khama, Bechuanaland, and the Central African Federation, p.204-205

Livingstone to gain the status of a city, a status that is of purely symbolic value and has no administrative, political or economic implications.

Unlike the relatively quick decision on the siting of the capital, this issue spanned over three years. On the 31st August 1959 the Town Clerk of Livingstone wrote the first letter to the Chief Secretary in Lusaka. Therein, he informed the Chief Secretary that the Council had given consideration to "the question of petitioning for the Municipality of Livingstone to be elevated to the status of a city"[1272] and that during a meeting on the 26th of August the motion for this petitioning was decided unanimously by the members of the Council. The Town Clerk further explained this consideration by naming the following reasons.

> "In the first place Council understand that in the very near future the existing St. Theresa' Pro-Cathedral in Livingstone will be given the status of a cathedral; furthermore, as you will be aware, Livingstone is the oldest Municipality in Northern Rhodesia having been granted Municipal status as long ago as 1928, and also one of the oldest towns in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Then again Livingstone was the first capital of Northern Rhodesia as it now exists and is today widely acknowledged as the Tourist Capital of the Federation in view of its close proximity to the Victoria Falls, Zambezi River, etc. I would also add that Livingstone has a population of all races of something in the region of 20,000 persons."[1273]

Compared to the case of the Submission, the reasons given here are somewhat more modest. Perhaps the era of change that was encroaching on Livingstone had finally begun, at least in some respects, to extend to the realm of the settler town. The historical trajectories of Livingstone obviously play a role here. The discourses of Livingstone being the oldest municipality and the first and later tourist or cultural capital are therefore emphasised. At this time, however, on the many occasions Livingstone argued before the central government for something it wanted to see fulfilled, such reasons had clearly been overused to such an extent that other reasons needed to be named as well in order to successfully promote the town's case.

Usually, when presenting arguments for or against something, the strongest and most important ones are presented first and last. Looking at the first and last arguments here, they are the status of a (Catholic) Cathedral and the population size. Neither one in itself represents any notion of "greatness", which is why I used the term modest above. What is even more striking is the fact that a Catholic church is used at all as an argument, in the context of an Anglican/Protestant cultural setting. Thus, not only the British monarchs, who are responsible for granting the status of cities, are crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but also the settler-community in Livingstone itself was predominantly non-Catholic. The final argument is also interesting, because the author gives an estimate of the population size that is far too low. There were actually many more people living in

[1272] LGH 3/4/8. Livingstone Constitution – City Status: Letter from the Town Clerk to the Chief Secretary, 31st August 1959.
[1273] Ibid.

Livingstone in 1959.[1274] In any case, population size does not play a significant role in the context of a town receiving the status of city, which makes the argument even more unusual.

In the document there is no response from the Chief Secretary attached. We do know, however, that it was a negative response, since the Town Clerk of Livingstone in 1962 again wrote a letter to the Permanent Secretary in Lusaka, in which he mentions that the application of 1959 was unsuccessful due to the fact that the time was "inopportune to submit a Petition to Her Majesty the Queen"[1275]. The Town Clerk further informs the Secretary that "the Council were extremely disappointed to learn of this decision"[1276]. The reason for this letter was once again to inform the Permanent Secretary of a decision by the Municipal Council to "re-apply to the Northern Rhodesia Government for the Municipality of Livingstone to be granted City status at the earliest possible time".[1277]

The Town Clerk notifies the Secretary that, while in the original application the Council felt that there was a strong case for their claim, in this application the case would be even stronger. He presents the following arguments.

> "In the first place, as previously stated, Livingstone is the oldest Municipality in Northern Rhodesia and one of the oldest in the Federation. It is interesting to note that, as far as Municipalities in Northern Rhodesia are concerned, Livingstone received Municipal Council status [which actually does have political implications] four years before any of the other present day Municipal Councils. Ndola was accorded Municipal status in 1932 and it is only as recently as 1954 that, for example, the City of Lusaka and the Municipalities of Broken Hill and Kitwe were granted Municipal Council status. I would also like to repeat that Livingstone was the first Capital of Northern Rhodesia as it now exists."[1278]

As a matter of fact, Lusaka did receive city status in 1960, which is perhaps why the Municipal Council of Livingstone so vigorously and with greater confidence presented their case again. Apparently, Lusaka-envy ran deep in the Livingstone Council.[1279] The subtext of this paragraph is clearly that Livingstone, due to its history, has an almost natural right to receive city status.

In addition, the Town Clerk again mentions the Cathedral and Diocese of Livingstone and its population size. This time, the census of 1961 is presented and more detailed information is given. The total population is approximated to be 27,000 people. Again, this number is off by at least 1,500 individuals. Furthermore, two new arguments are presented. The first that is added to the case is the rateable value of Livingstone, which is estimated to amount to £8,000,000. The second one is the significance of Livingstone as home to the Rhodes Livingstone Museum and its "very high reputation throughout the world [which] attracts tourists and students of Africa alike from far and wide on its

[1274] The figure for 1963 is over 32,000 (Census 1963) and in 1952 the population was about 21,000 in size: McCulloch 1956, *A Social Survey*. So, realistically the number must have been at least 25,000.
[1275] LGH 3/4/8. Letter from the town clerk of Livingstone to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare, Lusaka, 28th April, 1962.
[1276] Ibid.
[1277] Ibid.
[1278] Ibid.
[1279] see for instance Kay 1967, *A Social Geography of Zambia*, p.148 and Lewis 2011, Rivers of White.

own merits".[1280] Furthermore, Livingstone's significance as a tourist destination is again highlighted in a lengthy paragraph, where the Town Clerk argues that due to the increase in revenue from tourist businesses "the Council have felt justified for some years now in calling Livingstone "The Tourist Capital of the Federation", a claim which is widely recognised in Government and other circles"[1281].

In essence, the Council did not have a stronger case, as the Town Clerk on behalf of the Council argued. The arguments were simply presented in greater detail. Judging by the overall tone of the letter, the matter must have been of some importance to the Council, higher at least than it had been at the first application three years earlier. The aspirations of the Municipal Council to gain significance within Northern Rhodesia, moreover, had not changed. Like a wave, it is at times more or less articulate. Perhaps Lusaka receiving city status was an occurrence that triggered an upwards slope. The sense of being offended, as articulated directly in the letter as well as in the Mayor's résumé after the unsuccessful Submission, is but a symptom of how such imaginings and aspirations towards greatness and importance of a space that is identified with certain cultural values and practices are to some extent built on a discourse and indeed narrative of loss and betrayal. The settlers' dreams of their culture and space, as argued elsewhere, run simultaneously in two different directions of modernity, exemplified in what is commonly referred to as a conservative revolution, a revolution that is of retrograde morality and technical progress.[1282] The feeling of being offended begins where this conception and expectation of modernity is confronted with a different modernity. A case such as this, the application for the granting of a city status, might seem rather unimportant. I argue, however, that one can gain a sense of how aspirations of a settler community materialise as plans, and how they change or for the most part do not change.

One thing that inevitably did change was time. The long 1950s were finally over. This was not in 1959, when the Council made its case for the first time. Indeed,

> "[i]t is difficult to exaggerate the speed of political developments in Northern Rhodesia during the early 1960s. In 1959, very few people, including African nationalists, white settler politicians or the British Government, could plausibly have expected that Northern Rhodesia would become the independent nation of Zambia within five years, headed by a man, Kenneth Kaunda, then in prison, and governed by a party, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), then illegal."[1283]

But the long 1950s were over in 1962, when Livingstone was approached and confronted by the course of historical time in its compressed form. This is exemplified in the penultimate paragraph of this letter, which is perhaps most interesting in this regard. Here the Town Clerk writes:

[1280] LGH 3/4/8. Letter from the Town Clerk, 1962.
[1281] Ibid.
[1282] c.f. Hyslop, J. (2020). Workers Called White, Classes Called Poor. In Money, D. and D. van Zyll-Hermann (Eds.), *Rethinking White Societies in Southern Africa 1930s–1990s*. London: Routledge.
[1283] Money, D. (2020). The Dog That Didn't Bark: The Mufulira Strike and White Mineworkers at Zambian Independence. In Money, D. and D.v. Zyll-Hermann (Eds.), *Rethinking White Societies in Southern Africa.* London: Routledge, p. 160.

"Finally, although not directly related to the claims of Livingstone as such, my Council feel that having regard to the difficulties and troubles which beset the Federation and the Territory at the present time, the elevation of the Municipality of Livingstone to a City could be accepted as an expression of confidence in the future of Central Africa in general and of Northern Rhodesia in particular."[1284]

One could interpret this as an implicit call for help from the government and from the Colonial Office, the very antagonists of the settlers' aspirations, or perhaps even from the Queen herself to defend the Federation and the colony against African nationalists and their successful activities. In any case, the fear of what was by mid-1962 obvious to many is strongly articulated in this paragraph. What was clear to most people in 1962 was, however, apparently not so clear to the settlers in Livingstone. Despite all evidence of radical change that was about to happen within the following two years, not only in Livingstone but the entire country, they continued imagining how their town might proceed to flourish. Livingstone would indeed start to flourish, but not until some 40 years later.

While the response to the application, however negative, is written in a very understanding and friendly tone, suggesting that the case was sound but the time was inopportune, the internal discussion reads quite differently. In a letter to the Minister of Local Government (unfortunately the signature is not identifiable) it is advised to reject the application on the grounds that Livingstone lacked "size, dignity and importance"[1285]. However, perhaps the most pointed critique was apparently uttered by a Livingstonian, who anonymously wrote an opinion piece in the "Northern News" on the whole matter under the heading " 'City status' is a joke".

"Sir – I was very amused to read your report under the heading "Livingstone City Bid". I do not know what our municipal council is up to. What utter rubbish to decide to apply for "city status" and make Livingstone the laughing stock of the territory. Livingstone has a picture house which is the worst in Northern Rhodesia, shops which look like the shops in "Wild West" films, dusty roads and a town without even a town hall. It is also a town whose residents have a village mentality and, in brief, it is a village which is called a town. I would not like to put in print all the jokes made in the local pubs and clubs about this "city status" business, but I do suggest the Council make an application for the town to be declared a "national monument" for that is what it is and more so as the Rhodesia Railway will be moving 43 families from Livingstone during the next few months. It is only the council who are interested in the "city status" and not the people of the town who will have to foot the bill."[1286]

This sharp critique on the symbolic politics of a Municipal Council at the verge of independence exposes the ambivalence of modernity in a compressed form. Within a few sentences the "Cultural

[1284] LGH 3/4/8. Letter from the Town Clerk, 1962.
[1285] LGH 3/4/8. Letter to the Minister of Local Government, May 5, 1962.
[1286] LGH 3/4/8. Northern News, 7th May, 1962.

Capital" with all its history and future aspirations is turned into a "Wild West" village, not a bustling city with modern amenities, but merely a "national monument", whose supposed former glory does not stand the test of time. One might ask, what modernity and for whom?[1287] For the author of that opinion piece the Council's aspirations are perhaps not more than an expression of a fight for a lost cause. For him or her, the long 1950s are clearly over.

6.5. Modernism and Urbanism – Some Considerations

Much of the academic literature that has been produced on colonial/postcolonial Africa in one way or another, implicitly as well as explicitly, deals with the issue of modernity, modernism and modernisation. The concepts and practices of development, the colonial division between rural and urban, gender (roles) in various contexts, divisions of labour (gendered or otherwise) and labour relations, dimensions and structures of kinship- and family-systems, social and cultural identities, are all connected to discourses of modernity and modernisation. While many theories of modernisation as well as dependency during the 1960s and 1970s treated modernity and modernisation similarly to the colonial discourses, although from different angles, that is as a stage in human development, from the 1980s onwards within academia it has been understood as merely an ideology, thus as a perspective on the world rather than a thing in the world.[1288]

However, since discourse and practice even if they diverge are inherently related, it is safe to say that modernisation as a perspective nevertheless has had a huge influence on the transformation of societies around the globe. In the late-colonial era, as Cooper explains "modernization theory rationalized new forms of power to replace the now-suspect colonial form: those with scientific knowledge and the experience of already accomplished "development" could legitimately guide those not so far along the path".[1289] In the postcolonial world, modernisation and modernity have survived as guiding principles of national and international development plans until today. Unsurprisingly, however, even though the concept of sovereign nation states and some forms of bureaucratisation became standards at least on paper, the world has not dissolved into one standard model of how social, economic or political life is pursued. Since the 1990s more and more academic voices therefore have called for a way to acknowledging the diverse ways societies have developed since decolonisation, which were frequently termed alternative or multiple modernities.[1290] Cooper criticised these attempts, since in his view such conceptual manoeuvres render modernity unusable analytically. He questions "why an alternative modernity should be called a modernity at all. If any form of innovation produces a modernity, then the term has little analytic purchase"[1291]. The

[1287] c.f. Eisenstadt, S. (2005). Multiple Modernities. In Eisenstadt, S. (Eds.), *Multiple Modernities*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers; Thomas, L. (2011). Modernity's Failings, Political Claims, and Intermediate Concepts. *American Historical Review 116*(3), 727–740.

[1288] This was perhaps most prominently argued by Bruno Latour. Latour, B. (1993). *We Have Never Been Modern*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. In an African context this was argued especially by Ferguson. Ferguson 1999, *Expectations of Modernity*.

[1289] Cooper 2004, Development, Modernization, and the Social Sciences in the Era of Decolonization: The Examples of British and French Africa.

[1290] For a discussion see: Ashcroft, B. (2009). Alternative Modernities: Globalization and the Post-Colonial. *ARIEL: a review of international English literature, 40*(1), .

[1291] Cooper 2005, *Colonialism in Question*, p. 114.

question, as in so many other instances of social-scientific concepts such as space or urban, comes down to whether or not modernity is to be treated as an analytical concept or simply as an object of analysis. If it is not simply the latter, the following question is of course how broad or narrow this analytical concept has to be set in order to be neither too specific, especially in a spatio-temporal sense, nor too loose, which as Cooper argued makes it lose its analytical value. For Bill Ashcroft it is both: an analytical concept and a representation. However, other than concepts such as space or urban, modernity has a weak spot, which is its even higher degree of abstraction. That is why in the context of (post)colonial urbanism I tend to understand it as a discourse, representation or ideology rather than an analytical concept.

In its historical dimensions, the colonial discourses of modernisation, which in most analyses follow after the early-colonial civilisation discourse as a developmental theory and practice, with modernity as a stage-like teleological concept which constitutes the perceived outcome of modernisation as materialised in Western life-styles, nuclear-family structures, and legal and economic systems, coincides with late-colonialism.[1292] On closer examination of late-colonial reasoning, however, it becomes obvious that, while the official colonial paradigm changed during the 1920s and 1930s and eventually trickled down to the local level during the 1940s and 1950s, modernisation and modernity were perceived in multiple and often contradictory ways. Thus, modernism (as a way of modern lifestyle), understood as a European invention and feature that essentially served as a "thing of boundary," could even be coupled with anti-modernist discourses. The urban space in this regard functions as a material (territorial) means of creating "exclusive difference". It is considered the space of "modern" people, where "pre-modern" people have no or only limited access. At the same time, crucial aspects within the discourse of modernisation, those of development, progress, and connectivity, are undermined by the very notion of urban exclusivity. If modernisation is understood as a vector whose magnitude is a product of socio-economic development and technological progress, which especially in an Anglo-Saxon and Protestant cultural context means free trade and some sort of globalisation, and whose direction is oriented towards a future state of being (socio-cultural evolution), the exclusivity of a little-English-town-like world, as was present in colonial Livingstone, is not fully compatible with either the magnitude or the direction.

In the case of Livingstone as a settler-colonial town, this ambiguity can be observed on many levels, from the local anti-BSAC propaganda of the 1910s, the anti-metropolitan and anti-Federation rhetoric of the 1930s, the anti-semitic resentment against refugees coming to Livingstone in the late 1930s, and the strong opposition against African participation and development since 1945, which increased during the last decade of colonial rule. However, from a purely technological and material perspective, settlers at Livingstone have always been at the forefront, with the first cinemas opening during the late 1910s and 1920s, wireless stations, municipal swimming pools, airports, and other amenities following in the 1930s and 1940s. Obviously, Livingstone was not the only place where such tendencies developed. In this context Jonathan Hyslop writes on the wider region of Southern Africa:

[1292] Cooper 2004, Development, Modernization, and the Social Sciences in the Era of Decolonization: The Examples of British and French Africa.

> "The region saw two spectacular attempts to impose cultural autarky on the working class. These were the projects of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* and of Afrikaner nationalism. Both were anti-modernist at a cultural level, while at the same time being invested in the idea of technological modernity. And both had a particular emphasis on shielding subaltern whites from the supposedly disintegrating effects of cosmopolitan culture."[1293]

The tension between modernism as both a cultural feature and a technological one is also highlighted by Julia Tischler in her work on the Kariba dam. The fact that the project was handed to an Italian company by the Federation was met with strong opposition. This is important for two reasons. First, it underscores the resentment of southern African settlers against southern European people, notably Greeks and Italians. Second, as Julia Tischler argues, the strong opposition against the dam being constructed by Italians "exposed colonial patronage as being incompatible with "free-market" modernisation, probing British motives behind post-war development and contributing to the ideological deconstruction of the Empire"[1294] Thus, settlers' expectations of modernity follow the course of a conservative revolution, which is perhaps just as materialistic and technical in style as those expectations of modernity on the part of colonial and industrial bureaucrats and of the African working class, whose very notion of modernity, as Ferguson showed, is deeply connected with urban housing and commodity products. Settlers' expectations of modernity, however, seem quite different to those just mentioned in terms of both their magnitude as well as their temporal direction. In a sense, this conservative revolution resembles Gramsci's notion of the *passive revolution,* which "[i]n its broadest sense […] for Gramsci signified a distinctive process of (political) modernization that lacked the meaningful participation of popular classes in undertaking and consolidating social transformation."[1295] In the case of Northern Rhodesia, especially during the Federation period, this is exemplified by the wish for self-government of the European population, without integration and participation of the African majority.

The discourse of modernism has another, spatial, dimension, one of scale and boundaries. Looking at this dimension, another contradiction within the colonial project of modernisation itself can be identified, which lies in the difference between bounded and boundless spaces that are essentially mediated through various physico- and socio-spatial scales. In a spatial sense, the territorialisation and spatial orderings of states and societies within states is contrasted by the boundless global capital. While society is neatly ordered into various spaces, capital is given (free) space. The mining companies on the Copperbelt, for instance, produced and structured the way the towns were organised and managed; their economic output, however, was traded internationally and almost boundlessly. The same could be said about settlers' aspiration for Livingstone to be an

[1293] Hyslop 2020, Workers Called White, Classes Called Poor, p. 37.
[1294] Tischler 2013, *Light and Power*, p. 155.
[1295] Thomas, P.D. (2013). Hegemony, Passive Revolution and the Modern Prince. *Thesis Eleven, 117*(1), 20-39, p. 23. Passive revolution was at first a concept Gramsci used to describe the modern state formation in Italy in the Risorgimento, through which "dominant classes managed to exclude the popular classes from autonomous and organized participation in the process of modernization" (p. 30). Later, he "began to extend the concept, in a comparative manner, in order to analyse other social formations, such as Germany, which seemed to have gone through a similar contradictory process of (economic) modernization without (political) modernization, lacking a radical Jacobin moment such as had accompanied the French Revolution." (Ibid.)

internationally connected tourist destination, while African areas were treated as bounded spaces. In a social sense, the differences between boundaries and unboundedness are therefore at core of the segregational structure of colonial towns in terms of mobility and the ability or restriction of movement, both within and beyond the colonial state. In a different context Doreen Massey stresses that the

> "modernist story, and its accompanying geographical imagination, was about bounded spaces (in support of the project of the nation-state, and even now underpinning an essentialism of regions), and it is this imagination that we, and others, have challenged through relational analysis. But the new, postmodern, story veers too much towards a tale of unboundedness, which mirrors the project of global capital. We should be challenging that imagination too."[1296]

Apart from the critique of blind postmodernism (within the arts and sciences) what is important here is the distinction between modern and postmodern along the perspective of bounded and unboundedness. I claim, however, that the colonial modernist story – and perhaps it is important to highlight that there are indeed several modernist stories which in some context overlap and in others do not – already includes both, a vision of progress towards unboundedness and one of bounded control. The colonial subjects were at the centre of this complicated relation and understood the expectations and promises of modernity as a discursive political resource in the struggle for inclusion and later independence.

Modernism and urbanism are closely linked together within this discursive field of the different expectations of modernity: those of settlers, who imagined a white British Garden-city urbanism, those of colonial officials, who imagined an ordered system of self-sustaining lower middle-class Africans, and those of Africans, who imagined socio-economic equality and inclusion through education, income, ownership and (municipal) political participation. The latter expectation was, however, not one that – as perhaps hoped or expected by some – simply came as a byproduct of independence and that was then thereby satisfied. "The dream", as Bill Freund argues, "of the successful city which certainly accompanied independence for African nationalists can be characterised as a modernist dream. [...] It is a dream which has faded painfully."[1297]

[1296] Massey 2001, Geography on the Agenda, p. 15.
[1297] Freund 2007, *The African City*, p. 142.

7. Livingstone, a Postcolonial Town?

The end of colonialism in Northern Rhodesia/ Zambia, as elsewhere in newly independent African countries, was marked by a series of changes to the entire societal and spatial orderings imposed by colonial rule. While much attention, at least on paper, was directed towards modernisation and integration of rural areas, the most visible and immediate changes occurred in urban areas. This cannot only be attributed to the fact that urban areas as spaces of encounter presented the very arenas where social, economic and political struggles were acted out on multiple social and spatial dimensions, but also simply to the fact that urban areas are spaces of agglomeration of goods, people and infrastructures, the uneven distribution of which was one of colonialism's most apparent features. In this last chapter I shall illustrate how urban space in Livingstone was mediated and constructed in the early post-independence era and how urban and rural spaces were imagined in general and, in the last section, how this translated into contemporary visions and aspirations of Livingstonians.

7.1. Urban (Trans)formations

Studying a town through a spatial lens regarding its social and physical transformations along important events and processes such as, but not limited to, decolonisation and independence necessitates not understanding these events or processes as sharp lines cutting through history. Instead, they should be explored contingently. Therefore, rather than studying the transformative effects of changing conditions, it might be worth asking what the transformative effects themselves reveal about the spatial structures of urban areas during colonialism (e.g. What can we learn from early postcolonial debates on spatial re-distributions about colonial spatiality?). In this regard, it might be fruitful to ponder on a question raised by Anthony King: "Irrespective of changing conditions, at what point in historical time does the "colonial city" morph into a different category?"[1298]. However vague, categories like "the colonial city" or "the postcolonial city" are still important, but not as absolute terms and certainly not as mere references to the underlying conditions, for in such a context these categories would be useless. In other words, categorising a city as colonial simply because of colonial rule does not reveal much. In some contexts it is even misleading, since for instance "an existing indigenous city largely bypassed by colonial influence cannot accurately be termed 'colonial' even though situated in an (ex)colonial territory"[1299]. These categories are important only in relation to the concrete societal aspects or features they entail (i.e. social and economic relations, political representation, spatial distribution and fragmentation, etc.).

King therefore rightly points to the fact that changing conditions, hence the transition from colonialism to postcolonialism, do not necessarily change the category, at least not all at once and in

[1298] King, A.D. (2006). Postcolonial Cities, Postcolonial Critiques. In H. Berking, S. Frank, L. Frers, et al. (Eds.), *Negotiating Urban Conflicts. Interaction, Space and Control.* Bielefeld: transcript, p.18.

[1299] Simon 1989, Colonial Cities, Postcolonial Africa and the World Economy: A Reinterpretation, p. 69; For a critical discussion of the concepts of "colonial city" and "postcolonial city" see: Fourchard 2011, Between World History and State Formation: New Perspectives on Africa's Cities, p. 255.

some instances perhaps not at all. Referring to Fanon's illustration of the colonial urban divide (the dual city) and the possibilities for a decolonised society King also asks, if or to what extent these illustrations are still applicable not only to a "supposedly "decolonized" post-colonial city", but even to the colonial city. Temporally from afar, what do we make of the changes that are happening in urban spaces at a certain moment or over a period? We certainly look at them differently than in the moment they are happening; history's bread and butter, one might say. But this question is as important for contemporary issues as it is for past ones. What actually is the postcolonial city? It most certainly "defies easy definition"[1300], probably even more than the "colonial city", even if we exclude the notion of postcolonialism as "an attitude of critical engagement with colonialism's aftereffects and constructions of knowledge"[1301] and try to understand it as an analytical category. Although, as King suggests, it even might "not figure an analytical category",[1302] which becomes apparent if we ask the following question. When does the postcolonial city (of today?) morph into something else?

Walking through modern-day Lusaka or Nairobi, hardly anyone would say that they had walked through a colonial city. But would they have walked through a postcolonial city then? If one were to describe the cities of León in Nicaragua (founded 1524) or Oaxaca de Juárez in Mexico (founded 1553), on the other hand, it would not be surprising if the term colonial was used, especially considering the fact that such cities are regularly advertised as "colonial" in tourist brochures – a colonialism long gone might seem less suspicious. But what about Livingstone? Standing in front of the Livingstone Museum or walking by Capitol Theatre – built in 1931 as the front of building reminds the viewer – it would not be far fetched to describe the town as at least somewhat colonial. Looking at the description of Livingstone on the webpage of Zambia Tourism, which is somewhat related to the ministry of tourism, colonial is not used as term. It could, however, hardly be any more colonial in style. In the following I will address the problematic of the "colonial city" based on an examination of the description of Livingstone on the webpage.

> "Named after the famous Victorian missionary explorer, Dr David Livingstone, who explored this area extensively, Livingstone Town was established in 1905. As a major European settlement, being close to the Zambezi River crossing over to Southern Rhodesia, the town was made the capital of Northern Rhodesia in 1911. As the capital, it enjoyed excellent facilities far superior to anything elsewhere in the country, as can be seen from the surviving Edwardian buildings that line the city's main road. Livingstone even had the distinction of having the country's first newspaper. The capital was moved to Lusaka in 1935 and the bustling city has become a quiet town, but still retaining a special charm. A major event in 2011 was the installation of the town's first set of traffic lights! The proximity to the Zambezi River and the spectacular Victoria Falls has led Livingstone to become a base for travellers from all over the world wanting to explore this Wonder of the World. There are several Adventure Companies offering Riverboarding, White

[1300] Yeoh, B.S. (2001). Postcolonial Cities. *Progress in Human Geography, 25*(3), 456-468, p. 457.
[1301] Radcliffe, S.A. (1997). Different Heroes: Genealogies of Postcolonial Geographies. *Environment and Planning A, 29*(8), 1331-1333, p. 1331.
[1302] King 2006, Postcolonial Cities, Postcolonial Critiques, p. 20.

> water rafting, Canoeing, Horse riding trails, Abseiling, as well as Boat cruises, Walks with lions, Elephant back safaris, Quad bikes riding, Kayaking and tours to the Victoria Falls, Mukuni Cultural Village and the places of interest in Livingstone."[1303]

The first half of this text is preoccupied with Livingstone's colonial history, although colonialism is not even mentioned. The focal points here are the person of David Livingstone after whom the town was named, and Livingstone's significance as a "major European settlement" that used to be the capitol of Northern Rhodesia and had excellent facilities. However, the fact that these facilities, excellent or not, could only be enjoyed by an urban minority of Europeans and to a lesser extent Indians remains unmentioned. Furthermore, reference is made to the surviving Edwardian buildings (like the Capitol Theatre) along the city's main road – interestingly, its name "Mosi-oa-Tunya-Road" is not used – and to the territory's first newspaper, the *Livingstone Mail*, known for its segregationist and settler orientation.[1304] The second half of the text goes on to advertise the sights and activities that can be visited and experienced in and around Livingstone, which entails essentially Safari tours, adventure activities and the Mukuni cultural village. African society and culture is still in the village as it seems. Thus, in this case the village forms the representational space of African society.

Seen through the spatial lens, the separation of the physical (geographical and architectural) as well as the social and cultural spaces effective during colonialism are still intact within the text. The town is European, its geographical location explored by a Missionary, founded by settlers, Edwardian in style and spatialised as urban through the first European newspaper as an artefact of urban culture. Conversely, the only (implicit) reference to African society and culture is Mukuni village, which nevertheless forms not more than a side note. Some "vocabularies of built space"[1305] are even silenced: "Mosi-oa-Tunya-Road" thus simply becomes the colonial "Main Road". The toponymic inscription of African presence and agency within and throughout the urban space becomes de-inscribed. Perhaps it does not go along well with Edwardian buildings, at least not as well as the colonial names for parts of the "Main road" would, "Victoria Falls Road" and "Jameson Road".

The lack of reference to African urban life is not only politically troubling, but also leads to false statements. If the person who wrote the text had given credit to African contributions to this town's social, cultural and physical space from the moment of its foundation, it would have been obvious that Livingstone had not transformed from a "bustling city" into a "quiet town" after 1935. This is incorrect on two accounts. First of all, while the European population did decrease significantly during the translocation of the capital to Lusaka, the African population was not affected by it and continued to increase over this period. Secondly, the first time the municipality of Livingstone petitioned for their town to receive a city-status, however unsuccessfully, was in 1959. Legally, it had never been a "city" prior to 1997,[1306] let alone a bustling one. Rather odd, but perhaps then again not, is the reference to the installation of the town's first traffic lights in 2011 as a big event. The only purpose of this sentence seems to be to divide the text between the description of

[1303] (https://www.zambiatourism.com/towns/livingstone/).
[1304] see Chapter 3.
[1305] Bigon and Njoh 2015, The Toponymic Inscription Problematic in Urban Sub-Saharan Africa: From Colonial to Postcolonial Times.
[1306] see: https://www.sou.gov.zm/?page_id=4900.

the town's history and the tourist attractions. This is particularly odd because it seems to be a useless piece of information for tourists. The website does not even indicate why it was a big event. What is so special about traffic lights in this context? Does the sentence imply that the old town with its special charm has finally achieved "modernity" and/or that it is safe to go there? One can only speculate. On the contrary, perhaps it is not odd, because it wants to imply that Livingstone has history, European history that is according to the text, but does not lack modern infrastructure, despite its old legacy (or maybe precisely because of it). It is a small (African?) town, but traffic is ordered.

Similarly to the text of the website presented above, "Livingstone Tourism", the local tourist organisation, describes the town as having "preserved much of its colonial character, but [being] a typical African town with a busy charm" and that when "[i]n 1935 the capital was moved to Lusaka, [it] retained its "Tourist Capital" status[1307] as well as much of its original colonial character."[1308] The colonial side of Livingstone is here actually advertised, yet in opposition to the African town. It has colonial character, *but* is a typical African town. Can an African town be colonial? Conversely, can a colonial town be African? Inspecting the "colonial city" through the agency of the colonised as Yeoh[1309] and others have done, it surely can be, since the "colonial city" is not just a spatial outcome of colonial domination. Finally, what exactly a typical African town is according to this tourism text, remains left to the reader's imagination. Indeed Andrea Sirois-Arrington is correct in her assessment that

> "Early entrepreneurs at old Drift and then Livingstone had big dreams for their side of the Falls and the same concepts of a robust tourist experience, replete with both modern infrastructure, adventure activities, and exposure to exoticized African culture resonate with the ideas of those first white businessmen and the current trends in promoting tourism in Zambia."[1310]

Coming back to the initial question, these texts exemplify why a definitive answer cannot be given. To ask when Livingstone morphed into something other than a colonial town can hardly lead to a meaningful result. Temporally, it has been a postcolonial town since independence (again a rather useless remark), yet through its spatial representation by the (official) tourist sector representatives it is certainly not. Following King[1311], Coquery-Vidrovitch,[1312] Freund,[1313] O'Conner[1314] and others, typologically, Livingstone can be understood as a colonial town in the sense that it was founded by colonisers without any pre-existing, pre-colonial urban structures. Furthermore, the toponymy of the town cannot be set aside, as it is named not after any European who travelled Africa, but David Livingstone. Although the name David Livingstone, unlike Henry

[1307] A very old trope of colonial origin without any legal implication.
[1308] (http://www.livingstonetourism.com/livingstone-town/).
[1309] Yeoh, B.S. (2003). *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment.* Singapore: NUS Press.
[1310] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 261-262.
[1311] King 2015, *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy*.
[1312] Coquery-Vidrovitch 2005a, *The History of African Cities*.
[1313] Freund 2007, *The African City*.
[1314] O'Connor 2007, *The African City*.

Morton Stanley or Cecil Rhodes, might not serve as a reference or *chiffre* for colonialism's most inhumane aspects as such – hence, the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum became the Livingstone Museum after 1964 – it is nevertheless connected to a very strong colonial discourse and practice, that of exploration. However, the transformations the town has undergone throughout the transition from colonialism to postcolonialism can also not go unremarked, with regard to spatial segregation, social exclusion, political and economic participation, yet also physical transformation or the naming and re-naming of streets and buildings, all of which can be understood to have contributed towards morphing Livingstone into a postcolonial town.

King's initial question, "[A]t what point in historical time does the "colonial city" morph into a different category?" is thus not primarily important to neatly categorise Livingstone at a given time, but rather to highlight the significance of inspecting its social and physical spatial features diachronically. These spatial features include spaces of different compounds or commercial areas, as well as single buildings, infrastructures, or spatial representations such as toponymic inscriptions or cartographic representations. In this way, we can transform the question into a different, more specific one. At what point in historical time, and along which process(es), do which urban features morph, change, appear or disappear? By asking these questions it is possible to investigate these urban social and physical spatial features more thoroughly regarding their (changing) status, value or significance at a given moment within different parts of society. We can also investigate their transformation over a certain period without feeling the need to answer a fundamentally unanswerable question of whether a town or city is categorically either colonial or postcolonial.

7.2. In Search of a New Urbanism

When I asked Mrs. Mpiri in 2018[1315] during our second interview how she remembered the transition from colonialism to independence in terms of urban infrastructures, she first described the bucket system and the lack of water. "After independence", she said, "everybody now got civilised", since proper sanitation and water systems could be installed and people could build proper houses. Her framing of such amenities as 'civilised' is interesting not only because the notion of being civilised under certain conditions and non-civilised under different conditions was adopted and transformed from its colonial meaning, of structurally *being* uncivilised as Africans, to a condition of living in or under uncivilised conditions; in other words, from an ascription about people to a description of conditions. Furthermore, it also implies that such conditions would simply not have been granted to Africans. People may therefore live under civilised conditions depending on whether they are granted the possibility to do so. Indeed, the colonial or generally European understanding of what modernisation looks like, and is lived and practiced, was used as a yardstick by which the success of social policies could be measured. Especially housing and urban densities therefore represented one of the major themes and challenges the newly elected independent government identified.

[1315] Interview 12: April 30, 2018.

This is illustrated by the opening speech of Kenneth Kaunda to the conference of low cost housing in Lusaka between March 19 and 20, 1964. In his opening statement, Kaunda already highlights the importance of the issue in saying that

> "of all the present social problems in this country, perhaps no single one – when viewed from the angle of the family – is more pressing than housing. A family's primary need is for shelter, and the considerable number of people without homes is a cause of great concern to the Government, as I am sure it is for the local authorities whose officials have to deal with the steady streams of applicants for houses which they cannot provide."[1316]

Thus, he connects the issue of urban housing to that of urban life itself. His focus on family life is not surprising, as he extends his notion of family in the course of this opening speech to the notion of community and even the nation. Kaunda continues to state that, in his view, the ways and means by which the housing needs of the nation shall be met cannot only focus on increasing and accelerating the building of new homes. He sees equal importance in the improvement of existing housing, which has to be made "acceptable for our people". These improvements are not only meant as alterations to the housing structures, but also, or even more so, to the provision of infrastructures to these houses, which in many of the newly constructed housing areas still under colonial rule were not working properly. This issue of housing quality was perhaps one of the most visible and indeed tangible problems of colonial housing provision, since the colonial rationale of providing housing most economically, or cheaply, in combination with the segregational attitude that proved not only to be inhumane, but in terms of urban planning also economically impractical, made it difficult to maintain quality standards. In fact, even the economic benefits to building cheaply only went so far. That is to say, it was everything but sustainable, resulting in frequent and costly repairs The minutes of the African Urban Advisory Councils bear witness to this situation; indeed, after some years many of the building structures showed the first signs of technical deficiencies.[1317] The fact that many of the colonial housing structures are still intact in Livingstone has to be attributed to the work and energy Africans invested in repairing and improving their houses, as Mr. and Mrs. Mpiri explained during the two interviews I conducted with them in 2017 and 2018. "It was the best house in Malota", Mr. Mpiri proudly said. The improvements to the house and the plot are ongoing, despite the advanced age of the two.

[1316] LGH 1/5/25. L.A. Housing. Conference 1964: Opening Speech by the Prime Minister, March 19, 1964.
[1317] see Chapter 5.



Fig. 41. Foundation, Malota, Photo taken April 30, 2018



Fig. 42. Toilet and Shower, Malota, Photo taken April 30, 2018

Kaunda saw the challenges of housing provision in its sustainability and against the background of a modernising society, whose demands for housing quality would accompany improvements to their social and economic circumstances. He therefore argued that

"[t]he agencies responsible for housing programmes in Africa must so plan that the houses they provide today are designed to be capable of satisfying the needs of the occupiers – by

> extension and improvements – as they progress socially and economically. This important principle has too often been overlooked in the past, and I hope that in future both the Government and the local authorities will be sensitive to the social, as well as to the physical, needs and economic circumstances of the people."[1318]

It has to be stressed again at this point that racial boundaries were gradually replaced by socio-economic ones.[1319] John Tait argues in this regard that "postcolonial urban developments in the African metropolises have tended to reproduce the original layout within new master plans – often with the professional backing of First World consultants. Thus, much suggested that the dichotomous, segregationist colonial urban structures were not questioned but in fact functionalised by the new elites, now that the European rulers had left"[1320]. Therefore, housing standards were not uniform with regard to size and even some infrastructural services, such as indoor vs outdoor or shared vs private bathroom and toilet facilities, but instead were dependent on the economic means of the occupants. Still, at least in some sense basic standards that would meet the demands of a greater spectrum of the independent and theoretically less stratified African society were envisioned. For John Tait, African governments nevertheless failed to decolonise the cities in accordance with the social and economic needs as well as the cultural traditions, though it is not clear what he actually means by the latter.[1321] After all, African societies had undergone huge changes in different social and cultural domains in the course of colonial rule, especially in urban areas.[1322] Moreover, given the accounts and demands Africans had made in various councils, cultural traditions were not a frequent issue compared to demands for integration into the existing urban space. It was only in the postcolonial era that such narratives became more frequent.

Thus, Kaunda's and UNIP's official policy was to maintain and foster the ethnic and cultural diversity of Zambian society. In fact, the rationale of a peaceful and respectful multi-cultural and multi-lingual nation that combines national and cultural identities without falling prey to political tribalism till today maintains an important national post-independence narrative of Zambia.[1323] This discourse might in reality not always translate into social and political practice, however, and ethnicity does matter after all.[1324] Kaunda also acknowledged this discourse of multiculturalism in the context of housing provision, where the social needs he mentioned would not only "take into account the physical and social environment of those for whom the accommodation is designed, but also the family structures, pattern of living and the habits and standards of traditional life". His notion of housing needs therefore transcends technical and economic considerations and accounts for the socio-cultural diversity of the population, even though he does not make explicit how such an approach of, in a way, "building around" the habits and standards of traditional life would or could be put into practice.

[1318] LGH 1/5/25. Opening Speech by the Prime Minister, March 19, 1964.
[1319] i.e. Tranberg 1989, *Distant Companions*; Heisler 1974, *Urbanisation and the Government of Migration.*; Winters 1982, Urban Morphogenesis in Francophone Black Africa.
[1320] Tait 1997, *From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Settlement*, p. 156.
[1321] (Ibid.)
[1322] i.e. Magubane 1971, A Critical Look at Indices Used in the Study of Social Change in Colonial Africa.
[1323] Larmer, M. (2016). *Rethinking African Politics: A History of Opposition in Zambia.* London: Routledge; Phiri 2006, *A Political History of Zambia*.
[1324] Posner, D. (2005). *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The spatial implications of such a notion are, however, important, since they rationalise an approach to overcoming the spatial orderings of colonialism in respect to the social, legal, economic and political division between rural and urban areas. Where, in the colonial rationale, Africans in urban areas were understood within the project of modernisation and development to be situated in a different compartment of that project as Africans in rural areas, the postcolonial rationale was one of overcoming or at least balancing out the colonial construction of difference between urban and rural. No longer, therefore, should traditional life spatially and culturally be confined to rural areas or be read as *chiffre* for rural and un-modern, for that matter.[1325] Again, as with the goal of creating a society that is not structured by divisions and boundaries, the discourse of overcoming the rural-urban divide proved equally difficult in practice.

Despite the changes in organising and governing urban spaces, economically the postcolonial government as well as local authorities faced similar problems as the colonial ones had done. While monetary funds and infrastructures could now be distributed more evenly across the societal spectrum, the problem of salaries and rents could not be easily solved. Kaunda, therefore, saw it as a responsibility and necessity of the housing agencies

> "to take into account the proposed occupant's capacity to pay for the accommodation and services they will enjoy. The problem of providing adequate housing standards for low-income groups is, of course, difficult to solve because of the serious gap which generally exists between the cost of acceptable housing standards – which is reflected in the "economic rent" – and the amount a family can afford to pay – or is willing to pay – for them: in other words the "social rent"."[1326]

In order to bridge this gap the newly elected government not only made available money for new housing projects, but also for upgrading programmes, and set aside £500,000 in the course of an emergency development programme to assist local authorities in improving water, electricity and sanitation services. The term 'emergency development programme' alone, despite being politically loaded, bears witness to the urgent need to improve African housing conditions in the many compounds and townships. For a rapidly increasing urban society with one of the highest urbanisation rates and numbers in Africa during the 1960s and 1970s, the importance of such funds being made available cannot be overstated. Yet housing was of course not the only pressing issue on the agenda of potentially costly policies the government needed to implement. Kaunda therefore made no secret when he explained that all the demands for improving housing could not be met at once, and that other fields of social services such as education, health and welfare services could not simply be neglected.

He understood these first and later financial provisions as being not the only pillar that would support the housing policy. He recognised a second important factor in the people themselves, and their personal efforts in carrying out low-cost housing programmes in particular. "Self-help building can, to some extent overcome inadequate financial resources by recourse to human investment:

[1325] i.e. Macola 2005, Imagining Village Life in Zambian Fiction.
[1326] LGH 1/5/25. Opening Speech by the Prime Minister, March 19, 1964.

hence the importance of community development as a process to stimulate, guide and assist people's efforts to build homes for themselves."[1327] The colonial vision of self-help housing as a means to tackle the housing problem was indeed one that would only truly unfold during the post-independence era.[1328] In Livingstone self-help housing was extremely important. The reasons for this might be attributed to the differences in spatial practice during the colonial and post-independence era, in the sense of being able to form and appropriate urban space through self-help. For many settlers, especially in local authorities, this would have meant allowing Africans to have stakes in town. Self-help as envisioned by Kaunda, however, would go beyond personal advancement and spatial appropriation. In self-help he rather saw a genuine African virtue.

> "In Africa, self-help exists naturally as an expression of tradition, particularly in the rural areas where many forms of mutual aid are practiced. An example of this is the help which an individual receives from fellow members of his community in the building of his own house. Can we not transfer this tradition to the urban areas?"[1329]

Here again, his vision of urban reconstruction and development is not set apart from the rural world. His discourse of modernity is thereby in stark contrast to the colonial one. Furthermore, Kaunda's vision does not simply imply overcoming the rural-urban divide, but instead to integrate these seemingly opposing worlds. Beyond that, his reasoning carries some additional implications. By defining self-help as a "natural" social practice, and part of a tradition that has to be implemented in the urban sphere, he is reconceptualising the very meaning of urban. Thus, he is realigning the direction of British colonial urbanism, as a mode of social life structured by individualism, to one where some essential virtue in the form of self-help should create a different form of urbanism.

Although this was not put into practice as Kaunda intended it, Kaunda's speech was not mere political talk. That is to say, the early postcolonial era was indeed characterised by contemplating and searching for ways and means not only to tackle the problem of housing in urban areas, but also to overcome the rural-urban divide not least by trying to make rural areas more attractive. The section on modernisation in the Livingstone Museum gives evidence of this even today.

[1327] Ibid.
[1328] Tait 1997, *From Self-Help Housing to Sustainable Settlement*; Heisler 1974, *Urbanisation and the Government of Migration.*
[1329] LGH 1/5/25. Opening Speech by the Prime Minister, March 19, 1964.

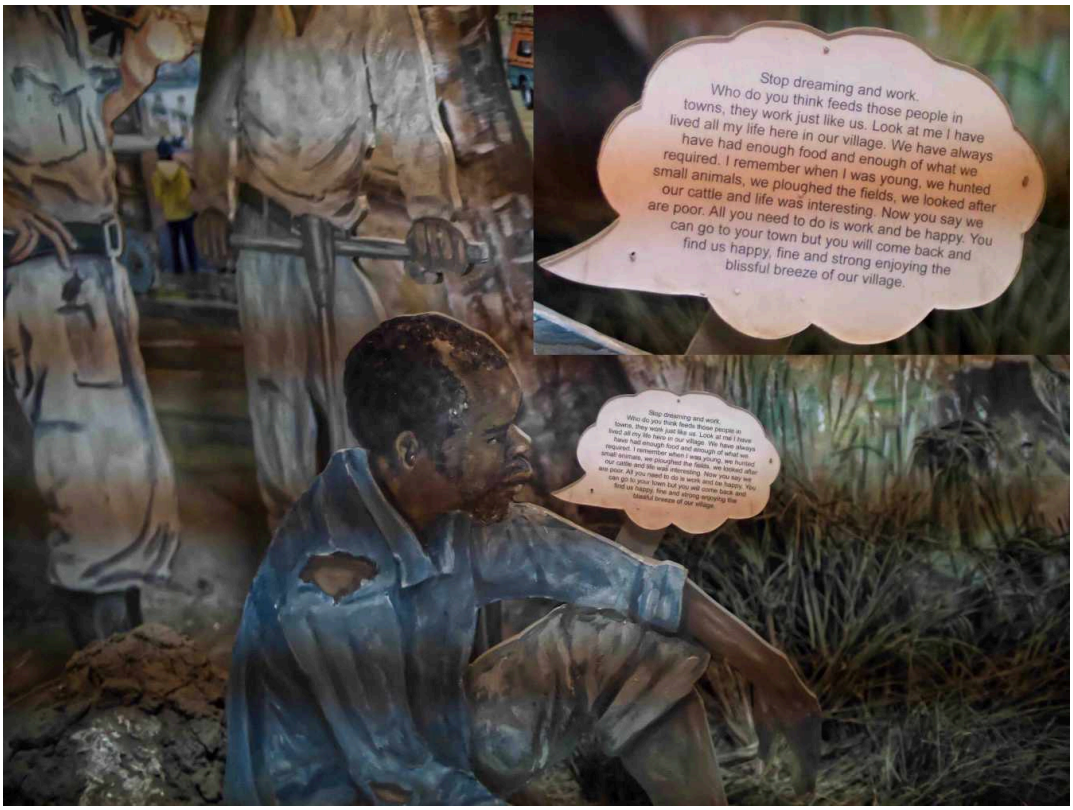


Fig. 43. Livingstone Museum, Urbanisation, Photo taken May 4, 2017

This of course was by no means only done in order to restructure the spatial divide in terms of education, resources or infrastructures, but was also guided by the practical rationale to control the influx into towns, which was increased substantially after independence[1330]. For Mabogunje, arguing from a Marxists analytical lens, the postcolonial urban crisis has its main roots in the culmination of a major urban influx by pre-capitalist rural migrants and a process where "the institution of urban or municipal administration became more formal than functional"[1331]. He further reasons that the "new urbanites have attempted in various informal ways to solve their problems of accommodation and employment within the cities on their own terms".[1332] The postcolonial government of Zambia was quite aware of the problem of rural-urban migration that would increase through the liberation of movement, yet they could hardly answer these problems in the same way as colonial institutions did. It is therefore perhaps ironic that a similar concept in some respects to the colonial idea of rural towns was discussed.

In a report of a Zambian delegation to Israel to study housing and community life, the delegates proposed the possible implementation of one of three systems, Kibbutz, Moshav and Moshav-Shitufi, in order to restructure the rural world in a way that would bring technical and social infrastructures and amenities associated with urban spaces to the villages, and at the same time would harness Kaunda's vision of an "African humanism". Kaunda referred to these settlements as "the pride of the

[1330] see: Heisler, H. (1971). The Creation of a Stabilized Urban Society: A Turning Point in the Development of Northern Rhodesia/Zambia. *African Affairs, 70*(279), 125-145; Mabogunje 1990, Urban Planning and the Post-Colonial State in Africa: A Research Overview.
[1331] Ibid., p. 159.
[1332] Ibid., p. 160.

nation" and a step towards a "self-sustaining economy"[1333]. The main reason, however, was to "discourage the influx of people into towns".[1334] The moshav system, which was eventually tried out in Kafubu Block and Kafulafuta near Luanshya for some years as poultry and vegetable farms under the guidance of Israelis, was described by the delegation in the following way: "(i) Equal allocation of land (same number of acreage) which can not be speculated with (ii) The occupant of this land must work on his own – not to employ outside labour (iii) Buying and selling is done co-operatively (iv) Mutual Aid: If a member farmer falls sick, the Co-operative head of that Moshav sends help to his farm".[1335] In a recent paper by Lynn Schler and Yonatan N. Gez, the afterlife and collapse of these projects are analysed in more detail.[1336]

For Kaunda, such systems were understood as a solution to "the weakening of so many valuable social customs through urbanisation, [which make] these forms of group self-help [...] disappear." With regard to urban areas he hoped that

> "the techniques and methods of community development could be used to forge the tool of a community housing organisation which can be used, either directly for the improvement and development of their housing estates. Perhaps some aided self-help housing scheme – which has proved successful in the rural areas – can be introduced for the urban dweller as a member of such an organisation."[1337]

As with the experiment of the "African Kibbutz", Kaunda's vision of urban housing was ambitious, but often did not materialise as perhaps intended. When during an interview I asked Malota resident Mr. Jonas Kakwende (born 1940) about the postcolonial housing situation and urban developments, he rather laconically said that "Kaunda did a good job in building and improving ... depending on how big your wallet was"[1338]. Similarly, Mrs. Fosta Mwale said that she felt that things started to change for the better after 1967; however, real improvements to the housing conditions came relatively late. In her memory, the bucket-system did not improve everywhere until the mid-1980s. Accordingly, she concluded, the houses had changed for those who had money.[1339]

Concerning the rural-urban divide and the different concepts and ideas people had about village and town life, the vision to overcome it was also not achieved as perhaps intended. Most town people I talked to would agree that rural people could be easily identified by how they look and behave. Mrs. Mahaj, for instance, explained in the context of town and village-life that in the village things are very cheap, yet life is very hard. And town is town, she said laughingly, and everything is exciting. Yet, it took some time to adapt, as she further explained.[1340] This is also reflected in popular culture in the form of songs, as Miles Larmer illustrates. The song '*Icupo*' by the popular

[1333] The Observer 1971 cited in Schler, L. and Y.N. Gez (2018). Development Shadows: The Afterlife of Collapsed Development Projects in the Zambian Copperbelt. *Africa Spectrum, 53*(3), 3-31, p. 11.
[1334] LGH 1/9/5. Housing Authority, 1965-69: Israel Delegation to travel study towns, December 1965.
[1335] (Ibid.).
[1336] Schler and Gez 2018, Development Shadows: The Afterlife of Collapsed Development Projects in the Zambian Copperbelt.
[1337] LGH 1/5/25. Opening Speech by the Prime Minister, March 19, 1964.
[1338] Interview 21: May 11, 2018.
[1339] Interview 22: May 11, 2018.
[1340] Interview 9: May 24, 2017.

performer Nkhata, for instance, "pokes fun at a rural woman, newly married to a town husband, who struggles to understand modern goods such as powdered milk."[1341]

At the moment of independence, a number of voices were raised that tried to use this moment of re-negotiation of the social, political and economic relations to bring ideas to the table that would not have been possible before. These included not only international actors, such as the World Bank, but also architects and policy makers that had been active during colonial rule and perhaps now saw new opportunities.[1342] As in Lusaka, in Livingstone the main focus of the independent municipality was to approach the housing shortage through home-ownership and subsequent upgrading schemes. Not only Dambwa Site-and-Service evolved out of that, but many housing sections, especially in the western parts of Livingstone, were built in the years between 1964 and 1970. During an interview, Mr. Mahaj, who came to Livingstone in 1959 as a policeman from Southern Rhodesia, remembered the town at that time as very small and dull with few cars. When he came back to Livingstone in 1970, together with his wife, after having spent the intervening ten years first in Fort Rosebery (today's Mansa) and then Lusaka, the town had altered a lot. While the number of cars had not increased, he remembered that the town had changed much in terms of urban development, especially at Dambwa, where there had only been bush before. According to Mr. Mahaj the town looked and felt very different.[1343]

Today, however, Dambwa Site, as the district of the sites-and-service scheme is called, is not a particularly special place. That is to say, Kaunda's vision of self-help did not materialise in these districts beyond the technical and financial level. Houses exist there and they are generally in good condition. Yet, there are no social welfare or community programmes and, except for the market, there is not much life on the streets compared to Maramba, Libuyu or Linda for instance. To some extent the district is even slightly run-down, since most industrial companies there went out of business, and it is said to be a hide-out for thieves and dealers today. The farther north one goes the more expensive the houses become, until the common *Euphorbia tirucalli* (pencil tree) hedges suddenly make way for metal-fences or stone-walls. Yet the more expensive Dambwa Central and North are not exactly special either, in a social sense; many people there do not even know their neighbours, unlike in other districts. I also interviewed an individual, Sirus from Highlands, which is the latest town development in the north-eastern part of Livingstone above the main town. Although generally happy with the districts, he articulated such lack of community life and neighbourhood spirit as a rather sad dynamic.[1344]

In terms of urban structures, Livingstone has grown significantly after independence, especially after 1990. In style, however, the buildings constructed after 1964 are not very different from the ones built during colonial times. The housing schemes which the colonial government organised in stages I to III and which were based on the ground-floor-space as well as the number of rooms per dwelling and the density in which houses would be built, were continued after 1964.[1345] The plans and schemes of the late-colonial and post-colonial period look much alike. There was no attempt to

[1341] Larmer 2021, *Living for the City*
[1342] See LGH 1/5/25. L.A Housing: Letter by Reeler and Richards
[1343] Interview 10: May 24, 2017
[1344] Interview 13: May 1, 2018
[1345] i.e. SP 1/5/17. Zambia Housing Board. Annual Report and Statement of Accounts, June 30, 1970, p. 5

completely re-model these development plans. Moreover, many old structures are still in use today. Some, like the old cinema, are quite obviously reminders of the colonial days, others like the street-lights in Libuyu are rather tacit witnesses to these times.



Fig. 44. Libuyu Street Light, Photo taken May 7, 2017

7.3. Getting Rid of the Colonial Spectre

The ways the urban space, or rather urban spaces, have transformed and changed are surely manifold. If the whole system of colonialism permeated almost every niche of society, then the dissolution of the colonial state would mean that this permeation itself would dissolve as well. While this was generally the case, the means by which certain administrative issues were approached and how policies were designed, as I tried to exemplify in the previous section, were not always revoked, at least not in practice. Yet certain aspects of urban structures and urban life were particularly targeted in order to decolonise them. Two of these aspects shall be briefly discussed.

Beer-Sale and Beer-Halls – Changing Politics of Everyday Life

While the technicalities often did not change much, other, more apparent, reminders of colonialism would soon be removed from the urban landscapes. The new urbanism would not only include housing and urban infrastructures such as water and electricity. The way independent African urban communities ought to develop, as has already been pointed out, included a certain vision of communalism that should be implemented in a variety of social and physical spaces. A very

prominent space with a laden history were beer-halls. In 1964, a cynical article in the settler-run daily newspaper "Northern News", which changed its name to Times of Zambia in 1965, called the end of beer-halls, perhaps rightly so, "one of UNIP's and ANC's most cherished dreams".[1346] It was the intent of the government to exchange the beer-halls with small bars, subsidised by the municipalities and with varying standards depending on where they were to be situated – different rules applied for bars that were within the municipalities, and those that were outside municipalities but within 5 miles radius.

In order to finance this restructuring, which was estimated to cost around £2,000,000, a levy needed to be imposed that amounted to a price increase of 33 percent. The author of the article reasoned that "as yet there have been no protests, which is yet another illustration how Africans are ready to take from their own leaders what they certainly would not have accepted from a European-led Government."[1347] While in some sense the author was certainly correct, he, however, simply ignored the fact that Africans could not vote at all when the said European-led government was still in power. Moreover, the revenues generated from the beer-sales would now be an additional source of income for whatever was needed. Previously, the revenue generated from beer-halls, although intended otherwise, was used for supplying African residential areas with infrastructures, thus relieving the municipalities or employers from the need to use their own revenues. This is perhaps most vividly illustrated in a letter of advice – or really a letter of protest – printed in the popular weekly advice column "Tell Me Josephine" written by Barbara Hall for the Central African Mail, where people could ask questions of every-day concern.

> "I am a self-employed carpenter and could not get a municipal house as there are none empty and even so the rents are too high for my pocket, having five children. So I built our house with burnt brick and thatch all myself at Kalingalinga where we are not supposed to stay but are allowed because there is nowhere else for us. We have no water, no lights, no schools and lavatories but the municipals say that they will build us a big beer hall. If we drink beer to give profits then one day there will be water supplied to us in taps. How much beer must I drink before my children can drink water? Do other countries make poor people drink beer to collect money for water?"[1348]

Aside from these political and economic implications proper, what is more interesting is the way Kaunda conceptualised these new bars to fit his own political visions, as places of communal life.

> "Thus a new chapter is opening in the social life of the African urban community, but in a sense it is also an old chapter, for the intention with small beer gardens is to restore something of the atmosphere of the days before the first European arrived. 'In those times', Dr. Kaunda told the House, 'our people got together in the evening to drink, and the young gathered round to listen

[1346] LGH 1/2/74. Traditional Beer Ordinance: Extract from "Northern News", June 30, 1964.
[1347] Ibid.
[1348] Hall 1964, Tell me, Josephine, p. 135.

to the history of their tribe or people. Apart from being a social entertainment, it was also an institution of learning'."[1349]

Already in 1963 Kaunda made clear that

"Government had no intention of abolishing the Local Authority beer monopoly simply for the benefit of a few big industrialists. He certainly wanted the big beerhalls to go and to be replaced by something smaller. What he had in mind was that the Local Authority would continue to control the supply of beer in any area, even if they had to buy it from someone else. They should not be involved in retail distribution, but should have wholesale monopoly."[1350]

Hence, while the beer-halls should be turned into different spaces where individuals would run these new bars and clubs, the beer-sale itself should remain the exclusive right of the local authorities. The new "traditional beer ordinance" that was being drafted was intended

"(i) to control the sale of traditional beer generally throughout Zambia; (ii) to control the manufacture of beer in municipal township and special areas – Leaving the rural areas under sales control only; (iii) to provide that Local Authorities will be the permit issuing authorities; and (iv) to maintain Local Authority monopolies on the manufacture and indirectly in regard to the sale of beer."[1351]

It was furthermore the intent of the new ordinance to control the drinking habits of the Zambian population. Before a draft of the ordinance was even finished, Heinrich's Syndicate Limited, who were the main producers and distributors of "traditional beer" in Northern Rhodesia, protested against the plans to monopolise beer by the independent government in a memorandum highlighting not only their role as a good employer and producer of a high quality product, but using a political argument against this new legislation, one that was also used by the UNIP and ANC against the colonial government's beer policies.

"The argument in favour of Municipal monopoly against private enterprise savours very strongly of the paternalistic approach by Government which has so often been the subject of complaint by African political parties. Once it is recognised that the African is no longer in need of a paternalistic approach there seems no reason to differentiate between the freedom which private enterprise has had to advertise its products to European consumers or indeed, as in the case of Castle Breweries, to African consumers – and private enterprise brewers of African beer or other commodities specifically intended for the African market. It is contended that the

[1349] LGH 1/2/74. Traditional Beer Ordinance: Extract from "Northern News", June 30, 1964.
[1350] LGH 1/5/23. Urban Areas 1964: Standing Joint Committee of Government and Local Authority Officials, November 8, 1963, p. 4.
[1351] LGH 1/2/74. Draft of Traditional Beer Ordinance, December 11, 1964.

> African public is sufficiently mature to exercise its own judgement and to determine the value of an article by quality rather than by high pressure publicity."[1352]

Indeed, Heinrich's tried to promote themselves and their product as modern and cosmopolitan, not only in advertisements, already during the colonial period, as the extract from the "South-Western Star" below well illustrates well (Fig. 45). The "fashionable gatherings", however, as depicted in the advertisement were certainly minority events of African elites during and perhaps even after colonialism. Furthermore, at such events *chibuku* ("African" or "traditional beer") was not always served. At the same time, Heinrich's made good profits from their quasi-monopoly on *chibuku* during the colonial period, rendering their protest even more duplicitous. However, African elites were not quite straightforward either.

[1352] LGH 1/2/74. Memorandum of Comments by Heinrich's Syndicate Limited, June 12, 1964.

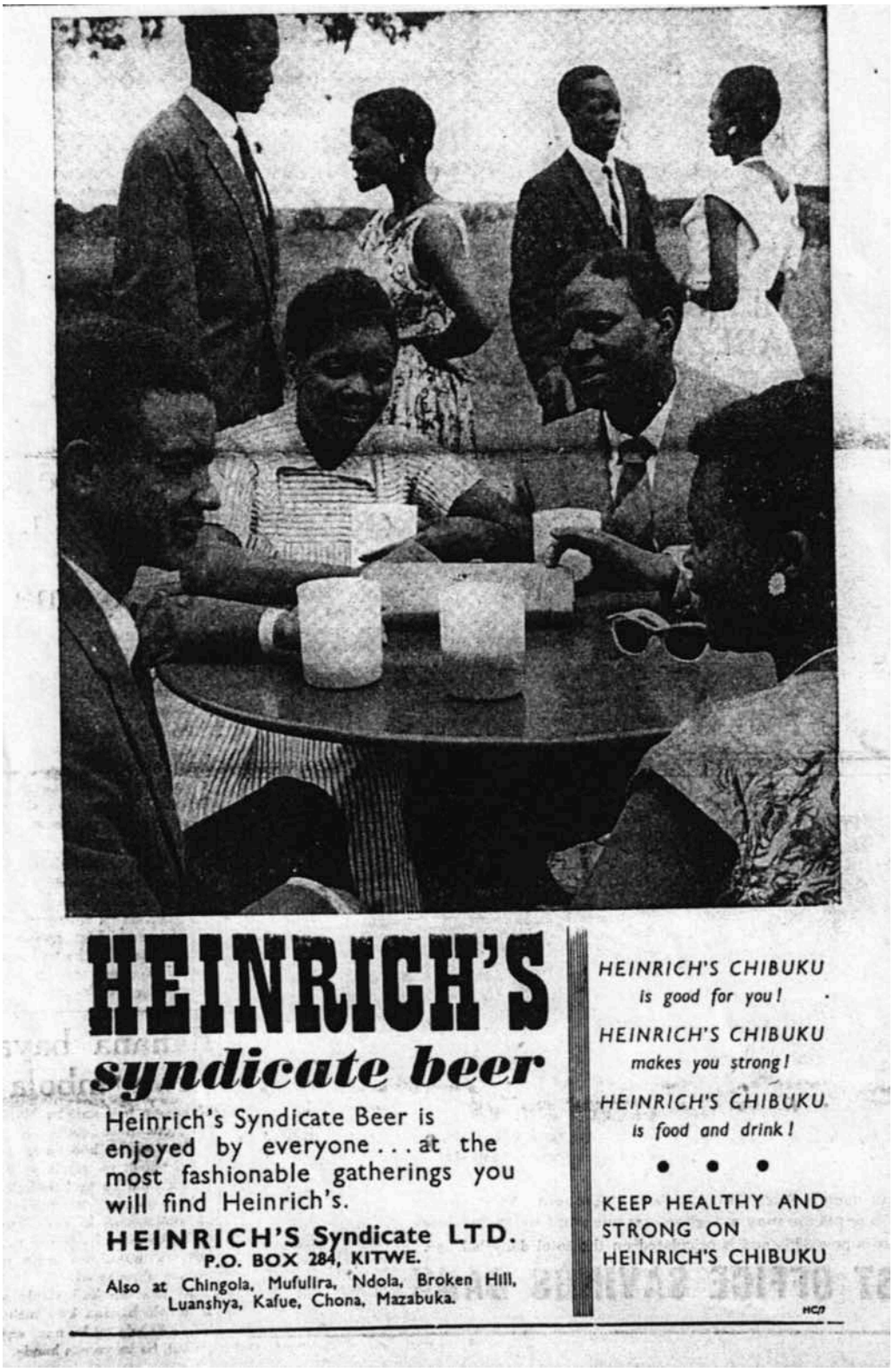


Fig. 45: Heinrich's Advertisement, South-Western Star, October 18, 1961

As Ambler notes, beer-halls were not only subject to debate concerning moral and colonial control, but also made visible the class divisions within African society. Therefore, "[p]roposals for the privatization of beer production and sales, demands for reduced beerhall hours and

condemnations of the moral evils of the beerhalls won little support from the working men, who regularly patronized the halls".[1353] Notwithstanding the different positions African elites took on the beer-hall matter – either calls for strict rules and opening hours, or calls for liberalisations of the beer-halls politics – they had in common a distaste for the beer-halls. Thus, "different drinking preferences had long been markers of status distinction"[1354]. Turning to their own private or semi-private drinking realms of private homes or clubs where bottled beer, wine and spirits were favoured over the beer-hall way of consumption through the tap, African elites at the same time lost some connections to their fellow Africans in the beer-halls and "failed to comprehend that the beerhalls had gradually evolved into genuine vibrant community institutions – managed but not entirely controlled by the state."[1355] This is very much reflected by Mr. Mukuka's memory of the Maramba beer-hall, which according to him was the best in Northern Rhodesia. People from all compounds gathered there, dancing to music and having a good time. He smiles and his eyes sparkle when he reminisces about this space. Beer-halls were thus nothing short of controversy and ambivalence in every aspect.[1356]

This partly has to do with the changing discourse in beer-hall politics, which in the mid-1950s was characterised by a critique coming from African political actors against the beer-hall monopoly. In the late-1950s until independence and thereafter this discourse turned into a critique of the beer-halls themselves, as spaces and places of moral rot and social ills, as briefly discussed in section 5.4. The way the beer-halls were altered into bars, however, was not really a complete reversal of the former beer-halls. In spatial terms, the whole matter was somewhat ambivalent. The very buildings of the larger beer-halls were usually put to a different use, since the new smaller bars ought to resemble a different leisure experience than "the impersonal mass institutions that undermined the established patterns of social interaction that traditional drinking reinforced".[1357] In this regard, the Maramba beer-hall was turned into a community centre.[1358] The smaller Libuyu beer-hall was transformed into a bar and the Linda beer-hall into an off-sales premise.[1359] Putting old beer-halls to a different use was perhaps the most obvious manner of disposing of these colonial spaces. Spatially, the beer-hall reconstruction into small bars is a way of opening up the urban arrangement. Much like open spaces scattered around estates, bars and other facilities and places scattered around an urban area work against the colonial spatial concentration of such spaces. The independence of people and their freedom of movement is therefore mirrored by freeing the urban arrangement of its highly ordered confinements and concentrations. Metaphorically, the town could now breathe. Stylistically, however, the new bars often resembled the old beer-halls, and the beer served there was mostly *chibuku*, like the Pioneer Bar, which replaced the Maramba beer-hall and went out of business only a few years ago.

[1353] Ambler 1990, Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia, p. 309.
[1354] Ibid.
[1355] Ibid.
[1356] Interview 17: May 7, 2018.
[1357] Ambler 1990, Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia, p. 303.
[1358] Municipal Council Minutes, May 27, 1964.
[1359] Municipal Council. Trading Committee, December 14, 1964.



Fig 46: Pioneer Bar, Front, Photo taken May 15, 2018



Fig 47: Pioneer Bar, Tap, Photo taken May 15, 2018



Fig 48: Pioneer Bar, Counter, Photo taken May 15, 2018



Fig 49: Pioneer Bar, Kitchen, Photo taken May 15, 2018

Changing Toponymies and the Cultural Meaning of Urban Morphology

Apart from beer-halls, Livingstone also changed in terms of its toponymy. This meant that soon after independence not only existing streets and buildings were renamed, but also that most of the streets in the former African compounds received names, and thereby a spatial identity of some sort, for the first time. During the colonial period in Northern Rhodesia the naming of streets in African urban compounds was rarely practiced by colonial or municipal authorities. In Livingstone, the only streets that appear by name in or between the compounds are Maramba Road, connecting the town with Maramba, Libuyu Road and perhaps Linda Road. However, all of them seem to stem rather from convention than active naming, as their practical names suggest. Thus, Maramba Road is simply the road to and from Maramba, in a similar fashion as Libuyu Road and Linda Road. There is no additional or meta-semantic meaning attached to them, and it is reasonable to suggest that at some point the colloquial usage of 'the road to Maramba' was replaced by 'Maramba Road'. This would soon change after independence, when the nameless streets in the compounds received names and the streets in town were gradually replaced.

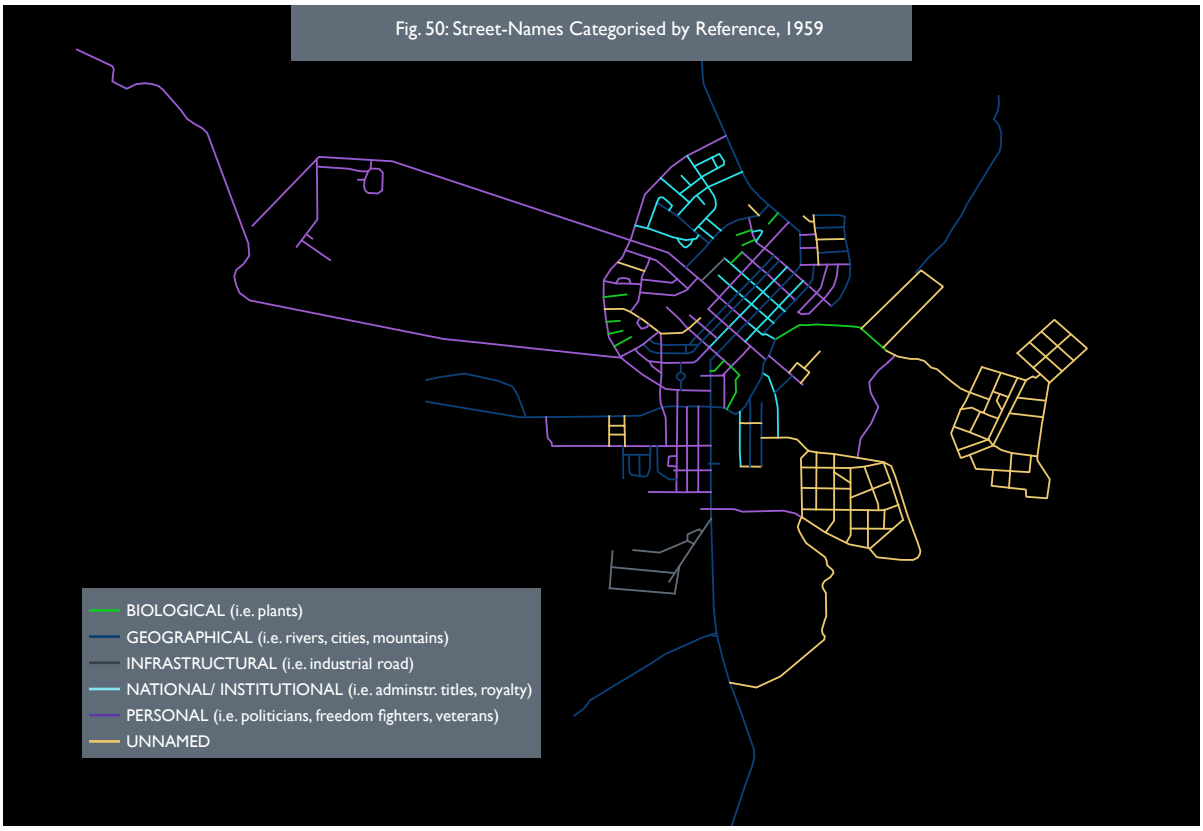
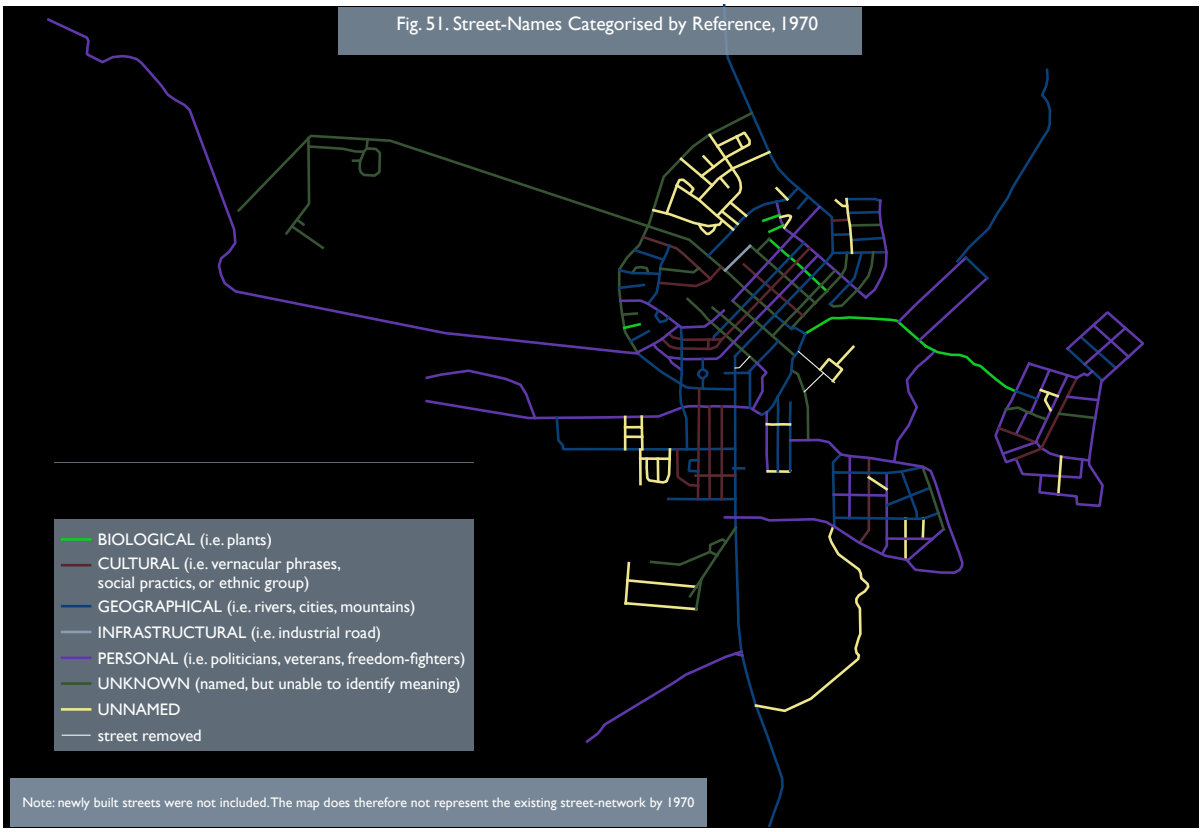


Fig. 50: Street-Names Categorised by Reference, 1959



As can be seen, many streets were re-named to either refer to people deemed politically important, usually famous African nationalists, but also chiefs, as well as to Zambian cultural traditions or ethnic groups. The latter were especially chosen for streets which were previously named after British political or cultural institutions such as *Queensway*. Interestingly, also the streets in the medium density housing section for Europeans north of the industrial area and the Zambezi Sawmills compound, which were named after veterans from World War I, were re-named to refer to cultural or ethnic backgrounds. For instance, *Storrs Avenue* became *Milemba Avenue*, which refers to a grave in a Lozi legend. The most northern part of the former European town, Hillcrest, whose streets bore the names of religious or administrative institutions such as Bishop Road, Vicars Road, or Court Road, were removed altogether and the whole area was remodelled, which presents perhaps the most drastic reconstruction of the existing urban space.

While many streets in the various compounds bear the names of famous people, it seems that there is no particular pattern, and that street names were often rather chosen without much reference to the place where these streets are located, although admittedly I might lack knowledge in this regard. After all, I could not discern the origin of many names even with the help of my local guide Jonathan. There is one instance, however, where the spatial significance of place is quite apparent, at least to my reading. The streets that delimit Malota to the north-west and south-east are called *Kaunda Road* and *Kenyatta Road*. In my opinion, the fact that *Kaunda Road* is not in town, the centre of former European power, but in the oldest African part of Livingstone is not just arbitrary. *Kaunda Road* is thus situated at the place where African political organisation originated in Livingstone.

In terms of buildings, there was one significant change in names: the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum was renamed as the Livingstone Museum. The names for other landmarks, such as the Northwestern Hotel or the Capitol Cinema, were retained. However, the names of former European schools which were situated in town were also changed. At the fifth meeting of the Livingstone Local Council of Education in 1970 it was decided that the five schools should be re-named. The "Blue Gum School" was re-named after a village headman to "Nalitawe Primary School", the "Coillard" schools (lower and upper) were re-named to "Mulwani", also a village headman, and the Airport school became the "Mukamusaba Primary School", named after Chief Sekute's sister, who was later married by Chief Mukuni to bring an end to the war between Mukuni and Sekute. The "Livingstone Secondary School" became "Linda Secondary School", like the compound named after a Toka chief, and finally the "Coronation School" became "Zambezi Primary School".[1360]

District names represent another important part of the urban fabric in terms of toponymy. African compounds were already named by Africans themselves during colonial times, representing one of the few official imprints that they made on the urban space. Such matters were usually discussed in the AUAC, where the names for Linda, the new Kashitu compound and Mundolobela were decided. The last one is especially interesting, because it means "entertainer" and in this context it was the nickname for Mr. Beaton, the Location Superintendent and owner of some garden-plots around the area of Mundolobela, south of the Airport.[1361] Mr. Beaton in his vernacular nickname is one of the few Europeans whose name remained in the toponymic space of Livingstone. While street names were changed in the course of independence, some district names in the former European parts of town were kept, such as Hillcrest and Falls View. Others even received new names with reference to Europeans. North End, where most Indians lived the during colonial period, was changed into Nott Brodie, after the civil-engineering/construction company that built it. Another part where a European name was chosen, furthermore, to replace the name of a different European was Elaine Brittell. This was the name of the daughter of a missionary couple who ran the Sinde mission, orphanage and school in Livingstone.[1362] This section of the town was, however, only named after her following her death in the 1980s. During colonial times, this part of town was named after John Roberts, former Minister of Labour and Mines and leader of the United Federal Party. Between the de-naming and re-naming the area did not seem to have a name.

One of the most interesting changes in toponymy happened to the Park View district, where the streets were formally named after World War I veterans. The change in name there shows how the infrastructural divide not only inscribed itself into the memories of urban Africans, but also into the town itself, though at times in quite concealed ways. It is an example of how the legacies of colonial struggle can also be found in urban signs and descriptions. An interview with town resident Thomas Movite revealed how the infrastructural divide has inscribed itself into the urban fabric in the face of a toponymic inscription. In explaining the racial divide in Livingstone during the colonial era Mr. Movite mentioned not only the window system, but also the postal service which was provided for

[1360] SP 1/8/13. African Education – Livingstone: Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Livingstone Local Council of Education, May 27, 1970.
[1361] SP 4/12/66. AUAC Minutes, May 7, 1954.
[1362] See: Korfker, D. (1970). Mother of Eighty: The Story of Augusta May Puett Brittell (1894-1964). Winona, Mississippi: J.C. Choate Publications.

Africans, Indians "and the other colours" not through the regular post office, but the Saint Ignatius Church, a Catholic church. The plot number of the church, 217, was used after independence, as Mr. Movite explained, as an official name for the area, because of the significance of the church as a place for postal service provision.[1363] What at first glance seems odd, since it is the only area in Livingstone that has a number instead of a name – although sometimes it is actually written out "Two Seventeen" – becomes meaningful in the historical context of the infrastructural divide. Such a toponymic inscription, "void of etymological meaning",[1364] neither refers explicitly to a colonial struggle nor a postcolonial nationalist agenda, like the countless Lumumba roads and Nkrumah avenues, but still envelops "the symbolic and socio-politic aspect of their production".[1365] The postal service, apparently of such great importance to Africans that they named a district after the plot number where the service was provided and with which it was associated, is more than simply a way to send and receive mail. There is a symbolic surplus to it that becomes clear and meaningful when looking at the postal service as yet another way to participate in the urban. Receiving post means having a place in town, but also being connected to other places.

Finally, the largest scalar element, the town itself, did not change in name. Unlike many African towns and cities, and in particular towns in Zambia, which were renamed after independence, Livingstonians decided to keep the existing name for their town. The same is also true, furthermore, for the town Livingstonia in Malawi (former Nyasaland). While there is a rumour that Livingstone was renamed Maramba after independence,[1366] this is not the case even in colloquial terms. The figure of David Livingstone is perhaps some kind of historical common denominator upon which colonial and postcolonial political elites and town people could agree. There are of course significant differences in the way the person of David Livingstone is dealt with today, in contrast to colonial understandings. An event like the Livingstone centenary in 1955, during which David Livingstone was praised as the epitome of British culture and civilisation, who paved the way for what settlers believed to be the future of British central Africa, would not be repeated after independence. David Livingstone meant something different, perhaps progress without paternalism, developments without colour bars, or international connection and relations on people's own terms. Whatever the perspectives, they did not just develop from 1964 onwards. "By 1955, David Livingstone and the Victoria Falls were not solely white symbols that could be completely appropriated by Northern Rhodesians: indeed, the more the settlers celebrated them, the more they gave politically astute Africans reason to identify with them too."[1367] Perhaps the changing perceptions and appropriations of the figure of Livingstone is a good metaphor for how the town itself changed. The transformation from a colonial to a postcolonial town after all means also a change of narratives, which at times might be inscribed in the town's very fabric.

[1363] Interview 11: May 24, 2017.
[1364] Bigon 2016, *Place Names in Africa*, p. 7.
[1365] Ibid.: 3.
[1366] i.e. Uluocha, N.O. (2015). Decolonizing Place-Names: Strategic Imperative for Preserving Indigenous Cartography in Post-Colonial Africa. *African Journal of History and Culture, 7*(9), 180-192.
[1367] Lewis 2011, Rivers of White, p. 184.

7.4. Images of Postcolonial Town

In this last section I want to summarise the chapter and the main part of this thesis by briefly presenting some of my own impressions of modern-day Livingstone, and also how Livingstonians perceive the city. This will not be a comprehensive analysis of contemporary Livingstone, which would nonetheless be impossible. Rather, it will highlight some perspectives regarding the town, especially regarding how Livingstone is understood in today's Zambia and how people imagine it could be. Central to the aspirations people have is the tourist economy, which, however, also has numerous disadvantages. One of these is that the urban space through tourism is again structured by certain forms of spatial segregation.

The Dual City in a Postcolonial World

Although the spatial colour line that organised and regulated social relations, and to some extent defined colonial towns and cities, came to an end with independence, it has left traces within the colonial memories of its now postcolonial residents and within the urban fabric itself. Structurally it has also survived in a socially more urgent sense, that is, in terms of the spatial divisions in postcolonial urban settings. Although many of the privileges that were difficult to access or even not accessible at all by Africans, such as freedom of movement, or cultural, social, political and economic urban participation in general, have lost their racial basis with independence, the division itself was not always overcome. Racial divisions have often turned into socio-economic devisions. This was for instance articulated by Virgina, born in 1941 in Shabani (today Zvishavane) in Southern Rhodesia and who has lived in Livingstone since 1966, when she said that "town" (the former European part of Livingstone) is not for living, but for business.[1368] In other words, the majority of Africans does not live in town. Town is for the few with enough means to afford to live there, and since the last 20 years more and more for tourists and expatriates. Thus, people either try to sell certain goods in town, such as vegetables, airtime or crafts, or they go there because they need something they cannot obtain in the compounds. This view was also expressed by Jonathan's mother Mrs. Banda.

When I came back to Livingstone in April 2018, the division also became visible in another sense. The women who were selling vegetables in Kapondo Street when I visited Livingstone in 2017 were not there anymore. When I asked why they were not there anymore I was told that they were chased away during a cholera outbreak a few months earlier. However, while food markets in the compounds were re-installed again after the outbreak, the women were not permitted to return. Although they were banned officially for reasons of hygiene, it is more likely that the two supermarkets in close proximity which sell their vegetables at far higher prices, one opposite where the women sold their crops and the other one around the corner, as well as a new town policy of keeping Livingstone clean – that is to say visually more attractive, since a good deal of Livingstone's economy depends on tourism – are more likely to be the real causes of the continued ban.

Moreover, while the town area of Livingstone today is basically free for anyone to go to and the less fortunate are not generally banned from this area, it is still marked by a divide. But it is not only the area itself, hence, the open space, the streets and corners, in which is ingrained the colonial

[1368] Interview 5: May 17, 2017.

legacy of the former segregation. It is also the spatial contingencies, the possibilities to sell and buy goods, to go out and to spend time that are regulated, either by a lack of necessary means – for instance, a fee is charged to enter the small town park Mukuni Park (formerly "Barotse Gardens")[1369] –, by practices of not allowing certain people to enter specific shopping areas or bars and restaurants, or, as the case above illustrates, to hinder certain people from following economic practices that are deemed inappropriate for the desired identity of a certain space. While colonialism itself cannot be directly linked to the exclusionary practices today, since the contexts are quite different, the spatial production of "town" in colonial times as a space exclusive to certain people has nevertheless in some sense outlived colonialism. Touristic spaces are therefore among the most obvious spaces of exclusion, since admission is not granted to everyone.

Aspiration in a Postcolonial Town

The aspirations of Livingstonians towards their town in a social and economic sense today are nevertheless manifold. Most agree that it is a peaceful town and that life is comparatively easy: it is not as congested as Lusaka and it is more clean and healthy than the Copperbelt. Yet, what people feel Livingstone is lacking is mostly job security. High prices for products, apparently higher than in Lusaka as some argue, and increasingly a lack in affordable housing were also mentioned. Most would argue, however, that there is much potential, especially concerning tourism. As Jonathan highlighted, most people work in the hospitality industry, and it therefore represents the backbone for everything else. In an interview I conducted with him in Malota he added another aspiration. Being partly involved in the local music scene, he highlights Livingstone's role as a place of interconnectedness, which bears the potential for people and ideas to mingle together. In terms of music he said that "Livingstone can be the head of Zambian music [...] because here we are living in the tourist capital surrounded with three borders, you see. Livingstone has got connections to Europe. The connection to Europe is here in Livingstone, not in Lusaka, not in the Copperbelt, but it took time for people to realise that."[1370]

The location of Livingstone at the edge of Zambia seems no longer an issue. On the contrary, it bears potential. It would make it an open and cosmopolitan town, as some have highlighted. Thus, Jonathan's aspiration is to make Livingstone big musically. Looking at the future, the old colonial trope of the tourist capital, however, is still present in such aspirations, a viewpoint shared by other musicians from or coming to Livingstone as well. Thabo, a young musician from Harare with a middle-class background, a decidedly US-American way of speaking and an interest in the latest Hipster-fashion as well as healthy organic food, together with his jazz band tries to promote the band and earn some money by playing gigs at some of the newer hotels and lodges.[1371] Such places have usually exchanged the dusty armchairs and the traditional colonial chic for hammocks and pallet-furniture, speaking to the modern ideologies of sustainability and corporate social responsibility. A third musician, Eric, who arrived from Ndola after being unhappy with his job as an

[1369] For a history on the change of name see: McGregor 2003b, The Victoria Falls 1900–1940: Landscape, Tourism and the Geographical Imagination.
[1370] Interview 18: May 7, 2018.
[1371] Series of informal talks with Thabo in May 2018.

accountant, follows a similar path, though his approach as a Rastafarian is more directed towards the tourists with an interest in local culture and arts. Aside from playing gigs with his band, again mainly at hotels, he also offers painting courses.[1372]

The visions of Livingstone as a town in a spatial sense are equally manifold. Together with five friends of Jonathan I conducted a small photography project, asking them to take photos of Livingstone that for them represented the town and its urban features. During the interviews afterwards, the photos were discussed. Again, there is a general agreement about the benefits of Livingstone as a tourist city, or tourist capital as it is indeed often termed, and a relatively peaceful city that offers many interesting things to see and experience. One site that was photographed by all five participants except for one was the Livingstone Museum, as a site of cultural and historical value, of learning and heritage. Mumba from Kitwe also added that the structure of the building itself added to the urbanity of Livingstone. Mary, born in Livingstone but raised in Mongu, Western Province, highlighted that it would be especially important to people who live here. She remembered visiting it for the first time with her high school literature class.

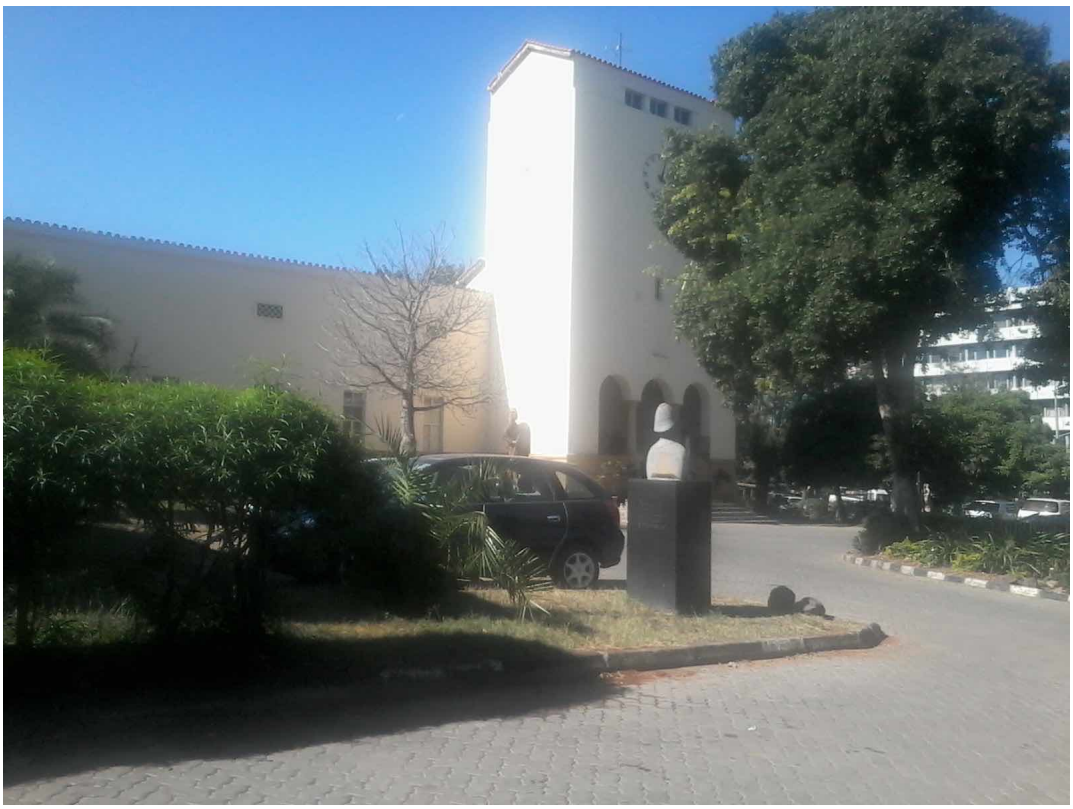


Fig. 52. Livingstone Museum, May 20, 2017, Photo taken by Mary

Second in place after the Museum was the Mosi-oa-Tunya building. Built in the 1990s, it is not only the tallest building in Livingstone, but also the only real tower block and the only public building that includes lifts. For many it therefore resembles the urban space in the most direct sense. Together with the Queenspark building, which is also one of the larger structures in Livingstone, it

[1372] Series of informal talks with Eric in May 2018.

would show progress, as Mary reasons. Mumba said that the first time he used a lift was in the Mosi-oa-Tunya building. He could not think of any comparable building in Kitwe. Apart from the size and the fact that the roof-top provides a great view over the city and the surrounding landscape, as Theresa, born and raised in Livingstone, highlighted, the building also resembles urbanity for most because of what it houses, which are different offices and broadcasting studios. Like the Mosi-oa-Tunya building, typical motifs would also be banks, shops and the High Court Building. About the latter, Theresa said that for her it resembles the importance of justice, which as she explained too few people are aware of. The court of law is indeed an ambivalent symbol to many people. The fact that Theresa was nervous taking a photo of the building (which, as I learned, is something not only tourists would need to be aware of), in a way reflects the general uneasy relation to courts and court-buildings. As Theresa explains, many people would be afraid to go there. Another building that reflected the urbanity of Livingstone for her was the Capitol Theatre, partly because it is an old and historically significant building, but especially because it resembles what urban spaces offer culturally. "It's a place of drama and comedy, it's important, because families and couples can go there. It's of cultural importance."



Fig. 53. Mosi-oa-Tunya building, May 14, 2017, Photo taken by Theresa



Fig. 54. Capitol Theatre, May 14, 2017, Photo taken by Theresa

Similar functions of leisure would be performed by the Fairmount Hotel, which, too, is not only an old building, but also includes the only large nightclub in Livingstone. The nightclub is especially frequented by the more well-off members of society. Finally, Mukuni Park, where the interviews were held, was taken as an image by Mary who said that it represents a place for people to relax and study, and kids to play. She wished there were more parks and that people should not be required to pay to enter them, although she understands the fee, because otherwise nobody would pick up the litter. The Falls and the national park surrounding them could also be used as an example for an important place for relaxation and enjoyment.

Apart from iconic or important buildings and spaces representing typical urban functions, more abstract spatial features as part of the urban spaces were also mentioned. Mary took a photo of the bus terminal, for instance, since it embodies the interconnectedness of Livingstone. People could easily come and go and, furthermore, not all towns were as well connected to other places. She stated in addition that Livingstone is an international hub due to its proximity to the borders and thus a place of exchange. For Geshom, who came to Livingstone only in 2016 for work, this was also reflected by a photo of an intersection. Yet this was not the only issue he had in mind. The intersection also resembles the importance of good infrastructure, which is still partly lacking in Livingstone. Many roads do not have proper drainage systems built in. People need, however, to be able to commute from home to work on proper roads. A proper road system not only connects different parts of a city, it also means business and money. Bad roads would be time- and gas-consuming. In general, Geshom was of the impression that Livingstone still needs proper urban

planning. While it is a peaceful and friendly city, with many surrounding natural areas and the air quality is good, it still left much to be desired compared to Lusaka, which is a much more fast-paced city, both in development and in terms of how people live their everyday lives.



Fig. 55: Intersection in Livingstone, May 12, 2017, Photo taken by Geshom

The other two pictures taken by Geshom in a way combine old and recent aspects of urban discourse. One was a housing estate, representing the need for proper housing, for housing would need to be improved in Livingstone for it to become a proper city. Old infrastructures should be modernised, since development not only means education and social development, but also infrastructural and urban development. There should not be pit latrines in the 21st century. The second point was the importance of urban change in terms of environmental sustainability and technological advancement, epitomised by the photo of a tree, since many people still produce and live off charcoal. This is not only detrimental to the surrounding environment, but also pollutes the air and contributes to climate change.

Indeed, climate change and sustainability are issues more and more addressed in Livingstone by various NGOs, but also the municipality and not least tourist operators, although for the latter this approach is perhaps rather simply a marketing scheme.[1373] It is a new trend that represents the fast exchange of ideas as well as the interconnectedness of Livingstone in an ever more global(ised) world. As a medium-sized city with a population today of roughly 135,000 people, it is one like many in Zambia and on the continent, and like any other of these towns it has a unique character and history that deserves attention. Its colonial past is visibly inscribed into many areas of the urban space, yet Livingstone has nevertheless adopted a postcolonial identity as well. This more recent identity is evidenced not only by the political changes in the immediate aftermath of independence, but also by gradual changes in everyday life, and the transition from a quiet town based on mostly

[1373] McLachlan and Binns 2014, Tourism, Development and Corporate Social Responsibility in Livingstone, Zambia

small-scale industries to a rediscovery of its tourist potential in the 2000s, accelerating its transformation into a lively city. As anyone remotely familiar with the tourist economy knows, not everything that stems from tourism, however, is bliss: "Livingstone and the rest of Zambia must figure out how to sustain growth in tourism while also diversifying related industries",[1374] as Arrington-Sirois writes in her epilogue. Tourism, after all, might also foster forms of neo-colonialism or re-mystify and re-imagine colonial days gone by. It therefore remains to be seen if, when or how the postcolonial town might morph into something else again.

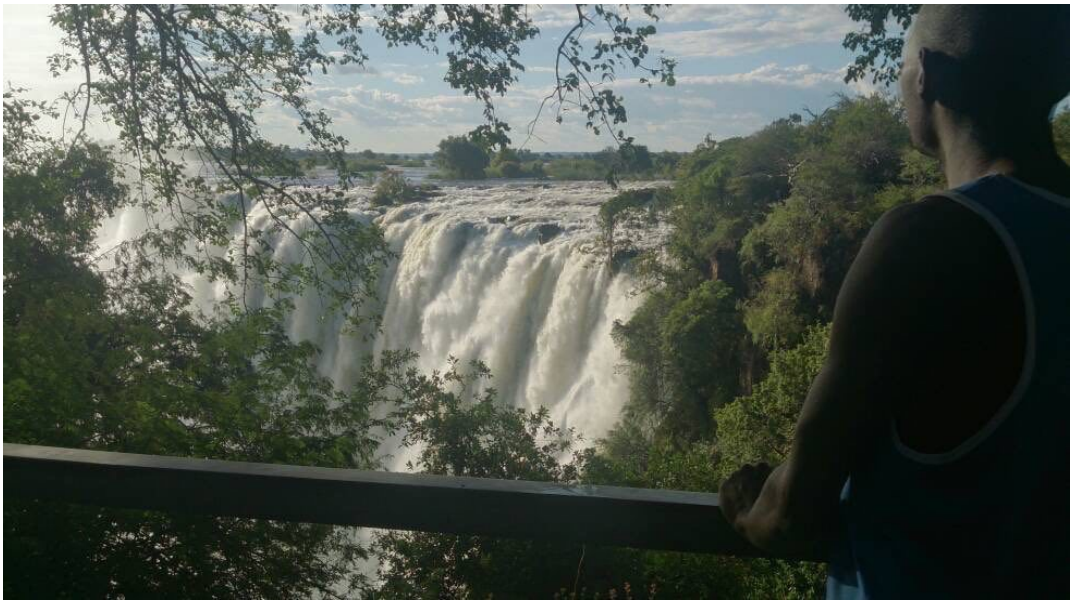


Fig. 56. Mosi-oa-Tunya, May 20, 2017, Photo taken by Kaluba

[1374] Arrington-Sirois 2017, *Victoria Falls and Colonial Imagination*, p. 262.

Conclusion

In the course of its relatively short history, Livingstone has undergone various changes, administratively and politically, economically, socially, culturally and not least spatially. In this thesis I have attempted to understand the historical trajectories and developments of urban Livingstone using a spatial approach, in order to analyse how questions of spatial formation, relations, practices and representations relate to concepts of development and modernisation in a settler-dominated context. My initial questions were threefold. Firstly, I set out to inquire how the social and physical urban spaces of Livingstone have evolved alongside the urban, political and social developments in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia. Secondly, I wanted to analyse the prevailing struggles and issues within urban politics and how these issues have structured spatial discourse and practice among African and European populations. Thirdly, I wanted to investigate the aspirations, imaginations and ideologies present in the building and planning of and in Livingstone and how such visions have (in)formed spatial policies and practice, but also themselves have been transformed over time. These questions should be approached by analysing social and physical spatial formations through configurations, relations, practices and representations. Instead of examining and summarising the individual chapters, I will try to condense the findings of this thesis by presenting them along these spatial constituents, albeit not in a strict order.

Beginning with Livingstone itself, the once settler-town at the Mosi-oa-Tunya Falls can perhaps be understood in many ways, depending on the temporal, as well as the spatial perspective. Economically, as an urban space of largely small-scale and, except for the sawmills and textile production, only light industrial production its once important position as an administrative outpost and hub was largely by-passed by the country's developments, notably on the Copperbelt and Lusaka. This disadvantageous position, which was further increased by Livingstone's non-central geographical location and the marginal role assigned to it by the colonial administration especially after 1935, however, contributed to the fostering of a strong local identity. This, I claim, not only contributed to the oppositional role European Livingstonians took against the colonial government, but it also fostered a sense of social cohesion and closure, which would in turn inform the local authority's resistance against metropolitan interference (Chapter 3). Perhaps inclined to imagine the creation of a European Northern Rhodesia and later Federation, the settlers at Livingstone felt more closely connected to its southern neighbour. In this context, it might not simply be understood as a

settler-town, but also as a gateway of white southern African ideologies and aspirations into Northern Rhodesia. Furthermore, its unfavourable position did not mean that it was politically cut off. On the contrary, white settlers from Livingstone left no opportunity untouched to make their demands visible, on the local as well as on the territorial scale. These circumstances, in turn, contributed not only to the spatial imaginings of "their" town, but also to how this town would be administered in the context of an African urban society, which was present from the moment the town was built in 1905 (Chapter 6). The spatial orderings and configurations imposed and produced were not only particularly repressive, but African residential areas were considered foreign to the overall urban space. This not only implied not belonging to it in a symbolic sense, but settlers at Livingstone were also quick to make the territorial government responsible for any problems concerning African areas, thereby peripheralising or even externalising them, while at the same time claiming it their right to impose rules on spaces they felt little or no responsibility for, which is best illustrated in how unauthorised compounds were dealt with (Chapter 4).

During colonialism, spatial difference and segregation were the underlying structures Africans had to endure and which they would circumvent wherever they could, thereby cutting across the imposed orderings and structure of colonial urban spaces. The acceptance of unauthorised or unofficial compounds, for instance, was not just a matter of colonial pragmatics and convenience, but of Africans' spatial agency in actively producing, forming and making their own places and thereby inscribing themselves socially and physically into the urban fabric. Such agency sometimes, as in the case of Malota, was strong enough to persevere, resisting not only colonial, but also postcolonial urban planning ideologies that tried to get rid of them for the sake of their 'colonialist' and African elites' visions and aspirations towards the urban (Chapter 4). This agency therefore materialised not only through everyday practices, but in the urban morphology itself. Spatial difference was, however, not only a matter of distinction between Africans and Europeans, but also between urban and rural, between male and female, between tribal and modern. Especially African women were subject to modes and means of spatial restrictions and exclusions by both fellow Africans and Europeans alike (Chapter 5). The same can be said about so-called loafer and unemployed rural migrants, whom the "traditional" authorities wanted to be sent back to the fields and under the control of chiefs. Yet, women and the unemployed were highly relevant for the functioning of urban spaces. They contributed not only to often informal, but nevertheless highly important economic sectors, especially in the context of households and service work, and thereby compensated the lack of infrastructures and amenities. They also established and maintained rural-urban connections, thereby counteracting the divide that was being constructed between these spaces.

The media with which segregated urban spaces were created were informal as well as formal. Formally, they were inscribed and mediated by by-laws and legislation in the form of pass-laws, buildings-laws or urban-planning schemes, by educational and medical segregation as well as segregated economies. Informally, they were created by social conventions and practices such as rights of admission to public and private premises and facilities like shops and restaurants. These were relevant in particular towards the end of colonialism, when the legal and formal methods of segregation were revoked (Chapter 5). The segregated urban space was also created by urban planning and management decisions which were not formally prescribed and legally grounded. That is

to say, while the planning and building of African urban areas needed to follow certain standards, which were nevertheless rarely met, there was no law that hindered local authorities to supply these areas with more than what they were supposed to include. These could include paved streets, sewage and waste disposal systems, transportation and lighting, or generally the availability of electricity, but it could also include other practices of place-making such as the provision of official street-names and house numbers that would have contributed in designating African areas as official elements of the urban landscapes.

The production of colonial urban spaces and places furthermore acts across different scales from the town itself to the level of plots and houses, from the division of society at large to personal relations, which are (self)-similar, but not linear. One could argue, metaphorically, that these scales are organised in the way of a fractal structure constituted by modulations of proximity and distance, front and back, centrality and non-centrality, where spatial practices, relations, formations and representations are re-produced at each scalar iteration with slight variation. On the town-scale this is represented by the dual-city proper through segregated and physically distant districts. The façade of the European town and the rear-space of African areas is thereby constituted not only by the physical division, but by how these spaces are produced in maps, plans, reports and by-laws (Chapter 3). At the infrastructural scale it is represented by unequal distribution of services, which create different means of acting on space and practicing it. Not only, therefore, are the compounds distant from the European town, but the urban amenities are kept at distance from African urban dwellers (Chapter 5). At the level of social relations and interactions the production of colonial urban spaces is mediated through unequal relations of power in the political, socio-economic and interpersonal domain of which the window-buying practices are only the most visible ones. In a discursive and representational sense, this self-similarity can be identified in the opposition between spatial conceptions of urban and rural, modern and traditional, or developed and undeveloped which informed in particular urban planning and management, which understood urbanisation and urban integration as a function of development. Nonetheless, ideas and planning-schemes evolving out of developmentalism, such as ownership and self-reliance, should not bring European and African spaces closer together, but rather control access to urban spaces and relieve Europeans from the high costs of modernisation; these costs, however, would only arise due to the creation of difference in the first place (Chapter 4). In short, low salaries do not pay the bills.

Such fractal structure might also be identified spatio-temporally, where the changing paradigms and legislations coming from the scale of metropolitan politics produced reactions by settler-dominated local authorities on the municipal scale to balance out, in settlers' terms, the invasion and inscription of governmental ideologies of participation, development and modernisation into local matters. In the initial stage there was a strong divide created by the colonial regime and settlers alike, which was marked by strict segregation, whereby Africans were not considered permanent town dwellers. It was, however, legally still vague and the distinction between urbanised and stabilised Africans on the one hand and rural Africans on the other was not yet established. The urban and rural divide was therefore practically rather loose, and interaction between town and rural areas was not regulated.

The first iteration occurred between the late 1920s and mid-1940s, when the colonial government took over administration and various planning acts were formulated, which more strongly regulated urban spaces. The growing recognition by colonial institutions and agents to include Africans into the urban space and gradually modernise and urbanise them, however, meant that rural and urban spaces would be marked by stronger divisions. More importantly, the recognition of African urbanisation was counteracted by the increased granting of rights to local settlers to manage and form urban spaces, starting at Livingstone and Ndola, which counterbalanced the colonial paradigm.

The second iteration between the mid-1940s and the late 1950s was a phase where these paradigms were gradually put into practice through the creation of Advisory Councils, the granting of political representation and improvements in housing and welfare. The vision to create an urban African middle-class, however, further separated urban and rural space. Moreover, municipal by-laws and regulations were used to further control African presence in urban areas, and the access to urban areas was further restricted, at least theoretically. Also, more and more towns were granted municipal status and the creation of the Federation further cemented settler power.

As a last iteration might be identified the very last years of colonialism, when Africans gained seats in municipal councils, though not in Livingstone, and were given more say, through Area boards, over African residential areas at least. This was met by strong opposition from settlers in particular in Livingstone and disputes over the social field. Discourses of liberalism – a person's right to grant admission to whomever he or she pleases – and economics – the dissolution of racial boundaries would be bad for (tourist) business – were used to counteract the governmental legislation, however with decreasing success. This iterative process is therefore not only one of changing politics and discourse, but also reflects changing spaces as well as spatial practices and representations, constituted by the scale invariant self-similarity of creating (exclusive) spatial difference. Questions of principal forms of domination would in a way act as a matter of distinction between different parts of the European society, illustrating some of the ambivalences and contradictions of colonialism.

The years of the Federation were particularly rich in contradictions and characterised by a simultaneity of different political, social and cultural directions. This means that there was a possibility of some spaces to open and others to close, of some to increase and some to decrease in permeability, each of them representing the fantasy of one group and simultaneously the fear of another. Such times of uncertainty in a way therefore present a substrate for all sorts of aspirations. For settlers at Livingstone this meant the possibility of regaining greatness and importance, which translated into visions and aspirations regarding what the very structure and morphology of the town could evolve into, and how this in turn would reshape and rescale the position of Livingstone in southern Africa; a fantasy, however, that should not enter reality (Chapter 6). Yet it was nevertheless a fantasy that would leave its traces even beyond the end of empire and colonialism as physical form and memory.

Postcolonial (re)constructions and productions of the urban space, however, affected not only the town's morphology, but even more so the very way urban everyday life could be organised. Apparent and visible policies and initiatives like the reconceptualisation of beer-halls to bars, changes

in toponymy, or building programmes, which should not only provide urban Africans with proper housing but also present them as successful alternatives to inhumane and insufficient colonial planning, could not, however, compensate entirely for previous planning failures. Again, insufficient funds mixed with new urban ideologies that understood the material outcomes of such planning failures, especially areas now deemed slums or shanty towns, as colonialism's spatial remainders and reminders which had no place in postcolonial urbanism. Despite upgrading programmes, which did not always materialise, the treatment of such areas was based for a long time on neglect and discrimination. Similarly, the spatial aspirations and ideologies of harmonising rural-urban relationships rather produced paper than actually closed the gap between them (Chapter 7).

Every human history of society and culture is a history of continuous change and process. Stasis and stability are only a means by which humans (re)construct history and the social world in general through fixating and locating moments and occurrences in space and time. These moments ontologically do not exist, for every moment is a function of duration, and even an object such as a photo is the product of duration of light triggering a chemical reaction. Experientially, space and time are in a way the framework or coordinates with which we can assess and locate these moments and occurrences and with which we can combine them into larger complexes of events, which might be identifiable in some chronological order, but which can never be teleological. Therefore, we logically synthesise different bundles of processes into a world of things and structures. However, as Abbott reminds us on many occasions, these processes of which the social world is comprised can never be observable in their totality; for this reason, a researcher can only detect and abstract single processes, which are always contingent, non-predictable and only provisionally reconstructable.[1375] The structural forces, sometimes mistaken for stability, or historical forces seen through this processual lens are not working *from* the past, but *in* the present through each moment or occurrence we identify or experience. These "forces" work through the process of encoding in bodies, memories or records, "by which the past gets preserved, moment by moment, into the present, the only place where it can influence or shape events."[1376]

Accordingly, Livingstone's past is preserved in today's urban and social fabric in many ways, not only through its very name. It is preserved in the memories and aspirations of Livingstonians of their town as the tourist capital of Zambia, as a peaceful and relaxed, yet internationally connected town. Perhaps beyond colonialism and postcolonialism such discourses might be identified as the historically shaped yet not historically determined constituents of Livingstone's *Eigenlogik*. For these discourses and indeed aspirations might be colonial in origin, yet they have lost their colonial meaning over the course of time and have gained a different meaning. Former colonial spaces have therefore been physically and socially appropriated after independence. The embodied memories and discourses are thereby not only (hi)stories of Europeans' domination, but of Africans actually building and forming these spaces and places, from the Falls bridge and Edwardian buildings along Mosi-oa-Tunya road to the streets of Malota.

[1375] Most notably in Abbott 2016, *Processual Sociology*; and Abbott 2001b, *Time Matters*
[1376] Abbott 2016, *Processual Sociology*, p. 75.

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Interviews

Life-History Interviews

Interview 01: Mrs. Banda, Malota April 27, 2017

Interview 02: Mr. Gilbert, Malota, May 3, 2017

Interview 03: Mr. Tembo, Dambwa, May 14, 2017

Interview 04: Mrs. Christina Zulu, Dambwa, May 14, 2017

Interview 05: Mrs. Mwindi, Libuyu, May 17, 2017

Interview 06: Mrs. Virginia, Malota, May 17, 2017

Interview 07: Mr. Mpiri, Malota, May 23, 2017

Interview 08: Mrs. Mpiri, Malota, May 23, 2017

Interview 09: Mrs. Mahaj, Dambwa, May 24, 2017

Interview 10: Mr. Mahaj, Dambwa, May 24, 2017

Interview 11: Mr. Thomas Movite, Mukuni Park, May 24, 2017

Interview 12: Mr. and Mrs. Mpiri, Malota, April 30, 2018

Interview 13: Mr. Sirus, Highlands, May 1, 2018

Interview 14: Mr. Francis Muteka, Dambwa, May 5, 2018

Interview 15: Mr. David Mkwalela, Maramba, May 5, 2018

Interview 16: Ms. Grace Sakala, Ngwenya, May 6, 2018

Interview 17: Mr. Jonas Mukuka, Malota, May 7, 2018

Interview 18: Mr. Jonathan Kathele, Malota, May 7, 2018

Interview 19: Mr. Muela and Mr. Friday Mayumberu, Maramba, May 9, 2018

Interview 20: Ms. Christine Mdema, Mosi-oa-Tunya Building, May 9, 2018

Interview 21: Mr. Jonas Kakwende, Malota, May 11, 2018

Interview 22: Mrs. Fosta Mwale, Malota, May 11, 2018

Interview 23: Mrs. Kumoyo and Mr. Kerry Aongola, Malota, May 15, 2018

Interview 24: Mr. Moses Kahilu, Maramba May 15, 2018

Interview 25: Ms. Ruth Omona, Libuyu, June 7, 2018

Reflexive Photography Interviews

Photography Interview 01: Theresa, Mukuni Park, May 29, 2018

Photography Interview 02: Geshom, Mukuni Park, May 29, 2018

Photography Interview 03: Kaluba, Mukuni Park, May 29, 2018

Photography Interview 04: Mumba, Mukuni Park, May 30, 2018

Photography Interview 05: Mary, Mukuni Park, May 30, 2018

Appendix

Curriculum Vitae

Personal Details

- Date of Birth: 24.09.1986
- Nationality: Austrian

Academic Career

- March 2017-Feb. 2020: Research fellow (pre-doc) for the project "The Provision, Planning and Building of Employment-tied housing: language, Agency and Governance in Three Housing Projects in Kenya, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, c. 1940s to 1970s" funded by the Austrian Science Fund (Project Number: P 29566-G28)
- Sept. 2013- April 2014: Research Assistant for the publication „Blom, Philipp (2014): Fraction: The Interwar Years 1918-1938". München: Hanser Verlag.

Academic Education

- since 2019: MA program in Physical Geography (University of Vienna, ongoing)
- since 2016: PhD program at the Department of African Studies (University of Vienna, ongoing)
- since 2014: MA program Social Anthropology (University of Vienna, ongoing)
- 2008-2013 : MA in African Studies completed in March 2013 with a thesis on the

"*Repercussions of Ethnicity and Intervention on the Conflicts in Eastern Congo"* (University of Vienna)

School

- 2005-2006: Grammar School, BORG, Krems a.d. Donau
- 1997-2005: Grammar School, Piaristen, Krems a.d. Donau
- 1993-1997: Primary School, Weissenkirchen i.d. Wachau

Abstract (English)

Small and medium-sized African towns have received relatively little attention concerning their spatial and urban developments and historical trajectories, especially during the so-called development era, the phase from late colonialism to early postcolonial times. Using spatial theories and methods and combining archival and field research, this doctoral thesis presents a spatial approach to study the urban developments of the Zambian town Livingstone by looking at the production, practice and imaginings of the urban space in the specific context of settler-colonialism, modernisation, and developmentalism. This will be undertaken by scrutinising three interrelated aspects: 1) the town's morphological and physical developments and the spatial representation through planning and spatial layouts; 2) spatial practices such as means and modes of appropriation, inscription, control, or in- and exclusion; and 3) the representational space, that is, the visions, imaginaries and ideologies that are inscribed in and structured by the urban space. The thesis is intended to enhance our understanding of urban structures, functions, and developments, as well as the role of African agency in settler-colonial towns both socially and spatially in relation to the wider urban landscape and the (colonial) state during the transitional phase from colonialism to postcolonialism. At the level of the actors involved, the inconsistencies and ambivalences of urban spatial discourses and practices are examined with regard to their effects on spatial structures. The study is therefore to be understood as a theoretical and methodological contribution to urban history in Africa, in that it supplements the previous historical and social scientific urban research on Zambia with spatial perspectives that include material and immaterial, human and non-human, social and physical, topological and topographical aspects of the urban space.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Klein- und Mittelstädte in Afrika haben hinsichtlich ihrer stadthistorischen und räumlichen Entwicklungen relativ wenig Aufmerksamkeit erfahren. Dies trifft insbesondere auf die Periode der sogenannten Entwicklungsära zu, also der Phase zwischen Spätkolonialismus und der frühen Postkolonialität. Anhand raumtheoretischer und -methodologischer Ansätze und unter Verwendung von Archiv- und Feldforschung werden in dieser Doktorarbeit daher die urbanen Entwicklungen der sambischen Stadt Livingstone untersucht, indem die räumlichen Produktionsformen und Praxen, sowie Vorstellungen und Aspirationen bezüglich des urbanen Raums im spezifischen Kontext von Siedlerkolonialismus, Modernisierung und Entwicklungsparadigmen in den Blick genommen werden. Drei miteinander verbundene Aspekte stehen dabei im Vordergrund: 1) Morphologische und physische Entwicklungen und Veränderungen, sowie räumliche Repräsentationsformen durch Stadtplanung und räumliche Strukturen; 2) Raumpraxen, wie zum Beispiel Formen von Aneignung, Einschreibung, und Kontrolle, sowie Mechanismen von In- und Exklusion; und 3) Repräsentationsräume, also die Visionen, Imaginationen und Ideologien, die in den urbanen Raum eingeschrieben werden und ihn gleichzeitig strukturieren. Die Arbeit versucht dabei, das Verständnis über Strukturen, Funktionen und Entwicklungen urbaner Räume, sowie die Möglichkeiten afrikanischer Handlungsfähigkeit in von Siedlerkolonialismus geprägten Klein- und Mittelstädten sowohl sozial als auch räumlich in Bezug auf das urbane Gefüge und den (Kolonial-)Staat zu erweitern. Auf der Ebene der involvierten Akteure werden insbesondere die Widersprüchlichkeiten und Ambivalenzen urbaner Raumdiskurse und -praxen auf ihre Auswirkungen auf Raumstrukturen hin untersucht. Die Studie ist daher als theoretischer und methodischer Beitrag zur Erforschung der Stadtgeschichte in Afrika zu verstehen, indem sie die bisherigen historisch-sozialwissenschaftlichen Beiträge der historischen Stadtforschung zu Zambia durch raumanalytische Perspektiven ergänzt, die materielle und immaterielle, menschliche und nicht-menschliche, soziale und physische, topologische und topographische Aspekte des urbanen Raums einschließen.