University of Sussex

A University of Sussex PhD thesis

Available online via Sussex Research Online:

http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/

LIVING THE ARCHIVE:

RACE, MUSIC AND PLACE AT THE AFRICA CENTRE (1960 - 2000)

Etienne Joseph

September 2018

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another university for the award of any other degree. To the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published by another person except where due acknowledgements have been made in the text.

Etienne Joseph ………………………………………….

ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that a 'living archive' is a dynamic and generative entity whose creative abilities are shaped as much through human mediation and embodied memory as by the material it collects and its broader cultural milieu. The overarching research question asks how the notion of a living archive can be developed conceptually and practically for the archives of the musical space at London's Africa Centre – an Africa-focussed community organisation active in the UK for over 50 years. Stuart Hall's notion of the 'pre-history' of an archive is invoked as a means of understanding this particular archive, and its capacity for activation. The thesis finds, through the analysis of semi-structured interviews and archival texts, that pan-Africanism was central to the Centre's history, memory and material archive, but treats the concept as contested and shaped by multiple understandings. It further asserts that the Africa Centre was remembered as a gendered, multicultural, convivial and cosmopolitan space in whose shaping music played a varying role. The memory of the affects of the musical spaces of the Africa Centre are recognised as a vital factor in the understanding of the Centre's archive. The study offers a particular, and at the time of writing, unique insight into the developing postcolonial relationships between Africa, its diaspora and those interested in African cultures. Inspired by the lived experience of key ontological figures in the fashioning of the musical space at the Africa Centre, the research methodologies themselves were guided by Jamaican Dub techniques and ideas of remix and re-performance. The research advances the theories of living archive offered by Stuart Hall and others in new and fruitful directions, specifically, through pan-African, and decolonial elaborations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

long-term nature of this work has seen others taking up my responsibilities in order to allow the project to be completed. Thank you, thank you, thank you to you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Overview

This is the first study of its kind which by its very existence both defines *and* demonstrates the idea of a 'living archive'; developing it beyond the literature's prior abstract theoretical elaboration. By working with archival material and the testimony of living people, the thesis is perpetually cognisant of the active nature of such an archive. The concept of the living archive is extended through the thesis, building upon empirical observations of how curators have sought to put this idea into practice, and by reflections on its utility as a methodological tool to guide this research into the Africa Centre's musical spaces and their potential to 'live'.

Hitherto, scholars have approached the concept of 'living archive' in one of two ways: either in a manner that is largely theoretical and detached from empirical observations of curatorial or artistic practice or, at the other end of the spectrum, through written case studies on specific projects labelling themselves as 'living archives' but with little theoretical justification of the term.

The thesis is also innovative in relation to prior literature on 'black history' and musical spaces in its foregrounding of the initiatives of continental Africans in the UK during the latter twentieth century. It is further unique in its exposition of the complexities arising from the history of a Centre established and controlled initially by white liberals in the context of decolonisation, but effectively appropriated and made to 'live' by Africans in London. Those Africans who animated the Centre were inspired by pan-Africanist ideals and forced to fashion their own working definitions of this particular 'ism' in real-time as a result of their proximity to one another within a singular space designated as a 'centre' for all things African.

The research is important as the first academic study of what was arguably London's most prominent African musical institution – the Limpopo Club. It is the only existing study exploring the memories of how this club in the heart of London came to achieve popularity as a convivial, cosmopolitan space, through music. Music, I argue, has a specific community-building capacity through the affective atmospheres it can produce.

My analysis of this musical space innovates in conceptual terms through its exploration of key actors' 'pre-histories' of inspiration, through their specific positionality in relation to transnational music scenes, and by elaborating how their exposure to something akin to Jaji's 'stereomodernism' (Jaji, 2014) shaped the ways they mediated musical experiences at the Centre.

Background of the Author

A constant thread throughout this thesis is the reflection on how the 'living archive' presents opportunities for an expanded concept of archive. Through a collection of essays under the title 'Beyond the Archives: Research as Lived Process', Kirsch and Rohan also argue for a concept of archive that extends beyond mere material to be retrieved. They emphasise the importance of the intersection between 'virtual, historical and lived experiences' and the knowledge(s) produced at this intersection (Kirsch and Rohan, 2008, p. 1). The researcher and their lived experience unavoidably impinge upon the knowledge produced as a result of the encounter with the archival site. It becomes important then, before presenting any arguments and assertions surrounding the findings of 'archival research' to establish myself and my lived experience as key factors in the research process.

This study has grown organically out of my engagement with the Africa Centre archives as an archivist in 2013. During the process of listing these large holdings of material archives (over 150 boxes of material in varying formats including papers, photographs, audio cassettes and DVDs) I was approached by the Africa Centre with the idea of developing doctoral research around an aspect of the collection. I proceeded to devise a research proposal engaging with the two subjects on which I have amassed the deepest understanding over the course of my professional life – archives and music.

My involvement in the music industry as a consumer stretches back to the late 1980s when I was an avid listener of the records and mix-tapes emerging from the underground warehouse party scene in London. Since the mid 1990s, I have performed at musical events as a DJ, and more recently, as a musician trained in the traditional rhythms and musics of the Caribbean and Africa; with a focus on the musics of

Jamaica, Haiti and to a lesser extent, Cuba and Ghana. It is in this training that my interest in the idea of a 'living', or embodied archive was born. Learning rhythms and cultural tenets sometimes hundreds of years old through active, embodied, communal activity clarified for me the importance of *living* history rather than simply studying it intellectually. It also reminded me of the obvious subjectivity of cultural transmission and the multiple 'versions' of a record, narrative or interpretation this subjectivity guarantees. Working towards my master's degree in Archives and Records Management in 2012, I was struck by how functionally similar the embodied religious and secular practices of Africa and its diaspora were to the material archival institutions I was investigating as part of my course syllabus. Both acted as repositories of memory whose narratives and enactments played an important role in the forming and supporting of collective memory and community identification (Flinn, 2011). The most striking difference lay in the technologies with which this was achieved. The vast majority of the archival institutions introduced to me at that time relied on the management of inert physical materials in order to preserve and share histories. The so-called 'folk' institutions which I had been introduced to relied upon the person to person, embodied sustenance and transmission of heritage through orality, song, movement and music. It is through my interest in the place where these methods of heritage working meet, i.e. at the intersection between active performative techniques and those strategies born of ostensibly European traditions of documentary information management, that I became interested in the idea of the 'living archive'. Whilst evidence of scholarly consideration of this idea existed (Araeen, 2001; Bailey and Boyce, 2001; Featherstone, 2000; Hall, 2001) there seemed to be little attempt to codify the components of living archives and their practical relationship to heritage working

The connection of the idea of the 'living archive' with the Africa Centre is a simple one. Approaching this research, it became clear quite early on that active engagement, often performative or with an oral component was an important defining factor of a 'living' archive'. There are clear correspondences between this way of heritage working and the ways African and African diaspora cultures have historically preserved and shared heritage (Vansina, 1985). Localising this idea for the purposes of this research, the most vivid memories of the Africa Centre coalesce, in the main, around experiences of performance within the space. This understanding remains with the organisation in the

present day, evidenced by its programming focus on the arts and communal performance. This thesis is written in a time of intense discussion of the 'decolonial' dismantling of our academies and institutions. What better moment then, to consider alternative options for the constitution of an archive than with the archives of a Centre conceived of as a home for African cultural expressions?

Background to the Africa Centre

Conceived of in the late 1950s and formally established in 1961 with a remit to promote African cultural expression in the UK, the Africa Centre was the first organisation of its kind in Britain. Prior to its establishment, the four hostels set up in London by the West African Students' Union during the early part of the 20th century had provided solace from the racist colour bar of the time, and spaces for Africans in the UK to socialise and organise ("History of WASU - The WASU Project," n.d.), Whilst social and cultural concerns were addressed, engagement in the political struggles aimed at the dismantling of colonial rule on the African continent was central to WASU's activities. In contrast, the Africa Centre was couched as an ostensibly apolitical project with a focus on education, social interaction and cultural activity. Whether it was indeed possible for a Centre for Africa to be apolitical given the numerous liberation struggles and neo-colonial manoeuvrings occurring on the African continent at the time is however highly questionable. Although the balance of the Centre's activities has changed over the years (and the notion of an apolitical organisation has been practically dissolved), its modern day objectives are much the same as they were half a decade ago. These are:

- To serve as a custodian for African Art and Culture in the United Kingdom
- To be a voice for Africans in the diaspora
- To serve as a platform to explore African socio-economic and developmental issues (The Africa Centre, 2014)

Of the three, arts and culture have been a particularly successful field of endeavour with music being something the organisation is known for at an international level. This sonic reputation is due in no small part to the Centre's collaboration with the Limpopo Club – a regular event held at the Centre showcasing live and recorded African popular

musics[1]. Founded by Zimbabwean musician and DJ Wala Danga in 1975, but coming to prominence in the early 1980s, the Limpopo Club was one of London's first club events choosing to specialise in this musical area; and doing so with a deliberately 'pan-African' programming strategy (Bradley, 2013, p.161). The Africa Centre and the Limpopo Club provided an early stage to now world renown African artists such as Baaba Maal, Thomas Mapfumo, Angelique Kidjo, Youssou N'Dour, Kanda Bongo Man, the Bhundu Boys and many, many others.

In 2013, after over fifty years at its former home in 38, King Street, Covent Garden, London, the Africa Centre opened its doors for the final time in Central London before selling the lease on the building and eventually relocating to a new permanent home in Great Suffolk Street, Southwark. This move was a controversial one, amplifying the focus on the Centre's rich heritage and legacy as a touchstone for African heritage and culture in the UK (Save The Africa Centre Campaign, n.d.). It was this renewed awareness of the history of the Africa Centre which led to the securing of the Africa Centre archives, and to their recognition as an asset. Ultimately, this is also the reason that funds were made available for this present research to be undertaken.

The history of the Africa Centre must be read against a backdrop of decolonisation. African migrants have been travelling to and settling in the British 'mother country' at least since the advent of the transatlantic slave trade and arguably long before (Birley, 1999). Nevertheless, political independence from their colonial masters from 1957 onwards saw continental Africans and those who had settled in the Caribbean arrive at Britain's shores in larger numbers (Goulbourne, 1998, p. 29). Whilst this study is not about decolonisation in a direct sense, there are a number of ways in which the unfolding of the decolonial process impacts upon it. Firstly, the archives of the Africa Centre would probably never have existed were it not for the political processes of decolonisation in Africa and the resultant accretions of African migrants in Britain generally, and London specifically. Secondly, Africans have been producing European language artistic and scholarly works discussing decolonial processes for as long as the Africa Centre has been in existence (Achebe, 2006; Armah, 1979; Chinweizu, 1987; Fanon et al., 2001; Fanon and Chevalier, 2007; James, 1969; Thiong'o, 2005;

---

[1] 'Music' is pluralised to problematise the reductive idea of 'African music' as a singular entity.

Rodney, 2012). Many of these people appear in the Africa Centre archives as keynote speakers at events or, in the case of Ngugi Wa Thiong'o as quasi-resident intellectuals at the Centre exerting both a formal and informal influence on programming. Thirdly, my decision to place the concept of the 'living archive' as central to this research carries its own decolonial resonances. The fact that the first (and only to my knowledge) 'Living Archive Conference' occurred in relation to the African and Asian Artists' Archive (AAVAA) and concentrated on starting 'fresh thinking about the meaning and purpose of an Archive of African and Asian artists' (Bailey and Boyce, 2001, p. 87) carries a particular feeling of decoloniality about it. Just as Wa Thiong'o was grappling with the politics of language in African literature in the 1980s, here was an emerging strand of archival thought grappling with the politics of archiving African and Asian material cultures and embedding a sense of contemporary activity in this unfolding reasoning. AAVAA is an archive of the work of people of African and Asian heritage in the UK. The Africa Centre archives evidence the work and contributions of people of African heritage in the UK and beyond, and those interested in Africa. This thesis is predicated on the idea that a consciousness of this pan-African heritage and sustained commitment to decoloniality should infuse the process of working with this archive, and ultimately, other African-Caribbean archives

It is surprising that more academic research interest has not been devoted to the historic continental African presence in the British Isles. It remains unclear why so few texts (Adi, 1998; Killingray, 1994; Olusoga, 2018; Matera, 2015) take on the task of demystifying the achievements and activities of continental Africans in Britain during the years 1900-1960, and why little work of note has surfaced with the purpose of shedding some light on the subject from 1960 onwards[2]. Over the course of the writing of this thesis, that situation has begun to change due in no small part to the efforts of Professor Hakim Adi, Dr Kehinde Andrews and others in supporting more people of African heritage to research the history of the African diaspora in the UK at both undergraduate and postgraduate level (Birmingham City University, 2017; University of Chichester, 2017). A relative paucity of scholarly attention has not, however, deterred those toiling in the consumer realm. Some of this work has centred around music and the involvement of African musicians in the British music scene (Bradley, 2013; Honest

---

[2] Post 2000 we see a more substantial research effort in this area, linked to the increase in African migration to the UK (Koser, 2003)

Jon's, 2014). In a time of heightened nationalist and right-wing rhetoric, I am conscious that in choosing to advance my work in this area, this study contributes to the creation of a more nuanced picture of the presence and contributions of people of African heritage to the UK. Further, its focus on Wala Danga and the Limpopo Club also demonstrate the importance of transnational relationships in the enrichment of the UK's cultural fabric.

Statement of the Problem and Thesis

The problem this thesis confronts is whether or not a 'living' archival methodology is useful in the context of working with the archives of the Africa Centre pertaining to its former musical spaces. Further, the thesis also faces the issue of identifying the scope and 'pre-history' of these archives - both as a means of better understanding the activation this thesis represents, and also creating the foundation for future activations of the archive (Hall, 2001, p. 89).

The thesis argues that working with the archives of the Africa Centre in living ways opens up rich seams of understanding of the history in question. It begins this living approach with an explicitly subjective and dynamic methodology sensitive to the consideration of human as well as documentary memory as part of the processes of archival research, archival 'activation' and archival constitution. In approaching the archive in this expanded sense, the thesis shows how living methods enable the reaching beyond available documentation, forming a richer 'pre-history' of the documents and their creators and enabling these aggregations of past memory to impact on present and future actions. The consideration of living testimony alongside documentary evidence inevitably brings the past and present into the same temporal realm. In this regard, this thesis argues that a refusal to consign archival materials to a reified past is a natural, yet often undeclared aspect of archival working. Indeed, the very act of writing this thesis is an active, and undeniably present 'living' of the archive. In proposing further future activations of material, the thesis also asserts the continuing and open-ended nature of a living archive as an indispensible understanding in the constitution of the archive of an active and dynamic African cultural organisation.

The lack of existing scholarship concerning the Africa Centre's archives exists not necessarily because earlier writers have failed to pay them sufficient attention, but rather because up until very recently, the archives of the Africa Centre have not been widely accessible. This was due to the public decline of the organisation towards the end of its tenure at 38 King Street and the financial instability characterising this period. Owing to this, the problems stated above may be thought of as novel problems in the sense that no studies, empirical or theoretical have attempted to approach the Africa Centre through the lens of the living archive. There are however theorists and practitioners who have explored the problem of the 'living archive' and 'living history' in the context of other archival collections and research initiatives and it is this work which has helped in grounding the definition of the objectives and research questions for this thesis.

Theoretical Frameworks

The Living Archive

From an archival perspective, the living archive as theorised by Stuart Hall (Hall, 2001), provides the overarching theoretical framework for this study. Hall's archive is a creative entity in an unending state of becoming. A collection 'in an active, dialogic relation to the questions which the present puts to the past' (ibid 2001, p. 92), whose purpose is to stimulate new work.   Hall's framework is extended here in innovative ways by drawing upon recent thinking on African diasporic heritage and 'black' history and applying a dynamic, generative, 'pan-African' methodology to the practical activation of archival material. In particular, the thesis engages with Hall's ideas around the 'pre-history' of an archive, its formal constitution as a distinct body which is 'more ordered and considered' and the implications of thinking about an archive in active, 'continuing' and 'open-ended' ways (ibid, p. 89). The idea of the 'ritual archive' as proposed by Professor Toyin Falola also provides fertile theoretical soil. This study pays special attention to his advocacy for applying 'the techniques and resources of academic archives' to the traditions and religious rituals of his people, whilst simultaneously challenging the 'conventions of western archives' (Falola and Library of Congress, 2016). The third set of ideas this thesis engages in relation to archives and memory are Manning Marable's thoughts on the living of 'black' history (for a working

definition of 'black' as it is used in this study please see the 'Delimitations and Definitions' section later in this chapter). Not concerning archives per se, Marable's work is invoked because it not only advocates the idea of embodied and collective histories, but does so with reference to an African diasporan experience in what is recognised as a predominantly white country (the United States). For similar reasons, David Scott's 'On the Archaeologies of Black Memory' and its theoretical nod to Foucault with respect to the abstract and generative aspects of the archive (Scott, 2008, p. 3) also provide useful theoretical structures for the consideration of the data discussed in this thesis; particularly with respect to the findings discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Pan-Africanism, Afrocentricity and Cultural Nationalism

From the very inception of the Africa Centre, the term 'Pan-African' was used as an accompanying adjective. Equally, both Wala Danga and African musical pundits alike have labelled the programming and ethos of the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre as Pan-African. Pan-Africanism then takes a central position in the 'pre-history' of both the Africa Centre, and the Limpopo Club. George Shepperson saw two types of Pan-Africanism which he distinguished by way of capitalisation. For him, big 'P' Pan-Africanism related to the five Pan-African congresses (he was writing in 1962) whilst small 'p' pan-Africanism related to groups of ephemeral movements in which 'the cultural element often predominates' (Shepperson, 1962, p. 346). Due to this fixation on culture, small 'p' pan-Africanism often overlaps with theories of afrocentricity and cultural nationalism. Chapter 5 explores this overlap, which is a central theme in the 'pre-history' of both the Africa Centre and the Limpopo Club. The thesis is unique in its elaboration of a contested, unstable definition of (P)pan-Africanism in relation to the Africa Centre as a living archive.

Stereomodernism and Sonic Bodies

The Limpopo Club did not emerge out of thin air at the Africa Centre. Whilst this thesis evidences the organisational approach to musical programming before the establishment of the Limpopo Club, the research also finds that the configuring of the Club was much more a result of the efforts of Wala Danga and the Limpopo team than of the programming team at the Africa Centre themselves. The thesis proceeds within

the overarching framework of the 'living archive', arguing that to better understand the musical archive of the Africa Centre, it becomes necessary to excavate (to invoke Scott) not at the site of the Africa Centre itself, but at the origin of the ideas and vision for the Limpopo Club - Wala Danga. Danga spent the formative years of his life in Zimbabwe, training as a drummer and percussionist and moving to the UK in the 1960s. This research reveals that the transnational nature of his musical tastes found their genesis in his exposure to African/Diasporan musics from the Americas. Jaji's 'Stereomodernism' is helpful here in its exploration of the circulation of cultural texts around Africa and its diaspora (Jaji, 2014, p. 2). This understanding however does not go far enough in theorising the embodied heritage preserved in Danga's practice and transmitted to audiences and colleagues at the Africa Centre. For this purpose, the thesis draws heavily on the excellent theorisation of the performance techniques and ways of knowing common to reggae sound-systems offered by Julian Henriques (Henriques, 2011). Diana Taylor's juxtaposition of the archive and the repertoire is also identified as essential supporting material (Taylor, 2003). For her, the mnemonic function of the archive is present also, in a different form, in the embodied memory of performance. Importantly, Taylor reminds us of the mistake of considering embodied performance in ephemeral terms, preferring to think of it instead in terms of an 'inventory also [allowing] for individual agency' (Taylor, 2003, p. 94). In locating and expanding upon these ideas in a UK context and considering the relationships between African diaspora cultural production in the UK, the African continent and the Americas, this thesis furthers Jaji's notion of Stereomodernism which itself extends Gilroy's ideas of the Black Atlantic through a focus on the African continent (Jaji, 2014, p.8).

Affects and Archives

Although Henriques has not framed it such, affects, i.e. the transpersonal or pre-personal intensities emerging as bodies affect one another (Anderson, 2009, p. 78; Edensor, 2013; DeNora, 2000) are integral to his theoretical exposition of sound-system culture. This study draws on the work of Spinoza, Born and Denora in this area in order to better understand the affective archaeologies of memories of the Africa Centre and the Limpopo Club. The archival focus of the thesis as a whole also makes relevant the leveraging of recent scholarship exploring affect in archival contexts (Cifor, 2016; Cram, 2016). These ideas of archival affect are considered both in the framing of the overall thesis and in thinking through the photo-elicitation and dub techniques

introduced in Chapter 3. Although there have been recent (and most welcome) additions to the archival literature that begin to unpick the obvious, but previously unspoken, relationship of affect to archival materials, this thesis is novel in its engagement with affect in the context of a 'black', African-focussed archive in the UK with music as a central theme.

Race, Class, Gender and Conviviality

A study so obviously inscribed by issues of race, class and gender in a postcolonial metropolis must engage with these constructs more deeply in order to better understand and theorise the affective and political dynamics discussed herein. A clearer understanding of relations between Africans hailing from different geographical locations (including those forcibly emigrated during the transatlantic slave trade) and Africans/non-Africans within the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club environment must be sought. Multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, provide obvious conceptual frameworks for this study. Barnor Hesse's notion of residual multicultural transruptions are invoked as a means of framing the historic intercultural antagonisms at the Africa Centre revealed as part of this research (Hesse, 2000).

This thesis considers cosmopolitanism and the Africa Centre, employing Appiah's theorisation of rooted cosmopolitanism in conjunction with Nava's articulation of 'visceral cosmopolitanism' (Appiah, 2006, 1997; Nava, 2007). Appiah's ideas resonate well with a space presented as celebrating difference under the unifying umbrella of 'Africa' whilst Nava's exploration of the affective and gendered aspects of such interactions facilitate the exposition of the function of interracial relationships in the brokering of intercultural relations at the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club. The fact that this thesis considers such dynamics in such an informal space as a performance space/nightclub, makes the concept of conviviality especially relevant. Gilroy, Back and Sihna's ideas on this concept are considered in an attempt to articulate the fractures, fissures and opportunities for social cohesion this musical space represented (Back and Sinha, 2016; Gilroy, 2006).

Aside from these broad frameworks, the thesis also engages a number of other theoretical constructs in more minor ways in order to satisfactorily analyse the findings of the research.

Research Questions, Assumptions and Delimitations

The research question at the core of this thesis asks how the notion of a living archive can be developed conceptually and practically for the archives of the musical space at London's Africa Centre. This involves the consideration of the following sub questions:

1. What are the core theoretical and practical elements of archival working based on 'living' principles?
2. What are the 'pre-histories' of the Africa Centre archive and how might these histories impact upon 'living' the Africa Centre archives?
3. To what extent and in what ways might a 'living' approach to heritage working apply to the Africa Centre going forwards, given the context of its historical and contemporary activities and its self-proclaimed Pan-African focus.

The statement of these questions is intended to assist readers in the direct identification of the issues with which this thesis is concerned.

Statement of Assumptions

An explicit statement of the assumptions I have made in designing and carrying out this research will aid in the evaluation of its findings and conclusions. These assumptions are, following Leedy and Ormrod, the bedrock upon which my study rests (Leedy and Ormrod, 2010, p. 5). Therefore, the topic, objectives and research questions stated above are based upon the following assumptions:

- That a theory and practice of 'living' archival working is discernable and different enough from traditional means of working with archives as to justify their own specific study.

- That the 'living' archival theory and practice this study engages with can be successfully applied to archival research using the Africa Centre's archives.

- That the living beings interviewed during the course of this research are able to offer broadly reliable (if highly subjective) recollections of their time spent in the musical spaces at the Africa Centre.

- That the theory and research data which is the substance of this study will provide a suitable conceptual base for future archival interventions using the Africa Centre, and other archives.

- That African and African diaspora heritage working requires, or is innately amenable to a 'living' approach. This idea is briefly explored in the literature review, but due to the lack of primary research on this point within this thesis, it is included here as an assumption[3].

- That the case of the Limpopo Club/Africa Centre offers the potential for innovative conceptual and practical development of the notion of 'living archives'.

Delimitations and Definitions

Leedy and Ormrod define delimitations of a research study as 'what the researcher is not going to do' (Leedy and Ormrod, 2010, p. 57). I have thus far outlined what this research intends to do with a statement of problem, statements of objectives and aims, and by stating the research questions which are guiding this research. Here, I will explicitly state what I do not intend this research to achieve.

Firstly, this thesis does not position itself either as an exhaustive study of projects that have invoked the term 'living archive', or as an attempt to engage with every known

---

[3] It should be noted here that I completed a dissertation on this topic for my master's degree in Archives and Records Management. The results of that study found that there were numerous advantages of working with African/Diasporan heritage materials in this way.

heritage project which could be deemed to employ 'living' methods of engaging with archives. Instead, it is modest in its aim of identifying through the study of a small number of such projects identifiable commonalities which, read in tandem with existing texts, can provide the basis upon which to develop the nascent formulation of a theory of living archives.

Secondly, this thesis limits its scope to the musical spaces at the Africa Centre between 1960 and 2000. Some data included in the study does fall beyond these temporal boundaries, but not in sufficient quantities to justify an extension of this date range in either direction. My unrestricted access to the Africa Centre archives over the course of the study means that there is some archival material included in this thesis which does not <u>directly</u> relate to the musical spaces at the Africa Centre but has instead been included to provide points of contextual reference. For the most part however, material archives and the recollections of living people featured in this thesis are directly and explicitly related to the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. In the case of the potential archive represented by the physical space at 38 King Street, the inaccessibility of the building due to major refurbishment works (see http://www.walsh.co.uk/our-work/38-king-street/ for images) necessitated a further outer boundary to the extent of the research.

Thirdly, this research does not seek to understand or theorise every aspect of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. Instead, the thesis highlights only the themes which were repeated, or those which were noticeably absent from the sources consulted, in ways deemed appropriate by the researcher. In this sense, the study is a consciously subjective one. Given the 'postmodern turn' (Cook, 2001; Hardiman, 2009) in the information management disciplines since the late 1990s, it is my hope that this subjectivity, a persistent reality of any academic research, will be viewed as a strength rather than a weakness by the reader.

Fourthly, this study deliberately chooses not to engage in any sustained way with the 'Soul II Soul' musical space at the Africa Centre. Soul II Soul are a UK-based sound system and musical performance group who used to run regular Saturday night club sessions at the Africa Centre. Their presence at the Africa Centre, the makeup of their

audience, their music selection, aesthetics and ethos make them a hugely important aspect of music at the Africa Centre (and in the UK more generally) and many studies deserve to be written on their time at the Centre and their impact on the music industry of the time. Partly due to issues in accessing the Soul II Soul team, and mostly due to the richness of the material making up this thesis pertaining to the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre, it was felt that it would be too ambitious to extend the research to include Soul II Soul at the Africa Centre. Early anecdotal conversations with former centre-goers strongly suggested that to all intents and purposes, the Limpopo and Soul II Soul club spaces were entirely separate with very little cross-over in their organisers or their audiences. In order to allow space for sufficient analysis and understanding of the Limpopo Club space, its pre-history, and the empirical study of the notion of living archive, engagement with the Soul II Soul space was sacrificed. By the same token, other musical spaces at the Africa Centre, such as the Hip Hop events hosted their connected to the burgeoning break-dancing scene in Covent Garden during the 1980s are beyond the scope of this thesis.

Lastly, the decision was taken early on in this research that the actual deployment of living archival interventions connected to the material comprising this thesis would not form a part of the data collection of the thesis itself. This particular boundary was defined due to the resource intensive nature of such practices, and because of the (then) liminal status of the Africa Centre as an organisation without the premises or resources to undertake such an endeavour. Happily, at time of writing, the Africa Centre is now stable in its new home and is in a position to consider the ideas for archival activation this thesis stimulates.

There are multiple meanings for some of the key terms invoked in this thesis. It is therefore helpful at this stage to define these important terms as I intend them to be understood in this text.

African:

I am inclined personally to regard an African, in similar terms to the Greek historian Herodotus' description of Ethiopians - as having dark skin and woolly hair (Herodotus

et al., 2003, p. 103). I do however see potential problems with this, particularly in the eyes of those of Arabic, Asian or European heritage who call the African continent home. In this thesis I use the term 'African' to denote what is often referred to as 'sub-Saharan African' heritage and tend to use racial/national distinctions for people of European heritage living in Africa, for example white South Africans. This system dissolves rapidly when discussing North Africans, and for this reason, this thesis tends to refer to people from the North of Africa as 'North African', or by their national heritage e.g. Algerian. Implicit within this though is the assumption of visible and tangible Arabic influence in culture and appearance. This assumption may not always be accurate. It must also be acknowledged here that the key actors interviewed during the course of this research accepted North Africa within their pan-African vision in a way that ostensibly circumvented the distinctions alluded to here.

African/Diasporan:

Of African heritage (as defined above) but born or living outside the African continent

Archive:

The word is archive is used in two different ways in this thesis, sometimes denoting an aggregation of historical records either on paper, film or in digital formats, and sometimes in its more expansive usage defined by Foucault as 'the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events….the system of its enunciability' (Foucault, 2002, p. 128-129). I have, as far as possible, clarified within the text which usage is intended at any given point within the discussion.

Black:

Just as the term 'white' does not accurately convey either the physical or psychological dimensions of people of European descent, it is my feeling that the term 'black' is a poor noun/adjective for people of African heritage. Nevertheless, I must also accept that 'black' has achieved wide usage within and beyond African heritage communities and as such facilitates easy, if somewhat lazy, communication. It is used in this thesis to mean people of African heritage either from the African continent, or in the diaspora; including people of mixed heritage.

Living Archive:

The 'living archive' is a term in a constant state of definition throughout this work and as such it is impossible to offer a definitive statement on its meaning at this juncture. Having said this, it is useful to introduce two key concepts, which I hope will assist the reader in understanding my meaning when the term is invoked throughout the text. First is the idea of living as an active state of movement and generation. I do not believe any collection of material can be dead. With the existence of intelligent life on earth comes the possibility of its activation and use. I do however operate under the understanding that a collection of material waiting to be discovered can be considered passive in comparison to one which, possibly before it was even conceived of as a collection, was intentionally activated and used. A second facet to the word 'living' is the notion of being alive within a body. The mind and body can store feeling and experience and this might also be thought of as a 'living archive'; an organic archival source. Both of these types of collections, material activated by people and experiences stored by people are considered within this thesis.

Material Archive:

This term is sometimes used within the text to denote the more 'traditional' understanding of what an archive is. A defined collection of material records created during the course of personal and organisational activities which has been appraised and preserved for posterity.

Musical space:

There are possible sonic and material understandings of this term and both are required for the reader to engage fully with the text of the thesis. Materially, I use the term musical space, to mean a physical space in which a live or pre-recorded musical performance occurs. Sonically, I take cues from Born (Born, 2013) and others in recognising that music as a sonic experience also has its own spatial dimensions distinct, but not independent from the material space in which the listener is exposed to it. Unless explicitly stated, it is my wish that the reader bears both of these definitions in mind at each use of the term.

'Pre-history'

This term is explained in relation to Hall's commentary on a living archive in Chapter 2 but given its usage in the text prior this Chapter it is important to define it here. The term 'pre-history' is usually used in the text in relation to one of the types of archive discussed above. It can simply be defined here as 'prior conditions of existence' (Hall, 2001, p. 89); a concept which can be likened to the archival idea of provenance.

This study is primarily important in its novel development of the idea of a 'living archive' in both abstract and concrete terms. It is abstract in its advancing of a culturally sensitive theory of living heritage working focussed on African/diasporan archives in the UK. It is concrete in the way in which it draws upon empirical research data to outline not simply a methodology, but also a method of deploying this theory with the Africa Centre's collection in mind. In this sense, the thesis is both definition and demonstration.

Within these developments, guided by an intentionally dynamic methodological approach, existing literature on 'black history' and black convivial spaces is augmented by the thesis' focus on continental Africans in the UK and their creation of a seminal African musical space in London – itself a first for the time. As the first academic study to focus on the African musical spaces at the Africa Centre, this study offers a particular and at time of writing, unique insight into the developing postcolonial relationships between Africa, its diaspora and those interested in African cultures.

The study's consideration of the intangible, embodied and affective aspects of heritage working alongside traditional notions of the archival record will, I hope, be of interest to those seeking to operate in the physical and conceptual spaces where heritage materials and communities of interest can meet and chart meaningful future paths as a result.

The Organisation of the Remainder of the Text

A further nine chapters follow this introductory chapter. Their order and content can be summarised as follows:

Chapter 2 contains a review of the literature providing the theoretical frameworks with which this study engages. It argues that the only existing treatment of the African musical space at the Africa Centre lacks depth due to its broad aim of exploring 100 years of Black music in London. It further discusses prior elaborations on the theory of 'living archives' and 'living history', suggesting new lenses through which these may be considered. Enactivism, narrative therapy, postmodernism, affectivity, sonic space, pan-Africanism, conviviality, cosmopolitanism, race and gender are all explored in thinking through the 'living archive' generally, and the excavation of the pre-history of the Africa Centre's musical spaces specifically. Importantly, this chapter identifies key insights and deficiencies of the usage of the term 'living archive', offering novel suggestions for the development of thinking in this area.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology and methods by which the data for the study was collected. It argues that employing a dynamic and culturally appropriate methodology for activating the archive (in this case, the 'dubbing' of the archive), optimises the amplification of the archival 'echoes' able to stimulate present and future actions. Further, a case is advanced for combining material and oral history methods as part of considering the Africa Centre archives in living ways.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of the research with respect to the living archive. It posits that by explicitly focussing on the relationship between person and material, living archives dissolve positivist notions of a master narrative; facilitating instead the creation and dissemination of myriad subjective narratives. The chapter situates this subjectivity within the so-called postmodern and archival 'turns' of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Further, the usefulness of the archive in revealing and inciting subjective narratives is considered in terms of their therapeutic value. Such consideration, however, remains watchful of the Eurocentric habit of prioritising the textual narrative over other less tangible narrative media. In thinking through these alternatives to text, this chapter foregrounds the West African concept of Sankofa as a means of identifying effective and culturally sound mechanisms for the transmission of heritage. Extending the thinking around bringing the past into the present which

Sankofa ultimately represents, enactivist frameworks are employed; positioning the archival site as a site of (re) creation of self and world.

Moving towards the application of chapter four's analysis to the Africa Centre's archives, *Chapter 5* provides an overview of the 'pre-history' of its musical spaces. 'Dubbing' living, material, visual and textual material from the archives, this chapter embarks on the enactive journey. Initially, material is presented to furnish a broad understanding of the pre-Limpopo Club programming at the Africa Centre, exploring the idea that music was programmed as an academic event in the Centre's early years. Thinking in a more focussed way about the Limpopo Club space, the chapter argues that pan-Africanism and Afrocentricity are key to grounding meaning within the available archival material. Within this discussion, the mutability of notions of pan-Africanism are identified. This chapter suggests that the Limpopo Club space asserted an African ownership but with several contradictions. These included the majority white control of the Africa Centre as an organisation and a 'Garveyite' attitude to musical programming which, at different times, was broadly welcoming to liberal whites. In the context of the living archive, the chapter advocates activating and re-evaluating this material in the present in order to augment our present debates around decoloniality, ownership and African self-determination.

Chapter 6 argues for an expanded usage of the concept of archive which includes embodied memory and 'non-traditional' records. Focussing specifically on the pre-history of Wala Danga, the principal actor in the creation of the musical spaces this study chooses to engage with, the previous chapter's focus on pan-Africanism is enriched through a living manifestation of pan-Africanist creative practice – the 'African Sound System'. In particular, this chapter highlights the interpersonal and intergenerational ways of knowing transmitted and retained through the act of musical (re)-performance, asserting that beyond the simple pre-history of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre (and their archives), these transmissions are in themselves archival and deserved to be recognised as such.

Chapter 7 discusses the affective atmosphere at the Africa Centre and introduces the concept of 'affect stacking' - where affects which have been archived in material or

embodied ways are activated and generate further affects in the present. This chapter argues that affects are integral to the interaction of sentient beings and as such should be central to any living approach to the archive. In focussing on how interviewees remember the musical spaces at the Africa Centre *feeling*, this part of the study exposes the sensual and emotional aspects of the Africa Centre archive which must, by dint of their essential humanness, play a part in any present and future activations of the archive.

Chapter 8 is concerned with how the intercultural dynamics of the Limpopo Club are remembered and what significance race, class and gender had within this space. Here it is argued that the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre was a convivial space where people of different races, nationalities and genders were able to meet in a cohesive manner. Like Back, Sinha and Gilroy however, this chapter finds that this cohesion was not without its fractures which, it argues, frequently occurred at the intersection between race, class and gender. Appiah's notion of a rooted cosmopolitanism is invoked to consider both interactions in the Limpopo Club space, and also, the way in which the space itself was promoted and represented – as a space for Africans and those interested in Africa, but one which leveraged national distinctions as a means of enticing audiences into the space. This chapter concludes ruminating over the resonances of these findings in the present moment; questioning what useful function the activation of such materials might play within the context of current debates on race and gender within the African diaspora. Like the chapters which precede it, Chapter Eight reveals important facets of the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club archive's pre-history, informing the formulation of a living approach for the working with these archives going forward.

Chapter 9 summarises the findings of the preceding chapters, recapitulating the development of the idea of a living archive in practical and theoretical terms and how this innovative approach can be further built upon in the future. Novel questions raised by the study are acknowledged and considerations of how these questions might be engaged with beyond this study are briefly explicated. Perhaps most importantly for a study framed by the notion of past, present and future actions, plans for the future activation of the Africa Centre archive, including the materials generated during the course of this study, are outlined. Here special attention is paid to the resonances

between themes, ideas and materials in the Africa Centre archives, and the substance of current debates and issues concerning the African diaspora.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL REFLECTIONS ON 'LIVING' ARCHIVES, RACE, GENDER AND PLACE

The sections which follow expand upon the conceptual frameworks I have introduced as appropriate lenses through which to study the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club during the stated time period. Literary sources invoked are not exhaustive and have rather been selected for their ability to provide a robust introduction to the relevant ideas.

Music and the Africa Centre: A Brief History

To the best of my knowledge, the only published work giving any sustained treatment to the musical spaces at the Africa Centre is Lloyd Bradley's 'Sounds Like London: 100 Years of Black Music in the Capital' (Bradley, 2013). Given its remit of narrating a full century of musical activity however, it is not surprising that the section Bradley devotes to the Africa Centre is brief and somewhat under-nuanced. Nevertheless, it is useful to explore the key points Bradley mentions in relation to music at the Africa Centre as they provide a sensible grounding of the deeper analyses this thesis provides.

Bradley situates the Africa Centre in the broader milieu of 1960s – 1970s Central London, a place becoming slowly Africanised as a result of small but significant influxes of West Africans who had come to London to study. This intellectual connection coupled with the fact that many of the students had a less immediate need to work given their middle and upper class backgrounds led to a rather insular existence, with African musical entertainment in the shape of Highlife, Palm Wine and Juju being confined for the most part to the university circuit before eventually spreading to community events in local town halls across the capital (Bradley, 2013, p. 134). At the same time, artists like the Ghanaian percussionist Nii Moi 'Speedy' Acquaye, Gasper Lawal, keyboardist Kiki Gyan and Nigerian drummer Remi Kabaka were working with English R&B musicians like Rod Stewart, Eric Clapton and Ginger Baker, augmenting the rock and folk sounds with African rhythmic structures and tonal compositions (ibid, p.145). It is this fusion of rock and African polyrhythms that found favour with the Afro-Rock group Osibisa, possibly the most successful British-African band to date. Operating at around the same time were South African Jazz bands and artists like

Louis Moholo Moholo, Chris McGregor, Dudu Pukwana and Mongozi Feza (ibid, p.115-116). These musicians had left Southern Africa due to the intense political situation there at the time. It is important to acknowledge also that there was a significant presence of nationals of from Zimbabwe and Zambia in London during the same period. Traces of these UK tempered Afro-Rock, Afro-Funk, Highlife and Afro Jazz scenes can be found in the Africa Centre's archives but as Bradley suggests, it is not until the latter part of the 1970s that the Africa Centre becomes known as a musical destination and this development is inextricably linked to Wala Danga and the formation of what would become the Limpopo Club.

Bradley describes the initial purpose of the Africa Centre as the fostering of 'non-governmental relations between newly independent African nations by bringing people together on neutral, apolitical ground'. The Centre was 'student oriented' in his estimation and he sees this as a rationale for its facilities (a lecture theatre, a library, a conference room, a restaurant, an art gallery and a performance space), which were provided to 'showcase the emerging nations' culture' (ibid, p.160). Interesting in this context and corroborated by the archives (see chapter 5), Bradley relates that in its earlier years the Africa Centre 'seemed to treat music as a kind of anthropological experience' (ibid, p.161). The Limpopo Club is presented by Bradley as the antithesis of this – a bustling social space where Africans from across the continent 'really used to mix' (ibid). The Club was formally christened the Limpopo Club in 1983, but effectively had been running informally at the Africa Centre since 1975. It was a space where Africans could come to hear DJs Wala Danga, Kwesi Asare and others play what was popular 'back home' and listen to live music from both British and African based outfits. Invoking a quote from Promoter Debbie Golt (interviewed for this study also), Bradley picks up on the racial mix at Limpopo Club events, branding the space as 'relaxed' with respect to race (ibid, p.163). The short section on the Africa Centre contains an interesting statement attributing the success of the Limpopo Club to the fact that Wala was 'an African with a fundamental understanding of the music, the culture and how things knitted together' (ibid). Although this may well be true, it is a rather odd statement to make given that when Wala founded the club, there was almost zero competition and certainly very few non-Africans operating in that space. As Bradley details in successive chapters, the period after the official inauguration of the Limpopo Club in 1983 was quite the opposite – a veritable African music explosion in the

mainstream and underground – and one championed by white people. It is possible that Bradley, as a person of African heritage himself was both speaking retrospectively and subjectively when attributing the Limpopo Club's success to Wala's 'Africanness'. Equally, it is also quite possible that this idea originated with Wala Danga as it is a topic we broached a number of times during our conversations together. In Bradley's estimation, the 'commercial explosion' can at least partly be attributed to the success of the Limpopo Club and the attendance of music industry professionals at the events scouting for new talent.

As has been stated, aspects of Bradley's account can readily be confirmed by a simple reading of the texts (visual and textual) present in the archives of the Africa Centre. There are several points Bradley notes in passing however, that are of interest but require significant extra context in order to be better understood. This context cannot be provided by the material archives alone. What for example should we understand a 'pan-African vibe' to mean (ibid, p.161)? Bradley relies on two key informants regarding the Africa Centre: Wala Danga and Debbie Golt. His own secondary interpretation also makes up a significant portion of the text. In seeking to understand more about this space at the Africa Centre this study involved the collection of further and more nuanced research interviews. Bradley's emphasis that Wala was an *African* in control of the presentation of African cultural products calls to mind debates around cultural appropriation and the control of African/Diasporan cultural production which continue to this day (Kopano and Brown, 2014). We are also at the time of writing witnessing a massive resurgence in the popularity of African music throughout the diaspora. These elements call for a living exploration of the site in its material and embodied forms that is hyper-aware of its generative potential in the present. It is my view that the concepts of the 'living archive', 'living black history' and the 'ritual archive' (Falola and Library of Congress, 2016; Hall, 2001; Marable, 2005) are robust and broad enough in scope to provide a starting point for such research (and creation).

The African/Diasporan Archive: A 'Living' Archive?

> History is more than the construction of collective experiences, or the knowledge drawn from carefully catalogued artefacts from the past. History is also the architecture of a people's memory, framed by our shared rituals, traditions, and notions of common sense (Marable, 2005, p. 1)

As the main concept guiding this research, it is important to ensure the readers'
understanding of what is meant by a 'living archive'. Precision however is difficult as
both the adjective and noun making up the term are themselves, in different ways, in a
constant state of becoming. The reader will note also that Chapter 4, the first findings
chapter in this thesis, is actually concerned with developing a novel, practically
grounded theory of the 'living archive' upon which the unfolding of the remainder of the
study rests. The literature introduced in the following sections features here as a means
of furnishing the reader with an understanding of the term as it has been theorised to
date – an understanding which the study extends in both practical and theoretical
ways.

The Living Archive

The writings of Stuart Hall on heritage, and the archive, provide a helpful foundation for
the articulation of the fundamental qualities of a 'living archive'. In particular, the essays
'Constituting An Archive' and 'Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post-
nation/Whose heritage?' based on conference papers he gave between 1999 and 2001
are worth dissecting here with the purpose of achieving a more granular understanding
of the key principles upon which a 'living' archive has been configured. One of the key
characteristics of an archive that 'lives', as Hall saw it, was its generative potential. His
concept of a living archive as a generative organ appears to have grown out of a
dissatisfaction with the British heritage 'complex' (the organisations, institutions and
practices devoted to the preservation of and presentation of culture and the arts) and
its backward facing nature:

> curious in the British usage is the emphasis given to preservation and conservation: to
> keeping what already exists as opposed to the production and circulations of new work
> in different media, which takes a very definite second place. (Hall, 1999, p. 3)

In his estimation, traditional approaches assess value in heritage materials primarily on
their relation to what has already been authorised as such based upon a 'national' story
'whose terms we already know' (ibid, p.4). From this statement, a second principle can
be extrapolated. To live, in Hall's terms, does not merely mean to generate, but also to
expand, or provide alternatives to what Hall describes as 'the British version of
tradition' (ibid). For Hall, heritage should be a 'discursive practice' (ibid, p.5), one which,

as he alludes to in various ways, challenges that 'great unspoken British value – whiteness' (ibid, p.7). Alternatives to 'whiteness' cannot be considered a universal fundamental principle of the living archive. Given that this study is ultimately dealing with the archives of the Africa Centre though, in our current case, this proposition is valid. Hall's subversion of established national narratives is not a one-way stream, and here we come upon a third defining factor; the involvement of the 'subjects' themselves in the process of selection and exhibition which usually objectifies them (ibid). Direct mention of the nature of the power relations at play in this process is not made, but the invocation of Foucault's treatise on power elsewhere in Hall's paper acknowledges their presence (Foucault and Faubion, 2002).

Central to this thesis is Hall's suggestion that the subversion of the mainstream by the marginal 'requires supplementation…by extensive oral histories, personal accounts, documents and artifacts…customs, cuisine, daily habits, family photographs and records, household and religious objects' (ibid, pp.11-12). However, where Hall views these aspects of culture as archival supplementation, this study argues that through their treatment as such, they are, and always have been, part of the archive itself. How else can a national (or indeed communal) heritage or identity be formed if it does not relate dynamically to the aspects and actions making up the daily lives of the people in question? Discussing the reframing of African cultural production, p'Bitek frames it thus:

> culture cannot be what the Romans made of it, and which the Western tradition has sustained until today…a commodity…imprisoned in museums and art galleries…buildings that is, where people do not normally *live* in [sic] but *visit* when there is a *show*. The chiefly regalia of a Kabaka…[does] not make sense in a museum in Oxford…drums are for drumming, not merely for gazing at…these items do not operate in solo, alone, away from home, in the absence of the people who, steeped in the worldview of that society, create them to fulfil definite purposes (p'Bitek, 1986, p. 26)

Understood in this way, culture, and for our current purposes, the archive, is not something that lends itself to reification or internment. It is a dynamic and open-ended conversation following a common thread but yet in a constant state of emergence. It is these qualities - presentness, continuity, open-endedness - which Hall associates with the 'living' of the 'living archive' (Hall, 2001, p. 89). The 'common thread' I refer to is labeled by Hall as a 'pre-history', the 'sense of prior conditions of existence' (ibid). It is

these prior conditions which give the archive its shape and sense of authority, and for Foucault, make it possible for things to be said (Foucault, 2002, p. 129).

Parallels of Diaspora: 'Pre-history', Provenance and New Order(s).

In the 'Dutch Manual', an early codification of the principles which were to underpin western archival tradition (some until the present day), we learn that 'archival documents are to be 'placed in their natural and original context, where they reveal their nature and meaning best' (Ketelaar, 1996, p. 33). Context, to the archivist and historian then, is everything. Traditionally, for archivists, this contextual imperative has focused on the *provenance* and *original order* of the material. Provenance is the principle that 'serves to make known the character and significance of records, for the subject-matter contained in individual documents can be fully understood only in context with related documents' (Schellenberg, 1975, p. 87). The concept of provenance is not altogether removed from Hall's 'pre-history', that is, the *what came before* associated with an archival record. In this sense, Hall's 'living archive' is not a novel idea, but rather a modification of an existing theory of information management. It must therefore be understood on those terms; not as a clean break with tradition, but rather a refiguring of it in order to serve current and future needs. Original order seeks to respect the 'original arrangement of recordkeeping systems', thus enabling the elucidation of the 'administrative context in which the records [were] originally created' (Cook, 1997, p. 21). Hall's living archive shifts from a 'relatively random' pre-history to 'something more ordered and considered; an object of reflection and debate' (Hall, 2001, p. 89). It can be understood from this that not every living archive (or indeed any other type of archive) has a discernible original order; but for Hall, the imposition of order enables a critical engagement with what has previously existed 'in solution…within the flow of the work'. Order, whether original or imposed, and the reflection it engenders creates 'new work which…will not be the same as that which was produced earlier, but it will be related to that body of work, if only in terms of how it inflects or departs from it' (ibid).

Hall's ordering of and reflection upon the living archive echo his thoughts on diaspora itself. Both occur as a result of his thinking through the place and purpose of the African and Asian Visual Arts Archive (AAVAA) – a UK-based archive of works by African and Asian diasporan artists. In the same way as the living archive evinces a tradition but

invites expansion, synthesis and reinvention, the African and Asian diasporas 'stand in the relation of 'copy' to that 'original' culture from which [they are] endlessly doomed to be separated. It is therefore correct to conceive of them as 'positional and relational, always on the slide along a spectrum without end or beginning….' (Hall, 2001, p. 90). This positionality is something which was a constant presence both within myself and in others with whom I spoke during the course of this research as a sense of constant negotiation of the unmarked space between 'original' cultures and their derivatives in the diaspora. In this sense also, the mutable, but ever-present consideration of this 'original' culture is imbued with resonances of decoloniality; of dissecting and reconstituting heritage practice in ways which resonate appropriately with the perpetual shift between 'original and copy'. Of course, the very idea of an original culture is itself very much open to question. The organic dynamism of cultures, wherever one may find them, itself provides a strong argument against any notion of an archetypal culture.

Sankofa Practice and Living Black History

Diasporan Sankofa practice as described by Christel Temple represents an example of this negotiation. It is drawn from the traditions of the Akan (representative of an 'original' Africa to some of African heritage in the diaspora). Its instruction to look to the past to *draw inspiration* for present and future is consistent with Hall's acknowledgement of the relational nature of the diaspora. The diasporan is *inspired* by the past, but can never recreate that past in the exact shape in which it originally existed, giving rise to what Temple terms 'innovative uses' of that history in the present (Temple, 2010, p. 128). An Akan symbol drawn from the Adinkra lexicon, the Sankofa bird represents the act of returning to your past to retrieve what has been forgotten or lost (ibid).

Temple discusses the practice of Sankofa within the African diaspora in America. Crucial in her analysis is the 'insisting on the relevance of using African possibilities to define and characterise African life in the contemporary era' (Temple, 2010, p. 128). In this sense, there are strong parallels to Marable's theory of 'living black history', which is an approach to heritage working again forged in the crucible of the racially segregated social and political landscape of the United States of America. It comes about in a society in which the 'historical logic of whiteness' presents whites as the

primary actors in the important decisions that have influenced the course of human events' (Marable, 2005, p. 20). Such an environment demands the exclusion of black, or indeed any significantly alternative histories and as such, results in frequent narrative gaps and omissions (ibid, p.21). The response to such an erasure, for Marable, is the exposition of alternative narratives (in this aspect, 'living black history', ignoring for a moment its emphasis on race, is not dissimilar from Thompson's 'history from below' (Thompson, 1966)). His solution involves temporal compression. A reduction in 'the distance between the past, the present and the future', reconstructing what he terms as 'authentic narratives' (Marable, 2005, p. 22).

Assuming the oxymoronic nature of an 'authentic' narrative is obvious enough to the reader not to require further attention here, I would instead like to focus on the practical rationale and operation of Marable's bringing together of past, present and future. For him, it is necessary to approach the re-membering of black histories in this way due to the regularity with which African American, and indeed any poor, working class organisations often failed to leave behind substantial material traces and texts for preservation in 'official' archives and libraries (ibid). The countering of this lack of material demands a multidisciplinary approach, 'in which archival investigation at traditional institutions might play a secondary role' (ibid, p.23). In Marable's hierarchy, the traditional archival record is superseded by memory, orality, tradition and ritual. He is careful to acknowledge, however, the difficulty in unscrambling the lived memories of individuals, upon which much of the weight of his multidisciplinary approach rests, from the effects of dominant historical discourses. Indeed he recognises that often it is these same discourses that provide the terms of reference through which private, personal narratives are constructed and deployed (ibid, p.27). This contingency with discourses in the present tense is an important aspect of living history. It is a theory which recognises the personal and collective agency that is allied with the process of historic (re)construction.

> ….as racialised populations reflect upon the accumulated concrete experiences of their own lives, the lives of others who share their situation, and even those who have died long ago, a process of discovery unfolds that begins to restructure how they understand the world and their place within it. That journey of discovery can produce a desire to join with others to build initiatives that create space, permitting the renewal or survival of a group, or the celebration of its continued existence…as the gap between the past, present and future diminishes, individuals can acquire a greater sense of becoming the "makers" of their own history. Thus, for the oppressed, the act of reconstructing history is inextricably linked to the political practice, or praxis, of transforming the present and the future' (ibid, pp. 36-37)

Marable's 'living black history' is useful in structuring thought concerning the Africa Centre's archive and the expanded sense in which this study is seeking to understand it. It is however not a construct which can be unproblematically grafted onto this present research without modification. Firstly, the Africa Centre archive cannot be considered a black archive in the manner that say London's Black Cultural Archives or the George Padmore Institute can be; the organisation was neither founded nor led by people of African heritage. Chapter 5 of this thesis explores the 'pre-history' of the material archive, discussing the founding and leadership of the Centre by liberal whites. The Africa Centre appointed its first director of African heritage in 1992, over thirty years after the Centre was initially incorporated (although Africans had been employed in several roles in the Centre from the 1960s). This organisational multiculturalism was also reflected in the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. In outlining his 'living black history', Marable identifies 'poor working class' organisations as potential sufferers of the same paucity of archival records as the black individuals and organisations with which his thesis is concerned. The Africa Centre also cannot be considered as working class – proof of this is given in chapter 8 of this present text. It was, however, according to former Director Alastair Niven 'never well endowed' (Niven, 1979, p. 175) and because of its focus on Africa – a position which only a handful of cultural organisations without a clear institutional affiliation took up until the 1980s - might still be considered in marginal terms. The adoption of the Africa Centre as a 'focal point for African Culture in the UK' (Acheampong, 1998, p. 657) by *Africans themselves* is important here. I am certain Marable would not list the archives of the Africa Centre in the same breath as those of C.L.R. James, W.E.B Du Bois and others with which he is concerned, but propose that aspects of his approach can be usefully extended to engender a living approach to working with these archives.

Marable's acknowledgement of heritage working as an activity taking place in the present with the intention of influencing the future is the final issue I would like to pick up on in relation to his theory. The Africa Centre's new home and the recent surge in popularity of African music (both created on the continent and by people in the diaspora) invests 'living black history' with great relevance here. Consonant with the post-modern habit of bringing the past into the present (see below), this study extends and expands on his work with African-American history by laying the foundations for

the transmission of these musical histories both for the Africa Centre, and the various communities engaged with African musics in the UK. It does so with an awareness of western archival science and alternative approaches to archival working.

Archives, Postmodernism and Incredulous Narratives

Briefly, it is useful to locate the temporal compression of Marable's 'living black history' within the 'postmodern turn' of the past half-century. Indeed, it is not hyperbolic to suggest that the very ideas of the living archive and living history themselves are, in part, a product of postmodernism. Connor defines postmodernism as being

> concerned almost exclusively with the nature of its own presentness. Indeed, one definition of postmodernism might be: that condition in which for the first time, and as a result of technologies that allow large-scale storage, access, and reproduction of records of the past, the past appears to be included in the present, or at the present's disposal, and in which the ratio between present and past has therefore changed…the present (as of old) is all there is, but now it includes all of time (Connor, 2004, p. 10)

As far as archives are concerned this is an interesting statement. Traditionally, archives and archivists had been concerned with preserving and making available evidential truths concerning the past (Jenkinson, 1937; Ketelaar, 1996; Schellenberg, 1975). The present/future were acknowledged at the time these records were being accessed, but the generative character Hall ascribes to the living archive (Hall, 2001, p. 89) was not a prominent feature of traditional archival theory. Similarly, whilst archivists such as Gerald Ham understood quite early on how 'biased and distorted' a narrative the supposedly impartial archivist was capable of creating of the past (Ham, 1975, p. 5), this understanding of the partiality of an archive was not an obvious feature of archival thought until the 1990s. Here, postmodern theory began to creep into the archival realm, questioning the ideas of truth, authenticity and impartiality connected with the archive, recognizing its gaps and omissions and identifying the need for alternative narratives (Cook, 2001; Hardiman, 2009; Harris, 2002a).

It is important to pick up on the idea of narrative here in relation to the archives, postmodernism and the temporality of which we have been speaking. The post-structuralist philosopher Jean-Francois Lyotard is famous for his articulation of the postmodern condition (Lyotard, 2004). A particular aspect of his thesis deals with the

legitimation of knowledge in post-industrial societies. He observes that 'the grand narrative has lost its credibility, regardless of what mode of unification it uses' (Lyotard, 2004, p. 37). Lyotard saw the immediate roots of this in technologies emerging since the Second World War, which 'shifted the emphasis from the ends of action to its means,' (ibid). Its deeper roots, as he understood it, lay in the 'seeds of delegitimation and nihilism that were inherent in the grand narratives of the nineteenth century' (ibid, p.38). Integrating this idea with Hall's understanding of 'the heritage' requires little effort. Hall speaks of heritage institutions as the culprits of the 'canonisation' of a master narrative or 'selective tradition' (Hall, 1999, p. 5), acknowledging that the imposition of 'beginnings, middles and ends on the random and contingent' and the disavowals and silences of social memory as influenced by the institution strait-jacket those opportunities for different narratives to emerge (ibid). This thesis argues then that beyond serving an important societal function as active repository of alternative narratives, living approaches to the archive constitute a further step in the 'post-modern turn' the archival sector has been in the grips of since at least the 1990s.

If living archives do indeed encourage alternative narratives to flourish, what purpose might these narratives serve? Epston and White's seminal text 'Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends' builds a convincing case for the usefulness of ordered and sequenced renditions of events (Turner and Bruner, 1986, p. 153) in enabling therapeutic interventions. For Epstein, White, and others, a person's life must be 'storied' in order to extract meaning from events across time and enable a coherent grasp of 'themselves and the world around them (White and Epston 1990, 11). It is my suggestion here that heritage materials can be storied in a similar way to intersect with these personal narratives and create meanings. Our personal and collective stories, and their repeated performance within our lives, can be 'liabilities or assets' depending on their content. Some stories engender competence and wellness, others constriction and unnecessary limitation. Some stories have been authored by us, others see us merely as characters in a tale not of our own making. Those stories that dominate serve to confer meaning on events in our lives and therefore, to a large extent, determine how we experience our lives and act within them (Tomm in White and Epston 1990, x). It follows then that problems occur when our stories, or stories told about us, do not facilitate positive lived experiences (White and Epston 1990, 14).

Bringing White and Epston's work into conversation with Hall's enables some useful assertions to be made. Hall goes further than White and Epston, asserting that the 'selective traditions' of nations and institutions that omit those who do not 'belong' are problematic (Hall, 1999, p. 6). The first conclusion that can be drawn is that unhelpful narratives, or following Hall, the complete omission of narratives, can create issues at personal, communal and national levels. Implicit in this statement is the therapy of which White and Epston speak. If we define therapy as treatment intended to relieve or heal a disorder (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017), then the mere existence of *any* narrative (Hall), positive or negative, is helpful in healing the 'disorder' of forgetfulness. Going further, if narratives exist and facilitate positive lived experiences, then other types of healing are made accessible. Flinn and Stevens discuss this on a collective level in terms of 'powerful', 'mythic' and 'communal' memory 'strengthened and reinforced by being made visible and shared (Flinn and Stevens 2009, p. 8). Thinking about the Africa Centre and its archives, it is crucial to note that although I have described it in marginal terms, when compared to the individuals whose work and influence give rise to its musical spaces, it can also be conceived of as an 'institution' whose archive creates a 'selective tradition' driven by its 'deep investment in its own 'truth'' (Hall, 1999, pp. 5–6). The collection of oral stories from the community of people historically connected to the Africa Centre, and their activation as part of the wider archive, then represents a two-tier challenge. At one level, they challenge the 'selective tradition' of the archive itself, at another, their new existence within the archive, and the fresh attention drawn to this archive challenges the wider 'national story', demanding space for new 'belongings'. We should be careful to note however that White and Epston attach the actions of therapy and healing to narratives facilitating *positive* lived experiences. It cannot be assumed that these emerging narratives, or the archives of which they eventually will form a part, will be positive ones. There is always the danger then that the elicitation of these 'archival conversations' might, initially at least, result in negative or traumatic consequences.

It must also be highlighted that White and Epston favour textual construction/presentation of their client's stories over oral means of transmission. The rationale for this lies in, amongst other things, the potential for script to facilitate 'the emergence of new discoveries and possibilities' whilst enabling processes of legitimation and continuity (White and Epston, 1990, p. 35). Text, in White and Epston's

view, is perfectly suited to the linear presentation of events over time, which in turn invites its analysis for evidence of change over time (ibid 35-36). This generates two meta-questions in the context of this present research. Firstly, how can a linear presentation of events over time be reconciled with the co-existing past, present and future of the living archive? And second, how useful or therapeutic can a narrative be if it is does not arrive in written form? The living archives discussed in chapter 4 use a combination of textual and non-textual means to evidence narratives. We shall see then how persuasive a case these approaches make for the inclusion of non-textual materials in theories of therapeutic narratives. White and Epston do acknowledge that the primacy of text as persistent representation of human experience is, 'to some extent' an ethnocentric point of view (ibid). Marable's theory of 'living black history' concurs in this respect. Meditating further on the conflict between the linear and the temporally convergent, the reader is referred to Chapter 3, which explains why a non-linear 'dubbing' of the archive and its re-presentation here was favored over a linear historicisation of the musical space at the Africa Centre.

Postmodernism, Archives and the Arts

One defining feature of postmodernism has been its frequent and numerous connections to the arts, which naturally can involve text, but oftentimes not in a central position. In his ascription of a novel desire to the (then) emerging postmodern condition, Daniel Bell saw a fundamental role for the artist and the function of the creative imagination

> Along with this emphasis on the new has come the ideology, self consciously accepted by the artist, that art will lead the way, will serve as the avant-garde…an advance assault team…the artist would reveal to society the glorious future, exciting men with the prospect of a new civilisation (Bell, 1972, pp. 12–13).

The possibilities of (re)creation and activation offered by the idea of the living archive might be indicative of one such component of the 'glorious future' Bell's artist brings into being. Indeed, Cheryl Simon extends Bell's dyad of artist and the postmodern to include the archive, viewing 'the appearance of archival materials and forms in recent art and exhibition practice as a late stage manifestation of a postmodernist appropriational exercise' (Simon, 2002, p. 101). American Art critic Hal Foster dates the genesis of an artistic 'archival impulse' back at least as far as the inter-war period, citing a healthy number of creative archival adherents rising after the final shots of

World War II had been fired (Foster, 2004, p. 3). Given the 'emphasis on the new' of which Bell speaks, it is of little surprise that many times, artistic minds lie behind the living archival endeavour. It makes sense that an artist's perspective on the archive would be an explicitly generative one – either through creating new activity inspired by the archive, or by positioning the archive as a new work in itself.

Maybe more so than curators of other types of heritage materials, archivists tend to be more focused on the evidential value of the items in their custody than their visual appeal – a disposition perhaps symptomatic of a more regular interfacing with genealogists and historians and far less frequent interludes with artists and creative producers (Magee and Waters, 2011, p. 273). Unlike the archivist, the artist has been rather more aware of the visual and conceptual attractiveness of archival spaces and their holdings. The transmutation of material, from archive to artwork, and the boundaries of this metamorphosis are also resonant here. Invoking Derrida, Osthoff emphasises the importance of the contents of a personal archive passing 'from one institution into another' (Osthoff, 2009, p. 28). This passage – the transition of materials from private to public space (and the attendant shifts in meaning and power relations) is a significant facet of the 'archive as artwork' construction. This is followed closely by what Osthoff labels the 'collective and distributed' authorship of meaning these public contexts facilitate (ibid, 22). This is something to remain aware of throughout the reading of this study. Those who have contributed orally to the archive have sanctioned the passing of their narrative from their personal 'institutions' (self, families, personal networks) to a much more public facing one. In doing so their archives have taken on new meaning and status as evidence.

Ownership, Synthesis and the Ritual Archive

Riffing on the idea of 'collective authorship' Toyin Omoyeni Falola's concept of the ritual archive is interesting in his wedding of African epistemologies to western archival principles. In the preamble to his lecture on 'ritual archives' he explains the role of emerging private universities in West Africa in providing fertile environments for this fresh thinking

> What this has done is to let us begin to rethink the inheritances in various ways, and to use those private universities to test a set of new ideas and to see things that don't work. [we] can rethink…outside of a…state power structure and outside of

corruption…we have the opportunities to say, "This is how we want to define
humanities…this is how we want to define some of what we inherited from the western
academy" and localize them, far more creatively than our predecessors have done.
(Falola and Library of Congress, 2016)

Falola refers to the process of examining epistemologies inherited from the West and deciding which aspects of these are useful and which are either too constraining, controlling or simply of no use in African contexts. Rather than opting for an essentialist approach and allowing no space for western epistemologies within his theories, Falola aims at a much more balanced treatment. He acknowledges that 'archives…built on a template of western knowledge….[have] not only proven to be severely limited, but…also an agency of control that frames our subjectivities and objectivities'. Yet his theory of ritual archives does not discard those aspects of western archival theory which he perceives of as useful (Falola and Library of Congress, 2016). His aim is to develop archival epistemologies 'that will be treated as universal' and that are inclusive of 'the voices…that are delegitimated in academic spaces' (ibid). Given that Falola's theory is advanced in order to enable an archival understanding of the religious and secular aspects of the rituals of his people, his vision of the archive includes 'ideas and symbols and shrines and images, performances…that document, as well as picture religious experiences and practices…and by implication, these [inaudible] archives are huge, unbounded in scale and scope' (ibid). Taking Hall's ideas on 'selective tradition' in a different direction, Falola questions 'what is deemed worthy of preservation and organization as data', warning against the restriction of archives 'inside the location of the library or university or museum' whilst simultaneously applying 'the techniques and resources of academic archives to rituals, so that we can have greater evaluation and greater preservation' (ibid).

Falola's ritual archive intersects frequently with the concept of the living archive that we are unpacking here. Hall reminds us that a living archive is continuous and open-ended. Falola speaks of his ritual archive with the recognition that

> we must never lose sight of that dimension of archive, that is never fully collected…the
> contents of these archives become philosophy, literature, and history. They are
> interpretations manifested in our present…components of the archives can be isolated,
> but they can also be combined into a body of interlocking ideas and
> philosophy…whether you aggregate or disaggregate them, they are called memory, and
> remembrance in various ways and forms…Memories, legacies, histories of our lives and
> ancestors, and they lead us to the reinvention of the cosmos that we inhabit ((Falola and
> Library of Congress, 2016)

The challenge this thesis accepts is to activate and manipulate these ideas of temporal fluidity and indistinct barriers within the culturally complex environment of postcolonial Britain.

Enactivism and the Archive

Temporal compression, and its effects have been considered in the field of cognitive science. Specifically, Varela, Thompson and Rosch's theory of 'Enaction' (and the multiple enactive approaches it subsequently spawned) provides a useful secondary framework for aspects of this research. Varela et al's theory encompasses 'both lived human experience, and the possibilities for transformation inherent in human experience' (Varela et al., 2000, p. xv). At the core of their thinking is the conviction that, contrary to representational theories of cognition, a pre-given world is not represented by a pre-given mind, rather world and mind are *enacted* 'on the basis of the history of the variety of actions that a being in the world performs' (ibid, 9). This enactment involves the interaction of individual and collective dimensions. Meaning making becomes contingent both with patterns of embodied experience and interpretations/codifications derived as a result of the experience of community membership – 'common sense' if you will (Johnson, 2009, p. 14; Varela et al., 2000, pp. 147–150). This study takes the logical but unprecedented step of mapping this notion onto the idea of the living archive. If, following Varela et al., we consider human capacities for knowledge and understanding as a function of both 'biological embodiment' and 'domains of consensual action and cultural history' (Varela et al., 2000, p. 149), it becomes possible to view a living archival encounter as a multi-layered event with multiple cognitive impacts. The enactivist framework acknowledges the individual embodied experiences engendered by contact with the living archive. Often, for example in Falola's ritual archives, or even in the musical spaces with which this study engages, these individual experiences are unfolding in pluralised social spaces. Common 'contact zones' create their own 'domains of consensual action' but simultaneously occur in the larger domains of national and international societies. The zones at which point archival materials are activated are inherently domains of action. Scholars applying enactive principles to education have considered this active principle. Discussing cognitive development in children, Bruner defines enaction as learning through action (Bruner, 1966, p. 11). Piaget extends this notion adding that

children construct knowledge on the basis of what they know, receiving feedback on the usefulness of their construction from their environment (Cziko, 1995, p. 222). Vygotsky supposes that proper understanding of this process of knowledge construction must incorporate social interaction between actors and their socio-historical background (Kincheloe and Horn, 2007, p. 24). This latter point is crucial. To a degree, living archival actions depend on the personal pre-histories of the actors involved[4] and their broader socio-cultural histories. The social contexts created by these types of interventions, and the fact that participants are (often) exposed to wider cultural heritage vistas through such engagements creates multiple possibilities. This thesis argues that living archival approaches are capable of enacting a world, offering the possibility of generating new significances and meanings for all involved, creating new environments offering fresh possibilities for further change and exploration. Every organism is itself a 'theory…about [a] specific part of the world…its *Umwelt*' (Munz, 2002, p. 154). The new creations (internal and external) emerging from the living archival experience enable *new* theories (in both the organic and conceptual senses) to be born. These theories are not drawn exclusively from the ranks of participants, but extend to include the archival institutions and organisations whose developmental courses are modified by such interactions.

Pan-Africanism, Stereomodernism and Black Arts

> All art is propaganda and ever must be, despite the wailing of the purists. I stand in utter shamelessness and say that whatever art I have for writing has been used always for propaganda for gaining the right of black folk to love and enjoy. I do not care a damn for any art that is not used for propaganda. But I do care when propaganda is confined to one side while the other is stripped and silent.... (DuBois, 1926)

The preceding section touched on the co-creative potentials of mind and world. . It could be argued that from their inception the imaginaries represented by Pan-Africanism and the Ethiopianism out of which it grew was born of a desire for new physical and conceptual paradigms enabling marginalised Africans and those in the African diaspora to assume more control over their own fate. I would here like to turn

---

[4] Although one can change one's memories of previous experiences, participants' personal histories are subject to a certain degree of fixity once lived and it is these experiences which they bring to the living archival 'contact zone'.

attention to the political dimensions of the pan-African creative endeavour. The Africa Centre and the Limpopo Club are/were sites located at the interstices between politics (of both a racial and national nature) and culture, and it is therefore vital to frame them in these terms.

Pan–Africanism and Black Art

The choice to introduce this selection of literature with a quote from W.E.B. DuBois serves the purpose of connecting the ideas of cultural production and pan-Africanism from the outset. 'Pan-Africanism' is a term invoked both by the founders of the Africa Centre, and later the progenitors of the Limpopo Club. In each case, their understanding of what the term meant can be deemed to have had an influence on the programme and types of activities occurring within these spaces. Adi and Sherwood acknowledge that 'there has never been one universally accepted definition of what constitutes Pan-Africanism' (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p. vii). Their volume documenting influential figures from Africa and the diaspora 'whose lives have been concerned in some way with the social and political emancipation of African peoples and those of the African diaspora' (ibid) does nevertheless constitute an implied definition of the term which is broader than the formal 'series of international gatherings from the proto-movement's London conference of 1900…to the five congresses between 1918 and 1945' (Jaji, 2014, p. 3). Shepperson is more polar in his distinctions. He identifies two brands of P(p)an-Africanism, denoting one with a small 'p' and capitalising the other (Shepperson, 1962). For Shepperson, 'Pan-Africanism' with a capital letter is a clearly recognizable movement: the five Pan-African Congresses…in all of which the American Negro Scholar Dr W.E.B DuBois, played a major part'. Small 'p' pan-Africanism, in Shepperson's estimation 'is not a clearly recognisable movement, with a single nucleus' but rather a collection of mostly ephemeral movements in which the cultural element often predominates'; Cesaire's 'Negritude' being one such example (ibid). Shepperson locates Marcus Garvey, the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), as somewhere between the 'small p' (ephemeral cultural movements) and 'capital P' (formal international conferences) permutations of Pan-Africanism, citing Garvey's bitter feud with big 'P' Pan-Africanist W.E.B DuBois and his 'overt racialism' as key reasons for exclusion from the more formal movement (Shepperson, 1962, p. 347). He further complicates this assertion however by proceeding to include Garveyism in capital 'P' Pan-Africanism post 1945 through the

influence of his ideology on key proponents of the formal movement such as Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore and Jomo Kenyatta (ibid 1962, p. 348). Although sworn enemies, historical reflection has led some to the conclusion, rightly in my opinion, that a combination of the 'better qualities' of the two men could have led to significant accomplishment in the betterment of the situations of people of African heritage across the globe to which both men were dedicated (Rogers, 1955, p. 165).

W.E.B. DuBois has been acknowledged by some as the 'father of Pan-Africanism', due to his major role in establishing the idea of Pan-Africanism in the public consciousness (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p. 51). Delegates at the Pan-African conferences DuBois helped to organise were drawn from the US, Africa and the Caribbean and the resolutions passed opposed racism and raised the demand for self-determination in the colonies (ibid). Although much of his writing and organising was political in the traditional sense of the word, DuBois also wrote concerning the creation and purpose of art within the national and global struggle for black rights and justice. In a paper entitled 'Criteria of Negro Art', DuBois introduces black art as 'part of the great fight' in which he and his peers were involved (DuBois, 1926, p. para 3). His discourse wrestles with the concept of art as a purely aesthetic form, as against a propaganda tool able to simultaneously convince African and European heritage publics of the essential humanity of the black wo/man (ibid. para 14). His critique further identifies the problem of the black artist 'handing everything over to a white jury', urging people of African heritage to 'come to the place where the work of art when it appears is reviewed and acclaimed by our own free and unfettered judgment' (ibid, para 31). In another essay, DuBois raises the economic issue, surmising that increased economic freedom and independence will enable the black artist to 'say more clearly what he wants to say…and realise what the ends and means of expression may be' (DuBois, 1925, p. 4). It is telling that in these writings, DuBois referred in the main to 'Americans'. Despite his involvement in the Pan-African Congresses, integration into American society for the African American was an important concern for him, at least in his pre 1930s activities[5] (Sewell, 1987, p. 52)

In connecting freedom of expression with self-determination and economic freedom, DuBois echoes his contemporary and vociferous critic Marcus Garvey. Garvey's pan-

---

[5] DuBois became increasingly radical and disillusioned with integrationist ideologies. He eventually arrived at a Garveyite perspective; touting separation and black owned industry as the solution to racial problems (Sewell, 1987, p. 53)

Africanism might be summed up as being a doctrine touting Black/African self-determination and economic/political cooperation as the only course to improving the lot of people of African heritage worldwide. His Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) sought to help 'the Negro to become enterprising, independent politically, and [to have] a country of his own' (Garvey in Blaisdell, 2004, p.11). Somewhat controversially, one of Garvey's core messages was racial separation. He believed that the Black wo/man's emancipation was incontrovertibly tied to the return of blacks in the Americas to Africa (an Africa controlled by Africans) in both a figurative and literal sense (Blaisdell, 2004). Despite their shared interest in the welfare and social mobility of the African at home and abroad, Garvey would frequently level public criticism at DuBois and the dependence of his affiliate organisation, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) on 'white money' (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p. 49). This is a concern which was also evident amongst key actors in the Pan-African movement in the UK. Ras Makonnen was a Guyanese activist who 'spent his whole life devoted to securing rights for Black peoples around the world' (Adi and Sherwood, 2003, p. 117). A colleague of C.L.R. James, Jomo Kenyatta and George Padmore amongst many others, Makonnen funded the International African Service Bureau (IASB), of which they were all members. His entrepreneurship and organisational skills, alongside those of Padmore's are also credited with enabling the 1945 Pan African Congress in Manchester to take place. In the wake of the 1945 Congress, Makonnen recalls in his book 'Pan-Africanism From Within' the 'disaster' of 'blacks depending on white organisations' (Makonnen, 2016, pp. 178–179). His stance was to 'tolerate white people who offered some skill or money, but never let them interfere in guiding the affairs of our institutions', referencing the NAACP as an example of one such mistake (ibid, p.179). For Makonnen, the white liberal possessed an 'inherent dualism' which presented a danger when coupled with their social and economic influence (ibid, p.180-181). By the same token however, Makonnen went on to cite suffragette and anti-fascist campaigner Sylvia Pankhurst and novelist Ethel Manning as examples of whites who exhibited the 'kind of hard core…uncompromising element – people who saw the priorities' (ibid). Makonnen then cannot simply be branded a racist, but rather a man with a particular perspective on white dependency. Within the context of this research, this particular interest is resonant in its past, present and future aspects. Considering the past, the Africa Centre can be said to have been dependent on the vision, social connections and fundraising capacities of Africanist whites. Whilst the governance of the Centre in present times is far more

representative of black Africa, the organisation remains dependent of funding grants from organisations like the Arts Council and the British Council in order to deliver programmes. Looking into the future, inclusion and diversity are hot topics within the archival and other sectors (The Archives and Records Association, n.d.). Whilst conversations surrounding economic and ideological dependency are less common, it is conceivable that these will form part of the future debates around archives concerned with African heritage. Key organisations dealing with such heritage presently continue to depend on project funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund and others in order to deliver their programmes. It is not inconceivable therefore, that significant reductions or interruptions to these income streams may ignite such debates in the future.

Whilst activists like Makonnen shared Garvey's 'race first' ideals, it is Garvey's image and teachings that have continued to live on in the public imagination across Africa and the diaspora, I would like to focus here on Garvey's legacy within the 'black arts', specifically within music, not least because this musical legacy is/was transnational in nature and of particular relevance to musical programming ideologies at the Limpopo Club.

Marcus Garvey was a Jamaican who found fame and influence amongst African-Americans. For Sewell, whilst black American popular music developed from Jazz and Blues into Soul and Disco, 'Jamaican music becomes serious when it moves into Reggae, deriving content and inspiration from the philosophy of Rasta' (Sewell, 1987, p. 29). Rastafarianism in Jamaica emerged as a twentieth century continuation of Ethiopianism, an initially eschatological ideology taking on a more realistic, pan-African flavour when the black missionary Edward Wilmot Blyden travelled to Liberia and in doing so gained an understanding of 'the Pan-African dimension of the Black race worldwide' (Barrett, 1997, p. 75). For Barrett, the spirit of Ethiopianism comes 'into full blossom' in the Back To Africa Movement of Marcus Garvey (ibid, p.77). It is statements by Garvey talking of his followers' belief in the black 'God of Ethiopia' and others pointing to the crowning of a black king in Africa that establish Garvey as an important figurehead in the Rastafarian tradition (ibid).

The Rastafarian influence in Reggae is present from its very earliest days as Rhythm and Blues, Ska and Rocksteady, becoming infinitely more audible (and visible) with the advent of Roots Reggae music in the early 1970s. Bradley describes the music as a 'beautiful combination of conventional Jamaican musical values and an almost pre-slave-ship spirituality' (Bradley, 2001, p. 273). Reggae artists like Bob Marley, Burning Spear, Big Youth, Joseph Cotton, Jimmy Cliff and many others would reference Garvey and his back to Africa ideologies in their song lyrics as part of the spiritual and political Rastafarian consciousness they sought to promote with their art (Sewell, 1987). These abridged lyrics from Bob Marley & The Wailers 1979 single 'Africa Unite' are exemplary of the pan-Africanist sonic resistance typical of roots reggae music:

How good and how pleasant it would be, before God and man, yea-eah!
To see the unification of all Africans, yeah!
As it's been said already, let it be done, yeah!
We are the children of the Rastaman
We are the children of the Iyaman

So-o, Africa unite
Afri - Africa unite, yeah!
Unite for the benefit (Africa unite) for the benefit of your people!
Unite for it's later (Africa unite) than you think!
Unite for the benefit (Africa unite) of my children!
Unite for it's later (Africa uniting) than you think!
Africa awaits (Africa unite) its Creators!
Africa awaiting (Africa uniting) its Creator!
Africa, you're my (Africa unite) forefather cornerstone!
Unite for the Africans (Africa uniting) abroad!
Unite for the Africans (Africa unite) a yard!

(Bob Marley & The Wailers, 2017)

The influence of Rastafarianism (and within this, Garveyism) has been global. The most recent generation of Jamaican musicians whose work embodies these principles (Chronixx, Protoje, Jah 9 etc) continue to take pride in their 'African roots' and demonstrate this in many ways, including a willingness to tour and perform on the African continent. This is a tradition which stretches back almost to the advent of Reggae music. This research will show that the pre-histories and ideologies of influential figures in the establishment of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre such as Wala Danga were, to some degree, shaped by this transnational spread of cultural pan-Africanism through music.

Considering the more political aspect of the movement, W.E.B DuBois was not the only capital 'P' 'Pan-Africanist who saw the arts as a potential emancipatory tool. Jaji writes

on the Afro-Atlantean circulation of musical 'texts' on which Leopold Senghor's formulation of l'ame noire (the black soul) centres. For Senghor, Jazz was 'an example par excellence of Negritude, his theory of black political aesthetics' (Jaji, 2014, p. 66). Senghor embraced Jazz as a sign of Negritude enabling parallels to be drawn between African vernacular orality and Jazz as commensurable modern black forms (ibid). Jaji's analysis of this aggregative phenomenon relies in part on a theory of 'stereomodernism'. Stereomodernism, for Jaji, extends Gilroy's conception of the Black Atlantic by drawing 'attention to African participation in the 'counterculture of modernity' (ibid, p.8). Gilroy's description of the Black Atlantic as 'the stereophonic, bilingual, or bifocal cultural forms originated by, but no longer the exclusive property of, blacks dispersed within the structures of feeling, producing, communicating and remembering' (Gilroy, 1993, p. 3) is augmented both geographically and politically. Jaji not only extends the metaphoric meaning of stereo as 'surround sound' to the African continent, but is also interested in the functioning of the Black Atlantic musics which might play on stereophonic devices as 'conduits of transnational black solidarity' (Jaji, 2014, p. 8). Questions do however surround the operations and limits of solidarity generated by music. Jaji notes both the paradoxical nature of aligning solidarity with product emerging from the aggressively capitalist north, and the fragility and essentialism of any 'collectivity based on race' (ibid, p.9). Rightly, Jaji positions pan-Africanism, black solidarity in the face of racism, as 'but one of the grounds for affiliation'. Raoul Vaneigem's treatise on the rights of human beings is invoked to this end; illustrating solidarity as an obstacle unless it is balanced by a willingness to accept difference (Vaneigem, 2017). In fact, the idea of difference is embedded into the very etymology of stereomodernism. Jaji notes that a stereophonic sound system creates the sonic illusion of space by sending subtly different signals to each ear of the listener. Sound arrives 'at one side of our heads milliseconds before it reaches the other side, and with slightly different amplitudes' (Jaji, 2014, p. 12). One cannot also help but recalling the notion of 'original' and 'copy' or 'African' and 'diasporan' in relation to this idea of sounds which are the same but yet different. As we will see, the findings of this thesis require this concept of stereomodernism to be extended to include a third channel of transmission. Whilst 'triphonic-modernism' doesn't quite have the same ring to it, the connection of sonic and cultural approaches from the Americas, the UK and the African Continent are central to this research. Returning to Jaji's stereomodernism, the 'modern' is concerned with a modernity which is 'collaboratively worked out among black subjects on the African continent and abroad' (ibid, 14). This collective working

out embraces artistic excellence as a means of transforming a paradigm of subjugation into one of subjectivity and full enjoyment of all the attendant rights of such a transformation (ibid). With subjectivity however, comes the responsibility of negotiating difference in a manner that preserves these rights, but not at the expense of recognising an essential sameness.

Same/Difference

Without explicit mention, Jaji's pan-Africanist stereomodernism is in part a critique of the culturally nationalist 'Afrocentric' conception of pan-Africanism advanced by Molefi Kete Asante and others (Asante, 2003). Given the brief exposition of the views of W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey above, it is perhaps easiest to present the fundamental qualities of what Asante has christened 'Afrocentricity' by way of a short analysis of how these two men have been understood within the Afrocentric paradigm. For simplicity, I will confine this analysis to Asante's ideas as laid forth in his landmark text 'Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change'.

Asante frames Garveyism as 'the most perfect, consistent and brilliant ideology of liberation in the first half of the 20th century' (Asante, 2003, p. 16). This is in no small part due to the notion of 'race power', Garveyism's guiding tenet. For Asante, the instituting of symbols capturing the essence of a nationalistic philosophy (such as the red, green and black flag of the UNIA), and the vision of a singular relationship existing between Africans on the continent and in the diaspora hallmarked 'genius of immense proportions' (ibid, pp. 18-19). The import of Garveyism to its successor nationalist movements cannot be underplayed in Asante's eyes. His unabashed admiration for Garvey can be explained by his own nationalistic tendencies. He contests that Garveyism was proof that 'African people respond to their collective memory of the continent', citing 'decisive support of powerfully nation-building symbols' (ibid) as implicit support for his theory of Afrocentricity. This theory acknowledges the differences among the populations of peoples of African descent across the world, but subsumes these beneath an essential sameness. It is a theoretical unity which makes it possible to speak of 'African thought' and 'African consciousness' in singular terms. Asante does not reserve this singularity for people of African descent, for him, people

of European heritage may also be grouped into a homogenous whole from whose collective mind 'Eurocentric Ideology' emanates (ibid, p.1).

Asante's sharp distinction between African and European modes of thought can be better understood through his commentary on the work of W.E.B. DuBois. In his estimation, DuBois 'studied African people not from an African perspective, but from a European one which employed Eurocentric methods to analyse and study black people' (ibid, p.23). Asante understands DuBois as being 'steeped in the traditions of western scholarship' (ibid) and consequently unable to bring an Afrocentric perspective to bear on the analysis of his people. Further, Asante calls into question DuBois' push for black integration into white America in the earlier part of his life on the grounds that it is the product of a faulty Eurocentric logic. DuBois' change in perspective on this matter later in his life is described as becoming 'more African' (ibid, p.25). In the crudest of terms then, Garvey's push for the recognition of a transnational nation with spiritual (and eventually physical) roots in Africa is embraced for its essential 'blackness' whilst DuBois' ideologies are questioned on account of their hybridising and synthetic pull.

Just as there are an intellectually significant group of adherents to the idea of black cultural nationalism, there are many who disagree with the essentialising of black identities. Tunde Adeleke's work in particular offers a sustained refutation of Afrocentricity's homogenising tendencies, exposing instead the fractures, fissures and differences in the cultures of global black communities. For Adeleke, the depiction of continental Africans and their counterparts in the diaspora 'as one people united by cultural attributes and historical experience is seriously flawed at the levels of both theory and practice' (Adeleke, 2009, pp. 96–97). In his estimation, the spirit of pan-Africanism underpinning the afrocentric project de-emphasises the transformations undergone in the diaspora as part of the New World experience (ibid, p.98). Further, its representation of Africa as the foundation of a black epistemological paradigm opposing the forces of the 'mainstream' is a highly problematic one (ibid). The basis of Adeleke's criticisms lie in the faulty revisionism which for him characterise the Afrocentric paradigm and the reluctance of Afrocentrists to critically engage with the contradictions and ambivalence of black people past and present.

Within the context of this study, the importance of these debates lie in their presence both within the material and organic archives of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. Given the recent publication of texts such as Kehinde Andrew's 'Back To Black' (Andrews, 2018), it is clear that the debates are perennial ones, and that the archives 'lived' throughout this study could be usefully deployed in the exploration of these questions in the present day.

Musical Pan-Africanism: The Underground, Ownership and Cultural Appropriation

It would be interesting to know what positions Asante, Adeleke, and indeed Jaji might have taken on the following. In 1988, Kwesi Owusu, one time member of the pan-African performance group 'African Dawn' published an anthology of essays on aspects of 'black arts and culture in the UK' (Owusu, 1988). In it, there are four essays collected under the title 'Is African Music Being Colonised?'. Each of these pieces centres on 'the use and abuse of African music by white music enthusiasts and business interests' (ibid, p.101). African Dawn and affiliate groups like Dade Krama held quite a sway over performative proceedings at the Africa Centre during the 1980s as we will explore further later in this thesis. Their Pan-Africanist (or cultural nationalist if we are to follow Adeleke) stance to the arts is therefore relevant within this present discourse. In one of the essays, Yusuf Hassan insists that 'culture is an integral part of politics and is therefore part of the on-going fight against imperialism' (Hassan in Owusu, 1988, p. 104). Elsewhere in his essay he introduces the music group Dade Krama in the words of one of its members Nii Noi Nortey as a group whose 'music can only be part of the struggles of African people wherever they are' (ibid). The Garveyite/Afrocentric resonances are clear, and are brought into even sharper relief when we listen to the voice of African Dawn's Ahmed Sheikh, stating the groups' ultimate aim 'is to determine our own future' (ibid). Significant objection is raised concerning the control and appropriation of African musics by 'Europeans'. Sheikh also claims that the same Europeans consider the musicians under their financial control as 'private property', erecting barriers to them working with black musicians resident in the UK and exploiting their talents for financial gains (ibid, pp.105-106). It is interesting to note these sentiments arising from African artists in the UK at this particular time in the UK. The early 1980s saw major race-related uprisings in Brixton, Tottenham, Handsworth and Toxteth. Race, and race consciousness was a hot topic, evidenced in

the academic world by the penning of texts like the seminal 'Empire Strikes Back' (University of Birmingham, 1982). Bradley locates the 'sub-saharan scramble' led by the UK's major labels in the early 1980s (Bradley, 2013, p. 165). It is also during this period that mainstream radio DJs like Charlie Gillet, Andy Kershaw and John Peel (all named by Owusu) rise to prominence (at least partially) trading on the exoticism of African music, bringing artists like Salif Keita, Sunny Ade, Gasper Lawal, Angelique Kidjo, Youssou N'Dour, Ali Farka Toure and the Bhundu Boys into the broader public awareness. As Hassan pointed out above, this unprecedented situation was not inclusive of African and Diaspora musicians resident in the UK. They continued to be the 'unsung innovators' of Britain's postcolonial project (Owusu, 1986, p. 106).

Despite the success of Bob Marley and a handful of others, Reggae music shared this unsung status in the UK. This was not simply a case of musical taste however, from its very inception in 1950s Britain, Reggae music and the sound systems which carried it to the people were forced underground as a result of racial tensions within British society

> Although Soho held a handful of Jamaican owned nightclubs, those were out of reach for many…venturing as far as the West End from, say Stockwell brought its own set of concerns about personal safety. A few London pubs welcomed Caribbean customers and engaged sound systems…but with outright racial hostility never far from the surface, much of the city's nightlife was effectively closed off to black men. For most ordinary black Londoners, routinely refused entrance to just about all the capital's regular dancehalls, the only options were unlicensed, pay-on-the-door dances in basements, empty houses and school halls (Bradley, 2013, p. 215).

Henriques describes the sound system as 'a unique apparatus – a musical medium, technological instrument and a social and cultural institution' (Henriques, 2011, p. 3). For him, the sound system is less a mass of wires, wood and metal, and more an interface enabling the 'selector' (the person playing the records) to enliven and 're-perform' recorded music

> When a record was played by a sound system, a deejay might sing or toast over the top, the selector might spin it back (audibly) and play the same part twice (a 'rewind'). He might put it through an echo chamber to distort it into rumbling thunder, use volume changes to add drama, or play just the highs or just the lows for a few bars to make the dancers go crazy. The person playing the records was no longer sitting passively while a song played to the end; he was distorting it creatively, responding to the audience in front of him and doing everything at his disposal to make the music more 'live'. (Brewster and Broughton, 2006, p. 117)

Henriques interprets this (re)performance as a set of related 'bands' requiring the recognition of sensory multiplicity and the acceptance of an embodied emphasis (Henriques, 2011, pp. xxxiii–xxxvi). These wavebands are in 'simultaneous, parallel and multiple relationships with each other…each waveband of sounding requires the other two' (ibid, p. 26). They are:

- The Material Waveband
- The Corporeal Waveband
- The Sociocultural Waveband

The material waveband is focussed on the audio engineer, his/her operation of the electro-mechanical equipment of a sound-system and the material vibrations of sonic propagation. It is about listening and the waves that must be set into motion in order for listening to occur. For Henriques, 'sound is always a disturbance' which is both haptic and periodic in nature (ibid, p.20). The sound system engineer, steeped in a lifetime of learning through sound listens to these sounds, adjusts controls and tunes his system; defining the 'sonic signature' that sets the system apart from the rest (Henriques, 2011, p. 67). The engineer's operation is not simply limited to one of these wavebands however and it is impossible to speak of events in the material waveband without taking into account the corporeal. Adjustments to the sound require the manipulation of controls and operation of the electronics which control the nature and quality of the electric power which is eventually transmuted to sonic vibration. There is an archival aspect to this listening and tuning. Henriques presents it as a learnt kinaesthetic process, often passed down from master to pupil (ibid, p.88).

Of course, the material and corporeal wavebands are not limited to the sound engineer, the selector (what we popularly know in the UK as the 'DJ' – the person who selects and plays the music) is also a professional listener and manipulator, again learning their craft from elder masters and preserving and activating this knowledge within a sound-system setting. According to Henriques, it is the selector's job to build the 'vibes' of a musical event through tuning in to the crowd and knowing how to further excite them with subsequent musical selections and manipulations (ibid, p.131). This building is all about the performance, or maybe more accurately, the re-performance of pre-

recorded music using the hands, ears and in most cases demonstrating 'a clear kinetic flow, with the movement of their entire bodies' (ibid, p.135).

In sound system culture, the voice of the sound system given license for amplified communication with the people is known as the DJ. The sound system DJ has been described as a 'key ontological figure…in the operation of the sound system as art' (Hutton, 2007, p. 17). Henriques discusses the DJ in relation to his sociocultural waveband, the 'Dancehall scene's customs and practices, its…ambiance, atmosphere and feelings' (Henriques, 2011, p. 25). For him, the improvised performance of the DJ 'embodies a living archive of techniques' (ibid, p.175), which has been developed via an informal apprenticeship system. Like the selector, the DJ's role is to build the vibes, but through their voice, ingenuity and lyrical dexterity rather than their sense for the selection of recorded sound. Excitement of the crowd and manipulation of the atmosphere is achieved through personality and a number of different, yet related, performance tropes.

The transition of the preceding paragraphs from discussing the ownership and marginalisation of African musics in the UK to that of reggae music and sound-system culture hints at an important and novel connection this study makes. One does not generally think of Jamaican sound-system culture and continental African music as sharing the same conceptual space, but chapters 5 and 6 argue that at the Africa Centre at least, the connection did exist and was is in part responsible for both the programming strategy of live music there and the selection and re-performance of music during DJ sets at the venue.

The idea of re-performance, a repeated performance of an act (or in this case song) but with the agency intact to make changes, calls to mind Diana Taylor's concept of the repertoire (Taylor, 2003). For Taylor, the repertoire possesses certain archival qualities, but at the same time, is quite different from the archive in some respects. Firstly, the repertoire 'requires the presence of people' (ibid, p. 94) in an explicit way that the archive does not. These people 'participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by…being a part of the transmission' (ibid). Secondly, the actions of the repertoire do not enjoy the same stability as the objects in the archive, although they do

remain identifiably similar as they are transmitted through time (ibid). The repertoire allows traditions and influences to be traced, but does not demand the same standards of reproductive accuracy as the archive. The relationship between the archive and the repertoire is one of particular interest. At times they are similar, sometimes complementary, sometimes mutually exclusive. Taylor uses the example of live performance to illustrate this. For her, a 'live performance can never be captured or transmitted through the archive' (ibid, p. 96), but a video of the performance can. 'The video is part of the archive; what it represents is part of the repertoire' (ibid). The video cannot stand in for the performance although in practice, particularly in our age of social media it does often come to replace the performance 'as a thing in itself' (ibid). For Taylor, although the archive is not capable of capturing the performance, we cannot infer from this that the performance disappears. Rather, embodied memory as 'ritualised, formalised or reiterative behaviour…replicates [itself] through [its] own structures and codes'. In this way the repertoire and the archive share the quality of mediation (ibid). Selection, memorisation and transmission occur within both, and for Taylor, the archive and the repertoire work in tandem to meet the joint archival and embodied requirements of society (ibid).

Sound, Music, Space and Affect

Both the archive and the repertoire enjoy a relationship with the 'transpersonal and pre-personal intensities emerging as bodies affect one another' (Anderson, 2009, p. 78). It is almost impossible to theorise the space in which sound connects with the human body without an understanding of the intensities linked to discourse received through various forms of media (Edensor, 2013; DeNora, 2000). These intensities are also increasingly being considered in the archival realm. The textual, image-based and even textural contents of material archives elicit particular feelings in people. Cifor argues archival records should be viewed as 'repositories of feeling' in order to enable a fuller apprehension of their capacities (Cifor, 2016, p. 10). This affective relationship is, for her, not simply something occurring between material and researcher, but rather a web of affections in which the archivist is also enmeshed. The idea of affects connected to memory is something which appears in Benedict De Spinoza's work: once one has been affected by two or more coinciding intensities, then henceforth experience of one will recall the other (Spinoza et al., 1994, p. 162). Given that so much work generated as part of the 'affective turn' can be traced back to Spinoza's 'Of The Origin and Nature

of the Affects', it is helpful here to familiarise ourselves with his understanding of these phenomena.

Spinoza contested the idea that human beings have absolute control over their actions or are able to consciously moderate 'affects' with the power of the mind (Spinoza et al., 1994, p. 153). Specifically, he found 'men believe themselves free because they are conscious of their own actions, and ignorant of the causes by which they are determined' (ibid, p.157). As Spinoza suggested, what exactly these affects or 'causes' are is a rather fuzzy area. He appears to have partially conflated the intensities giving rise to emotions with emotions themselves: 'affects therefore, of hate, anger and the like, considered in themselves, follow with the same necessity and force of Nature as the other singular things' (ibid, p.153). He went on to define affects as 'affections of the body by which the body's power of acting is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at the same time the ideas of these affections' (ibid, p.154). In grouping together affects with 'ideas' of affections Spinoza blurred the distinctions between conscious and unconscious in a way which many more recent theorists do not. Deleuze and Guattari for example are quite specific in their assertion that neither affect, nor affection are terms indicative of a personal feeling or sentiment (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), emphasising instead Spinoza's notion of a body whose 'power of acting is increased or diminished' (Spinoza et al., 1994, p. 154). Bondi has argued that the inconsistent application of descriptors and divergent theoretical frameworks of authors working with affect make it rather difficult to maintain sensitivity to its embodied qualities whilst not losing sight of subjective experience. She rightly asserts that this binary (which characterises much of the literature on affect) is an unhelpful one and our theorisations would be more fruitful if we attended to the intersections between embodied response and conscious action (Bondi, 2014; Bondi, 2007).

An important aspect of Spinoza's list of affective postulates is the idea that the 'motion and rest of body must arise from another body, which has also been determined to motion or rest by another' (Spinoza et al., 1994, p. 155). DeNora identifies music as one such body, investing musical forms as 'referents for action, feeling and knowledge formulation' (DeNora, 2000, p. 24). She is however careful to complicate this, arguing for an understanding of music as one of a complex web of affects. For her it is 'impossible to speak of music's 'powers' abstracted from their contexts of use' (Ibid, p.

x). We must therefore understand the affects associated with music as contingent with its producer, its receiver and their shared environment (Ibid, p. 22).

Music, and by extension musical events are particular kinds of spatial creations. This particularity lies, at least in part, in the ability of sound to dynamically create space[6] and the design of the human body whose ears (unlike its eyes) do not favour stimuli from any particular direction, and are limited in their ability to bar stimuli from entering the bodily vehicle (Pratt, 1990). Indeed, the ability of sound to create or reconfigure space is one of the most distinguishing features of auditory experience (Born, 2013a). Relevant to our current discourse concerning the sonic space created at the Africa Centre, and more specifically, the Limpopo Club, are the 'post-formalist'[7] conceptions of sonic space most often related to 'performance events…site-specific and public sound works'. Here the notion of space is not internal to the structure of the music, instead focussing on the 'exterior spatialities' (ibid, p. 15-16) formed as a result of the interaction between music and the performance environment. Integral to these exterior spatialities is the concept of multiplicity.

In relation to the performance space, multiplicity can manifest itself in several different, but interrelated ways. Human experience of music in physical spaces exhibits a degree of subjectivity modulated as a function of location, movement, and the particular influences of corporeality. Another factor is the social dimension of the performance as defined by the gathering of human subjects, which 'constitutes a novel set of social relations, and whose experiences of music and sound are variant' (Born, 2013a, p. 19). We must also consider temporalities in relation to the preceding. Born discusses this relevant to the 'ebb-and flow' of sound events in the context of a single performance, but the integrity of concept is retained when accounting for a series of temporally distinct but ideologically related musical performances.

---

[6] As opposed to say pictorial space which tends to be bounded and contained within a larger physical space.

[7] Formalist conceptions of sonic space centre around the space *within* a musical piece, for example pitch-space, or the auditory space created by modern multi-track recording techniques.

Born identifies four planes of social mediation of music ranging from micro to macro. The first plane is concerned with the 'intimate micro-socialities of musical performance' (ibid, p.32). Here we are concerned with social and bodily interactions and the intersubjectivities these give rise to. In the context of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre, these might be the interactions between individuals on the dancefloor, or other communal spaces shaped by music within the Africa Centre building such as the bar or artists' green room. Born's second plane involves the 'emotional legitimacy' of 'nation-ness' discussed by Anderson in his 'Imagined Communities' (Anderson, 2006, p. 4). Listeners are grouped into 'virtual collectives' with both musical and other identifications operating as organising principles (Born, 2013a, p. 32). In our present research these might be allied to identifications such as dancers, conversationalists, employees and other active groups within the Limpopo Club space. In plane three, music 'refracts' broader social formations, those social behemoths of class, age, race, gender, ethnicity and religion. This plane speaks to the national, racial and sexual distinctions present and performed at a Limpopo Club event. Plane four sees the mediation of music by the various institutional forms enabling its 'production, reproduction and transformation' (ibid). In this instance, this would be the institution of the Africa Centre itself and those enabling institutions such as the Commonwealth Institute, ILEA or Arts Council whose funds had a bearing upon the abilities and activities of the Africa Centre.

For Born, it is not possible to reduce any of these planes to another. They each enjoy a degree of autonomous operation whilst at the same time always being articulated in contingent ways. Important in Born's formulation is the acknowledgement that music and musical space can be characterised both by consensual and 'dissensual' relations. Simply put, the musical terrain can be home to aesthetic, social, cultural, religious and political difference as well as sameness (ibid, p.33). These planes of operation call for an overarching understanding of what Born terms 'multiaccentuality'; moving beyond the unifying qualities of musical space and apprehending the social divisions that exist within it. Crucially, Born sees also the transformative potentialities of such spaces:

> Indeed, it is the subtle potentialities engendered by both the autonomy of and the mutual interference between the four planes of social mediation that may be generative of experimentation and emergence in musical and sonic assemblages. This can take the form of experimentation with the microsocialities of performance, practice or site, with the assembling of novel musical publics, with the crystallisation via musical affect of innovative social identity coalitions, or with the nature of music's institutional forms. (ibid, p.35)

Born's emphasis on the musical, cultural and social emotional identifications engendered by the experience of music is of primary importance in the context of this research. It is these identifications which give rise to the transformations, cohesions and separations we have been discussing here. As Born states, 'a musical public is…an aggregation of the affected' (ibid, p.35).

Moving towards more concrete considerations, physical space is a significant factor in these 'aggregations'. Again, multiple dimensions to this physical component exist. The first, and perhaps most obvious of these is the physical space in which the performance itself occurs. Brendan Labelle discusses these 'exterior spatialities' in relation to sound art. For him, sound is always relational to other 'materials, places and persons'. Importantly, he understands this dialogue between music and 'all that surrounds' (LaBelle, 2015, p. 296) as something which is 'is not necessarily spoken, but rather embodied, *sensed*' (ibid). The history of modern music has proven that the memories of these sensual, physical spatialities rapidly become enmeshed with the act of listening to performed (or re-performed) music itself. It is difficult to find significant musical events, or communities, which are not retrospectively related to the physical places they inhabited. Whether we choose the Jewish, East End, working class 'mods' congregating at Soho's 'Scene' a 'dank, dingy basement room that was so small there was no option but to dance' (Brewster and Broughton, 2006, p. 66) or the swarms of Jamaicans converging for Ska and Rocksteady 'lawn parties' at Kingston's Cho Co Mo Lawn (Bradley, 2001, p. 7), the physical space becomes a central aspect of how sonic events are remembered.

Another area of interest with respect to the 'exterior spatialities' of a musical event is the relation between visible light, atmosphere and affect. Club spaces, for the most part, are characterised by their marked departure from the luminescent qualities commonly associated with the physical spaces we traverse during the course of our day-to-day lives. Whether considering the light and visual shows emerging in the late 1950s and evolving to become a staple of the power rock show (Rycroft, 2011), or the infamous 'red bulb in a room' dimness of contemporary basement clubs such as London's now sadly defunct 'Plastic People' (Resident Advisor, 2014), it is impossible

to ignore the impact that lighting has on the affective atmosphere of a space. Extending beyond its representational capacities, light can be used to communicate to multiple senses at once, existing as an embodied and experiential occurrence as well as an authored artwork (Rycroft, 2013). By the same token, the absence, or near absence of light is imbued with its own particular affective complexes. In his work on the lighting of the urban cityscape, Edensor evidences the impressive lineage of the qualities and associations relating to darkness. Whilst many of these associations are negative, he also exposes a seam of references viewing the absence of light more positively (Edensor, 2013). This is consonant with the modern day club space, a place where the intrusion of illumination without artistic purpose usually signals an abrupt and unwelcome end to a 'good night'.

Attention has been paid to these various permutations of affect, the physical, the sonic and cognitive and the archival in order to foreground the argument this thesis makes regarding affect and the living archive. Treating the notion of archival affect as a given, this thesis argues that a better understanding of the remembered affects of a particular context provides a helpful guide to how the archive might be deployed in the present – initiating a fresh wave of related, but necessarily different affects.

I would now like to attend more closely to the more interpersonal and social formations. Recalling Born's four planes of social mediation of music, plane three focussed on class, race, gender and ethnicity. Social and cultural studies have generated a wealth of research and literature in this area, and it is to these disciplines that I would like to turn our attention to for useful theoretical frameworks within which to understand the memory of the social dynamics at the Africa Centre.

'Ordinary' Multiculturalism: Conviviality, Cosmopolitanism and 'Contact Zones'

Barnor Hesse's introduction to an edited volume exploring 'un/settled multiculturalisms' provides a concise overview of the invocations, permutations and antagonisms of the notion of multiculturalism within the British and American national and political landscapes since the decolonisation projects of the 1950s and 1960s. Of particular note in Hesse's reasoning is his coining of the term 'multicultural transruption'. He

defines transruptions as 'interrogative phenomena that, although related to what is marginal…refuse to be repressed' (Hesse, 2000, p. 17). Building on a theory advanced by Raymond Williams, Hesse further qualifies the idea of a multicultural transruption by thinking through the phenomena in *residual* and *emergent* terms (ibid). A residual transruption can be thought of as a recurrent tendency 'over which a hegemonic social order [holds]…no sway…[they are] marginalised, resistant, alternative, incorporative cultural forms which, recast, challenged, and/or stretched the meaning of dominant forms of representation while engraving their own significations on their social landscape' (ibid). Important under our overarching rubric of the 'living archive' is the temporal nature of such transruptions, connected as they are 'with the past as well as the future' (ibid). Applying this logic to the British milieu, Hesse argues that 'colonial representations and racist regulations' have a long imperial history, but continue to 'resurface renarrativised in the contemporary idioms of the British way of life' (ibid, p.18). The 'residual' designation indicates the inability of the dominant culture to openly express or verify these representations and regulations, whilst simultaneously being underpinned by the very same. For Hesse 'European racism is a constitutive feature of British nationalism', which is an inadmissible idea for British institutions. The unsettling nature of Hesse's residual multicultural transruptions then, lie in their insistent questioning 'in unexpected places and at unforeseen times' of matters 'deemed in hegemonic discourses to be settled, buried and apparently, beyond dispute' (ibid).

Given its locus in the musical spaces (and their archives) at the Africa Centre, this study is particularly concerned with how these 'transruptions' are remembered and played out at the local level. Mary Louise Pratt's 'contact zones' (Pratt, 1992) are useful here. Although coined with the analysis of the writing of empire in mind, their definition as spaces where people who have historically and geographically been separated come into contact with each other and establish relations map well onto the notion of the Africa Centre as a place where Africans and non-Africans are encouraged to relate to one another. Recalling that the Africa Centre was founded and managed by white people for most of its existence, I argue in this study that there is cause to revisit this particular term as memories of this particular contact zone are analysed. In this sense, Bradley's celebratory rendering of the Africa Centre is problematised as an account which requires a far more nuanced revision with respect to race and representation.

Amanda Wise invokes Pratt's idea of contact zones in her analysis of 'multiculturalism from below'. Her work focuses on the 'mundane modes of intercultural crossing in culturally diverse localities'. An alternative coining of this multiculturalism occurring in everyday spaces is given as 'quotidian transversality' (Wise 2007, p. 3). For Wise, this transversality highlights the interchanges between individuals in everyday situations using 'particular modes of sociality to produce or smooth interrelations across cultural difference' (ibid, p.4). She is careful not to conflate quotidian transversality with hybridity, code-switching, assimilation or integration, instead emphasising cultural difference as 'the basis for commensality and exchange; where identities are not left behind, but can be shifted and opened up in moments of non-hierarchical reciprocity' (ibid). Whilst the idea of 'non-hierarchical reciprocity' must be viewed with some scepticism, Wise's framework remains a useful one for this present research. In particular, her emphasis on the role of 'Transversal Enablers', people who go out of their way to create connections across difference, is of import in relation to the Africa Centre and the Limpopo Club (ibid, p.5).

Two further elements of Wise's study are also of interest. These are the 'everyday-ness' of the interchanges she is seeking to understand and the cultural rooted-ness of the individuals involved in these interchanges. Paul Gilroy's ideas around the cohesive potential of 'ordinary' interventions like the Limpopo Club are helpful in the context of Wise's 'multiculturalism from below'. Gilroy proposes 'conviviality….the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of social life in Britain's urban areas' as a concept able to pick up 'from the point where 'multiculturalism' broke down' as a force for societal cohesion' (Gilroy, 2006, p. xi). Gilroy's conviviality can be viewed as an example of Hesse's residual multicultural transruption. It is the saviour of a 'multicultural society…abandoned at birth' (ibid, p.1), come to unsettle once again something which institutions and policymakers seem mostly unable to cope with – difference. Conviviality does not propose the 'absence of racism or the triumph of tolerance', rather it explores an alternate venue for these phenomena (ibid, p.xi). Gilroy paints a picture of a government incapable of facilitating plurality and absolving itself of the responsibility to do so, rationalising this euthanasia of the multiculture on the basis that national strength emanates from homogeneity.

Exploring the idea of a national melancholia triggered by the collective realisation of the faded glory of empire and the necessity of facing the truth of the horrors upon which that empire was built, Gilroy paints a picture of Britain as a place fearful of the potential cultural destruction of dwelling peaceably with the 'others' in its midst (ibid, p.157). He insists that 'grown-up, joined up governments cannot legislate the [fearful/racist] emotions of their populations' (ibid, p.159). If not the government, then who? Gilroy invests 'local and specific interventions 'with the power to 'contribute to a counter-history of cultural relations' and influence new understandings of multicultural Europe (ibid, p.161). The 'hidden and unpredictable' nature of such convivial interactions predisposes them to erasure in the face of a nationally constructed and promoted immigration problem whose mere articulation triggers a regression to 'the master analogy of immigration as a form of warfare' (ibid). Ultimately, Gilroy's antiracist polemic argues against the reification of race, turning the tables 'on all purity seekers' and challenging their fear of otherness (ibid, p.167). In his estimation, it is the 'chaotic pleasures' of convivial encounters, more than anything else, which will aid the manifestation of this vision.

Back and Sinha observe that Gilroy's conviviality is left 'under explicated' as a result of his treatment of it as an almost secret refuge from the wider context of racism and melancholic nationalism (Back and Sinha, 2016, p. 522). They understand the ordinariness of conviviality as a result of racial difference becoming so commonplace as to be 'mundane to the point of boredom' (ibid). Like Gilroy, Back and Sinha argue that conviviality does not signify an expunging of racism but rather a less reductive approach to culture; foregrounding what people do in their day to day lives rather than their cultural origins. Borrowing from Illich, they introduce the concept of tools or 'convivial capabilities' as a means of thinking through the cultural economies of young migrants. Through their own primary research they identify five such capabilities:

1. attentiveness to the life of multiculture
2. care for the life of the city
3. capacity for worldliness beyond local confines
4. resisting the pleasures of hating or laying blame at the door of the new stranger and the next in line
5. an aptitude for connection and building home in a landscape of division and social damage

An important statement is also made concerning the impossibility of a reified conviviality which it is useful to quote here in its entirety:

> We also want to stress that what is made is not singular but open and emergent. Multi- culture can take on very different forms with varying political and ethical qualities. Convivial culture can also be forged from damaging formations of masculinity, misogyny and violence or alliances forged between different groups united by a shared hatred of the latest newcomers (ibid, p.530)

It is my suggestion here that the Limpopo Club musical space at the Africa Centre represented precisely such a convivial culture. This thesis will show that the Africa Centre was a semi-conscious experiment in multiculture and conviviality from its very inception, and that even at this stage it is rather well-known anecdotally that interracial dynamics played a significant part in the experience of this particular 'contact zone'. The nature of conviviality is that its informality often means that physical evidence in support of its existence is scant. This thesis argues that in approaching the Africa Centre's archives in an expanded sense, the acknowledgement and inclusion of living, breathing sources in the research process enables a far richer understanding than would be possible though traditional techniques alone. Further, in being concerned with the enaction of the future, the study asserts that the exposition of these sources in the present enables the sparking of fresh conversations concerning the Africa Centre as a site of intercultural engagement and the thinking through of future actions in the present.

Returning briefly to Hesse's transruptions, whilst this study does provide examples of their residual manifestations within the Africa Centre, it is important not to lose sight of the cosmopolitanism which characterised the space. Kwame Anthony Appiah's notion of a 'rooted cosmopolitan' (Appiah, 1997, p. 618) is useful here as a lens through which to understand the phenomena of global citizens whose origins are identifiably parochial. Appiah's argument normalises the idea that 'in a world of cosmopolitan patriots, people would accept the citizen's responsibility to nurture the culture and politics of their homes' (ibid, p.619). Appiah views both cosmopolitanism and patriotism as 'sentiments' onto which a range of sometimes opposing ideologies may be grafted. One ism which Appiah portrays as being challenged by the cosmopolitan is liberalism. The cosmopolitan he describes takes issue with liberalism due to its national rather

than international view. Oppression abroad is just as bad as oppression at home in his eyes, particularly when one is at once global and local:

> A liberal cosmopolitanism of the sort I am defending might put its point like this: we value the variety of human forms of social and cultural life; we do not want everybody to become part of a homogeneous global culture; and we know that this means that there will be local differences (both within and between states) in moral climate as well. As long as these differences meet certain general ethical constraints as long, in particular, as political institutions respect basic human rights we are happy to let them be (Appiah, 1997, p. 629)

Appiah argues at length for the idea that the people of a country like the United States can be committed to its common institutions and 'the conditions necessary for a common life' (ibid, p.629), but that this commitment does not have to manifest in the same way and carry the same meaning for each citizen, 'all that is required is that everybody is willing to play the game.' (ibid). Recalling our discourse around pan-Africanism, Appiah makes an interesting point about the connection between homogeneity and dignity. His feeling is that human tendencies toward homogeneity are inversely proportional to respect for human dignity and personal autonomy (ibid, p.636). If we consider Pan-Africanism as one such homogenous tendency, particularly in its most culturally nationalistic permutations, then Appiah's reasoning suggests that the drive towards it would be reduced the more western societies valued the dignity and autonomy of people of African heritage. This thesis argues that the Limpopo Club was conceived as precisely the kind of space alluded to by Appiah, where national allegiances were expected to rub up against, but never supersede, the international and ultimately, universal, acceptance of difference.

Visceral Cosmopolitanism

Mica Nava's writings on cosmopolitanism explore issues of gender and race with an archivally inspired historical particularity which is highly relevant to this research (Nava, 2007). Nava's rendering of cosmopolitanism notes its evolution has always coexisted with the most hostile manifestations of racialization. Indeed, she chooses cosmopolitanism as a lens through which to identify a range of articulations of antiracism (Nava, 2007, p. 7). Such a framework is appropriate in this research given the intention of the Africa Centre as not just a meeting point for Africans in the UK, but also as a conduit through which African culture could be presented to non-Africans with the intended output of increased intercultural understanding. Nava's coining of the term

'*visceral* cosmopolitanism', for this present study, is highly significant considering the attention given in this thesis to feeling, embodiment and affect. She invokes Raymond William's notion of 'structures of feeling', exploring the operation of the 'unconscious, non-intellectual, emotional…feelings of attraction for and identification with otherness' (ibid, p. 8). In particular, gendered and racialised attraction for otherness is core to her exposition. Musing on the postcolonial London of the 1960s, she finds that white female academics, in this case sociologists, were overrepresented in the field of race relations due to their identification, as women, with marginalisation (ibid, p. 11). Herself quoting Ras Makonnen, a Guyanese Pan-Africanist who is quoted elsewhere in this thesis (also on the subject of inter-racial identifications) Nava's work underlines the potential benefits of such interracial liaison to each party, framing such interactions as vehicles symbolically challenging white male superiority. Again useful for this study is Nava's nuanced approach to cosmopolitanism, particularly with respect to the situation of the cosmopolitan encounter. She recognises cosmopolitanism as a 'domestic' phenomenon; one which takes place 'in the family, in the neighbourhood, in the interior territories of the mind and body…[existing] independently of travel to foreign countries…[emerging] from otherness and elsewhere in the local zones' (Nava, 2007, pp. 12, 13), In this respect, Nava's cosmopolitanism shares conceptual space with ordinariness suggested by conviviality and certain permutations of multiculture.

This visceral and ordinary theory of cosmopolitanism advanced by Nava dovetails with the affective approaches discussed previously to facilitate a rich picture of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre as sites of multicultural encounter. Remembered not just as a destination for sonic stimulation, but also as site of physical, emotional and often, sexual encounter for actors of multiple races and nationalities, this thesis argues that an exposition of intercultural relations at the Africa Centre which did not account for its viscerality would be woefully inadequate in its scope. This is not least because of the temporally convergent nature of this study. Those structures of feeling whose impressions (both physical and emotional) live on in the present are precisely the ones which the living archive is prone to amplify and (hopefully) further unpack in the future. This work expands on Nava's in its focus on an Anglo-African (as opposed to Anglo American) site of cosmopolitan encounter and its exposure of an ordinary cosmopolitanism in late 20th century London.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has selectively reviewed theoretical, conceptual and empirical literature. The major conceptual lenses through which the data uncovered in this study is viewed have been discussed in the context of how the argument of this thesis expands or innovates upon their foundations. The research as a whole proceeds under the rubric of the living archive. In practice, this means a recognition from the outset that the material in the Africa Centre archives is being activated in order to create anew and enable a better understanding of their 'pre-history'. My deliberate amalgamation of the ideas of the living archive, the ritual archive and living black history facilitate the inclusion of human experiences and oral testimonies in this archive. Scott's archaeological metaphor for the archive has been invoked simply to enable this area of exploration/creation to be viewed as a 'site'. Any site has key defining features; terrains, structures, patterns, atmospheres and boundaries which make it what it is and enable it to be identified as a discrete, but always relational unit. The inclusion of ideas such as pan-Africanism, Afrocentricity, Henriques' 'Sonic Bodies', affect, cosmopolitanism, conviviality and the gendered aspects of these all serve to identify these features, boundaries and atmospheres which my research has brought me into contact with and hopes to leverage in the spirit of the stimulation of the open-ended conversations characteristic of the living archive as it has thus far been conceived.

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY & METHODS

The purpose of this chapter is to make explicit the practical actions and underpinning theoretical constructs that have guided the collection and analysis of the data presented in this thesis. In the interest of clarity, these ideas and actions are presented under separate headings but it is important to remember that this separation was not a feature of the research in practice. Strict distinctions between methods and methodologies are not only unhelpful, but do not 'represent fully the nature of…archival research processes' (Clary-Lemon, 2014, p. 384). Whilst it is important here to discuss both the theoretical principles guiding this research, and the practical ways in which these principles have been implemented, we must note from the outset the interconnected 'continuum' of theory and practice (ibid, 382).

Living the Archive

It should be clear from the preceding sections that the notion of a living archive is central to this thesis. Methodologically, this manifests as both *a living of the archive,* and *a causing of the archive to live*. These concepts, whilst linguistically similar (and intimately related), are functionally distinct. The section below explores the living of the archive, by which I mean the acknowledgement of the contingency of archival material, living researcher and environment of the research process. Causing the archive to live, in contrast, denotes a consciousness of the fact that by reproducing individual items from the Africa Centre's material archives within this thesis, and by quoting each informant, I am undertaking an act of archival activation. In Hall's terms, the 'production and circulation of new work' (Hall, 1999, p. 3) itself goes on (quite literally in this case) to become a part of the archive and perhaps inspire further work. This work does not stop at consciousness of its own inclusion in an on-going archival narrative however. Indeed, it is carried out in a persistent awareness of its own futurity, actively seeking to shape this future in specific ways through the selection of particular objects of inquiry and the planning of future activations involving these objects. This is the 'dubbing of the archive' which, in this research, is a product of the meeting of the researcher with both organic and inert materials. It is an active process of selection and (re)presentation inseparable from the nature of both materials and researcher.

Material Methods

The bedrock of this thesis comprises the material archives of the Africa Centre. It is through my working with these archives that the ideas and ultimately, opportunities for this research were made manifest. The thesis then is grounded in materiality, but through focussing on the notion of the living archive, chooses to complicate and expand the idea of archival material in various ways. Before approaching the animated, embodied and affective concepts with which we are concerned here however, we should note that material itself enjoys its own layers of complexity. Clary-Lemon states that the mediation of knowledge by material is not as linear as some authors imply. For her, contingency is a central principle – the acceptance of 'the complexity the social world brings to any understanding of an object at hand' (Clary-Lemon, 2014, p. 385). Methodologically, this study acknowledges archival material in terms of its '*discovery* as well as [its] *examination*' (ibid, p. 387). Like Clary-Lemon's, our archive is not simply the material itself, but its intertwining with the processes and environments of its discovery. I would like to make a connection with this idea and the importance archivists place on the notion of context. Archival science rarely if ever defines the context of an archive in these broad terms. Archivists tend to limit the notion of context to the organisational (or personal) context in which material was *created*. The moment the material in question is discovered/re-discovered/re-activated however, such a rigid formulation becomes problematic. The past-tense '*what happened?*' in the making and collection of documents is joined by present-tense consideration of 'how?' and 'by whom?'. How have these sources been found and what subjectivities characterise those who have found them? What is the 'affective proximity' the researcher shares with the object of their focus and what influence do these emotions exert on the research process (ibid, p.388)?

This thesis itself constitutes an argument for a focus on process and discovery as part of the heuristic of the living archive. The title 'Living the Archive' is not an accidental or purely aesthetic choice. Instead, it points to the fact that as an archival researcher (or maybe more accurately, an archival activator), my role was more than to simply identify and report on reified documents, but rather to invoke them within a web of relationships of which my lived experiences, archival process and material environment played key parts.

I come to this study as a musician-archivist of African heritage and a particular set of ideas about what each of these words mean. My affection for music, more than simply limiting the scope of the research at hand to the musical space at the Africa Centre, engenders specific ways of thinking about the discovery and activation of archival material which are woven into the very fabric of the thesis. Similarly, as an archivist, my respect for archival principles and the competing urge to disrupt them characterise much in this study – from its decision to re-trace the shape of the living archive, to its insistence in thinking about 'the archive' in both broad and narrow terms. This tension is never truly resolved in these pages. In fact, the methodology underpinning this research does not seek such resolution. It proceeds with the understanding that the archive can at once be granular, concrete, broad and intangible. My identification as someone of African heritage, albeit via the Caribbean, and the 'Black Britishness' in which I was raised again impacts heavily on my reading and consequently my reactivation of the archive. Rather than performing a surgical review of these impacts here, I will instead refer the reader to the literature reviewed in chapter 2. The invocation of authors like Hall and Gilroy alongside Jaji, Falola, Henriques, Bradley, Marable, Makonnen, DuBois, Garvey and Asante within the context of a thesis whose focus is broadly archival speaks for itself in terms of the clear need I experience as an archivist of colour to bring that colour to the profession in theory and in practice.

Further unpacking my subjectivities in the light of Clary-Lemon's case for material methods, it is also important to note that my research process did not include the formal ordering up of documents identified via a traditional finding aid. Neither was I required to surmount the various administrative barriers common to consulting archives in order to enjoy the opportunity to analyse the archival 'texts'. In a sense, the archive of the Africa Centre had been a part of my life long before the commencement of this study. Formally, as has been noted in the introduction to this thesis, I was engaged in the listing of the Africa Centre archives before this study began. This was carried out in the original Africa Centre premises – a location brimming with a 50-year accretion of affects made more palpable still by the imminent sale of the building and a fraught campaign to halt the same mounted by a dynamic and vocal supporting community. Further, long before I ever set foot in the Africa Centre building, I had been engaged with its 'living archive' of musicians, promoters and artists during my time as a DJ and promoter. This prior human contact is an important methodological consideration as it

naturally has significant impact on the sources and therefore the argument unpacked within this thesis. Little attempt has been made to mitigate against this intense subjectivity. In fact, I contend that the 'livingness' of a living archive is in part a celebration of subjective choices – both those that lead to material accretion and those that select which aspects of these accretions are to be activated and invoked anew. It must be borne in mind however that for every invocation or selection, there is a corresponding absence. Something that was not chosen from, or maybe even never existed within the archive. Such absences can have their own stimulating and provocative abilities (Halilovich, 2016). Ultimately, the methodology grounding this research combines object selection with what Clary-Lemon terms 'listen[ing] differently to the archives' (Clary-Lemon, 2014, p. 399); acknowledging the need for the interpretation of multiple layers of understanding stretching far beyond the mere material itself and deep into the subjective nature of myself as a researcher/activator.

Dubbing the Archive

Stuart Hall's essay on the Living Archive begins with a quote from a Walter Benjamin text asserting the transient, urgent and potentially disruptive nature of bringing the past into the present. I want to consider these characteristics in the light of a statement I made in the previous section regarding the impact of my musical background on the methodological framework of this study. Specifically, my aim here is to clarify how Jamaican Dub techniques have been employed as both methodology and method in this research. Although the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre was focussed on music from the African continent, this thesis finds that Reggae music was an important shaping factor in its articulation of pan-Africanism and the sonic signature of Wala Danga as an African music DJ/Promoter. Indeed, this research makes the case that for Danga, music from across the African diaspora could be interpreted as 'African music'.

Dub music has been defined in terms of a deconstructive approach to the remixing of a Reggae song 'applying sound processing technology in unusual ways to create a unique pop music language of fragmented sound forms and reverberating soundscapes' (Veal, 2007, p. 2). Hall's invocation of Benjamin employs words like 'flashing' and 'seizing' in its description of the existence of the past in the present (Hall, 2001, p. 89). This, for me, immediately brings to mind Dub techniques and

technologies. The Dub engineer does not articulate the past the way it was originally presented, instead s/he orchestrates the past in the present - *seizing* hold of snatches of sound and *flashing* them up as shards of shattered sonics, repeated through layers of echo and reverb.

The connecting lines between Dub as methodology and the research and re-use of archival material are many and varied. Dub is often described as an alternate presentation of an 'original' mix of a song. In its early days, before sound effects were a defining factor, a 'dub' mix was known as a 'version' and at least initially, these versions were not available for public purchase, but were instead only accessible to sound system operators and cut onto 'acetates' or 'soft-wax' which, due to their chemical composition, would deteriorate after a certain number of plays and so had a finite lifespan (Veal, 2007, p. 52). Our first parallels between Dub and the archive are here revealed. Archival theory obsesses over the balancing of the ostensibly conflicting paradigms of access and preservation (Menne-Haritz, 2001; Valge and Kibal, 2007). Each archive, even if it contains published or ephemeral material, is unique in its composition. Through its use however, it can be seen to deteriorate. The archival endeavour itself is motivated by our individual and collective fear of memory loss – of reaching the materials' 'final play'. Reggae rhythms (or 'riddims') though are notorious for their resilience. A popular rhythm may be recut countless times and it is not uncommon to purchase new Reggae music based on rhythms which originally surfaced over half a century ago. I am arguing here then for successive activations of an archive not to be viewed as an incitement to deterioration, but rather *to a form of preservation*. This idea is concretised later in this chapter as an explanation of the successive activations constituting this thesis.

A 'version', initially, was little more than a vocal song with the majority of the vocals silenced in favour of the underpinning rhythm track. As Jamaican studio engineers, pushed on by the demands of sound-system operators for exclusive material, developed the form however, Dub became one of the first musics to place the studio engineer at the centre of the creative endeavour, pushing the boundaries of their equipment to 'fashion a new musical language that relied as much upon texture, timbre and sound space as it did on the traditional musical parameters' (Veal, 2007, p. 64). The producer/engineer became the prime conduit of new versions of a particular musical story. These versions were prized for their subjectivity and were constructed to

suit the time - adding and dropping elements at will according to the affects the engineer wished to stimulate in their listeners. At first glance the archivist's role is almost the antithesis of the engineer's described above. This thesis however is predicated on a conviction that the archivist must begin to own their position as the actor most likely to directly (by themselves) or indirectly (through their relationship with researchers) bring life to new or alternate versions of the histories in their care. They are the ones whose proximity to the archive and the uniqueness which it represents endows them with both the affective powers of exclusivity, and the spirit conjured up by the ritual of archiving (Mbembe in Hamilton, 2002).

In this study, it is the affective potentials of the material which have driven their (re)presentation. These potentials, naturally, are subjective; stimulated and modulated by current issues and concerns at both personal and societal levels. The imperative is not towards completist chronologies and historiography but rather the amplification, echo and reverberation of particular signatures. Echo and reverb themselves have their own relationship with the idea of the past, present and future; their representation of history is not as it was, but nevertheless existing as a direct result of what once was. Veal associates echoes closely with memory, and the 'evocation of the chronological past'. He further recognises however an echo's capacity to evoke the vastness of outer space, and by association, the future (Veal, 2007, p. 198). The methodological approach to this research and its presentation as a series of related, yet thematically distinct vignettes with an explicit treatment of their relationship to both present and future is this work's manifestation of the principles of Dub.

Given all the talk of the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club as pan-African meeting spaces, it is entirely appropriate that Dub and its relatives have been strongly connected to ideas of pan-Africanism and the memory of African cultural roots (ibid). Veal considers Dub a 'cultural sound painting of a type, vividly dramatizing the experience of diasporic exile' (ibid, p.199). For him, dub techniques arose out of a historical moment (the 1970s/1980s) where the African diaspora were concerned with exploring their ancestral past. Within this formulation, the manipulation of reverberation and echo characteristic of the genre was allied to notions of presence and absence, of completeness and incompleteness. Dub evoked 'the intertwined experiences of exile and nostalgia…fragments of an African cultural memory under reconstruction' (ibid).

The Africa Centre itself was created to reconstruct and amplify aspects of African cultures here in the UK. Part of its functional value, as I shall argue later in this thesis,

was to provide Africans living abroad with echoes of 'home' and support more vivid constructions of African cultural memory by Africans via the Caribbean. Music at the Africa Centre, although always a feature, took a much more definite shape in the mid 1970s when the idea for the Limpopo Club began to take root. This coincides temporally with the intertwined experiences of exile and nostalgia of which Veal speaks. It is interesting that at that time, there was a significant contingent of South African and Zimbabweans at the Centre, including Wala Danga – the sonic architect of the musical space there.

My preoccupation with improvisation and the subjective 'flashing' up of seized moments into the collective consciousness does however seek to ground itself in a related imperative of contextual understanding. In his 'Archaeologies of Black Memory', David Scott recognises the archive both as an ordered aggregation of materials and, following Foucault, as 'an implicit and constitutive part of the epistemic background of…knowledge' (Scott, 2008, p. 2). It is quite interesting that Scott chooses the metaphor of archaeology as a rubric under which to proceed. The archaeologist begins their dig with an informed sense of their site. Their complete knowledge of the said site however, can only be furnished through the gradual accrual of fragments which, when allied with each other, and related to contextual information, begin to tell the site's story. The Dub engineer, on the other hand, begins their work with an intimate and complete knowledge of their 'site'. By this I mean both their studio environment, and the various audio tracks which together comprise the song which they manipulate into a 'dub' or 'version'. The archaeologist complies fragments whilst the 'dubist' creates and manipulates them. Both tell a story. Whilst the dubist's story is proudly subjective and partial, the archaeologist's is concerned with accurate representations of what happened.

This thesis proceeds under the understanding that the archivist/researcher can be simultaneously archaeologist and dubist. The argument is for a methodological approach which is complex, immersive, subjective and selective whilst still observing, though never quite realising (because it is, in fact, impossible), the tendency toward completeness of an archaeological site reconstruction. It is an approach which takes the pre-history and provenance of the archive into account in embodied and material ways, but chooses to flash snatches of this history/memory up in the 'moments of

danger' (Hall, 2001, p. 89) which, at this time, form the chapters of the thesis and, at a future moment, could form the basis of fresh practical interactions.

Methods

Turning our attention to the practical actions through which this methodology was made manifest, this research included the conducting of five semi-structured interviews with the leaders of 'living' archival projects, and the collection of twenty six oral history interviews (some incorporating photo-elicitation) within a semi-structured interview framework. Concerning the Africa Centre, the years 1960 to 2000 were the temporal focus of the project, although some material did fall outside of this date range. Within this time period, the years 1975 – 2000 were paid particular attention as they corresponded to the establishment and what are now recognised as the 'golden years' of the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre[8]. In addition to these interview based techniques, the review and identification of Africa Centre archival materials of relevance to the sonic themes of the research and the 'pre-history' of the archive were core to the research process.

The exposited methodology mentions the 'causing of the archive to live' with the implication that method and methodology extend beyond the collection of data and are also concerned with its presentation. This acknowledges presentation as a further aspect of the archival continuum. The 'dubbing' of the archive manifests practically within this thesis as an intentional disregard for the chronological historicisation of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. Instead, the thesis presents a series of themed vignettes resonating both with the past, as articulated by the Africa Centre archives, and present day concerns within and beyond the African diaspora. In short, this thesis is put forward not as a definitive history of what happened, but rather as fragments of memory with present day affects and purpose.

---

[8] Interviews also sought contextual information which fell outside of these limits.

The sections which follow describe the practical processes of collecting archival and oral historical research data, selecting and accessing subjects, and the ethical considerations inherent to the chosen methods.

Archival Considerations

'Mining' the Africa Centre archives

The basis for the more active, oral historical and participatory aspects of this research was, in the main, the information held in the Africa Centre archives. Therefore, it is with archival sources that the research found its initial form. Though it could be argued that the true 'ground zero' of this research were my informal contacts with the musical community of the Africa Centre, I would counter that the idea of transmuting a collection of contacts and anecdotal stories into a formal research project was not born until my work with the Centre's material archives began. Listing these material archives as part of the Centre's departure from its Covent Garden premises facilitated the location and organisation of key sources on Limpopo Club history.

Files of particular relevance to the proposed research were the event programming files and the (rather scant) minutes of the programming team meetings, ephemera relating to musical events at the Limpopo Club/Africa Centre, audio recordings of the 'Talking Africa' radio show (an Africa Centre produced radio show), event photographs and external holdings such as the audio records of the Africa Centre's early years deposited at the British Library (British Library Sound Archive collection C/48). The collation and analysis of this material served to guide the oral history process, providing entry points for contacting potential informants and offering invaluable contextual information for use in the design of interview schedules. Additionally, the ephemeral and photographic material held in the archives was used during the interviews for the purposes of photo-elicitation (explained further below). An important consideration here was the knowledge that the material held in the Africa Centre's archives, like any institutional or organisational archives, presents a particular perspective on events. This research attempted to mitigate against this obviously skewed data by interviewing live subjects

(see below) and also drawing on archival material from Wala Danga's personal Limpopo Club archive.

Supplementing the Collection?

A core aspect of living the archive is the cyclical generation of new material. As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, Hall is quite clear about the importance of the generation and preservation of new works. As was noted in chapter two however, Hall's living archive views the inclusion of living sources as supplementary to the archive proper, which one must presume, based on his articulation that he understands to be the physical accretions of paper, film, photographs and the like which are traditionally housed in an archival repository. This thesis however argues that living testimony (and embodied memory) should also be considered as part of *the archive*. In this sense then, the soliciting, documentation and depositing of oral history interviews into the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club archives should not be viewed as supplementation of the collection, but simply an aspect of holistic archival research. Practically speaking, once an overview of the materials in the Africa Centre's archive had been generated, it was possible to assert in which ways the broader archive could best be connected to the material constituting its conceptual core. An obvious starting point for this expansion of the collection was the donation of the oral history recordings and their transcripts to the archive. This donation was not however a forgone conclusion. Tensions during the sale of the lease for 38 King Street meant that not all interviewees felt comfortable donating their interviews to the Africa Centre. Often in such cases, they were happy for their interview to form a part of the Limpopo Club archives collated by Wala Danga, and as a result, all interviews apart from those conducted in relation to the living archival initiatives were donated to either one, or the other archival collection. Initially, the intention was also to locate materials which may be in the possession of interviewees and provide an avenue for the donation of these materials to the archive. Due to the precarious position of the Africa Centre archives during the research period in question, this did not occur, but plans for actioning this particular intention are discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

Researching the Living Archive

The donations discussed above raise some interesting questions for the archivist in terms of the integrity of the record and the processes of a records creation and accession. These questions have been alluded to, but are seldom answered in the existing literature concerning the living archive (McAvinchey, 2009; Bailey and Boyce, 2001; Hall, 2001). This present research seeks to develop the idea of a living archive in relation to the Africa Centre archives. It is therefore important to have a well-rounded understanding of exactly *what* is being developed from both practical and theoretical perspectives. To achieve this depth of understanding, semi-structured interviews were held with the creators of a number of prominent, 'non-traditional' archival initiatives. The purpose of these interviews was to get behind the glossy project rhetoric characteristic of the heritage industry (Lynch, 2010, p. 9) and begin to understand the practical and theoretical implications of working with archives in this way. The interviews served as both inspiration and education on the ways to work (and to avoid working) in this area. The selection of a range of projects including 'black' and non-ethnically specific initiatives was purposeful. Following Toyin Falola, I am of the mind that developing more culturally specific ways of thinking about and working with archives does not have to occur to the exclusion of all other cultural paradigms (Falola and Library of Congress, 2016). Whilst it is important to remain rooted in Africa when thinking through the activation of the Africa Centre's archives, there are useful insights to be gained by exploring beyond those conceptual borders. Table 1. Below lists the initiatives researched here, offering information about the types of records they hold. The interview schedule which was used as a guide for these interviews can be found in Appendix I.

Table 1. Projects Interviewed for their perspectives on archival activations

Project Name	Date Interviewed	Key Contact	Types of Records
The South London Black Music Archive	02/10/2014	Barby Asante	Ephemeral objects and audio media donated by the public and 'selected' by the curator.
The LIFT Living Archive	13/10/2014	Caiomhe McAvinchey	Documentation recording historic London International Festival Theatre

			performances.
John Cage Unbound – A Living Archive	02/06/2015	Jonathan Hiam	Musical manuscripts, pre-compositional material, public contributions inspired by the work of John Cage.
The Living Archive	09/04/2015	Roger Kitchen	Oral histories, photographs, research documents, memorabilia and other material connected to their history of community development projects.
Future Histories	30/09/2015	Alda Terracciano	The records of Black theatre groups formed in the 1970s including Black Performance, Carnival Archive, Motiroti Archives, Black Theatre Forum Archives and the Nitro, formally known as Black Theatre Co-operative Archives.

Oral History Data Collection

A semi-structured qualitative approach was taken to collect interview data for the study. Subject based oral history interviews were used to collect data for analysis with respect to music, race and space at the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club. It is important to reiterate here the mantra which this thesis will continue to repeat: that in the context of the living archive, these oral histories must be viewed as part of the Africa Centre's archives even before they have been uttered by interviewees. Respondents were selected based upon their accessibility their relationship with the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club (as Directors, Managers, Programmers, Promoters, DJs, Musicians, audience members).

Semi-Structured Oral History Interviews

The process of working with oral histories has variously been described as challenging, controversial, exciting and promising (Abrams, 2010). Much of the challenge and controversy inherent in oral history stems from its subjective memorial and narrative elements. Oral history does not simply meet history 'as it was', but is contingent with the memory and ideas of self of the interviewee as modulated by their present ideologies (Perks and Thomson, 1998, p. 47). This is not to say however that the oral history interview does not offer factual information regarding historical events, simply that these facts are tempered by more fluid subjective mechanisms. To paraphrase Abrams, oral history interviews seek to discover what happened, how people felt about it, how they recall it, how they narrate it in the specific inter-subjective context of the interview, and what wider public memory they draw upon (Abrams, 2010, p. 78).

The nature of the conceptual frameworks selected for this research demand the exploration of subjectivity, meaning and memory which, in turn, all connect with issues of affect and emotion. Oral histories proved the most appropriate vehicle for collecting this data – enabling the research to extrapolate an account of the subject of enquiry whilst simultaneously providing the means to analyse the individual and collective meanings present. Speaking directly to the subject of hegemony, one which has variously been related to ethnic minorities and artists and emerges in this thesis in relation to the power dynamics at the Africa Centre, the oral history discipline has itself a history of promoting more egalitarian power relationships and fashioning itself as 'a tool of advocacy for groups marginalised or excluded from formal channels of power' (Abrams, 2010, pp. 153–154).

Multi-Stage Process

Yow suggests a multi-stage approach to collecting oral histories (Yow, 2005). At the preliminary stage, literature reviews and informal (unrecorded) meetings with selected informants are sought in order to define the scope of the interviews and identify other potential informants. It is important to note however that this informality must still be based on ethical research principles (see 'Ethics' section below). The next stage involves creating an interview schedule, outlining the questions to be posed arising as a result of the literature review and informal consultation stages. In contrast to some

other social science approaches, the interview schedule should not be viewed as a questionnaire. This can impose unhelpful limitations on the range of answers a respondent may give, and therefore runs the risk of adversely affecting the richness of the interview with respect to its memorial, subjective and narrative qualities. The schedule should rather be seen as a guide providing 'topics and a strategy for following a line of questioning' (ibid, p. 71). Integral to this strategy are open-ended questions encouraging a degree of freedom of response. This freedom must be reflected by the interviewer, who although partially bound by the topics outlined in the interview schedule, must be flexible enough to deviate 'off-piste', recognising where doing so could benefit the research. Alongside planned questions, probing and follow up questioning techniques are an important tool of the oral historian who must recognise and act upon indications from the respondent that a larger story lies beneath a certain statement or omission. Clearly, this ability must be tempered by an awareness of when deeper interrogation is inappropriate or may cause the interviewee undue stress. Interview schedules upon which interviews with the various historic actors of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre were based can be found in appendices II, III, IV and V at the end of this thesis.

Elite Interviewing

The distinction is often made between 'elite interviews' (such as those collected by historian Allan Nevins for the Columbia University project[9]) and those interviews seeking to understand history from the bottom up (the 1930's New Deal Federal Writers Project undertaken in America is an example of this) (Abrams, 2010, p. 4). Despite some rather refreshing calls for the demise of the theoretically outmoded conceptions this distinction implies (Smith, 2006), there is an unshakeable sense that these categories still hold some relevance.

Out of the thirty narrators, some could be considered 'elite' by way of their historic influence over the organisations being investigated, or their fame as musical artists. Whilst arguably these peoples' perspectives are no more important than the audience members at the events I am interested in, their positions, historic or current, did

---

[9] The Columbia University oral history project aimed to document, with tape recorders, the memoirs of 'great men' – men with significant social influence and affiliations to world leaders.

sometimes affect how they expected me to relate to them in an interview context, my impressions (and prejudices) of them and my subject-specific knowledge going into the interview. To an extent, I sought to mitigate against producing skewed histories of the 'great and the good' by ensuring actors other than those in elevated social positions (audience members and doormen as against Centre Directors for example) were interviewed. Further, designing appropriate interview schedules in advance of each interview provided the opportunity to be more objective (although 'objectivity' obviously has severe limitations in these situations) about the lines of enquiry in the interview setting.

Photo-Elicitation

During the research process I was able to leverage my access to the Africa Centre archives, and on occasion the Limpopo Club archives to the benefit of the research in question. Photo-Elicitation refers to the act of utilising photographic imagery within a research interview in order to elicit reflection and memory (Rose, 2012). The strengths attributed to this pictoral insertion include the exposition of 'different insights into social phenomena' not normally provided by oral, aural or written stimuli (Bolton et al., 2001, p. 503) and the deepening of the emotional and affective aspects of the interview. Not limited to photographs, these strengths have been associated with any sort of visual materials by advocates of the methodology (Rose, 2012). The Africa Centre archives house a rich collection of ephemeral items such as flyers and event listings, as well as a more modest collection of photographic images. Where appropriate, I used these materials within interviews in order to elicit richer memories of the period and events my research is focussed upon. 'Richer' in this context denotes 'beliefs, attitudes and meanings' in addition to the establishment of 'factual' historic events (Prosser, 1998, p. 124). In particular, I found that images depicting the interior of the Africa Centre and also, images of performances at the Limpopo Club were effective in eliciting oral reflections; they stimulated remembered and novel affects. Clearly though, this method adds a further dimension to my influence on the interview data as a researcher (through my selection of materials and the junctures at which I chose to present them in the interview). This added complexity demanded a highly reflexive application of the method and analysis of the results generated (Rose, 2012).

As an archivist, this implementation of the Photo-Elicitation methodology also had the benefit of identifying materials which may be of potential value to the Africa Centre archives. Often it was the sharing of material already in the archives that would prompt interviewees to share information about the material in their own personal collections.

Elicitation was spontaneous and approached in the 'Dub' style laid out earlier in this chapter. Some examples of the kinds of records used for this purpose are included in Appendix VI.

Capture

Traditionally, oral history interviews have been recorded in audio only – initially to cassette tape, and more recently to a digital audio file. However, in recent years, the falling price and rising quality of portable video recorders has made the recording of video interviews a possibility worth serious consideration. The key advantage of using video is the ability to transmit an added dimension of the personality of the interviewee to future researchers (through facial features, build, appearance, physical gestures etc). The possible downside of interviews recorded in this way is a loss of intimacy and the corresponding effect this may have on the behaviour of the interviewee (Perks, 2009). In an attempt to obtain the 'best of both worlds', for this research I employed both audio and video techniques. I was careful not to impose video as a singular choice however and interviewees were all given the option to record the interview in audio only. All twenty-two audio interviews were recorded in .wav format whilst the seven video interviews were captured in at 1080p HD resolution in the .mov format.

Transcription

To facilitate analysis and better access to the interviews, they were transcribed in full. As a key tool in interpretative analysis, the accuracy of this transcript is important. However, the very fact that aural events are committed to text involves a degree of interpretation (the addition of punctuation, the possible removal of verbal tics etc),

possibly altering the meanings apparent in the recorded version of the encounter[10] (Abrams, 2010, pp. 11–13). Rather than reach for the holy grail of an exact transcription, each interview was transcribed to reflect the oral recording, but be read in tandem with the same for interpretative purposes. In keeping with the ethical processes outlined below, the final transcript of the interview, including the omission of any sections at the request of the interviewee were agreed before they could be used further. Respondents were also given options regarding the anonymisation of their interview and the donation of their recording and transcript to an archival repository.

Access and Selection

Regardless of the methodological approach, any research involving people and information must consider how these will be accessed. In the case of human participants, establishing trust is core to a successful study (Yow, 2005) (Tonkin, 1984). The process of forging trusting relationships with participants can, on the researcher's part, involve common social conventions (Yow, 2005) or more complex acts such as the immersion of the researcher in the reality being investigated (Hyndman, 2001) In both cases, the leveraging of personal and social networks by the researcher can be an important first step in the building of mutual trust between researchers and participants.

As a researcher whose personal and professional networks are closely related to the subjects of inquiry, the utilisation of these contacts was indeed beneficial in the building of trust, thus optimising the quality of the research information gathered. I have previously worked with the Africa Centre, and continue to do so at the time of writing. Further, music has been a profession of mine for many years, and I am known both personally and professionally amongst a network of African musicians as a DJ, Events Promoter and Workshop Leader. These affiliations afforded me some access to the Africa Centre's networks and those networks of African musicians who have performed at the centre during the time period in question. The existence of personal and professional connections inevitably raise questions of impartiality, particularly in the

---

[10] In my previous experiences with oral history I have also discovered that oftentimes, the interviewee is not wholly satisfied with a transcript which includes pauses, repetitions and verbal tics and is much more likely to agree to a 'smoothed out and standardised' (Abrams, 2010) version of events.

case of the Africa Centre, the co-funder of this research. Whilst it was clear from the collected data that participants' historic relationships with the Africa Centre did have an effect on their memories of the events in question, the interviews were still sufficiently content rich as to prove highly informative, even once analysed with this bias in mind. Another potential risk was the Africa Centre's co-funding of the research project. In this regard, I was actually surprised at the freedom the organisation gave me to select and pursue what I felt were important research topics and lines of enquiry, whether they could prove detrimental to the public image of the organisation or not. In fact, to date, there has been no attempt by any member of the organisation to influence my research output whatsoever and so the findings reported in this thesis have not been filtered in any way by the Africa Centre.

It is of course impossible to eliminate personal subjectivities from research of this nature. This remains true both for my subjectivities as a researcher, and those subjectivities brought to the study by research participants. Rather than being a problem, these subjectivities can actually serve to enrich the information gleaned from the research and how it is interpreted; provided the researcher is as transparent as possible regarding their own positionality in the research process. Interpreting meaning from this type of interview however is a complex affair. Discussing intersubjectivity, Abrams asserts the three-way nature of an oral history interview – the dialogue between the respondent and him/herself, that between the interviewer and respondent, and that between the respondent and present/past cultural discourses. This interplay inevitably means that the stories emerging from such interviews are to some degree shaped by these intersubjective relationships. They are performances composed for an audience and must be decoded as such (Abrams, 2010, p. 22). I am tempted to add a fourth dimension to this – the dialogue between the researcher and him/herself. This occurs prior to the interview in the structuring of the interview schedule and manifests more dynamically during the interview as dialogue begins to flow and spontaneous departures from the schedule are made. These must also be viewed as intersubjective performances, albeit partially premeditated ones. Within this complex, it is also important to factor in the partiality of the Africa Centre's material archive. Key aspects of the archive were collated during the 90s and early 00s by a former Office Manager at the Centre. It is entirely probable that the material was selected to present a particular, and potentially sanitised, view of the organisation; a

transparency on which power relations were inscribed (Stoler, 2002, p. 87). This has been taken into account during the analytical process by, for example, regular consideration of what was not visible in the archive and by paying the appropriate critical attention to meanings other than that obviously presented within a text, image or verbal statement. The use of a range of oral sources alongside material archives further serves to mitigate against such biases.

Despite personal and professional connections to the aforementioned networks, mindfulness of the territory I was navigating with this research remained essential. Controversy and interpersonal friction have been constant companions of the Africa Centre. The most prominent example of this was the public controversy triggered by the sale of the iconic Africa Centre building. The space was sold against the wishes of many affiliates and patrons, who in turn responded by initiating a 'Save the Africa Centre' campaign[11]. In the case of some musicians and event promoters, these sensitivities are compounded by tense historic relationships with the Centre, relations characterised by disgruntlement at perceived unfair treatment by the organisation and dissatisfaction at the course charted for the organisation by its various Directors. Given these factors, obtaining usable data from this research demanded that I clearly distinguish my work as an independent researcher from my work as an archivist for the Africa Centre. This was stated and reinforced at each stage of the interview process (initial information sheet, preliminary interview, main interview) and was further bolstered by the use and deposit options offered to participants on the consent forms for their interviews.

Interviewees were selected based upon a range of factors including their relationship to the Africa Centre as an organisation, their relationship to the musical aspects of Africa Centre programming, their gender and ethnicity and their willingness to be interviewed. The intention was to interview a fairly broad selection of actors including former management and programmers at the Centre, promoters and employees concerned with the musical space at the Africa Centre and former audience members of the musical events at the Africa Centre. There was also a degree of self-selection

---

[11] The 'Save the Africa Centre' campaign website can be viewed at: http://savetheafricacentre.wordpress.com/tag/save-the-africa-centre/

operating amongst potential interviewees. Not all potential informants wanted to be interviewed for example and in some cases, this has impacted on the findings recorded in this thesis. It was, for example, not easy to find women of African or Caribbean heritage who were prepared to place their experiences on record as part of this research. In contrast, it was relatively easy to identify African and Caribbean men, and both white men and women to relate their experiences to me. This introduces a bias into the findings of this research which would require a further dedicated research project aimed specifically at women of African heritage to address.

Ethical Considerations

The Economic and Social Science Research Council ground good-practice ethical research in six key principles (Economic and Social Research Council, 2012, pp. 2–3):

1. Integrity and quality.
2. Informing research participants.
3. Confidentiality and anonymity.
4. Voluntary participation free from coercion.
5. Avoidance of harm.
6. Independence and impartiality of the researcher.

The integrity and quality of the proposed research was ensured in a number of ways. My preliminary research enabled me to be able to pose research questions capable of yielding quality data. This data would be of limited use unless the sample of respondents is large and varied enough to enable a somewhat accurate picture of the subject of the research to emerge from the interviews. This was supported by selecting respondents from a variety of professional and cultural backgrounds within the specified sample size. Those taking part in this research received an information sheet detailing the purpose and process of data collection. They were informed verbally, and where appropriate, in writing, of their rights and any rights they agreed to transfer to me via a process of continuous informed consent. Once the interview was complete, respondents also had the opportunity to agree a final version of the transcript of their interview. This was done in full knowledge of their right to close or anonymise some, or all of their recorded interview and interview transcript. Respondents opted in to the research at their own discretion. They were also informed that they were free to

terminate the process and leave at any time should they deem this action necessary. Whilst I did work for the Africa Centre, there was no onus on me to emerge from this research with a particular, Africa Centre sanctioned version of history. In fact, the Centre has actively encouraged the project of mining their history, musical and otherwise, without censorship. This attitude towards the research made impartiality and independence on my part much easier (though never absolute) positions for me to assume. Copies of the information sheet and consent forms associated with all of the studies research interviews can be found in appendices VII, VIII, IX, X and XI.

Research Participants

The table below shows a list of people interviewed concerning their recollections of the Africa Centre, the Limpopo Club, and their musical spaces as part of this research:

Table 2. Oral History Interviewees, their relationship to the Africa Centre and the dates on which they were interviewed for this study

Interviewee Name	Relationship to Centre	Date of Interview
Adesose Wallace	Ibile Bandleader/Visual Artist and Africa Centre/Limpopo Club attendee	19/03/2015
Alastair Niven	Former Africa Centre Director (1978 – 1984)	07/11/2014
Anthony Levy	Limpopo Club Doorman	21/04/2015
Crispin Robinson	Percussionist and Africa Centre attendee	16/07/2015
Debbie Golt	African Music Promoter and Africa Centre/Limpopo Club attendee	09/03/2015 and 23/03/2015
Professor Dennis Walder	African Theatre scholar and Africa Centre attendee	29/09/2014

Diana Jeater	African Studies scholar and Africa Centre/Limpopo Club attendee	27/04/2015
George Shiri	Cultural Studies scholar and Africa Centre/Limpopo Club attendee	25/11/2014
H Patten	Choreographer, African/Caribbean Dance Scholar and Africa Centre/Limpopo Club attendee	28/02/2015
Imani Sorhaindo	Poet and Limpopo Club attendee	22/09/2016
Keith Shiri	African Cinema Curator, former Africa Centre Film and Visual Art programmer and Africa Centre attendee	21/11/2014
Kudaushe Matimbo	Ex Bhundu Boys band member and Africa Centre/Limpopo Club attendee	08/06/2015
Lucy Duran	Ethnomusicologist and Africa Centre/Limpopo Club attendee	15/04/2015
Michael Spafford	Limpopo Club Photographer	27/07/2015
Mikey Dread	Limpopo Club attendee	30/03/2015
Mohamed Zozo Shuaibu	Ex Sabanoh 75 and Abdul TJ band member and Africa Centre attendee	23/03/2015
Mosese Fan Fan	Somo Somo Bandleader,	24/08/2015

	Ex Franco Bandleader and Africa Centre attendee	
Nigel Watt	Former Africa Centre Director (1984 – 1991)	20/11/2014
Nsimba Bitendi	Former Taxi Pata Pata Bandleader and Africa Centre attendee	15/11/2015
Nzinga Soundz	Sound-system and Africa Centre/Limpopo Club attendees	28/04/2016
Richmond Kessie	Yaaba Funk Bandleader and Africa Centre attendee	14/07/2015
Robert Urbanus	Manager Sterns Records and Africa Centre attendee	30/03/2015
Seddik Zebiri	Seeds of Creation Bandleader and Africa Centre attendee	24/08/2015
Tony Humphries	Former Africa Centre Events Programmer	26/11/2014
Wendy Davies	Former Africa Centre Events Programmer	28/04/2014
Wala Danga	Limpopo Club Founder, Prohrammer and DJ	12/01/2015, 21/01/2015, 28/01/2015, 16/02/2015, 12/08/2016

Future Activations

A thesis concerned with the mere historicising of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre would analyse the data collected as a result of the practical methods outlined here, draw a set of conclusions, and suggest potential areas for further research. As we are here explicitly dealing with a *living* archive, it behoves me as the exponent of such a thesis to consider in some detail the themes and mechanisms of potential future activations of the archive at hand. If, as chapter 4 argues, a living archive is a generative and dynamic entity, then what might the practicalities of such dynamism be? The final chapter of this thesis considers this in the light of this study's findings and contemporary actions involving African/diasporic heritage and culture. This consideration is included to facilitate a more concrete sense of the archive as the layered, active and generative entity I argue here it is.

Limitations

Despite the success which this study represents in terms of meeting its stated objectives, there are significant limitations to the research which it is important to acknowledge here.

Firstly, it is an accepted fact that people involved in designing and delivering projects can rarely, if ever, offer an objective view of the success and areas for improvement of the project in question. This is particularly the case in today's funding climate where competition for the funds to deliver projects is stiff, and technology ensures that bad publicity can travel quickly (Lynch, 2010). It was therefore to be expected from the outset that any semi structured questioning designed to better understand the 'innards' of a project, such as the questions I posed to people representing the various archival projects as part of this study were likely to receive well-filtered answers. Whilst one can make an educated guess at discerning how much filtering is occurring, one can never be sure and this therefore poses a real limitation to the research.

Considering the Africa Centre and its various historical constituencies, there were some significant people, both former employees and former patrons, who declined to speak with me. This was not unexpected. The tensions surrounding the sale of the building

and my perceived position as being a part of an organisation which was charting a path against the will of the community around the Africa Centre meant that I entered the research process fully expecting some level of resistance. Fortunately for me, my good relations with Wala Danga, a key figure in the centre's historic music programming and a supporter of the Save The Africa Centre Campaign, boosted my credibility significantly, enabling my access to artists and others with whom I don't think I would have spoken had my character and motives not been endorsed first. Another issue concerning informants was their potential biases or ignorance concerning the subjects with which this research engages. There was also the danger that once becoming aware of my reasons and motivations for undertaking the research, they would 'tell me what I wanted to hear' rather than what they honestly thought about a specific issue. Whilst this is unfortunate, it is a common limitation of any qualitative research involving people. For my part, I have done my best during the data analysis process of this research to discern and present my findings as accurately as possible. One way in which I have done this is to present, wherever possible findings which were common across more than one interview. It is simply not possible however, to completely eliminate this particular limitation.

Summary

The preceding sections have introduced the practical methods by which this research was undertaken, and the methodological basis underpinning these practical actions. I have argued that archival material, living researchers and the environment of the research process are contingent, and put forward the idea that the unfolding thesis is itself an act of archival activation. This means that the work should be viewed as part of the 'living-ness' of the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club archives. I have unpacked the idea that the style of this particular activation is influenced by non-linear Dub techniques including 'versioning' and remixing. I further sought to connect these techniques with the African diaspora in general, and with key research subjects in particular. Shifting focus to the practical methods of the realisation of this research, this chapter also explained how semi-structured interviews, including oral history interviews, alongside the analysis of material held in the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club archives, were the actions used to generate the research data. Finally, this chapter pointed to chapter 9, the final chapter of this thesis, for a summative discussion of the research

findings and reflection on the potential future activations of the archive which, I assert here, should be viewed as integral to the living archive.

CHAPTER 4 - UNDERSTANDING THE LIVING ARCHIVE

This chapter argues that the concept of the living archive can be placed on a firmer conceptual foundation by exploring how it has been activated in practice. Hall's exposition of a living archive based on thinking around the African and Asian Visual Arts Archive (AAVAA) collection is theoretical in nature and makes little explicit connection with the actuality of the archive in use. Similarly Falola's framework for ritual archives is delivered as a largely conceptual treatise with little attention being paid to practicalities. The examples I discuss here inform a richer theoretical apparatus for the living archive in general, and the Africa Centre archives in particular by considering the theory *and* practice of real-world initiatives. In this sense, my findings enable the construction of a robust conceptual framework within which the remainder of this research can be understood. By enriching existing theories of living heritage with empirical data, this chapter enables the contextualisation and activation of the Africa Centre archive as revealed throughout this research project. Successive chapters explore, in various ways, the 'pre-historic', affective and social aspects of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre viewed through the lens of its archives. The research findings exposited in this chapter support the consideration of a broader, more animated sense of archive, the inclusion of living voices and memory in 'the archive', and dynamic consideration of how affect, race, class and gender as clear themes in the Africa Centre archive might be employed in the future living of the collection. Importantly for the archive this study is concerned with, this chapter also at times engages with the notion of a living archival methodology which embraces a degree of cultural specificity, addressing questions posed at the outset of this research concerning the operations and activations of a pan-African living archive.

Five 'living' archival projects are unpacked here through the analysis of qualitative interviews with leading members of each initiative and additional available documentation such as published reports and project websites. Four of these five projects are UK-based. One, 'John Cage Unbound: A Living Archive', is an online project founded on a collection of personal papers and musical manuscripts based at New York Public Library. The study is primarily concerned with the British archival/artistic environment, but it was felt that the inclusion of an online initiative

would benefit the overall aims of this collaborative project[12]. The future vision of the Africa Centre sees it as a digital platform of information and exchange about the African continent and the diaspora. Whilst this thesis does not engage specifically with notions of digital archive, it was felt that the study of an online 'living archive' may assist in guiding the Africa Centre's thinking surrounding the digital access to their collections. The five projects participating in this study were, in no particular order, The Living Archive Milton Keynes, The South London Black Music Archive, Future Histories, The LIFT Living Archive and John Cage Unbound: A Living Archive.

The Living Archive Milton Keynes

The Living Archive Milton Keynes (LAMK), formerly the 'Living Archive Project', is the UK's first archival project choosing to refer to its 'livingness' in such an explicit way. Formally established in 1984, the project was founded in response to the rapid changes occurring in the town of Milton Keynes over the past forty years. More specifically, the project sought/seeks to enable the long-time residents of the area to 'retain pride in their lives and histories that seem to be being destroyed in the name of progress', whilst simultaneously providing new arrivals to Milton Keynes with the sense of an area that 'has a past as well as a future' (Living Archive, 2015). LAMK has achieved this through primarily creative means, describing itself as a 'creative cultural and community development organization' (ibid). These two strands, creativity and community development, are reflected in the careers of the organisation's founders. Prior to embarking on the project, during the 1970s, Roger Nevitt was a Director of Drama at Stantonbury Campus. One of his significant projects involved creating 'large-scale documentary plays and document-based school curriculum materials' (ibid). Roger Kitchen was a community development worker for Milton Keynes Development Corporation. At the time, he was involved in collecting the oral histories of Milton Keynes residents who were experiencing stark changes as a result of increased migration to the area. LAMK appears to have arisen out of a confluence of these activities: collaborating with communities in order to gather repositories of memories which the same communities may then 'activate' using a 'Documentary Arts'

---

[12] At the latter stages of writing up this study, several suitable candidates for examining the functioning of an online 'living archive' in the UK came to prominence. Of these, the 'Black in the Day' project collecting and activating an archive of images depicting the 'Black British Experience' (Black In The Day, 2018) was one of the most interesting and deserving of further research in the context of this present discussion. I hope to be able to speak with the project as part of the follow up of this study.

methodology. This involves using oral or textual material to create dramatic works designed to enable wide audiences to engage with the history of the area in an active, participatory way. To date, the Living Archive has created eleven large scale musical documentary plays; over 50 films; over 20 books; art exhibitions; CD-ROMs; radio and video documentaries; textile projects; dance shows and digital stories involving local people of all ages at all stages of the creation and production process. Interestingly, although the LAMK has preserved the archives collected over the thirty years plus of their activity, the arrangement and description of these archives is a comparatively new development and remains a 'work in progress'. Both excerpts from their archives and their full archive catalogue are available online at:

http://www.communitycatalogues.co.uk/view.aspx.

I interviewed Roger Kitchen in relation to this research on 9th April 2015.

Future Histories

Future Histories is a repository for the archives of African, Caribbean and Asian performing arts whose key collections are the Black Theatre Forum (an umbrella organisation for a number of smaller theatre initiatives which unfortunately ceased operation in 1998), NITRO (formerly known as the Black Theatre Co-Operative), Talawa Theatre Company and Motiroti, an international arts organisation. Future Histories was founded in 2001 by Dr Alda Terraciano, a Theatre Director, Dramaturg and analyst, and Creative Director Ameena McConnell. The project was designed to begin to address the 'invisibility of heritage materials relating to organisations concerned with Black and Asian performing arts in the UK'. Future Histories' core mission is 'wide dissemination, creative interpretation, academic research and experimental work within the area of performing arts' (Future Histories, 2005). The organisation's large-scale projects include 'Re-membering Black Performance', a two-year project which facilitated access to the Black Theatre Forum and NITRO archives, and 'Re-membering Asian Performance', a project which preserved, catalogued and made accessible the Motiroti archives. Future Histories also spearheaded the consortium project 'Trading Faces: Recollecting Slavery' which was delivered alongside Talawa Theatre Company and the V&A Theatre Collections. Unusually for this type of organization, Future Histories has put considerable effort into the education of small and medium size theatre organisations on the importance and process of archiving. The organisation operates through strategic, creative partnerships with larger heritage,

arts and educational institutions but retains a fiercely independent stance. Future Histories archives can be accessed online via the Future Histories website. The project's co-founder, Dr Alda Terraciano was interviewed on Wednesday 30th September, 2015.

The South London Black Music Archive

The South London Black Music Archive (SLBMA) was a project which intentionally blurred the lines between art and archiving. Originally commissioned by Peckham Space, an art space located in South East London, in 2012, the project was led by Barby Asante, an artist with a significant professional history of engaging with archives and other heritage institutions. The project can be viewed as being made up of two interconnected parts. Part one involved Asante working with a group of young people to stimulate intergenerational dialogue. This began with collecting stories about music from the young people and encouraging them to engage their parents in conversation also around the theme of music. These conversations resulted in the creation of a heritage object – a vinyl disc called 'Legacy Tunes', on which was a compilation of the most significant pieces of music from across the generations. For the second part of the SLBMA project, the public were invited to donate material to the archive on either a temporary or permanent basis. This material was in some way connected to the musical heritage of South London and included 'ephemeral' items such as tickets, flyers and posters for music events alongside vinyl records, books and other objects. With donor permission, these items were displayed 'with the reverence normally accorded to museum pieces' (Peckham Platform, 2015) at Peckham Space art gallery, and later, the Tate Modern. A further output of the project was a graphical map locating all the physical, music-related venues deemed important by the project's co-creators. The information gathered in order to facilitate these activities was offered in response to an invitation to participate sent out across several social media platforms. Although the physical SLBMA project can be considered temporary, the conceptual archive persists in the form of a database of information created from the accession of each donation to the archive. This is still in the possession of curator Barby Asante whom I interviewed on the 2nd October 2014.

The London International Festival Theatre (LIFT) Living Archive

The London International Festival Theatre Living Archive, or LIFT Living Archive (LLA), is a large collection of physical materials documenting the various aspects of the work of staging large a scale international arts festival. Eleven such festivals were staged by the organisation in the twenty-five years between 1984 and 2009 and the LLA was officially launched in June 2009 at Goldsmiths University, in whose repository the archive is currently held. LLA aims to make its archival resources accessible to as wide a public audience as possible and has developed two strategies in order to achieve this. One such strategy is the creation of an online portal which makes aspects of the collection accessible, additionally providing users with a number of possible 'paths' through the material acting as 'signposts' to those not so familiar (or not so confident) with the idea of archival research. The second way LLA widened access is through a programme of 'participatory workshops with educational and community groups including access to the material in the archive' (McAvinchey, 2009, p. 3). LLA is an on-going project, but for this research, the focus was on the period of intense practical research the project underwent under the direction of Dr Caoimhe McAvinchey. I interviewed Dr McAvinchey, on 13th October 2014.

John Cage Unbound: A Living Archive

John Cage Unbound is 'an online record of John Cage's work and its evolving impact on music and performance' (John Cage Trust, n.d.). The physical materials constituting John Cage's archive, including the autograph manuscripts of the majority of Cage's musical works, are currently housed at The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. Due to the terms imposed upon the project by the John Cage Trust (the copyright owners of the material) Cage's entire archive is not accessible through this online portal. The global public is instead presented with a curated selection of materials including digitized ephemera, music scores and notation documents. Primarily though, The John Cage Unbound archive 'lives' through its invitation to people all over the world to interact with the material accessible on the portal. The invitation is not simply to view the material (although that is also possible), but rather to contribute to the expansion of the archive through the submission of videos of original interpretations of John Cage's work. At time of writing, thirty-three such videos are available to view on

the portal. I spoke with Jonathan Hiam, project lead and curator of American Music and the Rogers and Hammerstein Archives of Recorded Sound via Skype on 2nd June 2015.

There is significant crossover between the aims and objectives of each of the archives listed. That said, their organizational approaches to the collation and dissemination of their 'living heritages' are divergent enough to make uniform treatment and analysis a complex task. In following pages, the commonalities and idiosyncrasies observed across all five initiatives are explored and considered in terms of their core themes and strengths and weaknesses in methodological deployment.

The Living Archive: Narrating the Past, Narrating the future?

Jean–Francois Lyotard's famous commentary on how the 'grand narrative [has] lost its credibility' (Lyotard, 2004, p. 37) provides a useful initial access point. The idea of narrative and particular the ability of archives to provide alternative narratives has infused the archival literature over the past ten to fifteen years (Bastian and Alexander, 2009; Flinn, 2007; Harris, 2002b). We might also note that similar developments in the related history disciplines (as evidenced by publications such as History Workshop Journal) have been taking place for significantly longer (Collective, 1976). Barby Asante, Creative Director of the South London Black Music Archive (SLBMA) project emphasises the importance she places on alternative historical narratives, both personal and communal:

> 'you are history'. And you know, you are, this is a continuing story, you are part of this. So its not just that you've got a letter that says Desmond Tutu to Margaret Thatcher, it's not just about these figures that are there, it's about you and what you're doing (Asante, 2014)

Musing on Hall's ideas surrounding continuity and relationality, the first thing that is immediately apparent is the notion of continuity embedded in Asante's approach to heritage working. In her estimation history is a 'continuing story….about you' not simply a narrative that one listens to from afar. Her vantage point prioritises a more horizontal structure; one in which the 'grand narrative' is but one of many possibilities. In fact, it

could be argued that Asante's approach to heritage working aims to bring these two ideas, the grand and the personal, into conversation.

Elsewhere in her interview, Asante is unequivocal about the importance of what might be considered 'marginal' histories. The reiteration of this position during a relatively short (approximately one hour) interview combined with her chosen approach to the SLBMA project (described above) is worthy of note. It highlights a way of working which consistently values the marginal above, but yet always in relation to, the mainstream, privileging a bottom-up rather than top-down approach.   Still musing on memories of previous projects, Asante had this to say about her role as a researcher for a project exploring the histories surrounding the historical black music scene in Bristol:

> there's so much there, so much richness…I'm talking to the woman who was part of the club but she also runs the dominoes club so you know it trails…I'm talking to a guy called Dotty Ken, affectionately known as Dotty Ken, …he's telling us stories about his cab service… the cab service used to cover the club but you know it's not just about the club, the cab service is really important…the cab service took people from places because they couldn't get any other cabs right. So therefore him running a business as a cab service was actually really important (Asante, 2014)

Asante's sentiments regarding the importance of the margins - a relativistic redressing of the balance - are reinforced by the very architecture of the SLBMA project. The South London Black Music Archive was founded on the donation of materials by members of the public. Therefore to a greater or lesser extent, it is the people (many of whom might be labelled as marginalised as a result of their class or racial background), who exert a significant, but not complete, influence on the narrative that is presented. Recalling Hall's 'un-settling of the heritage', alternative narratives to those 'traditions' by major record labels, journalists or musical 'authorities' are enabled and brought into being through the amassing of individual contributions into a collective whole (Hall, 1999).

Regarding this issue of marginalisation and the accessing of alternative narratives, a similar sentiment was echoed in my interview with Alda Terraciano, Director of 'Future Histories', a Black theatre archiving and activating initiative. Describing her entry into the project, her support for the evidencing of a narrative which might serve to disrupt, or at least enrich, the British 'master narrative' is clear:

> From the activist perspective which was at the time, and still is, my perspective…It was my interest to look at artistic expressions and cultural expressions that very much were proposing new perspectives within the British cultural landscape. And losing that would be a huge loss for the whole of the British cultural landscape. And so if that is your initial motivation, then there should be some coherence in your actions (Terracciano, 2015)

Following Hall, the act of working to preserve and disseminate marginal histories serves a restorative function at the personal, collective and national levels. The desire to unsettle the 'simple unified framework' upon which the modernist 'truth value' rests (MacNeil, 2001, p. 40) is not, of course limited to black heritage. Marginalisation and skin colour are not always coterminous entities. Class stratification, or geographical location alone often provide the necessary conditions for marginalisation and exclusion. Roger Kitchen's Living Archive Milton Keynes intervention is complex as it attempts not just to address the marginalisation of a single group, but rather to mediate the narratives of a range of diverse participants. All of whom were residents of a particular place.

> How do you help the old-time residents retain pride in their lives and histories that seem to be being destroyed in the name of progress? How do you give the new arrivals the experience of coming into a place which has a past as well as a future? These were the challenges which led to the establishment of Living Archive. (Living Archive, 2015)

LAMK addresses this issue using both narrative and performative means. Roger Kitchen, its co-founder describes the five-stage 'Documentary Arts' process for actualising this:

> Number one is the inspiration. You see an old photograph, you hear an old person talking, you read a newspaper article, and you want to find out more. The next phase is the research, where you go and collect primary source material, you know, from documents including newspapers, letters, diaries, from photos and film and most especially from eye witnesses to the events - whatever might be around that particular topic. Stage three is you make that research accessible and usable. You transcribe the interviews, you photocopy the documents, digitise the photos, you know, so it becomes accessible. Number four, you edit it or you transform it into an artistic product, so you select from all that material to do your play, your dance piece, your whatever else. And number five, the most important bit, is that you give it back to the community that inspired it and you use it as a source for celebration and pride…this is if you like where the community development bit comes in. You are using this as a vehicle for, as I see it, building community. (Kitchen, 2015)

Community, of course, is a contested term, and it seems sensible at an early stage to problematise the idea of any kind of homogenous community holding universal values and being similarly affected by feelings of 'pride' and 'celebration'. What is interesting here however are the implied therapeutic effects of particular activations of archival material on groups of people. Whilst Kitchen's method does not purport to be therapeutic in the professional psychological sense, his statement does bring to mind White and Epston's recognition of the narrative as a therapeutic tool. There are two aspects to the mechanics of this. On the one hand, narratives provided by 'the archive' and the community, according to Kitchen, stimulate creation and become the source of collective celebration. This is a clear deviation from White and Epston's model, but still sees activated narratives and positive outcomes enmeshed in a cause and effect relationship. Further, at the level of the individual, the project's 'documentary arts' interventions stimulate the re-writing of participant's stories concerning their ability to participate in generative, socially engaged activity:

> as many people as you like could be in this play, if you want to be in it you're in it. I mean bloody amazing really. And at the same time to get people to do performances who are not necessarily actors or anything else…And then you had the people who were backstage saying "good God, they've been on there, they haven't said a word, they've been in different costumes…I can do that next time" (Kitchen, 2015)

It has already been mentioned here that the raison d'etre of the Living Archive was to mediate the tensions between the past and future of the Milton Keynes area. Following the lines of our present discussion, it is not entirely implausible to view the project's practical addressing of this issue as an exercise in the construction of shared narratives - stories which enable, to paraphrase White and Epston, a coherent grasp of the locality by its residents.

Focussing on the therapeutic aspect of the LAMK initiative, Kitchen mentions 'pride' more than once during our interview, his assertion being that involvement in collaborative creation, whether as a generator of original source material, or producer of creative product elicits individual and collective esteem. The idea of enhanced 'pride' and 'social cohesion' as an output of heritage work has been evident in cultural policy

since at least the mid-nineties and the use of heritage resources to help remedy social problems has been documented since the early 1800s (Newman and McLean, 1998, p. 146). In the nineties, commentators like Putnam identified social connections, as an 'indicator of the democratic wellbeing of civic life' (Ashley, 2014, p. 1; Putnam, 1995). Access to culture was perceived as one way to increase social capital, thereby having a cohesive effect on communities (Newman and McLean, 2004). Whilst there are certainly benefits inherent in the process of working with culture in this way, there remain serious questions concerning the efficacy of heritage projects in generating and consolidating these types of outputs (Newman and McLean, 2004, p. 170). This aspect of the discussion throws a fundamental limitation of this present research into stark relief. When questioning organisations about their projects, it is accepted that for commercial reasons, it is difficult to 'get beyond the numerous and well publicised accounts of innovative short-term projects' (Lynch, 2010, p. 5) to determine the actual benefit to the projects participants, despite the obligatory evaluative processes for doing so. Since the data generated by this study emerges from an organizational (as opposed to individual or 'participant') vantage point, it is impossible to comment on how effective each activation was in realising their desired objectives, or to what degree positive therapeutic effects were conferred. It is important to bear in mind then that what is being qualified in this chapter are the prevailing characteristics of each initiative and their significance, as opposed to the pronouncement of specific value judgments regarding efficacy.

Reflecting on White and Epston's confidence in the *written word* to facilitate 'the emergence of new discoveries and possibilities' whilst enabling processes of legitimation and continuity (White and Epston, 1990, p. 35), it is interesting that Kitchen's Living Archive, and to varying degrees, all of the initiatives discussed in this chapter use a combination of both text and performance to evidence narratives which they intend to serve some therapeutic function. Is an implicit case being made for the inclusion of non-textual materials in our living archive if therapy is an intended output? In the case of the LAMK, a frequently employed method has been the translation of archival documents (although these documents are not limited to texts) into dramatic performances. The SLBMA created a crowd-sourced narrative of black music in South London through textual, visual and sonic means. The JCULA intersperses textual ephemera with still and moving images to present an on-going narrative of John Cage's

life and work. Future Histories placed a heavy importance on the preservation of documentary heritage, but equally, ensured the performative elements of cultures of African influence were respected in activations of the material.

Epston and White acknowledge the ethnocentrism of a purely textual focus. Hall is clear in his statements regarding the 'belongingness', or lack of it, of those groups unfortunate enough to have been excluded from the grand narrative that is the National Heritage (Hall, 1999, p. 4). Recalling Marable's 'living black history', we must note then the cultural appropriateness of the textual archive as narrative media. Future Histories' approach to sharing the heritage of Black British Theatre is a case in point

> What is the position of an archive in relation to the cultures originated outside of Europe? Africa, Asia, India, the Caribbean, which had a completely different relationship originally in the traditional sense to transmission of culture…where culture is transmitted through a variety of ways, including the written word but not exclusively the written word, and if actually the written word is in itself supplementary…is an aid rather than the centre, part of the core, then a traditional archive becomes a problematic concept in the first place, because on the one hand it reflects a Eurocentric approach to culture, it reflects a culture which is mostly based on documents which are mostly based on the written word or reproductions of images etcetera…and it's also about, you know, this concept of an object extrapolated from the cultural context that produced it. And what I came to realize was actually that the most important thing is the context, and cultural context being so crucial…both the interpretation of material and dissemination of material had to start from it. (Terracciano, 2015)

Terracciano's notion of Black Theatre Archives thinking through strategies beginning from the context of the creation of material is reminiscent of the idea of Sankofa as diasporan practice (Temple, 2010, p. 127). For Future Histories, this drive to remain cognisant of cultural context or as Hall might say, 'pre-history', manifested as all of the following: a performative imperative in the dissemination of archival materials; a culturally specific functional and aesthetic consideration of online portals relative to their archiving projects; and a culturally respectful approach to the description and arrangement of archival documents.

The fundamental principles of 'living black history' and 'sankofa' are also discernable within the conceptual framework of the South London Black Music Archive although not

directly articulated as such. In a recent exhibition recounting West Africa through word symbol and song held at the British Library, the importance of communal, performative activity (alongside writing) to West African and 'Black Atlantic' cultures was heavily emphasised (Casely-Hayford et al., 2015, p. 17). The exhibition included oft-cited examples such as those of the West African 'Jali' or 'Griot' alongside music and images of Afrobeat pioneer Fela Anikulapo Kuti, Caribbean Calypsonians, African American Bluesmen and Jamaican Dub Poets. The drawing together of traditional West African musical/oral tradition with more contemporary examples emerging from the era of recorded sound is significant for its attempt to demonstrate a conceptual lineage stretching from Africa across her diaspora. The cornerstone of this lineage, it is implied, are communal arts activities, which serve both deliberately and unintentionally as containers of cultural and historical information. Thinking through the South London Black Music archive on this premise is, for me, essential to apprehending its purpose and relevance. Working chronologically, the first indications of this appear in Asante's projects preceding SLBMA, which she cites as methodologically influential. Of particular importance here is a project she was engaged in with 'Stockwell Good Neighbours', an African-Caribbean elders group based in Oval, London.

> The initial idea was to actually start to make a Karaoke machine where you could call up memories…kind of singing memories…so I started working on that idea with them doing kind of workshops around memory…. we started off really slowly you know it was like bringing records, listening parties...all Jim Reeves [laughs]…we did loads of performance stuff with them and went to, we did a performance at Clapham Common… so it was kind of collecting those stories and then making a product which was this karaoke DVD which had images (Asante, 2014)

For Asante, the arts (in this case music), performance, memory and people of African descent exhibit some form of positive inter-relationship in which each element nourishes the other. This is further evidenced when we see this relationship explored in slightly different ways; beginning with a collaboratively created, vinyl released 'memory-mixtape' (my term, not hers), and opening out to an exhibition punctuated with communal performance events.

> making the South London Black Music Archive…it was a process…I got asked to present a proposal for these young people. I knew that I had had this journey of working with older people and these stories so I was kind of like "what can I do here to kind of open it up?"… so we did that kind of thing, collecting stories for these records and then the young people were asked to choose the song that they would

have had passed down to them and one they would pass on, and then that's what this was made out of…so we made it into the vinyl, and that became the first thing in the South London Black Music Archive and then we built the archive around that…principally, the idea of the archive was that …how do you extend this conversation? How I decided to extend the conversation was to actually make an archive…the idea was that you could listen, share and contribute so you could come in and be part of that archive...what would be in this temporary archive is obviously this opportunity for people to kind of deposit stuff for a period of time, and also this opportunity for people to engage with that stuff. (Asante, 2014)

It seems pertinent that the decision was made to access people's stories using a musical stimulus, and further, that these stories would in some way relate to 'black' music. Taking black to mean of sub-Saharan African origin, and bearing in mind the earlier reference to the West African Jali, it could be said that Asante's intervention belongs to the same lineage of cultural and historical communication. Whilst musical memorabilia, playback devices, performers and an art gallery are distinctly different in form to a village gathering around the soft sound of the Kora and stories of ancestors long dead, the components in each case exhibit a degree of functional similitude. The 'elephant in the room' concerning this assertion though is the display of the materials donated to the project 'with the reverence normally accorded to museum pieces' ("South London Black Music Archive - Archives and Creative Practice," n.d.). Rather than evoking the affective spirit of Africa and the Black Atlantic, if anything this curatorial device serves to legitimate the traces and narratives of the archives in a post-colonial environment familiar with the 'tropes of collecting and display…exhibiting and classifying' most often employed by major heritage institutions (Hopkins, 2008, p. 89). The implicit SLBMA statement seems to be that 'these narratives, and the way we remember them belong within the broader national story told across the UK's memory sites – an assertion lent affective weight by the ritual of archiving and museum display.

Recalling Hall once more, initiatives such as the South London Black Music Archive and Future Histories serve initially to disrupt, and eventually to expand, this national story. The retention (and even celebration) of the traditions of western information management combined with a clear will to move beyond the narrow confines of what constitutes these traditions share a similar ideology to Falola's 'ritual archive'. Innovation and cultural contexts are given primacy, but not at the expense of what is considered useful from Western heritage practice. In this process, the very notion of Britishness is questioned. Historical narratives previously outside the mainstream are

brought into public view and lent legitimacy; in part due to their connection with accepted traditions of preservation and display. This is interesting, but not necessarily a novel idea in and of itself. In recent years, significant attention has been paid to projects and institutions founded on similar aims, some of which (not without contention) have been nominally titled 'community archives' (Bastian and Alexander, 2009; Flinn, 2007; Hopkins, 2008). What is of import however, is the explicitly proactive approach to the *activation* of material within distinct, culturally identifiable lines of action. Whether remaining faithful to historic, non-western contexts, or disrupting the 'traditional' western heritage model from within, the living archive functions, following Hall, as a generative organ, creating new contexts of creation as a function of historic reference points.

New Contexts, New Creations

To some degree, the initiatives studied here subvert, or at the very least, remix, the twin archival pillars of provenance and original order. The complexity lies in the fact that as *living* archives, each project's engagement with interested publics strikes a varying balance between the context of the creation of archival records, and the personal and communal contexts of the present day users of said records. The fundamental idea being that new creations and understandings emerge when historical records are conceptually integrated into new contexts. This is illustrated well through examples of the LIFT Living Archive (LLA) and John Cage Living Archive's (JCLA) approaches to archival engagement.

> The key in terms of genuinely inviting people into the archive was about trying to identify a time, a year, say 1983, and for people to think about what was going on either in the world, or in their own life…to then place some kind of context so when we looked at materials from a particular production from a particular year that it wasn't just this thing in isolation…so it was this thing of trying to bring people into the archive and bringing the materials out of the archive into peoples' ideas of their world. (McAvinchey, 2014)

McAvinchey's statement implies a desire for a balance between contexts. The participant is encouraged to understand and appreciate the context of creation of LIFT's archival materials whilst at the same mediating this information through their own personal heritage vista. This approach unsettles long held positivist assumptions of the

archive as evidential truth (Meehan, 2006), inviting these institutional 'truths' to interface with 'evidence of me' (McKemmish, 1996). Consonant with Foucault's conception of the archive, the 'system of enunciability…the law of what can be said' (Foucault, 2002, pp. 145–146) is thus enriched.

The subjectivity which LLA solicits appears less welcome in the JCULA however. Beyond viewing the material online, the chief means of interaction with this archive is the creation and addition of interpretations of John Cage's work via the upload of digital videos capturing both generative process and performance of the piece in question. By inviting participants to reinterpret Cage's works, the JCULA is very much geared towards what project lead Jonathan Hiam terms practices 'of recreating and creating' (Hiam, 2015). For him, this stance stems from the culture of working with performance heritage materials more broadly and is a way of working embedded in the project's conception of a living archive

> the idea of the living archive…this is an archive that would, it's almost as if you're kind of planting the seed to grow an archive where one already exists. I think it's the idea that a living archive was one that promoted creation of new works based on the historical record of what has already been created. And I think that's something that sits behind all of the work that we do at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts…it's a creative archive, because it's an archive in a research centre and you know we do a lot of presentation and performance that we try and foster new creativity and new work in addition to traditional research and historical documentation…the idea of living archive was not anything that was actually outside of our everyday experience. (Hiam, 2015)

The JCULA approach to the creation of new works canonises the material preserved in John Cage's archive in a faithful, if rigid manner. New work, as Hall's theory suggests, does 'come to constitute significant additions to the archive' but unlike Hall's proposition, it is not encouraged to be significantly different from that which was produced by Cage himself. Rather than being enabled to 'inflect or depart from it' (Hall, 2001, p. 89), new work uploaded to the archive is vetted to ensure its trueness to the spirit and intention of the Cage work it interprets

> we wanted public interpretations, the nature of the work of John Cage I think, it's kind of proven around the world that his work is both admired but profoundly misunderstood

> in some cases. So the kind of interpretations we'd be getting, or performances, or things people would be submitting, were really not even remotely close to what Cage was trying to accomplish with a particular piece. So we found ourselves having to vet a lot of the submissions and saying "you know, it's not that your interpretation isn't valid, but it is really not the same piece at all". (Hiam, 2015)

In this case, although the participants voice is solicited, the archive's collection policy appears interested in the subjectivity of submissions only to a point. Submission of a video is really that - submitting to the rules of participation, to rules favouring re-creation over more unprecedented creative forms. In this formulation, the living archive upholds more positivist archival traditions relying on the subjective judgment of the archivist/institution in the sanctification of the historical document.

The tendency toward re-creation is also echoed by Future Histories' Dr Alda Terracciano, who founds the drive in the search for the 're-unification' of an activity. For her though, the feeling is that it is enough for the work to live again in faithful recreation in the artists mind before (potentially) deviating from the original intention of the work as new work is formulated

> Having the archive in terms of a space where this action of re-membrance would take place…And so re-membering can be seen in terms of a dismembered body put together again, which is what an archive can be, isn't it? I mean, in an archive you have remnants of an activity and that activity in the first place was one. There was a unity about it…and then it got recorded in many different ways, with the written word, a video, a photograph, a flyer, a sketch, objects, a costume, so many different things. Now when you put all these elements together is when you try to bring back the unity of the event again, and to put the event back again in your imagination. And if you are an artist, in your next work of art or whatever. You know, you will do that to bring it back to life again. (Terracciano, 2015)

There is an emerging sense then, that one expectation of a 'living archive', when a part of that archive's function is the preservation of traces of an artistic activity, is the purposeful reinsertion of these traces into the present moment – a quite literal practice of Sankofa or Marable's bringing the past into the present and future. Whether this act is initiated in an effort to reconstitute a previous event, or to inspire related but not repeated acts of creation is the prerogative of the project in question. In any case, it seems safe to suggest that part of the thinking behind the living archive seeks to make

explicit the contingency of the present with what has gone before – an overarching principle of this thesis

Contingent Histories: An Enactive Approach?

Taking the preceding a step further. Varela et al's theory of enactivism, encompassing 'both lived human experience, and the possibilities for transformation inherent in human experience' (Varela et al., 2000, p. xv) is evident in each of the projects researched here. The theory suggests a pre-given world is not represented by a pre-given mind, but rather world and mind are *enacted* 'on the basis of the history of the variety of actions that a being in the world performs' (ibid, 9). Meaning making then becomes contingent both with patterns of embodied experience and interpretations/codifications derived as a result of the experience of community.

If, following Varela et al., we consider human capacities for knowledge and understanding as a function of both 'biological embodiment' and 'domains of consensual action and cultural history' (Varela et al., 2000, p. 149), it becomes possible to view a living archival encounter as a multi-layered event with <u>individual</u> embodied experiences of the archive being valued and encouraged:

> you are history…its about *you and what you are doing* (Asante, 2014)

> trying to bring people into the archive and bringing the materials out of the archive and into *peoples' ideas of their world* (McAvinchey, 2014)

> the story happens *in the moment in which you interact with it*, and it is in this interaction that then you have a story, and that only when you have a story, that you have something that has an impact and has a meaning (Terracciano, 2015)

> this is an archive that's here to foster further creation, new creation, or to cultivate the re-creation of works that were composed to be *performed and experienced* in time whether that was the past or the future (Hiam, 2015)

> the normal thing about an archivist is they're basically anal retentives who want to squirrel stuff away aren't they? …it's there collected and put aside, that's what archive normally means…where the Living Archive bit comes from, is that we were always

> going out to collect the primary source materials *in order to inspire and share.*
> *(Kitchen, 2015)*
>
> (Italicised emphasis mine in each case)

Picking up on Roger Kitchen's quote, these individual experiences are often encouraged in <u>pluralised social spaces</u> which, whilst creating their own 'domains of consensual action', simultaneously occur in the larger domains of national and international societies. Enaction has been defined as learning through action (Bruner, 1966, p. 11), or the construction of knowledge on the basis of what is already known (Cziko, 1995, p. 222). An understanding of this knowledge construction incorporates social interaction between actors and their socio-historical background (Kincheloe and Horn, 2007, p. 24). Living archival actions depend on the personal histories of the actors involved[13] and their broader socio-cultural histories. It is no exaggeration then to assert that living archival approaches enact a world, offering the possibility of generating new significances and meanings for all involved and concurrently creating new environments - both of which offer fresh possibilities for further change and exploration. The LLA initiative forms a perfect example of this. Their current organizational strategy for 'making invitations' for archival activations was itself formed on the basis of previous living archival interactions:

> bringing people to the archive, into the archive, was another layer of that [livingness], a very local haptic encounter with the stuff… Our thing was to go "ok, so we're saying its a living archive and its open to people who may not normally be the audiences for archives. How do we know what's interesting to them, and how do we know what ways would be useful to invite their engagement?". The project through Goldsmiths and with the students was about trying to create different ways of engaging (McAvinchey, 2014)

Recalling the postmodern rubric under which this discussion began, it would be remiss not to anchor the idea of novelty, of *new* work, *new* narratives and new possibilities, within the body of postmodern literature. Daniel Bell, one of the earliest commentators to be considered postmodern, labelled culture as 'the most dynamic component of our civilisation' (Bell, 1972, p. 11). His work insists 'a dominant impulse towards the new

---

[13] Which are pre-determined in the sense that although one can change one's memories of previous experiences, participants' personal histories are subject to a certain degree of fixity once lived and it is these experiences which they bring to the living archival 'contact zone'.

and original' (ibid, 12). This notion is addressed in the research data. Informants and the projects they represent talk frequently of 'creation' and 're-creation'. The (re)generative act is a constant for this study. Predictably, the most prominent creative acts associated with each 'living archive' can be quite clearly linked to the involvement of artists in the heritage sharing process.

The Artist and the Archive

The relationship between art, artist and archive in this study can broadly be divided into the following two categories. It should be noted however that the boundaries between these are soft, with projects often involving elements of both:

- Archive as artwork/performance
- Archive as artistic inspiration

The blurring of the lines between the artist and the archivist, and the transition of the contents of a personal archive passing 'from one institution into another' (Osthoff, 2009, p. 28) are central themes in Barby Asante's SLBMA. Also important are the 'collective and distributed' authorship of meaning these public contexts facilitate (ibid, 22).

The SLBMA operates on an expanded (but still perfectly legitimate) definition of what constitutes an archive. Its goal was not necessarily to preserve artefacts, but rather to gain temporary use of them in order to create physical spaces for discussion and reflection. The housing of these artefacts in both a conceptual institution (an archive) and a physical institution (an art gallery) altered the potential power and agency of the material, and those who donated and interacted with it:

> I created the archive as a temporary archive that would basically log all these items that came in… this opportunity for people to kind of deposit stuff for a period of time, and also this opportunity for people to engage with that stuff. (Asante, 2014)

The idea of not exercising her power as an archivist to keep the 'stuff' had proven confusing to more mainstream heritage institutions. They had expressed an interest in acquiring the SLBMA but were somewhat baffled when what they were offered was not boxes of recordings and music related ephemera, but rather a pile of accession forms and a digital database. Such confusion only arises when the 'stuff' is allowed to take precedence over the people whose stories constitute the material in question. Despite (or perhaps as a result of) the professional training given to archivists in this area, this is a common (but slowly eroding) characteristic of mainstream and 'community' heritage institutions. It is however clearly not the hierarchy of value Asante imposes in her project. This is not to say that custody does not form a key element of the SLMBA initiative. The permanent custody of the SLBMA database (including digital images of all exhibits) and the temporary custody of the majority of the items forming the archive confirm this. It might still be argued though that the *appearance* of custody is of equal importance to the reality of physical custody itself. Here, the status of the 'stuff' is leveraged to encourage human participation, interaction, knowledge production; and most conspicuously, to form a public artwork. SLBMA was/is a site of meaning and knowledge production in which the public, through their donations of material and social media contributions to the SLBMA map, have taken a very significant part in shaping. This kind of crowd-sourced participation is by no means without precedent in either the contemporary arts or modern heritage milieux. Considering the project as an artwork, participation, both as 'interactive' art/installation, and also as the artistic appropriation of social forms, is nothing new in the art world (Bishop, 2006, p. 10). The SLBMA held both of these realms of participatory arts practice within its remit. It functioned as an interactive installation by inviting the public to contribute archive materials and stories, and more mechanically, by enabling visitors to actually play some of the music on display. At another level, through the staging of performance events within the installation space, the 'social form' of attending a music event was employed, having the effect of bringing 'art closer to everyday life' (ibid).

The LLA, exhibited a similar duality using the 'performance' of the archive and the archival space as a means of demarcating the archival space from everyday life, whilst simultaneously encouraging wider engagement, access and re-contextualisation of its holdings. The creative mechanisms forming the basis of this increased accessibility are discussed in the following section. Remembering the heading under which this current

discourse unfolds, comments extracted from Caomhie McAvinchey's report on the LLA project regarding the performance of archive are of note:

> Preparations to access the archive are theatrical – the pulling on of purple gloves, the turning of the wheels of the moveable stacks, the careful handling of the materials and the sense of anticipation…People love physically going to the archive. However much people enjoy exploring a single document in a study room prior to entering the archive, there is a palpable shift in the levels of excitement when they actually turn the wheels of the stacks and the walls of archive boxes are revealed. (McAvinchey, 2009, p. 34)

Of the initiatives studied, by far the most common element of 'livingness' was, following Hall, the use of the archive as creative inspiration for new acts of creation. For the LIFT living archive, the decision to approach archival engagement creatively was based on the assumption that not every potential user group wishes to, or is able to, engage with archival materials in the manner normally employed by academic researchers:

> LIFT collaborated with artists, researchers, community groups and students from primary, secondary and higher education to explore the archive. The purpose of this investigation was to consider how different education and community groups could be invited to actively engage with the archive and creatively respond to it. An academic researcher…will approach the archive with particular questions in mind that help them navigate their way through the infinite possibilities the archive offers. The LIFT Living Archive seeks to widen access to this rich catalogue of materials beyond an academic audience to people who wouldn't ordinarily visit it…we invited educational and community groups to investigate the archive with us to help develop new understandings about the pleasures, possibilities and challenges of developing public participation and learning projects with archives generally and the LIFT archive specifically. We were keen to know what this participation would reveal about LIFT, about the archive and about creative engagement. (McAvinchey, 2009, p. 4)

Here, active engagement and creative response was conceived of as a way of surmounting intellectual, socio-cultural and attitudinal boundaries (as opposed to more financial, physical or sensory impediments to archival access). This was achieved, in the first instance, by making an 'invitation' enabling the participant to engage in a collaborative meaning-making of material. This conceptual space acknowledged both the context of the creation of the materials, and the personal context of the researcher:

particular invitations that allow a fictional or a metaphorical space to think about stuff…I think it's that shift from people thinking they have to understand what the stuff is to "actually, I'm going to ask about it rather than feel I should know what it is". So I think…the creative invitation sets up something of the 'not for sure-ness' that there is a potential there for participants…not looking for a particular answer to feel that they can question something rather than either feel that they don't know what it is, or wait to be told what it is...an opportunity, or an invitation, is only half of it. It has to do with how people then respond to it…that was key…saying "the thing is a thing but what kind of thing do you think it is?" rather than "what does it appear to be telling you"…your questions reveal something of it rather than its being static in terms of meaning. (McAvinchey, 2014)

The foundation of these explicitly participatory meaning making invitations were laid by situating the LIFT archive in the contexts of both individual participants and wider society as the LLA project report explains

When introducing educational and community groups to the archive we wanted to support their understanding of LIFT within a wider political, social and cultural context. Rather than present the group with this information, we invited them to build a picture of this for themselves…we made a timeline running from 1981-2001 and stuck it on a large, flat surface that the group could see and reach – a wall, a window or table…we then invited the participants to consider events that happened during this time. They could be personal, political or related to LIFT. People then made a note of this event and stuck it under the year in the time line. As people began to read what other people had written, they would respond to it. (McAvinchey, 2009, p. 19)

The John Cage Unbound Living Archive shares the notion of creative action within defined boundaries. As the foremost online representation of John Cage's work, the JCLA is a major 'shop-window' for one of the world's most famous experimental composers. There is a natural tendency to wish to associate the word 'experimental' with ideas of freedom and boundlessness – not least because the name of this particular project actually includes 'unbound' in its title. Whilst Cage's music (and musical notation) definitely exhibits a sense of exploration, his compositions *are* structured and, through the process of musical notation, are (theoretically at least) replicable. It is on this premise of replication that the creative acts of participants in the JCULA are based:

His [John Cage's] music manuscripts don't always make a whole lot of sense in a

> traditional way…it was fairly common for a researcher to come up and actually ask us…how do you make sense of this? What am I looking at? And so there had always been….an interest on the part of the music division to have some kind of resource that would point people towards those answers…With Cage…the composition is not so much the fixed object as a result of performing it, but it is the process that goes into it that is as much if not more of the artistic merit of these works….We were less interested in simply capturing straight up performances, as that was a little less revealing than documenting how individuals or groups actually prepared to work from start to finish (Hiam, 2015)

Despite the acknowledged difficulties with respect to musical interpretation, contributors to the expanding JCULA archive are expected to ensure that their submissions to the archive are discernable interpretations of Cage's works. Simply put, it is accepted that each person's interpretation will differ, but wide divergence from the perceived spirit of Cage's original might not make the cut. In this sense, it is a very different approach to that of LLA whose focus was on participant defined interpretation rather than validated interpretation.

The JCULA approach to 'archives as artistic inspiration', whilst being bound to interpretations of Cage's intentions, still enables participants to retain a degree of autonomy, mostly because the musical medium lends itself to a level of interpretation and self-expression. This notion of individual interpretation appears almost completely eclipsed in the Documentary Arts approach of the Living Archive although technically speaking, archives are being used to stimulate new creative works:

> the rule was only to use the actual words that people spoke, or the words of documents, the primary source material, be as faithful to it as you can: where you had the leeway was in the songs because these things also had songs, but even then they would be inspired by those words but they were not slavish…so that's where it came from. The documents and the interviews…were the primary source material, it was absolutely integral to what was done. (Kitchen, 2015)

It should be noted however, that documentary arts form one of many archival activation methods for the Living Archive, and other, less creatively restrictive approaches are also employed.

Conclusions and Continuations

Principally, the findings presented in this chapter suggest an expanded notion of what archives are. The living archive stretches the outer limits of an archival institution. Boxes of material are important without a doubt, but crucially, it is the point at which this material and people interact that begin to define a live archive. Here, world and mind are enacted and Hall's 'national story' is challenged with emphasis being placed instead on alternate versions of history and personal contexts. The living archive emerging here is a place where the past, present and future co-exist. It might easily be argued however that this is a feature of any archive. What sets a 'living archive' apart in this regard? This study suggests that the dividing line is the application of this understanding by those mediating the relationship between the archive and the people. The living archive is mediated by practitioners hyper-aware of the archive's capacity for creation, influence and expansion. Aware and perhaps even excited by the possible future impacts of working with the past in the present. Conscious that exposing and altering personal and collective narratives potentially engenders changes in the person and the people. In this sense the living archive progresses further along the trail initially blazed by information professionals like Gerald Ham, Terry Cook and others who recognised the impossibility of archival neutrality (Cook, 2001; Ham, 1975). Here however, we have travelled beyond the stage of mere acknowledgement of subjectivity. Living the archive sees archival material being mediated in highly subjective ways with clear intentions to influence future actions.

The living archive cannot be separated from art and creativity. Every initiative featured in this chapter was intimately connected to the arts and the natural results are creative approaches to the activation of material. The archive inspires artwork and is sometimes considered as the work itself. The control over this process by the 'keepers' of the archive has been shown to be variable. Specific activations are planned, but the scope within these activations for participant control can be broad or narrow – creation or re-creation. The living archive must create new work it seems, but what is new? Some see the re–creation of work already in the archive as new, where the novel nature of the work of others call to mind Hall's statement that 'significant additions to the archive will not be the same as that which was produced earlier, but it will be related to that body of work, if only in terms of how it inflects or departs from it' (Hall, 2001).

There is a cultural dimension also. This involves an acknowledgement of the 'pre-history' or provenance of the archive. The living archive asks 'what is the appropriate way of activating and sharing these materials given their context? How do the communities surrounding the archive see the archive? What are the points of (dis)connection? What works for them? I am drawn here once again to the work of Falola and Marable introduced in chapter 2 of this study. It is not a coincidence that the two initiatives explored here connected with 'black cultures', in different ways, to retain elements of traditional western archival and museum practice whilst drawing on their own cultural understandings in working with material. Marable's living black history recognises the importance of living persons in working with black history. Likewise, Falola is very aware of the limitations of archival processes in documenting and sharing the histories of his people. The initiatives studied here are not all 'black archives', and my task here is not to seek out and underline differences between 'black' and 'white' heritage working – designating the former as progressive and creative and the latter as traditional and inert. If anything, this chapter makes the implicit argument that broadly speaking, living heritage can yield benefit across racial and cultural lines. Equally though, reprising what has been said elsewhere in this study about the importance of context, it is clear that given the focus on living individuals, living groups and living communities, the 'livingness' of the living archive will be shaped to a large degree by the shared cultural understandings of those constituting and interacting with the archive.

In the context of this study, these findings are encouraging. In the first instance, the results justify my consideration of this study itself as a living activation of the archive. We are here enlivening and sharing material with the purpose of influencing future actions. The Africa Centre archives, through this study, have already begun to live in a new way. Shifting our focus to these future actions, the emphasis on personal and communal contexts seen here supports the action of working with members of the musical (and wider) community at the Africa Centre to expand that archive. In doing so alternatives to the 'master narrative' espoused by the present organisation come to the fore – in turn altering the national context within which we are operating. This chapter tentatively suggests that narrative(s) arising from heritage working can form a part of a reparative approach to self and community healing. This is particularly important given the fractures created between the organisation and its historic community during the

sale of the Africa Centre's original building. Likewise, the current trend for the decolonial purging of institutions, methodologies and praxes might also be considered as personal and collective healing strategies in which the Africa Centre's heritage could play a part. In chapter 9, I outline a plan for the activation of the Africa Centre archives based on the findings presented here and consider this therapeutic aspect in a number of ways. The archives can be deployed as part of a wider strategy to improve relations with the Centre, uniting corporate and personal contexts through creative mediation. It is not enough, however, to embark on such a specific mission without a suitably nuanced understanding of the material one intends to deploy. If it is to form the theoretical basis for a practical intervention, it is essential that this study achieves a deeper understanding of the contexts and pre-histories of both the Africa Centre as an organisation and as a community. The following chapters seek to furnish this understanding, simultaneously representing the first ever critical activation of its musical archives.

CHAPTER 5: PRE-HISTORIES AND PAN-AFRICANISM

Chapter 4 sought to form, through empirical study, a clearer theoretical and practical basis for the 'living archive' as it has been conceived of in the UK with a view to applying these understandings as a part of this present study. This chapter chooses to focus on the archives of the Africa Centre and its musical spaces in particular – arguing that the activation of the archive must be prefaced by a thorough understanding of its context and pre-history. In archival science, context is king. Channelling the spirit of Dutch Archivist Theodore Van Reimsdijk, Eric Ketelaar finds that 'archival documents should be "placed in their natural and original context, where they reveal their nature and meaning best" (Ketelaar, 1996, p. 33). Similarly, but with a slightly different inflection, the notion of provenance – of where a thing came from – is fundamental to the archival profession. As has been noted already in this study, these ideas of provenance and context are echoed by the 'pre-history' which, for Hall, every archive has (Hall, 2001). Provenance and 'original order' (current archival parlance for Van Reimsdijk's ideas on indicating context) have important connotations. It makes little sense devoting so much energy to the exploration of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre without a basic understanding of the social, organisational and psychological contexts which gave rise to them. What was the broad outline of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre prior to the nascent stages of the Limpopo Club in the early 1980s? What are the 'pre-histories' and principal ideologies of the key players in the founding of these spaces? 'Pan-Africanism' is an ideological motive that has been noted by Bradley (Bradley, 2013, p. 161) and was reiterated several times during my conversations with Wala Danga in particular. What did 'Pan-African music programming' mean in practice at the Africa Centre, and how is it remembered by the actors of its musical spaces?

In recognition of the relationship between the embodied and the external discussed in the previous chapter, the Africa Centre archives are activated within this chapter to answer these questions. In line with the dubbing of the archive previously introduced as a methodological foundation of this study, facsimile documents from the Africa Centre archive giving rise to a sense of 'archival ambience' (Cram, 2016) are turned up in the mix, offering the reader some *sense* or *feeling* of the context which has given rise to this current narrative. This documentary foundation is then connected with contributions from the memories of interviewees – echoing the interplay of documentary and lived

contexts discussed in chapter 4. The South African archivist Verne Harris describes archives as 'constructed windows into personal and collective processes' (Harris, 2002b, p. 63) acknowledging this mediation of history through his coining of the term 'the archival sliver' (ibid 2002b, p. 64). For him, what remains in an archive is necessarily a fraction of 'what happened'. Both this chapter, and this study more broadly, must be considered in these terms. As histories selected for preservation through documentary means or by human memory and then further curated by my own subjectivities they are, in fact, a fraction of a fraction of what (might have) occurred at the Africa Centre. Nevertheless, as James states in her thesis on the life and works of the prominent Pan-Africanist George Padmore, the piecing together of these 'scraps' after the passage of time can enable useful insights to emerge (James, 2012, p. 8).

The fact that the founders of the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre labelled their approach to the project as 'pan-African' demands that their approach be situated within the broader history of the Africa Centre and understood within the century-long history of pan-Africanism as political and cultural movements. What might such a political and cultural stance signify at a Centre which was established by white, Christian Europeans and continued to be directed by predominantly white management for the first thirty years of its existence? We must also note here the Africa Centre's own conscious and subconscious dependence on pan-Africanist ideologies. Subconscious in that it might well be argued that the Centre's raison d'être may never have existed if it weren't for the pan-Africanist forces demanding the separation of the various African and Caribbean states from their European 'mother countries'. Conscious in terms of the ideologies of both the various constituencies leveraging the Africa Centre's space and also the 'all-Africa' programming strategy which was employed from its inception.

Setting the Scene: Establishing the Context of the Musical Space

The following documents are excerpted from a large file containing information pertaining to the establishment of the Africa Centre:
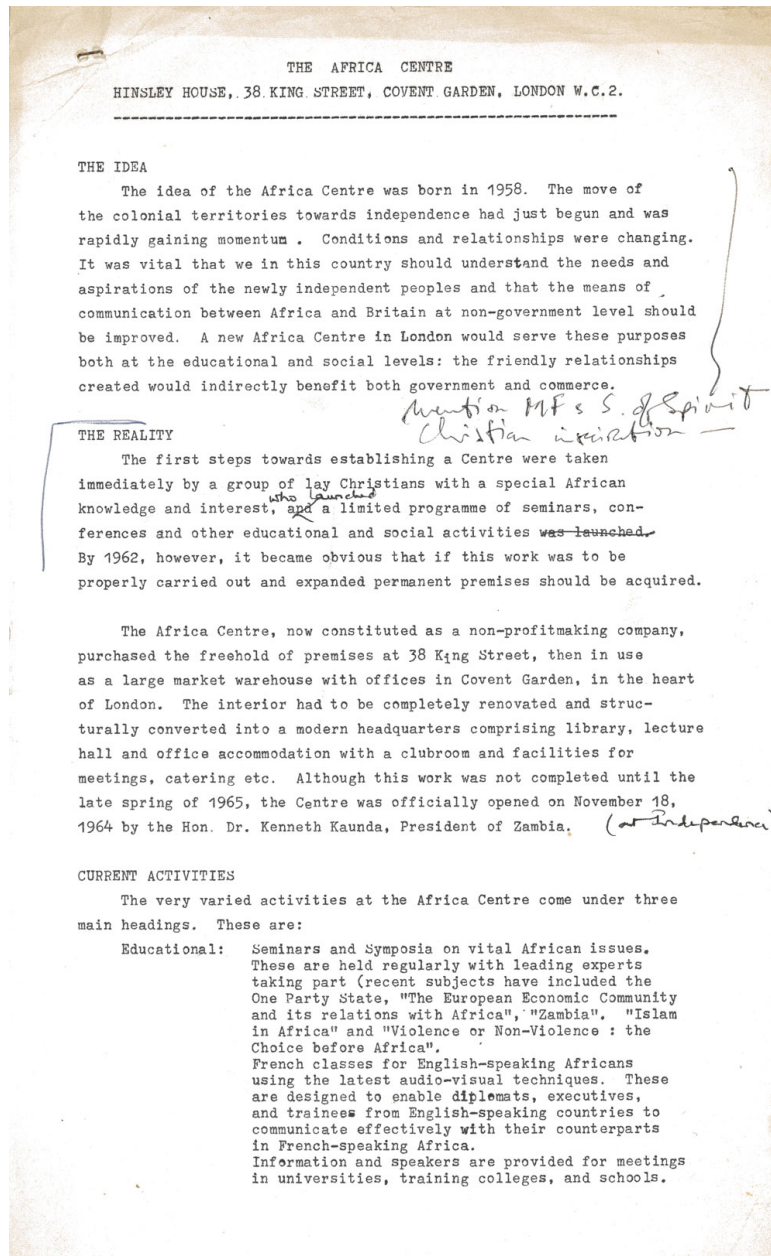
Figure 1. Undated excerpt from an archived report detailing the establishment of the Africa Centre c. 1960s (© Africa Centre)

THE AFRICA OFFICE

The decision to set up an AFRICA CENTRE in London
was taken at a Conference of Catholic Lay Societies
and Missionary Orders called to discuss the present
problems and needs of Africa. The Centre is to be
founded and run by Catholics but its work will be
directed to the benefit of all, regardless of their
religion. A 'pilot-office' for the Centre was opened
at 128 Sloane Street, London S.W.1. in July 1958.

THE AFRICA CENTRE

will provide a focal point in London for meetings
and discussions for all those who come from
Africa

... stimulate interest in and deepen knowledge
of Africa and its peoples, especially in
schools and universities, by means of
lectures and publications ; and also by the
collection and distribution of news and
background information

... organise study groups to assemble reference
material on all aspects of African affairs,
and initiate projects of research in
sociological and similar fields

... act as a clearing house for the recruitment
of those wishing to take up educational,
medical, technical and other posts in African
countries, and provide the necessary
background and orientation courses. Voluntary
workers will also be encouraged.

COA
COV

This project is initiated by the AFRICA COMMITTEE of
the Sword of the Spirit, the only Catholic organisation
in England devoted exclusively to the international
field. Its aim is to create an informed and active
public opinion on current world affairs. The President
of the Sword of the Spirit is the Cardinal Archbishop
of Westminster. The Chairman of the Africa Committee is
Major Patrick Wall, M.P.

Africa Office : 128 Sloane Street, London S.W.1. (SLO4469)

Figure 2. Undated statement (c.1959) produced by the 'Africa Office', a pre-cursor to the Africa Centre, laying out the key aims and objectives underpinning the establishment of the Africa Centre (©Africa Centre)

These documents offer a useful insight into the rationale behind the initial
establishment of the Africa Centre. With a number of African countries having
succeeded in winning their independence (through a protracted struggle which some
date back at least as far as the Haitian revolution of 1789 (James, 1969, p. 2)) in the
late 1950s and early 1960s, the documents make clear the feeling among 'lay

Christians' that there would be mutual benefit in a London-based 'focal point…for meetings and discussions' which had the capacity to 'stimulate interest in and deepen knowledge of Africa and its peoples'. That the core impetus for the creation of the centre was to be found amongst Roman Catholics 'with a special knowledge and interest in Africa' is of little surprise. Since the landmark publication of William Carey's English language missionary treatise *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* in 1792, Protestant Christians, followed some years later by Anglican and Roman Catholic missions, can and have been credited as the 'most important facet of Western contact' with Sub-Saharan Africa (Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007, p. 258). Of course, Euro-Christian influences on the African continent dates back further still, perhaps beginning with the early trade contact between the continent and Portugal via trade routes crossing the Western Sahara. Returning to the idea of the Africa Centre, charitably-minded readers may accept the altruistic nature of the project; the more cynical might be dubious about such a proposal emanating from agencies whose previous form included 'the impingement of Western cultural norms, lifestyles and beliefs [which] rudely shattered African societies' (ibid 2007, p. 258). In any case, what is abundantly clear from these early statements of intent is the pre-eminence of the Centre's intended educational and academic activities over the creation of social, artistic, and for our current purposes, specifically musical spaces of exchange. This is not to say that the Centre was established with no intention to create venues for social and cultural enjoyment, but simply that on balance, these seemed ancillary to the core educative and cohesive concerns of the organisation.

So how are these educative concerns preserved? Archival traces illuminate an Africa Centre focused on dispelling the myth of a 'dark continent' for the benefit of a UK audience. Further, the records portray an organisation not skirting the manifold issues characterising the nascent 'postcolonial' period for many newly independent African states. The archive gives the sense of an organisation seeking to provide for the educational and social needs of Africans living in London. An Institute of Race Relations report of 1968 estimates that approximately 4000 West Africans alone were resident in London at the time of the 1961 census with a ratio of two males to one female (Craven, 1968, p. 2). Many of these people were students. Some African students were politically engaged with events concerning them both in the UK, and on

the African continent (Adi, 1993; Makonnen, 2016) and presumably, like students the world over, would have enjoyed and actively shaped spaces to socialize with their peers. The following selections from the material archives of the early Africa centre evidence examples of the centre delivering on their mission.

Figure 3. A French language class being held at the Africa Centre c. 1960s (© Africa Centre)
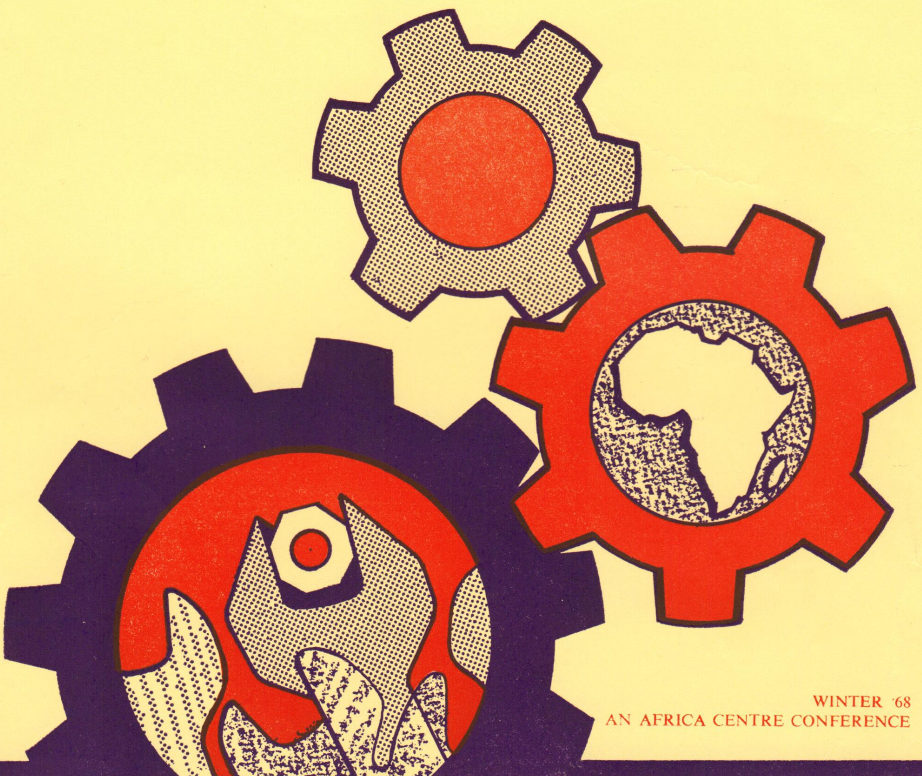
Figure 4. Poster advertising the 'Africanisation of Industry' event held in 1968 at the Africa Centre (© Africa Centre)

AFRICA CENTRE
CENTRE AFRIQUE

REFUGEES IN AFRICA

conference at the

AFRICA CENTRE
38 KING STREET, W.C.2

Chairman: Charles Longbottom
             Chairman, Ariel Foundation

Monday 10th October 1966

6.00   REFUGEES IN AFRICA — A SURVEY
        John Kelly
        Representative in U.K. of
        U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees

7.00   Supper

8.00   ASSIMILATION REPATRIATION DISPERSAL
        Janet Lacey Director of Christian Aid
        Nevil Rubin Lecturer in African Law

9.00   PANEL DISCUSSION

9.30   Close of Meeting

Fee excluding supper 5s : Members 3s 6d
Further information from the Education Officer - TEM 1973

Figure 5. Poster advertising the 'Refugees in Africa' held at the Africa Centre in 1966 (© Africa Centre)

Figure 6. Poster advertising the 'Tourism in Africa' event held at the Africa Centre in 1969 (© Africa Centre)

Figure 7. Poster advertising the 'War in Nigeria' event held at the Africa Centre in 1968 (© Africa Centre)

7 October	A Look at Recent Writing Dennis Brutus
21 October	The Novel Khadambi Asalache
4 November	The Short Story John Nagenda
18 November	The Critics Gerald Moore
2 December	Poetry John Okai
16 December	The Theatre Obi Egbuna

ALTERNATE TUESDAYS AT 8

new writing from africa

Admission 2/6

Restaurant and bar

The Africa Centre 38 King Street
Covent Garden WC2 01-836 1973

winter seminars '69

Figure 8. Poster advertising the 'New Writing From Africa' held at the Africa Centre in 1969 (© Africa Centre)

These posters were collated in a series of ephemera with a date range spanning 1961 to c.2000. It is safe to assume they were collated precisely for the purpose of telling a neat story of early programming practices at the Centre. Whilst we may take some of the intended messages on board, it is important to delve a little deeper into the

messages these figures convey. Fiske identifies two schools of thought in the study of communication: The 'transmission of messages' and the 'production and exchange of meanings'. The former, the 'process school', deals with the linear production and transmission of messages, whilst the latter 'semiotic school' is occupied with the non-linear production and exchange of meanings (Fiske, 1990, p.2-3). Whilst deep analysis of these particular traces is beyond the scope of this study, it is useful to gain a sense of the intended messages and meanings produced by the Africa Centre in order to better locate musical activities within this wider strategy. The five traces, read in conjunction with figures 1 and 2 create an interesting picture of the messages and meanings circulated by the Africa Centre in its infancy. The report in figure 1 describes the moment of decolonisation as one where 'conditions and relationships were changing', giving rise to the feeling that 'It was vital that we in this country should understand the needs and aspirations of the newly independent peoples'. One might imagine then that messages disseminated by the Centre would be based upon notions of growth, development and cultural production. This is borne out by Figures 4, 6 and 8 which seem quite clearly aimed at educating a British audience on positive developments on the African continent and conveying a sense of modernity and change. The positive message is compounded by a modern European approach to design. For Fiske, meanings in semiotics are produced when constructed signs interact with receivers. Crucially, the formation of meaning is dependent on 'aspects of his or her [the receiver's] cultural experience [being brought] to bear upon the codes and signs which make up the text' (ibid, p.3). Given that readers in the UK would likely be familiar with modern European design principles (through general consumption of advertising and publications), narratives of 'progress' and representations of Africans as 'primitive…without industry, religion, history and even without the capacity to reason' (Chinweizu, 1987, p. 76), it seems reasonable to assert that the probable meaning constructed would serve to question this view of Africa and Africans through alignment with aesthetic modernity. Equally though, the statement in figure 1 speaks of the 'problems' and 'needs' of Africa, and it is clear from the traces in figs 5 and 7 that these problems were also discussed, debated and promoted. Taken as a unit, the examples given, which are broadly representative of the traces of this time period available within the Africa Centre's collection of ephemera, seem to be trying to convey a sense of dynamism and change on the African continent. They are also replete with the attendant maladies which often characterise these very same processes in countries

fresh from the transition from foreign domination to sovereign control. But what about the music?

The Music of Africa? African Musical Tradition and Modernity in the Africa Centre Archives

Expounding his understanding of African music, Chernoff states that 'people from Western cultures historically have had a difficult time understanding anything African, some say that they are bored, that the music is monotonously repetitive' (Miller Chernoff, 1981, p. 27). He goes on to define African music as 'a cultural activity which reveals a group of people organizing and involving themselves with their own communal relationships' (ibid, p.36). These definitions, despite their focus on so-called 'traditional' rather than *popular* African musics, do offer some sense of the conceptual terrain on which people living in the UK might have met African music during the 1960s and early 1970s. We might expect then that part of the stimulation of interest in and deepening knowledge of Africa proposed in the Africa Centre's founding statements would incorporate an effort to counter the obfuscation of African music from the British public view. The following figures present some examples of this, again drawn from the Africa Centre's collection of ephemera.

Figure 9. Poster advertising 'The Music of Africa'. A series of lectures focussing on aspects of traditional music in Africa. Held at the Centre in 1969 (© Africa Centre)

Figure 10. Poster advertising 'The Music of Africa'. A series of lectures focussing on aspects of traditional music in Africa. Held at the Africa c.1968 (© Africa Centre)

Figure 11. Poster advertising 'The Music of Africa'. A series of lectures focusing on aspects of traditional music in Africa. Held at the Africa Centre c.1967 (© Africa Centre)

Figure 12. Poster advertising the performance of Master Drummer Mustafa Tettey Addy at the Africa Centre c. 1967. (© Africa Centre)

These posters signify a somewhat reified view of African music as distinctly 'other'. They present it as a subject to be studied soberly, in an anthropological fashion, rather than enjoyed as the shaper of a dynamic social space. Promoted with images of exotic traditional African instruments and presented, in the main, by white experts aided by African input, the overall tone resonates well with the words of A.M. Jones (or 'Father

Jones' as he appears in Figure 11 above) in the introduction to his book *Studies in African Music:* 'If one chances to find a novel object, the obvious and sensible course is to look at it carefully…the plain fact is, African music is a strange and novel object when encountered by a western musician' (Jones, 1959, p. 1). This attitude of scholarly enquiry is one which forms a dominant trope in the traces of the Africa Centre's early musical events. A recording made at the Africa Centre and now housed in the British Library's National Sound Archive actually captures a disgruntled African audience member lamenting the presentation of his musical tradition by a non-African (Jones, 1969). The interlude does provide an interesting insight into the possible readings of such events by African attendees. Indeed, it appears academic analysis was not simply reserved for traditional African music – popular music from the continent also suffered the same fate:
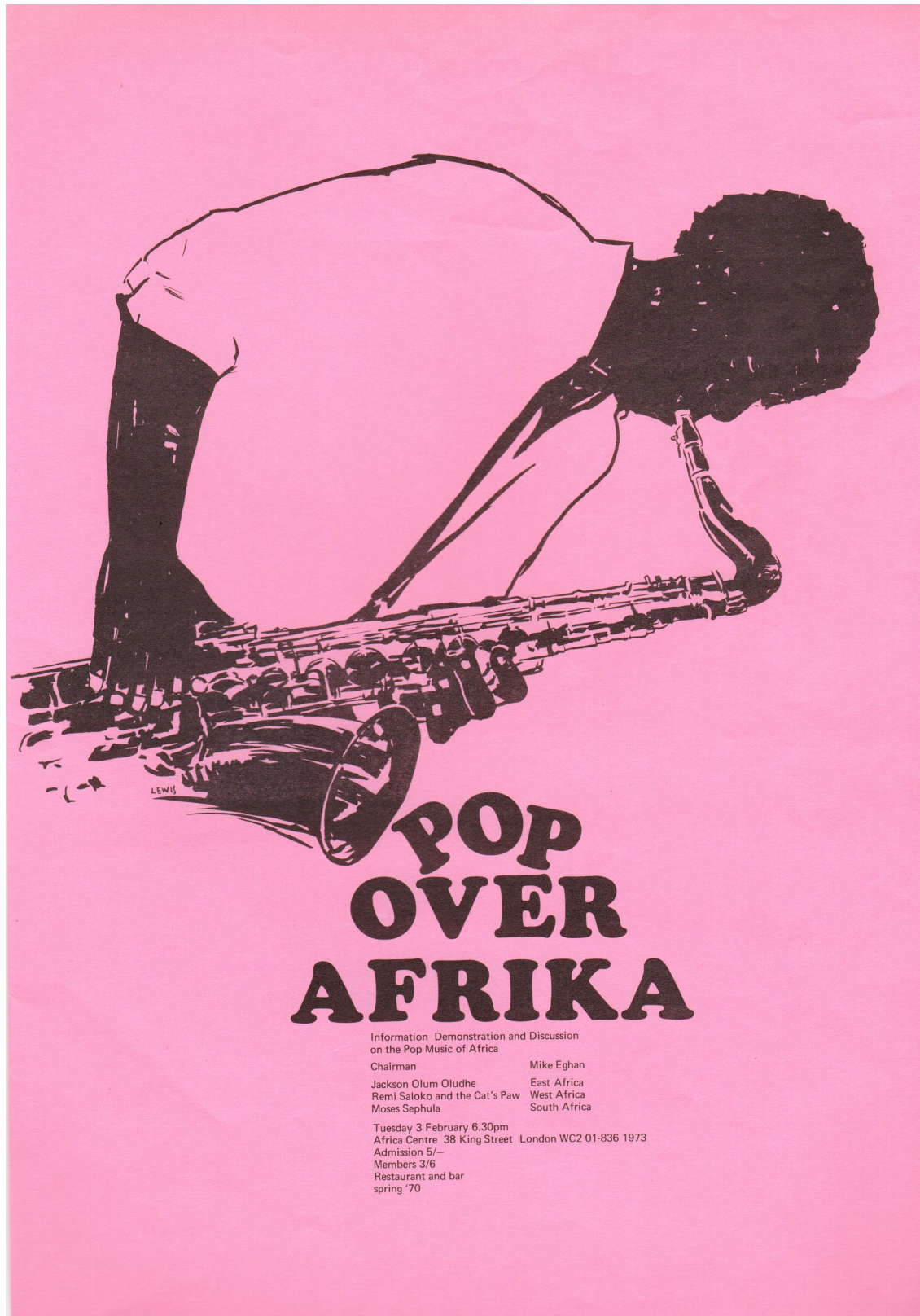
Figure 13. Poster advertising 'Pop Over Africa', a discussion and demonstration event focussed on African popular musics held at the Africa Centre c.1969.(© Africa Centre)

It seems reasonable to suggest that the preceding examples illustrate an approach to creating musical space at the Africa Centre which was directed less at providing 'convivial' spaces for intercultural exchange, and more towards the study and understanding of 'foreign' sonic configurations in a much more formal sense. This leads to the assumption that although these spaces were designed to engender understandings about African musics, they were ultimately configured with an intellectual western audience in mind.

As a counterpoint to this rather staid approach to music programming, evidence of another line of musical action within the space does exist. The text 'including disco after concert' discreetly inserted at the bottom right corner of the poster advertising Ghanaian Master Drummer Mustafa Tettey Addy's Africa Centre performance (Fig. 12) is a subtle clue to an alternative invocation of music at the Africa Centre; one which was contemporary in nature and much more about participation than observation. It is unclear whether the disco following Addy's show foregrounded contemporary African music or sustained the crowd with 'Western' Pop, Rock and Soul hits of the day, but the appearances by the Eagles and Highlife legend Sir Victor Uwaifo evidenced here (Figs 14 and 15) are unambiguous in their exhortations to 'Drink, Dine and Dance' unfettered by the need to theorise and debate the sounds reaching your ears.
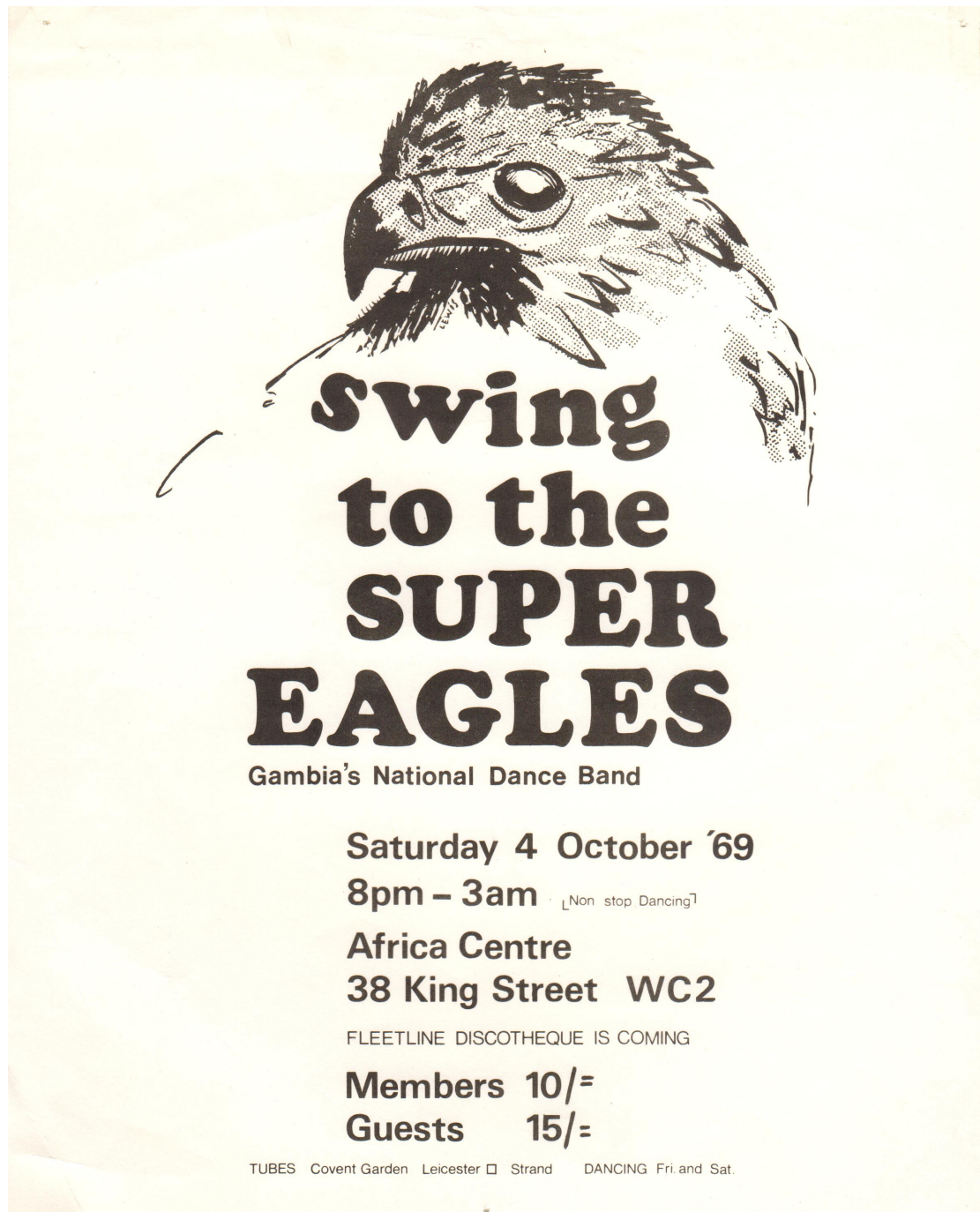
Figure 14. Poster advertising a performance by the 'Super Eagles', 1969 (© Africa Centre)

Figure 15. Poster advertising a performance by 'Sir Victor Uwaifo' at the Africa Centre in 1969 (© Africa Centre)

Bradley's account of Black music in 1960s/1970s London makes much of the presence and contributions of African musicians and African music. His study foregrounds West African Highlife, Palm Wine and Juju as a recognised, albeit lesser known musical forms in London from the 1950s onwards (Bradley, 2013, p. 136). Catering first to the growing numbers of African students in the capital and eventually involving themselves in cross-cultural collaborations with Jazz, Latin and Calypso artists from the Caribbean,

African bands and African musicians played an influential role in spreading their arrangements in London, as well as actively influencing the popular sounds back in West Africa (Jaji, 2014). The presence of Sir Victor Uwaifo, a giant in Nigerian Highlife, and the Super Eagles, a formidable Gambian dance band playing a mix of American, Cuban and British styles with an African influence suggest a much more dynamic and informal approach to fostering inter-cultural relations and begin make a case for the inclusion of the Africa Centre as a venue of relevance to African popular musical history in the UK in the 1960s. The visual evidence is further corroborated by the Centre's founder, Margaret Feeny, in an archived interview undertaken by ex-Africa Centre employees David Harris and Peter Jenkins in 1999 as part of their research for a 35 year retrospective exhibition of the centre:

> We had all the African groups – when they came they wanted to come to the Centre because they'd already heard about it. After that they'd get bookings for everywhere else in the country. Sunny Ade, Dudu Pukwana. Barbara (staff member) and Dudu were actually married in the Centre…of real help to us was a Ghanaian drummer who played in the Festival hall. He had a Balafon the size of this room. Mustapha Tettey Addy. (Feeny, 1999)

Moving into the 1970s, we are told, again by Margaret Feeny, in the Centre's 1976/77 Annual Report under the heading 'Dances' that 'live groups and Discotheques are held every Saturday night throughout the year, arranged by African or other organisations, or by the Africa Centre' (Feeny, 1977). The fact that these events, in particular those sponsored and organised by the Africa Centre itself were not listed/evidenced individually (as they later came to be) perhaps shows the level of esteem in which they were held within the organisation right up until the early eighties when compared to the more ethnomusicological programme offerings. Wala Danga's comments both to me and evidenced in Bradley's work support this view, relating the importance of musical space at the centre to the tenures of the various Directors of the organisation:

> On a formal level, I mean, well I've kind of seen…most of the Directors at the Africa Centre. At some point it was Margaret Feeny, then at some point Alastair Niven, then Nigel [Watt]. But I would say it was during more Nigel's time that things really came more together. We used to have music the other times, but it was not as frequent as then, but we decided to formalise it, say in the mid-80s…Not that they didn't, or were not keen…but I think they were more literature-based people. They more or less encouraged those kind of mediums at the Africa Centre. (Danga, 2015a)

It is also important to remember that the Africa Centre was, in many cases not the chief programmer of its musical spaces before the advent of the Limpopo Club. Third party organisations would often hire the main hall in order to carry out their own activities. Some of the 'African or other organisations' listed in Annual Reports as having used the Africa Centre space during the 1970s include: The Anglo Egyptian Society, The Anglo Ivory Coast Society, The Anglo Ethiopian Society, The Malawi Students Association, The Tanzania Students Association, The Kenya Students Association, The Sierra Leone Students Union, The Gambia Students Association, The Mbano Students Union of Nigeria, The Uganda Students Association, The Ghana Students Union, The Zimbabwe Action Movement, The Anti Apartheid Movement, The ZANU Women's League, Zimbabwean African Peoples Union , The Namibia Support Committee, The Eritrean Support Committee, The Sahara Action Committee, Jabula, Beltinakoush (Afro-Jazz Quartet), Madaka Band, Rovambira Sounds, Gander Sounds, Sabanoh-75, Masco Sounds/Masco Disco, Hotline Disco, Palmasco Disco, Chitungqiza Disco.

Note the significant numbers of African Students' Unions and Political/Solidarity organisations hiring the Africa Centre hall. Although it is unlikely that music formed part of all of these hires, it is reasonable to assume that at least a portion of these instances provided a stage for African bands or at the very least, African DJs. Bradley credits London's African students with providing a ripe market for African music, particularly West African Highlife (Bradley, 2013, p. 134). Music also played an important part of many solidarity movement events:

Figure 16. Poster advertising a Namibia Solidarity event presented by the Namibia Support Committee held at the Africa Centre. (© Africa Centre)

Throughout the twentieth century, black solidarity in the face of oppression was not simply a national matter, but an international concern amongst people of African

descent (and many non-Africans also). Figure 16 is important as it locates pan-Africanism, solidarity and music, together, at the Africa Centre. The items and information drawn from the archives and presented here thus far, although necessarily only a fraction of the totality of the collection, could be said to communicate a 'pan-African' programming strategy, but only if we take the term 'pan-African' in its loosest sense – as indicative of a strategy encompassing all people of African descent.   Whilst it may be argued that a greater focus has always been placed on those countries whose fortunes were tied to Britain's under colonial rule, since the Centre's inception in the 1960s, much effort has been made to convey political and cultural information from across the African continent and bring people from these nations together on 'neutral' space. In fact Margaret Feeney explicitly mentions pan-Africanism in her archived interview:

> It [establishing the Africa Centre] wasn't to teach us so much about Africa, but it was also to bring Africans together because Pan-Africanism was much in the public mind. I was interpreting, in Rome and everywhere, between English and French speaking Africans. I thought this was madness – they can't listen to each other's radio or read each others' papers. This seemed to be very important. (Feeny, 1999)

Evidence does also exist, although in considerably smaller quantities, of the inclusion of the music and culture of those Africans forcibly shipped to the Americas in this pan-African picture. This image, again drawn from the Africa Centre's collection of ephemera, does signify an interest in transatlantic cultural connections, albeit an intellectual one:
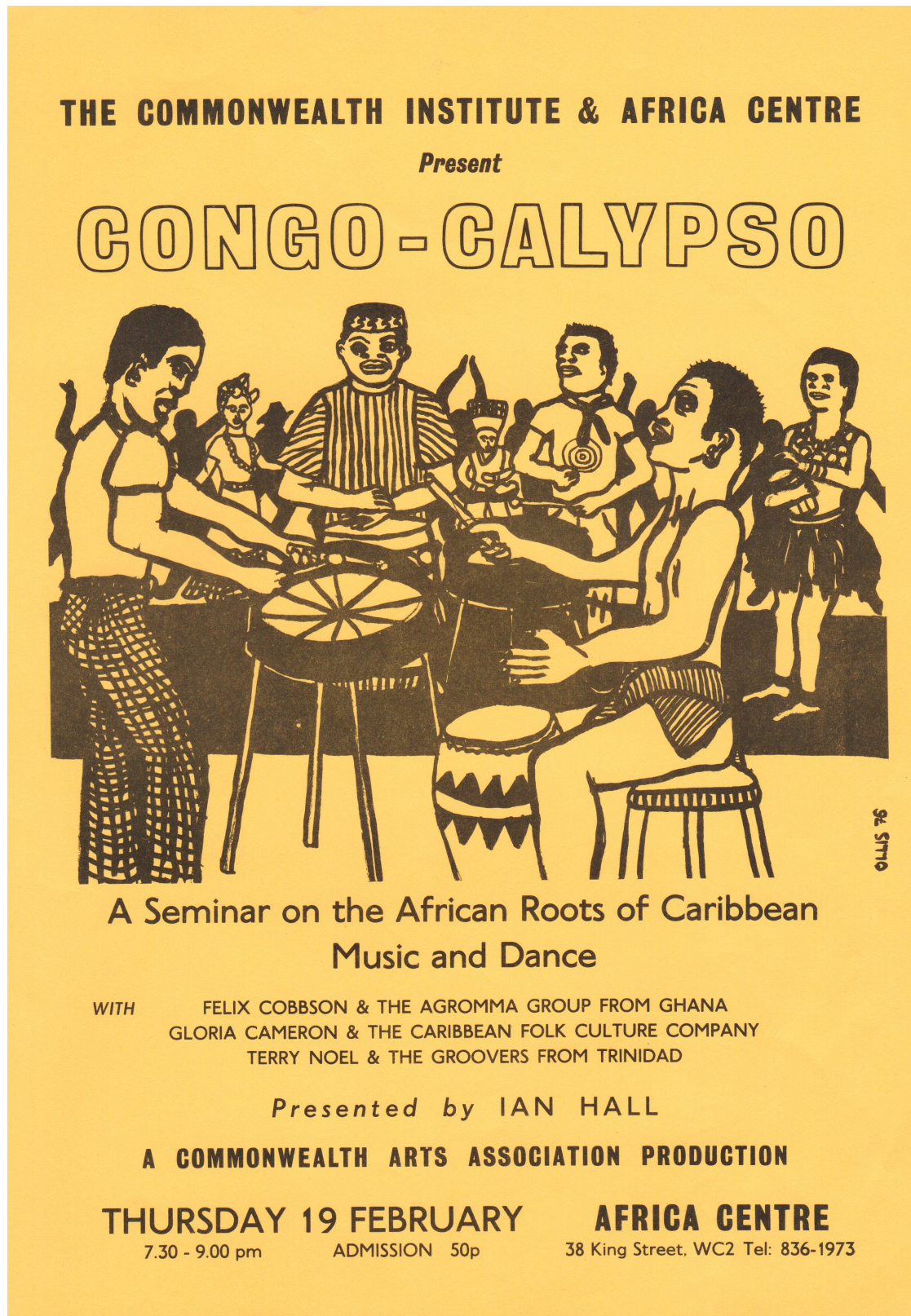
Figure 17. Poster advertising 'Congo Calypso' a seminar on the African roots of Caribbean music and dance held in 1976 at the Africa Centre (© Africa Centre)

On the more social end of things, a flyer dated 1966 listing the summer season's events evidences a performance by a 'West-Indian Steel Band'. Moving onto the later seventies, there are also several traces of performances by African-Caribbean band 'Steel An' Skin' and Reggae band 'Icarus'. The former sharing a bill with a popular band boasting Anglo-Ghanaian heritage, Orchestra Jazira.

AFRICA CENTRE · KING STREET · LONDON WC1

AFRO-CARIBBEAN NIGHT
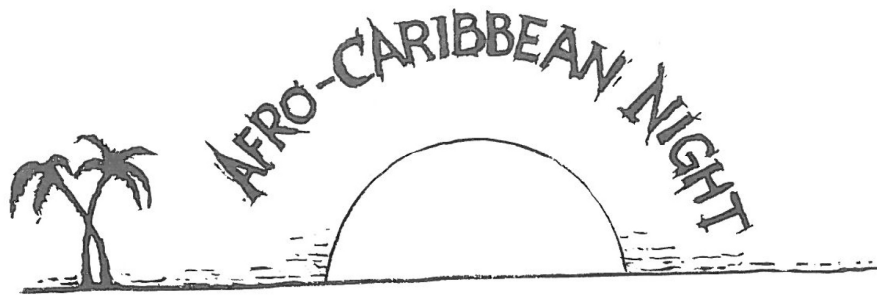
with the fabulous
ORCHESTRE Jazira !

and the Jazira Dancers

with guests
— STEEL 'N' SKIN —

Friday 27th August
8.00pm til late

DISCO BY WALLY
LATE BAR   FOOD
Admission £3.00
Africa Centre members £2.50
Unwaged £2.00 (UB40, student)

Figure 18. A flyer advertising a performance of multicultural Highlife outfit 'Orchestre Jazira' with support from the African-Caribbean 'Steel an' Skin' and DJ Wally (Wala Danga) at the Africa Centre (© Africa Centre)

Pan-Africanism, pan-Africanism and musical space at the Africa Centre.

At one level, the pre-Limpopo Club context provided by the Africa Centre can, and has been related to pan-Africanism simply in its 'all-African' approach to providing space for African patrons to interact; both for social and specifically musical reasons. Limpopo Club founder Wala Danga recalls his initial attraction to the Africa Centre

> it's a place where you're going to meet other Africans'. Hey, that's an interesting thought, because in Africa itself it wasn't that easy to meet other Africans…So it was very much like that going in the first time enjoying the company of other African and wanting to find out more about other Africans… Where you are meeting other Africans and you are looking for, not differences but similarities, you know, which is where this pan-African thing kicks in, … whether it was that Africa from the motherland, or people from the diaspora itself…' (Danga, 2015a)

Algerian bandleader Seddik Zebiri whose band Seeds of Creation played regularly at the Limpopo Club has similar memories

> Well we needed information about Africa, you know we've got African people who were there [the Africa Centre], well educated and they've been to Africa, I mean Africa is big, for me as an Algerian, when I was in Algeria, I didn't know nothing about Africa, nothing at all whatsoever. Even my own country, just very little because of the revolution...I gained my confidence absolutely in Africa Centre, being an African man (Zebiri, 2015)

Nsimba Bitende, bandleader of the seminal UK born Congolese band 'Taxi Pata Pata' echoes these sentiments. For him, the close proximity of Africans from different parts of the continent actually influenced his understanding of what it was to be African

> It was like a centre-point for all of us living in England…when you go there…you are in Africa anyway. You see Ghanaian, you see Kenyan different faces different characters you know…I think I come close to feel like I am African…especially down Africa Centre where the group in there, there were some white people too, not just African anyway but mostly African, because me I am pan-Africanist, so I see the vision is very close…I could see Ghanaians, the children of Kwame Nkrumah is there, Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, I could see Senegal you know. Everybody there. So I find it like kind of…togetherness out of Africa... the spirit of like one day we will build Africa (Bitendi, 2015)

The irony of leaving Africa and discovering your 'African-ness' is an interesting one. In a sense, Bitende's memories demonstrate that for some, Margaret Feeny's founding vision of a meeting ground bringing together Africans from across the continent continued to operate after her tenure at the Centre had ended (she resigned from her Directorship in 1978 and Bitende is referring to the Africa Centre in the mid 1980s). The purposeful acknowledgement of the presence of whites within this pan-African space is also worth noting. Implicit is the idea that pan-African activity can operate within racially mixed (but predominantly African) environments. Less clear though is the form and extent of this activity. When I visited Bitende, the walls of his flat were adorned with images of iconic (and mostly afrocentric) African leaders, both political and cultural. Incidentally, I was unclear whether Bitende was referring to the figurative or actual children of Pan-Africanist leaders. Kwame Nkrumah's son Gamal did actually spend time at the Africa Centre during the 1980s.

Figure 19. Gamal Nkrumah and Sally Mugabe in the Africa Centre resource Centre, c.1983 (© Africa Centre)

Importantly, Bitende connects the idea of music from different African regions with his pan-African vision. Wala Danga elaborates on how this pan-African context was eventually reflected in the programming strategy of the Limpopo Club:

> Purely, that was straight from the beginning, that was the picture we wanted to paint. pan-African….we programmed bands from all over Africa, different days in the week…you know every other week we were featuring a different band from Ghana, from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, There was a conscious effort not to have a uniform of one country…being from Zimbabwe I was very conscious not to be just putting Zimbabwean band...we were trying to show this thing that unites us, the thing that is common among us….and people loved it because they could see the characters, the commonness that we had amongst ourselves as a people because it was there for you to see on stage live (Danga, 2015a)

The image of a place where Africans can commune and find out about the cultures of fellow people of African descent is an alluring one. Such a rendering however offers a relatively relaxed configuration of pan-Africanism given the original environments in which it was forged. A movement emerging as a response to colonial oppressions and state sanctioned racism, it is scarcely possible to divorce pan-Africanism from black resistance and notions of self-determination. Seddik Zebiri confirms this more politically energized aspect of the Africa Centre as a musical space, remembering the reasons for people attending:

> Africa Centre is chosen by activists who goes in there. Activists, doesn't matter where they come from. They go because…they wanted to know what's going on. You know. So everybody thinks what is going on in Africa, let's go see what is going on. And then they go, they meet there. (Zebiri, 2015)

Recalling the discussion of the 'pan-Africanisms' and 'Pan-Africanisms of Makonnen, Padmore, Garvey and Dubois, and Shepperson's differentiation of political and cultural pan-Africanisms, what emerges from the study of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre is a composite of these different approaches and ideologies. In the first instance, Wala's invocation of pan-Africanism as an adjective for his vision for the Limpopo Club resonates with the ideologies of Padmore and Du Bois. Both with respect to its All African programming strategy and its inclusion of white Europeans sympathetic to the cause. Wala had this to say on the establishment of the Limpopo Club as a response to the African music scene in London in general, and to a lesser extent, how African music appeared at the Africa Centre itself during the 1970s:

> It was mostly private parties or communities organising their own socials…So unless if you knew someone from that community and they invited you, that's how you would access it. …So we also saw that as a challenge as well…we needed

something that accommodated everybody. Something that had a pan-African appeal - that included everybody from the African diaspora, from Africa itself. Including people from the host country, the Europeans themselves. (Danga, 2015a)

Establishing his venture at a Centre owned and largely controlled by white Europeans, Danga also recognised the part that the enthusiasm of those white members of the programming team and Directorship for his project play in its success

In fact if I remember well, even Tony Humphries was saying to me 'Wala why don't you do this [music programming]?', you know 'because you're so good at [it]…and I was like 'okay I will do it but I need support...' He says 'I'm sure you'll get it, you know just do it and besides, the thinking is changing'. So I said 'okay fine. We will try it.' But at the time of Alastair and others, we were doing these odd one nights you know which were working, but Alastair had nothing to do with it really, to be quite honest, his thing was literature. (Danga, 2015b)

Humphries alluded to a change in thought, presumably at board level, concerning music (and possibly the definition of Africa and African arts) at the Centre. Read in the light of a previously archived interview with Tony Humphries given in 1999 as part of the research process for a retrospective exhibition, these comments gain more resonance:

The second major impact in my period was the difference before and after the Brixton riots. That shifted the Council of Management toward*s* a need to look at and include the Black Diaspora in Britain. The Council then was a very conservative body…. We were mainly a white liberal organisation, and got a lot of criticism for that, but the Centre's purpose was to be a space for both Africans and British people in the UK. Our frustrations were in having to work with the Council of Management, a few of whom had lived through the Colonial period (Humphries, 1999)

This statement sheds some light on the organizational structure and societal forces which intersect at the moment of the founding of the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre. On the one hand, the strongly defined sense of racial consciousness symbolised by racially charged uprisings are stimulating a general acceptance of the need for a broader view of Africa and a reconsideration, on the part of some classes of white people, of the position people of African descent hold within Britain's multicultural society. On the other hand, the configurations of power, and attendant need for liberal approaches to programming, are just as potent shapers of the environment within the

Centre. The sense is that a separatist, Garveyite approach to pan-African programming was neither possible nor desirable within the Africa Centre. Having said this, elements of Garvey's doctrine concerning African self-determination and economic self-help (and Makonnen's ideas regarding influential whites in black affairs) were readily discernible in the Limpopo Club's approach:

> African music we felt it was right that we do it because we understood it. It was our music, we make it, we should play it and control it basically. So you know Limpopo club was set up…with that kind of thing in mind. Like let's put something in place which is proper and functional. And we realised the Africa Centre being the Africa Centre was not even doing that. It was not African music at the Africa Centre (Danga, 2015a)

It is curious that Danga identifies a lack of African music at the Africa Centre as both the living and documentary aspects of the Africa Centre archive do evidence the presence of African music at the centre since the 1960s. This is not something he himself is unaware of. Interpolating conversations I have had with him 'off air' and those recorded as part of this study, I draw the conclusion that this statement relates more to the consistency of identity and ownership of the musical space than the mere presence of African music itself. The point about ownership is underlined by Danga's admiration for African entrepreneurs working in that area which was made apparent during a dialogue about his activities and motivations in the 1970s

> African music was on the agenda but it was more like sporadic….there were labels like Rokel, there was another company called…Oti Brothers in Balham**…**There were other independent people producing their own. Like when we did this album…Fred Zindi`s Shaka album, we produced it ourselves. Later on there's people like Harry Mosco from the Funkees, which was a group that came from Nigeria…the person that we all were holding in awe and were thinking like "wow this is the way to go", was Eddy Grant…He had his own label he had his own record industry as it were, called Ice Records....He was the man to try and follow and imitate, and you know it's a model we all liked, because he was doing his thing and was able to control it….there was always this conscious effort of wanting to control our own products if we could (Danga, 2015a)

We will recall from the literature review in chapter 2 that this concern regarding ownership was a serious enough issue to make it into print (Owusu, 1988). One of the essays written on the subject at the time was entitled 'Walking Away With The

Music' and was directed at prominent white people who had chosen to work with African music. One of these people was Lucy Duran, an ethnomusicologist, radio presenter and music producer who is credited with introducing Kora music to the UK during the 1970s. Interestingly, despite the activity of Wala Danga and others during the late 1970s, hers was the name mentioned by former Director Alastair Niven when my interview with him turned to the question of whom I should try and speak to in connection with music at the Africa Centre. During my interview with Duran, it became apparent that my mention of the term 'pan-Africanism' in connection with the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club's programming strategy for her triggers a recollection of the more militant, Garveyite aspects of the dynamics of the space:

> I think it was a pan-African, it was a pan-African environment, yes….in the mid-1980s there was a kind of a backlash…there was the whole thing about you know don't promote African music if you are white…. African Dawn was one of the groups that played a lot at the Africa Centre and they became very militant about all of this and I think they, they created a kind of, they became very politicised and very divisive about race and the involvement of you know anybody who was white (Duran, 2015)

Duran's memory of this history of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre, the early to mid-eighties, coincides with a period in music history in the UK when African music was hot property in the mainstream. There was, for a time, money to be made from controlling African cultural products (Bradley, 2013, p. 165). It is interesting that what, for Margaret Feeny in the 1960s meant a broad brush coming together of African nations was now in the 1980s more commonly interpreted as an exclusive, afrocentric idea defined in part by an unwelcoming stance toward white involvement – particularly where positions of power were concerned. For me, this shift in emphasis is a product of the larger societal conversations about race, privilege and ownership happening in 1980s Britain. This notion is explored further in chapter 8 of this thesis.

Limpopo Dawning: African Dawn and their influence on musical spaces at the Africa Centre.

During my conversations with Wala Danga it transpired that he had been a member of the 'The African Dawn' group that Lucy Duran is quoted mentioning

above. The African Dawn was an afrocentric poetry and music collective whose membership was drawn from both the African continent and the African diaspora and has been described as 'committed to Pan-Africanist ideals' (Hassan in Owusu, 1988, p. 104).

THE AFRICAN DAWN

THE AFRICA CENTRE,
38 KING STREET,
LONDON. WC2.
(TEL.8361973 EXT.74,75)
7th August, 1980.

Dear friends,

The African Dawn Group wishes to invite you to its inaugural
performance at the Africa Centre on the 28th of August 1980
at 7pm.

The Group is made up of four cultural artistes from Nigeria,
Senegal, Kenya and Ghana.   It will present a performance
of original dramatic Poetry fused with African music.

Poetry is presented as a collectivised social activity.
This is reflected by its dramatic and musical content and
form which embody potent themes of social reflection.

 The poems are presented in a non-stop single continuum and
music becomes an intergral part of this.

We hope you can join us to witness the breaking out of the
African Dawn!   Entrance - £1.00.

After this inaugural performance we can be contacted and
booked through the Africa Centre.

Millie Kiarie (Sec).

DRAMATIC POETRY FUSED WITH AFRICAN MUSIC

Figure 20. Invitation to the inaugural performance of the African Dawn at the Africa Centre (1980) (© Africa Centre)
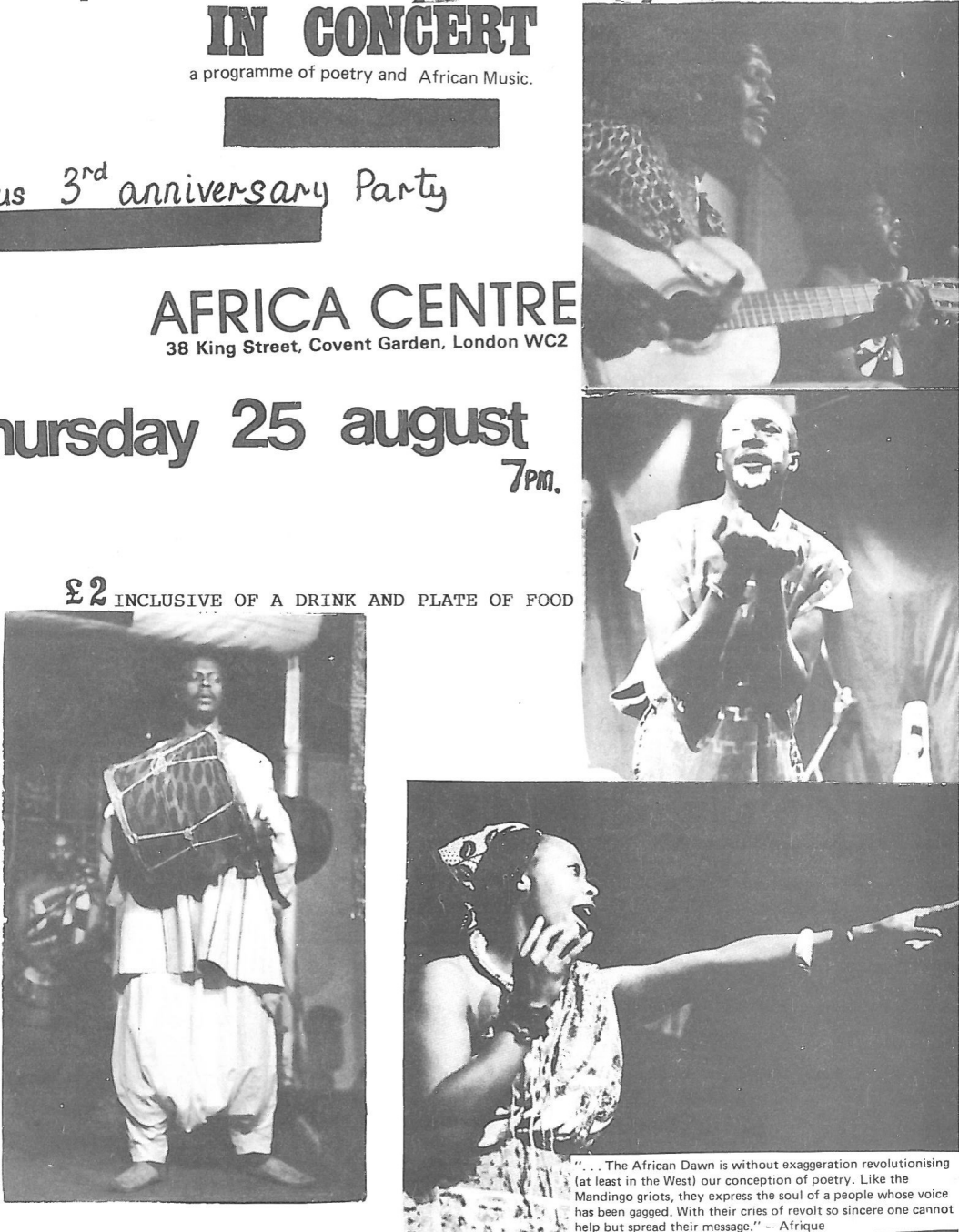
Figure 21. Poster advertising an African Dawn performance held at the Africa Centre (c.1983) (© Africa Centre)

The African Dawn were formed at the Africa Centre in 1980 and developed their craft there for some years, collaborating with well known anti-colonial artists and

intellectuals such as N'gugi Wa Thiong'o, Ptika Ntuli, The Last Poets and Gil Scott Heron amongst others. Yusuf Hassan asserts that for the Black artist, 'culture is an integral part of politics, and is, therefore, part and parcel of the ongoing fight against imperialism' (Hassan in Owusu, 1988, p. 104). This statement is amply supported when one reads the track listing of their first full-length LP 'Besiege The Night' released in 1983. Adaptions of Aime Cesaire poems (Rebel) nestle alongside pieces written in response to the New Cross Fire (Lewisham) and massacres in South Africa (Soweto) (African Dawn, 1983). The intent of culture as weapon is clear. Wala remembers it thus:

> African Dawn…were actually based at the Africa Centre, and we were also considered like a radical group. Young progressive African-Caribbean group which had sharp politics …we were the ones which were kind of pushing the bar further and further, like why don't we do this here? Why can't this be done here?…Why can't we have a significant number of Africans on the Management Committee?…So the thinking at that time was like radical and changing. And bearing in mind the place itself was already hosting these liberation groups. So the feeling was there…we were gradually being seen as people who had a much bigger political message. (Danga, 2015b)

It was impossible for me not to ask Wala what the institutional response was to the African Dawn's work. He said the following of Director of the time, Alastair Niven's reaction:

> I remember there was a time when he made the comment…'I like your work but you are too serious. You should infuse some kind of jokes in it', and that didn't go down well with us and some of our members.…when we performed it was quite, it was quite serious. It was serious work. You know, people would cry people would, yeah, the intensity it was there…very intense and politics was direct. You know I remember we went and did a poem on the 13 kids who were killed in Lewisham…we were there on the march we sang for them. The Brixton riots we were there. We were involved in direct community action, you know, so we were known as a group like that. (Danga, 2015b)

Importantly, Wala explains that the energy of this work was brought in to his thinking around the development of the Limpopo Club as a musical space at the Africa Centre. He goes further still, suggesting that the work was transformational to the Africa Centre as a whole, setting off a chain reaction of African controlled projects and programming endeavours, of which the Limpopo Club was one:

> The people who engaged with the centre now are us. Ngugi is coming in, Ngugi is teaming up with us as a group to do something together…And we did a play together. The Trial of Dedan Kimathi….So there was that kind of progressive element that was happening now…Then Nigel comes in, he just becomes embodied into all that, you know…So that changed the Limpopo, the music. Then Keith coming with 'Africa in the Pictures', the concept of African films, you know, So everything was geared for Africa in a positive way…Then Akina Mama Wa Africa, A women's kind of forum was also launched from the Africa Centre, and with Wanjiru who was working there…So with my music, I was pushing…I was getting the feedback from everybody 'eh this is nice', 'ah you're doing well man, African music, nobody is doing it here….[the club] became like the backdrop for what everybody else was doing…'so let's meet at Limpopo'. (Danga, 2015b)

Wala's memory of the Limpopo Club as a 'meeting place for pan-African artists is supported by the recollections of Imani Sorhaindo, a poet who frequented the Africa Centre during this time period and regularly performed poetry with Ahmed Sheikh, another one of the key players in African Dawn.

> I was friends with a member of the African Dawn, and I used…that opportunity in the evening to network and to have more informal dialogue with people about pan-Africanism… The music created a space because it was the first time I was introduced to pan-Africanism…through Ahmed Sheikh and some of his friends....it felt like an uprising (laughs) you know, it felt like people were talking about revolution, they were talking about moving, they were talking about poetry and how to get the message across to the masses and that's where that real dynamic energy was, you know. In between the dancing there was a lot of talk, a lot of discourse...it wasn't just things happening here, it was things happening globally. It totally blew my mind (laughs). …I realised that this was a movement, that people are doing things, You know?… they were sharing books…It was almost like a library...It was very multiculturally promoted you know, within that, people came to, with another agenda… Yeah, like the Underground Railroad (Sorhaindo, 2016)

The transnational activism Sorhaindo refers to as 'in between the dancing' was also something embedded in the sonic signature and musical ideology of the Limpopo Club. Earlier in this section, Wala Danga and Fred Zindi's band 'Shaka' and their self-produced album 'Chimurenga' was mentioned in relation to Marcus Garvey's principles of African self-determination. This thread deserves a reprise and deeper exploration as it yields some particularly informative connections regarding pan-Africanism in the arts and the influence of particular musics across the African diaspora.

Africa in Stereo: Roots, Rock, Reggae and the Limpopo Club

> In Zimbabwe itself there was that kind of music…gradually coming out but it was music of innuendos if you want…So people like Thomas Mapfumo started recording and doing things, but here in London, yeah we could sing directly, we could sing exactly how we felt and, you know. But like I said, the template there was always the Reggae music for us. (Danga, 2015a)

Reggae music seems a prominent shaping force for Danga both in the years leading up to his establishment of the Limpopo Club, and throughout its tenure at the Africa Centre. Wala's citing of Reggae music as a 'template' is key here as it provides further important information about the ideology stimulating his decision-making processes and value judgements.

Jaji's recent study 'Africa In Stereo' makes much of the co-evolution of Black music across the African diaspora. Interestingly, in Jaji's opening chapter entitled 'Stereomodernism', Bob Marley's 'Buffalo Soldier' is chosen as the vehicle by which to introduce the reader to the 'routes of a pan-African imaginary' (Jaji, 2014, p. 1). The findings of this study build on that notion but with a different inflection. Where Jaji explores these 'Stereomodern' connections between the Americas, Ghana, Senegal and Southern Africa, we are here concerned with the currents of the 'pan-African imaginary' flowing between Jamaica, Zimbabwe and England, stimulating and shaping African musical spaces in London.

During the course of interviewing for this research, I have been fortunate enough to be lent or given books which interviewees have for some reason, not always disclosed, deemed it important for me to read. One such title is 'Jah Music' a book written by Sebastian Clarke charting the evolution of Jamaican popular music from its roots in folk music through to the Roots explosion of the late 1970s. Discussing one of the many links between Jamaica and Africa he relates

> Some of the white record companies' motivation for entering the Reggae music business is the large market for Reggae in Afrika….since the early 1950s Calypso, and later all forms of Jamaican music, sold massively on that continent, so it does not come as a surprise that this market absorbs a greater proportion of sales than that of Europe or America. In fact, Jimmy Cliff is reputed to have sold over half a million units

of his single 'A Hard Road To Travel'….U-Roy sells as well as any…top rock acts (Clarke, 1980, p. 167)

The circulation of Jamaican musical 'texts' on the African continent can be seen to have had multiple influences on the character of the musical space at the Africa Centre, beginning in Zimbabwe where Wala was exposed to Jamaican music before he left for UK shores. Curious about the reasons why Reggae was popular in Zimbabwe, I asked Wala to clarify. Unsurprisingly, pan-Africanist themes of solidarity and racial pride proved high on the list

> It's a sound they could relate to. But basically the feeling at that time was just to form associations with Black people, no matter where they were from in the world, you know. There was that camaraderie needed by the Zimbabweans then, or the oppressed Blacks in Rhodesia then, that they would listen to James Brown you know when he did those things,' I'm black and proud' you know which is almost like an anthem but invariably it was banned on the radio stations (Danga, 2015c)

And moving the focus of the discussion to the tastes of the African diaspora in the UK during the late 1970s and early 1980s

> I think generally even here the atmosphere was really for roots rock Reggae. That was the music that was really taking hold if you went to the blues, if you went anywhere, that was the music. …things like Bob Marley, you know, Culture, Abyssinians...There was also one by Johnny Clarke, pertaining to Africa…so many tunes from that era…had a very political bias about the liberation wars in Africa. Those usually were my favourites (Danga, 2015c)

Roots Reggae is so called because of its 'conscious' lyrics. Eschewing the familiar popular music territory of love, loss and discord in personal relationships with much weightier, socially engaged themes of displacement, liberation from oppression, spirituality and political commentary. Jamaican vocalist Big Youth puts it like this 'The people had enough of pure dibidibidabidooo, they couldn't take it anymore without some sort of alternative that represent how they feel…we realize that the music we possess is a music of teaching. It was an urban, spiritual, cultural concept that we come with'. (Big Youth in Bradley, 2001, p. 261). The 'teachings' of this music bore more than a passing resemblance to the philosophies and opinions of Marcus Garvey. Not enough scholarly work has made 'the necessary

connections with the creative and revolutionary Black activity which drew inspiration from Garvey's influence' (Sewell, 1987, p. 7). This thesis makes one such connection through the relation of the ideologies and values underpinning the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre with Garvey's thinking around African solidarity beyond national borders, African self-determination and African entrepreneurship.

Roots Reggae music cannot be divorced from sound system culture. Researchers and commentators tend not to associate Reggae Sound systems with African music despite the consensus amongst many Caribbean and African music aficionados that the musical roots of Reggae lie in Africa. It is important then that before concluding this chapter, mention is made of the traces revealing the presence of pan-African sound systems at the Africa Centre during the 1970s, playing both Reggae and continental African music. Remembering the circulation of cultural texts this thesis engages with under the rubric of stereomodernism (Jaji, 2014, p. 2), the opportunity to contemplate the idea of African actors adapting Jamaican cultural forms in postcolonial Britain is too good to miss. Further, such an engagement enables the introduction of the pre-history of 'Wala Sounds' Danga's sound system out of which the Limpopo Club grew. This will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.
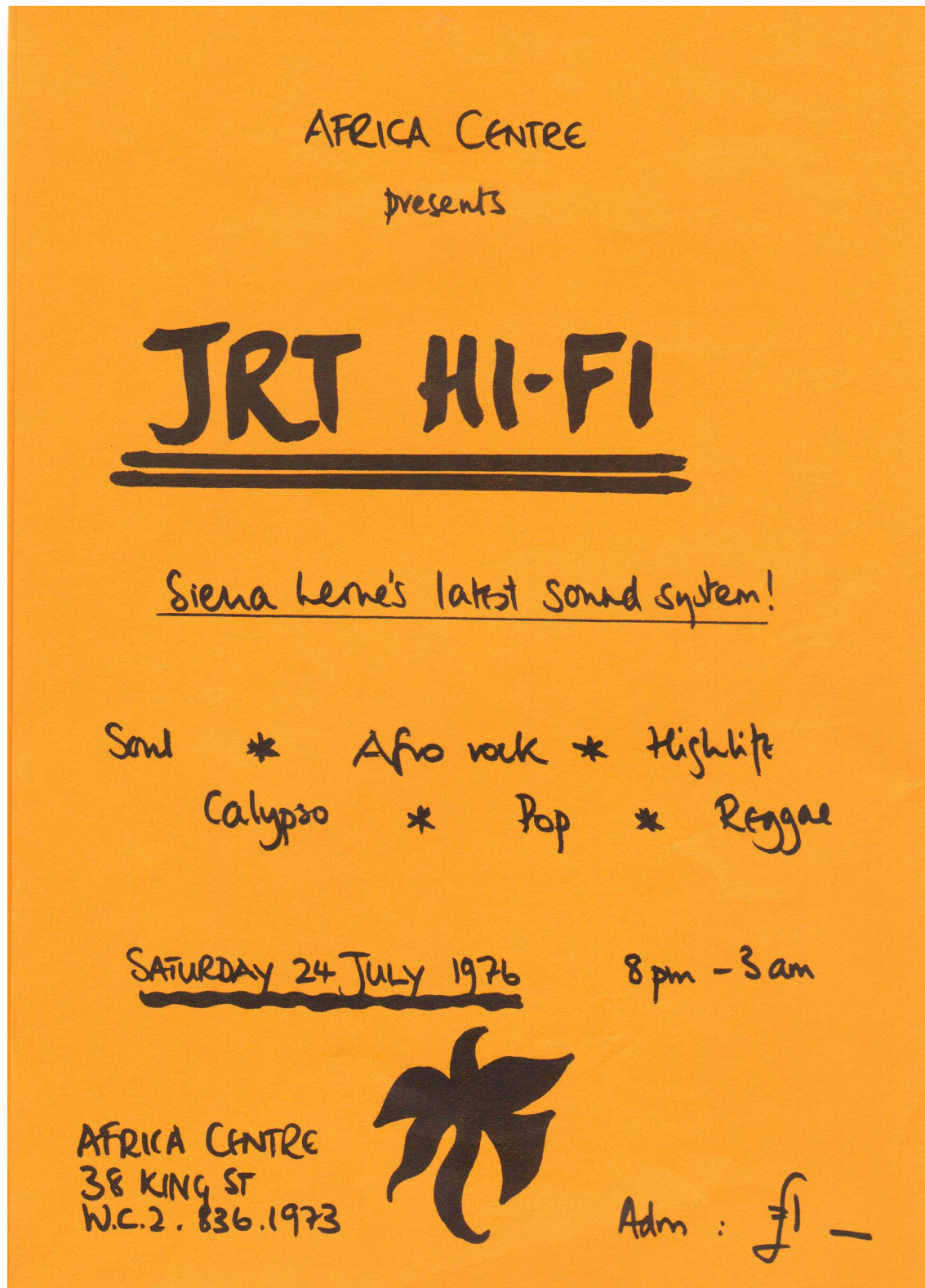
Figure 22. Flyer advertising a J.R.T HiFi session held at the Africa Centre (1976) (© Africa Centre)

Figure 23. Flyer advertising a Nilux Soundsystem session held at the Africa Centre (c.1978) (© Africa Centre)

Unfortunately, despite my best efforts, little is known about either JRT HiFi or Nilux sound systems. Only Wala Danga acknowledged the existence of sound systems headed by Africans, citing Sierra Leonean musician King Masco as a DJ who also owned and operated sound equipment. The fact that they apparently played a blend of African and Caribbean musics, and possibly[14], used custom built sound equipment in a similar way to their Caribbean counterparts makes their presence at an Africa Centre, in the middle of London, an intriguing thought. Fortunately, I was able to find out a great deal about Danga's sound system 'Wala Sounds during this study. Not only did he own and operate a sound system at the Africa Centre (and other venues) prior to the establishment of the Limpopo Club, but he carried the epistemology of sound system into his work at Limpopo. The two flyers included here from the Africa Centre's archive evidence yet more pan-African ideological currents – this time in connection with the presentation of music at the Africa Centre. They have further value because of the implication that a pan-African musical selection policy was somewhat part of the fabric of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre even before the official launch of the Limpopo Club.

Conclusion

'DJs distil musical greatness' Brewster and Broughton tell us. 'They select a series of exceptional recordings and use them to create a unique performance, improvised to precisely suit the time, the place and the people in front of them' (Brewster and Broughton, 2006, p. 15). What I have argued in this chapter is that during the rise, and what some have described as the zenith of the Limpopo Club as an African musical space, Wala Danga and the Limpopo Club team recognised, instigated and contributed to a changing 'pan-African vibe' within the Africa Centre. At times this verged on the Afrocentric denouncing of white control and ownership of the space, and the music. We will explore in chapters 7 and 8 how this was felt and experienced by the audience at Limpopo Club events. At the same time, I have also highlighted the contradictory fact that the Africa Centre was nevertheless owned and frequented by well-intentioned liberal whites, a hierarchy which came under increasingly critical scrutiny during the 1980s and 1990s, during the period

---

[14] Possibly because Wala Danga recalls King Masco having a modest PA setup rather than a full-blown sound system and so this may have been customary for the time and space they operated in.

coinciding with the development of cultural theory as an academic discipline, and the years in which the Limpopo Club enjoyed its greatest success. At the time of writing, we are once again at a juncture characterised by critical engagement with the idea of Eurocentric methodologies, ownership and diversity. This archive then offers a valuable opportunity to stimulate discussions and actions surrounding these ideas in the present. Chapter 4 spoke of the innate tendency of living archival working to elicit alternative narratives. The contradictions brought out in this chapter lend themselves to alternative renderings, which might be reparative, disruptive, or both depending on one's current position.

The main focus in this chapter has been on unpacking the pan-Africanisms of the space, but taking care to remember that the Africa Centre was always, and continues to be a multicultural organisation. The mechanics of this are explored further in chapter 8 of this thesis, but it is important to ask here exactly how afrocentrism and white liberalism were able to co-exist in the same space? Chapter 7 explores this question from an affective perspective, finding that the affective space created by the Limpopo Club team was a central cohesive aspect enabling these two opposing ideals to coexist and both 'feel good' at least some of the time.

The findings of this chapter contribute to the broad argument of the thesis by identifying the form and shape of the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club archives; presenting fragments of how the Africa Centre space in general, and the musical spaces within it in particular are remembered as being lived – their pre-history. Following Hall, this pre-history is important as to a large extent, it contributes to the nature of the successive activations an archive makes possible. Further, this thesis argues that cultural context is, or should be, a key consideration of living an archive. These findings provide a sense of such a context whilst uncovering a multitude of gaps, fissures and partial statements ripe for narration, deconstruction, dubbing and remixing.

Speaking of music technology, my introduction of the practice of the sound system in this chapter, and the intentional nod to the idea that this tradition was modified to

suit continental Africa cultural production is intended to reach beyond the pan-African and stereomodern ideas discussed herein. Going forward I want to suggest that Wala Danga's involvement with sound-system culture and the other ways of knowing he brought to the Limpopo Club are responsible for feeding the currents of feeling and action in the Africa Centre space. The following chapter considers in some depth Danga's individual pre-history or provenance as key figure in the establishment of this musical space.

CHAPTER 6 – REPOSITORIES OF SOUND: THE SOUND SYSTEM, THE ARCHIVE AND (PAN) AFRICAN WAYS OF KNOWING

Chapter 4 positioned the living archive as an entity housing particular sets of human-material relationships, describing myriad impacts on individuals and collectives. This chapter takes this idea further – arguing in greater depth for the consideration of the body, and the practical institution of a musical 'sound-system', as legitimate archival sites with discernable future impacts. Such an argument connects to the research questions driving this study in its expansion of the notion of the Africa Centre/Limpopo club's pre-history to include embodied actions. Of course, recalling Taylor's distinctions between the archive and the repertoire, this chapter does not seek to conflate in their totalities these concepts, but rather to amplify the reality of their often overlapping and complementary functions. Through excavation of the memory of Wala Sounds, this chapter determines its archival, mnemonic, racial and affective aspects; highlighting its influence on the musical space at the Africa Centre through Danga's embodied ways of knowing.

David Scott ventures that an archive, more than a physical collection of texts or material, is also 'an implicit and constitutive part of the epistemic background of *any* knowledge' (Scott, 2008, p. 2). One of the understandings emerging from my research is that to a large extent, the African musical spaces at the Africa Centre during the 1970s and 1980s were influenced by African DJs and 'sound-systems' - individuals entertaining audiences with pre-recorded music as a collective enterprise. This thesis is concerned with a broad vision and definition of the archive, therefore sustained consideration of the archival aspects of this notion of an 'African sound system' is important. Systems of any type do not spring up out of nowhere, their context and provenance shape the ways of knowing, or as Scott puts it 'epistemic backgrounds' that are brought to bear upon their structures. Equally, the term 'African sound system' is inherently inscribed with the same racial and spatial rubrics under which this study proceeds. The invocation of 'African' as an adjective in the context of a majority-white

dominant culture prefigures the question of race within any discussion which ensues, enmeshing this also with the notion of sonic space and affective environments.

To my knowledge, there is very little scholarship evidencing the phenomenon of 'African sound systems' in the UK. Although Michael Veal, Lloyd Bradley, and Paul Sullivan all make reference to Africa in their studies of Reggae, Dub, sound system culture and their descendants, their prime concern is identifying the cultural antecedents of these phenomena rather than exploring the realities of (continental) African-led sound systems. As both an African-heritage archivist and music-lover, my understanding of the way in which material archives 'as records - wield power over the shape and direction of historical scholarship, collective memory, and national identity' (Schwartz and Cook, 2002, p. 2) encourages me to ensure that these small traces of such unique and meaningful (for reasons explained herein) institutions are given the opportunity to shape scholarship and inform collective memory. It seems to me that the 'African sound system' deserves a place within our collective sonic memory. Shaping memory however is not enough. This thesis argues that an archive is not simply constitutive of memory, but mediated appropriately, is also a catalyst to new ways of seeing and narrating the world. Towards the end of this chapter, I contend that the understanding facilitated by accessing Wala Danga's embodied memory (for nearly all of the material in this chapter is only present as a result of the interview process) can be as transformative in our present day as it was influential to the shape of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. In short, the experiences which served to enact the world of the Limpopo Club retain their potency for creation in their retelling as part of Danga's archival narrative. Given the passing of time however, we must keep the recognition that Danga's narration of the past in the present should not be confused with the story of the same past as he may have chosen to share it closer to the time.

Returning to the sound system, there are wider embodied-archival dimensions to these institutions and their 'epistemic background(s)'. There is a provenance to the 'art' of sound system and it is both this lineage, and the personal and communal ways of knowing developed/transferred within it that imbue the sound system with a 'living' archival quality. The 'code' and peculiarities of building and playing a sound system are not written down, being instead passed on experientially. Both Bradley and Henriques

make the point that sound systems and the music they play carry the past into the present (Bradley, 2001; Henriques, 2011). Whilst it is clearly important for the sound system selector to maintain a physical archive of equipment and music upon which to draw, their embodied repository of experience is also brought into play at the moments where, paraphrasing Henriques, tacit *know-how* is more important than explicit *know-what* (Henriques, 2011, p. xxviii).

For ease the term '*African* sound system' has been chosen on the grounds that the sound-system's founder, upon whose testimony this chapter is largely based, self-identifies as an African (from Zimbabwe) who played both African music *and* Reggae on his 'set', 'Wala Sounds'. Whenever the term has been used, I have chosen to contain it in inverted commas to highlight its decidedly un-definitive nature. It should also be acknowledged that this chapter represents but a modest inroad into the potential further excavation of this particular seam of musical history. The already broad scope of this study dictated that it was prudent to remain focused on the activities of Wala Danga, Kwesi Asare and 'Wala Sounds', the name given to their sonic operation, with a view to adding the voices of similar African-led institutions as part of future research activity.

Henriques defines a sound system as:

> a unique apparatus – a musical medium, technological instrument and a social and cultural institution…[it] contributes to an experience of listening that has to be shared and social…the qualities of a session are appreciated in terms of its 'vibes' and 'excitement'. This is the ambiance, atmosphere and feelings generated within and between the embodied presence of the crowd (Henriques, 2011, pp. 3–4)

This definition clarifies from the outset that a sound system, as invoked under our present terms is much more than its physical mass of wires, plywood, speaker-cones and boards of knobs and faders. Henriques theorises sound systems by 'thinking through sound' insisting there is a 'distinct and different *way* of thinking through sounding' (ibid, xvii). Invoking ideas of embodiment and affect as they relate to sound, He notes a 'practical wisdom' possessed by operators and performers which is brought

to bear on each new performance: echoing once again Scott's 'epistemic background' (Scott, 2008, p. 2) and Taylor's notion of the repertoire (Taylor, 2003).

Roots and Routes: The Provenance of 'Wala Sounds'

In Jaji's estimation, the cultural texts of continental Africa featured music of diasporic origin, often African American, as a signifier of 'modernity' and a fungible currency of pan-African consciousness (ibid, p.2). Whilst Danga makes scant mention of modernity, he does ascribe his eventual entry into the DJ and sound system profession to his early exposure to his father's decidedly pan-African record collection:

> I think really I must credit my father…because he had really a wide collection of music as I was growing up I remember he had a very good Jazz collection, he had a very good Congolese collection....He had a very good classical collection as well. He had a good collection from the Caribbean from that time, Harry Belafonte and stuff like that and so growing up listening to all these different sounds I think in a funny kind of way inspired me that I was used to listening to different things at different times but kind of making sense with that they all have a source, you know, where they all came from. So I think that's where the inspiration was (Danga, 2016)

Here Wala alludes to his decision, already discussed in previous chapters, to deliver to his audiences a deliberately broad concept of African music; including sounds of the diaspora in the same breath as music created in and inspired by continental Africa. He further explains that this was not simply an intellectual decision, but an embodied one relying on the imparting of information via the 'sense' and 'feeling' of the different musics:

> there was some uniformity in that music, whether it was the sense or the feeling of it or the tone, there was something about it that attracted me which I later on as I grew up understood that it was all African music in some form, although some of it is people who may be moved away from Africa a long time ago, but they still had the same kind of feelings and sense and tonations like the ones in Africa. (Danga, 2016)

Speaking about his childhood in Zimbabwe, Danga corroborates Jaji's assertions concerning 'stereomodernism' and the media through which these transnational cultural currents were made manifest. For Jaji, 'the changing media over the course of the long twentieth century are as key to historicizing cultural links as close readings of particular works. These media forms are as much technologies of solidarity as the music itself…listening [bringing] affiliation, affinity and negotiated resolution'. In the last chapter, I suggested pan-African musical spaces as potential nodes of cultural

resistance and how this relates to Wala Danga, the Limpopo Club and his membership of the African Dawn group. Whilst he does not cite his father's approach to record collecting in terms of resistance, the connective, pan-African overtones are clear.

Jaji's 'listening', in this present situation, can be further nuanced by Henriques' 'practical methodology of listening, where sound is a subject, a vehicle and a medium…the ear serves as the organ of balance, readily making sense of things and recognizing resonances and proportions between the frequencies of sound waves' (Henriques, 2011, p. xxix). Danga's embodied experience of African and diasporic music and the mental processes associated to this laid the conceptual foundations for his later career as a DJ and live music Programmer. Australian archivist Sue McKemmish discusses the importance of the 'trace' in constructing personal narratives by 'selectively storing, structuring and representing them…on some kind of media and using whatever technology is available to them' (McKemmish, 2005, p. 2). In a sense, we might understand Danga's father's role as archivist of the collected recorded traces from which Wala was able to begin to build his own sonic narrative. This evokes definitions of 'music scholarship' positioning DJ culture as a research practice. The African American DJ Lynnee Denise describes the DJ as an 'archivist, cultural worker and information specialist who assesses, collects, organizes, preserves and provides access to music determined to have long-term value' (Denise, n.d.). Denise's description holds currency with Danga's explanation of his entry to the world of the DJ:

> I often found myself wanting to entertain my friends when they came to the house…"oh listen to this, I've got this", so gradually they would always say "oh if I'm having a party I will call you to come and play". I think that's how it all started and at school same thing you know they would say "oh why don't you let Wala select the music? He can play the music". So I think it was just organic in a way…entertaining and educating was really the foremost, you know, principles that drove me…people would ask me about the music I would tell them the origins of the music, a little bit I'd found out about what the music is saying, the words to the music…once I like something I wanted to find out more about it. (Danga, 2016)

It is clear that Danga, even in his early years recognised the power of music to entertain, but crucially to the archival dimension being discussed in this study, the importance of providing the appropriate *context to* and *curation of* this music in order to affect an audience.

Broughton and Brewster recognise, the affective relationship between DJ/Selector, audience and programme material is a multivalent one (Brewster and Broughton, 2006, pp. 13–26), a core aspect of which being rhythm. A great deal has been written about the relationship between Africa and rhythm – some of it useful, some merely reinforcing negative, essentialist stereotypes of African people as being 'naturally' rhythmic (Munro, 2010, p. 1). Martin Munro's theorisation of the rhythmic currents through which it is possible to read 'circum-Caribbean aesthetics, history and…contemporary lived experience' posits the experience of rhythm as something which is simultaneously heard and felt at multiple sites within the human body (ibid). Indeed, he recognises that far from being merely a passive receiver of rhythm, the listener's body is also constantly generating rhythms – both in sympathy to eternal stimuli (e.g. Dancing to music) and also through the repetition of internal biological processes (ibid, p.4-5). A Drummer and Percussionist as well as DJ and Promoter, Wala Danga attributes part of his ability, or 'feel' for curating music for the enjoyment of others to the rhythmic sensibilities he possessed as an adolescent musician in Zimbabwe.

> Initially I started as a drum kit drummer, then percussion became secondary I suppose. It's almost an extension of drumming in a way…Drums are the rhythm section….that's the instrument that sets the pace in music, so I would feel it you know…I could decipher rhythms quickly. When I hear something I could identify it and say "this is a nice music". Even if it was for the first time…I would tell people "this is going to be a hit" just listening to it. They say "how do you know?" I said "I know it. I feel it"…people would know me as a drummer, more a musician than a DJ, but then the close friends would say: he also plays some wicked songs…so it's a secondary skill that came as a drummer if you want. (Danga, 2016)

The idea of rhythm as selection criteria (and also as an affective element of sonic space) emerges multiple times over the course of this study. Parsing the excerpts of the interview with Wala Danga that have thus far been chosen to build the narrative around the notion of an 'African sound system' we see 'rhythm', 'feeling', 'tonation' as embodied signals at some times stimulating and at others combining with contextual research in order to influence the process of Danga's curation and presentation of music in a DJ 'set'.

Making mention of the terms 'narrative' and 'DJ' affords a useful opportunity to briefly discuss the function of vocal performance within the context of Danga's formative years

as a pan-African selector. In Jamaican sound system contexts, the term DJ or DeeJay, rather than implying responsibility for the selection or mixing of music, more often refers to the vocalist who 'rides the riddim', providing vocal performance to augment the recorded programme material (Hutton, 2007, p. 17). Further buttressing Jaji's notion of 'stereomodernism' (and Gilroy's 'Black Atlantic' upon which Jaji's thesis is partially built), Danga relates that his early experiences of this aspect of sound system performance were tempered by the styles emanating from the Americas; both North America, and the Caribbean. Of his incorporation of a vocal element to his performance (or re-performance) of recorded material Danga offers:

> gradually I was getting into that because I used to admire some of the guys on the radio who were my friends who were very good in talking and delivering, and I'd imitate them…and even try to improve on what they were doing. [I liked] the flashness of it, and some of them were also coming with you know this typical American kind of radio DJ styles. You know so you'd be like "wow that's different!" They came with a different style you know, you would pick it out like "wow that's a new one. I haven't heard that one before" (Danga, 2016)

Jaji identifies the struggle against apartheid in South Africa as a key influencer in its transnational pan-African connections with the rest of the world. Although different in its inflection, the same could also be said of Zimbabwe, Wala Danga's country of birth. It is not surprising then, that these connections are cited explicitly in his discussion of his vocal influences.

> Yeah, I would say America. By and largely America, Jamaica…Reggae also played a part in those early days. People like Jimmy Cliff were already household names, and you know Toots & the Maytals. You know there was some kind of Reggae that was coming through…It was the model but they would also try to…Africanise them too. You know using the local languages, but having like American intonations or rhythm patterns like America you know? (Danga, 2016)

Hutton states that the decisive factor in the success and commercial viability of the Jamaican sound system was its DJ (Hutton, 2007, p. 20). This transnational influence and 'Africanising' of vocals later to contribute to the vocal presence of 'Wala Sounds' becomes then an important part of understanding the roots (and routes) of Danga's unique approach to sound system culture. We must however be careful to situate these

early developments in an immediate local context, an important aspect of which being the economic realities of the majority of middle and lower class Zimbabweans. In our interview, Danga was quick to remind me that the opportunities to even use a microphone as a Zimbabwean adolescent in the 1960s and 1970s were few and far between. In his words, even 'seeing a microphone in those days was not that easy' (Danga, 2016).

As one might expect, the equipment available to a sound system operator greatly influences the performance choices made when playing on the 'set'. As with many other things in life, techniques learnt early on in one's career provide a foundation upon which further skills may be added. In Danga's case, the ergonomic and sonic limitations of the modest 'hi-fi systems' on which he learnt his soon to be trade had a marked influence on both the manipulation and listening skills he would later use on his 'Wala Sounds' sound system. Nowadays, even the least technologically aware amongst us have been conditioned with the image of the DJ as being a person with two 'decks' between which they mix musical selections, taking advantage of the ability to audition the upcoming track before playing it to an audience via a pair of headphones. Here Danga intimates how the lack of these facilities in his formative years actually had a positive effect on the development of his performance skills:

> [a] turntable and a hi-fi system as they used to call them…you just had to play [the next record] straight from the head…even that trained me for later life DJing… you had to have that skill in between songs, how much time you take to change, you learnt a lot of things, just with the one hand. Because one hand needs to take the record off, to change, select with one hand, put it back while the other one is holding the stylus and ready to put it down (Danga, 2016)

Exploring the role and performance of sound system selectors, Henriques identifies 'the selectors manipulation' together with the 'instruments that make their techniques possible' as a key aspect of 'build[ing] the vibes' and steering a crowd in a performance setting (Henriques, 2011, p. 135). In this exploration, much is made of the conceptual difficulty of drawing hard and fast lines between operator and operated. For Henriques, in a sound system performance, one is always an extension of the other. In the context of this discussion, the key portion of Danga's statement identifies this 'human-instrument relationship' (ibid) training him for later performance situations. The technology, and his interface with it have, in effect, become a part of an embodied

repertoire, constituting (im)material which may be called upon in future situations. For Wala, this physical 'archiving' of lived experience is not limited to the technical but rather enmeshed with processes of auditory cognition and recognition:

> I never used to use my headphones, very rarely. I'm that confident of a song, if I'm picking a song I know exactly how it sounds…if the song is playing on the turntable, I'm already inspired for the next song, it already automatically triggers me to say "that should be the next one coming"…So that's always been, maybe I guess that was the training for that in those days…It just gives you an inspiration like "ah! let me try this" it could be the drum kit, or the drumroll for the bass guitar, like "okay I think the next song could be that one, that could work with this" (Danga, 2016)

Broughton and Brewster describe in some detail the difference between 'presenting' and 'performing' music in the context of DJing. For them, records are used 'as building blocks [strung] together in an improvised narrative to create a…performance of their own' (Brewster and Broughton, 2006, p. 17). In this case however, given that we are discussing Danga's past, a layered sense of the archive emerges. In describing these early experiences of performing his musical repertoire as 'training', the implication is that these performances have themselves been accessioned into his embodied repository to be accessed and re-invoked as his practice developed. The fact that Danga speaks of music as an automatic trigger in his selection process should not be overlooked either, given the importance that affective processes have been accorded in this present study. For Henriques, what Danga describes as an automatic trigger can be further unpacked as an evaluatory process occurring as a result of multiple stimuli including the 'vibes' or atmosphere of an event, the rhythmic and frequency content of the musical programme material, the musical repository of the selector and their embodied ways of knowing (Henriques, 2011, pp. 123–146). This affective dimension is something we will return to in more detail later in this chapter as Wala describes his selection process in the context of the musical space at the Africa Centre.

Interdependence, Techniques and Performance

Wala Danga moved to the UK from Zimbabwe in the early 1970s. The formative years of Danga's musical career were unfolding in Zimbabwe roughly in parallel with the burgeoning UK sound system scene. Focussing on Danga's exploits in the UK, donations of music, commercial radio, Reggae sound systems, student discos, west-

end nightclubs and chance meetings with Antiguan sound system owners all served to create the rich tapestry upon which the ethos and atmosphere of the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre was set. This section seeks to highlight each of these contributions in order to provide a more grounded understanding of the influences shaping sonic space at the Africa Centre's Limpopo Club. Asked about the 'DJ scene' on his arrival in 1970s London, Wala related:

> It was good in the sense that when I started, very few people were doing the same kind of things…because of them I kind of purposely went for African music…and also instantly at that time became a big collector…of African music…funny enough people were very keen on giving you their records…very nice good music and people coming with different options as well, you know "Have you tried this? This guy is from Ghana. Try this one he's from Nigeria"…So there were all these elements you know, so people were coming because they'd identified maybe for the first time they are seeing someone who is African, interested in DJing African music. (Danga, 2016)

Speaking on the ethics of traditional African worldviews, Ekeke, following Mbiti and Opoku recognises an African society as 'a series of interrelationships in which each one contributes to the welfare and the stability of the community (Ekeke, 2011, p. 12). Whilst clearly an essentialist view lacking the nuanced analysis appropriate to a continent home to 54 countries and countless more regional groups, there is still, in my estimation, value in this observation even if it cannot be applied to 'African society' in its totality. It is in this spirit of community that Danga seems to have enhanced his musical 'archive' (both the physical records, and the metadata concerning their original contexts), and hence reputation in the UK. His statement implies that the generosity of those fellow Africans who donated records from their own collections was grounded in the understanding that a DJ and sound system operator who played the music of their country of origin would be beneficial to them and others in an environment which lacked such opportunities for communal sonic engagements. This collective approach to establishing African musical space is further corroborated in Bradley's interview with Danga which describes the part the record collections of transnational African students played in the shaping of the music policy at the Limpopo Club (Bradley, 2013, p. 162).

'No man is an island' as the saying goes and this would certainly seem to be the case in relation to the agents contributing to the development of 'Wala Sounds'. Following on

from this highlighting of collective responsibility for the sound system's musical substrate, Wala intimates the role which the techniques of eminent Reggae sound system operators played in the development of his unique performance style

> I had the opportunity of visiting sound systems frequently as well, Jah Shaka and you know I was part of that world too. When I'm playing my music…what we used to do on the actual amplifier, you know when you do all those tricks of just turning off all the bass…And then you have a bit of treble, and bringing the bass in…I think in a way I found it was more like interactive DJing, so you are actually playing along with the people and the sounds you know. So you see people say "hey what happened to the bass?" You know and as they are still like in that thought, you bring it back in and they are like "wow!" (laughs)… You perform…you are also part of the thing that is going on...that came a lot with Reggae…but the ability of understanding African music, now you see where you can do that in African music…which beats you can do it to (Danga, 2016)

A process of evaluation must occur as to how to best manipulate, or as Wala put it 'perform' the track. For Henriques, this evalution is 'often deeply embodied as professional instincts, intuition, taste, "hunches" and "gut-feelings" (Henriques, 2011, p. 144). It is no exaggeration then that these sorts of 'in the moment' decisions relied, in a very real way, on Wala's embodied memory which itself was informed by exposure to the embodied repositories of African diaspora sound system operators as well as his exposure to African/diaspora music during his formative years in Zimbabwe. All the experience intimated in the 'provenance' section of this chapter, along with other experiences which Danga did not remember, or choose to relate to me, but did, in fact, occur, might potentially contribute to each such decision.

We have already discussed the impossibility of conceptually separating the human and technical elements in such a performance situation. Asking exactly what technical equipment Danga was performing on during the 1970s before the official establishment of the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre then becomes a legitimate question in such a context. Once again, pan-Africanism, an indomitable factor of this study, is an incontrovertible component of the narrative:

> There was the guy I knew who said to me he was going back to, I think he was from Antigua, and he told me he's got a sound system, am I interested in buying it….And it's something that I'd always wanted to do…So I went for it, and I bought the sound

system…from then on we just started hitting the road with it…We had quite big bass bins…and we had mid-range. So we had like one thousand watt bass bins, two of them. So that's two thousand watts…It was proper sound. Oh, it was a nice sound system. And mid-range, top range, tweeters it had the whole works. (Danga, 2016)

Within the context of pan-Africanism outlined in chapter 5, it is interesting to note the continental African, Wala Danga, sourcing his equipment from a Caribbean sound system operator. However, it transpired there was a rapid learning curve accompanying this acquisition

I had to learn…Well how to string it up I learnt from him. Because I had to say to him "so okay how do you string this up?" And I got a quick lesson. Then I think we had a gig that day at the Africa Centre, that weekend, so I asked him to come along and show us how to string it….So we strung it up at the Centre, oh it was wonderful! The sound was just, and people couldn't believe it. They were like "wow!"…"Is this your new sound system?'. I said "yeah" I was so proud I was trying to get everybody to come and see it…in those days, the Africa Centre you could go until any time you wanted…I remember the first time I think we finished at six in the morning. (Danga, 2016)

Parallels may be sketched between this experience and the 'apprenticeship tradition' described by Henriques in which young, aspiring sound system engineers gain first hand 'in the field' experience of sound system engineering alongside more theoretical 'book' knowledge (Henriques, 2011, p. 94). Danga tapped in to the knowledge of an elder sound system operator, engaging in direct practical application of this knowledge. The similarities to the learning Henriques describes grow as Wala expands further on the sources of knowledge available to him in relation to working with sound and operating sound systems:

At that time it was a little bit easier for me because…I was doing my course on sound engineering…at the London School of Audio Engineering…I was there studying to be a Sound Engineer so what I didn't know I would always ask the lecturers there. Learn a bit more about speakers, the sound...And what's the best way to get a good sound…And connecting the amplifiers, what's the best way. So yeah you learnt, you learnt, but a lot of it also was by trial and error….And sometimes a bit costly, because you might blow up one or two things….And also by just observing you know, other sound systems and how they were operating….people like Jah Shaka who I knew then I would ask…"if you string this and that". then they would give you advice on I mean I knew a few people who had sound systems enough to ask questions on certain things. (Danga, 2016)

Figure 24. Wala Danga operating the Africa Centre PA system c.1990 (© Africa Centre)

The blend of theory and practice Danga elucidates follows well the pattern identified by Henriques in his work on Jamaican sound systems. Specifically, Henriques highlights a 'complex reciprocal relationship between these two types of knowledge where theory provides 'the foundation' for an understanding of what is encountered through practical experience (Henriques, 2011, p. 94).

The nature of what Henriques terms 'living craft traditions such as that of the sound engineer' (ibid, p.95) is that they are propagated from teacher to student. This chain of learning or, to frame it in terms this thesis argues for, 'living archival engagement', was also a part of the fabric of the Wala Sounds sound system. During our interview, I remarked to Wala that he almost always referred to a 'we' in connection with his sound system and it is this 'we' that was given the opportunity to access Danga's repository of information concerning African music and the technical aspects of operating a sound system.

I had a team, guys who helped me with the boxes, some people I trained how to string the sound system…About four, sometimes five…It helped because gradually that's how I introduced people like Kwesi and a few other people into DJing…I would show them how I do it and what to do…and some of them actually became big DJs in their own right….So the name Wala then became almost any DJ who was playing there…it was Wala Sounds but then people after a while they didn't really know who was DJ Wala so they would see my brother who is called Ray, they called him "Wala". They would see Kwesi who is a DJ there they called him "Wala"…We trained a lot of people, there were lots of DJs that came out of that. (Danga, 2016)

This collective education and its impact on the visibility of African music in London cannot be overemphasized. Whilst the enforcement of legislation concerning sound levels and the improvement in quality of purpose built sound installations in clubs has dramatically reduced the amount of traditional sound system operators in the UK, many former sound system selectors remain active as DJs, applying the learning of their experience with sound systems to their DJ performances. Former Wala Sounds DJs like the Congolese DJ Kevin continued to shape the African music landscape in the UK long after their apprenticeship on Wala Sounds (Holler, 2010). Whilst this collective approach to entertainment resonates well with the interdependent worldview discussed earlier in relation to building a record collection, it is also a notably gendered phenomenon which, like many aspects of the music and entertainment industry, sees a proliferation of male involvement and scant evidence of female activity. Something which has changed very little in relation to sound system culture over the past half century and which Wala did attempt to address, but maybe never quite managed to balance out, by inviting female sound system selectors like 'Nzinga Sounds' to share auditory space at certain Africa Centre sessions.

Commercial Influences

In the UK milieu, sound systems have for the most part been regarded as an 'underground' channel of the music industry. The reason often given for this is the lack of licensed entertainment venues willing to cater to an African-heritage clientele, and the almost total refusal of mainstream radio to programme Reggae and African music on their playlists (Bradley, 2001, p. 115). Although the average (if there was such a thing) Jamaican sound system selector was very aware of the mainstream charts and the establishments that catered for this music, it is relatively unusual to hear of a 'soundman' who cut their teeth working in mainstream clubs or drew significant

influence from mainstream radio. Possibly attributable to the pan-African musical education he received from his father and Zimbabwean radio in his earlier years, Wala Danga's story is markedly different in this respect. Not only did he have an aural relationship with commercial UK radio, but he could also be found captaining peak-time dance-floors in mainstream Central London clubs during the seventies and into the eighties. Wala explains his relationship to radio and how what he heard on the FM influenced his DJ sets

> we're doing a lot of radio…there was the commercial ones, you know, Capital Radio, the usual… BBC, people like John Peel, they would occasionally play that odd African track and you're like "wow" you know, "that's good"…listening to different sounds, the pop sounds that were there on the day and kind of sounds that made it into the charts, I remember those days was it Barbados? "Hey, I'm going to Barbados!", so all those tunes which were playing at the time, we're like "wow. That's great,"… you know, you'd feel elated. Its like you've got at least one of your own which is there in the charts….Occasionally you'd bring it out. You'd bring it to the audience (Danga, 2016)

Recalling Broughton & Brewster's description of the DJ as a figure who 'performs' recorded music by programming a sequence and mastering the transitions between each piece of music (Brewster and Broughton, 2006, p. 17), Danga facilitates further insight into the logic of his commercial affinities with his next statement

> it was more or less trying to rally people around your music with something they're familiar to. So you use like a tune everybody knows like "oh wow!", then you've kind of drawn them into your space…Then introduce them to new music after that…Its like a bait. Then you find something really closely aligned to that one and play it. (Danga, 2016)

For Henriques, the performance skill of a selector 'is *about* music, rather than musical' (his emphasis). In his estimation, the task facing a sound system selector is one of value creation, the ability to add value to a pre-recorded performance through improvisation and intelligent combination. Here Wala's testimony suggests that better-known 'commercial' selections added value, for his audience, via the affective response generated by the thrill of the familiar. From his perspective however, he was simply using his understanding of the affective qualities of such music to enable his audience to access lesser-known fare – expanding their sonic palette. Brewster and Broughton explain the basis of this mechanism thus: 'you need to understand records in terms of

their precise effects on an audience – you need to hear music in terms of its energy and feeling. All good DJs can distinguish fine nuances in music; they are sensitive to the complex set of emotions and associations that each song inspires, and they know exactly how each record's style and tempo will impact on a room (Brewster and Broughton, 2006, p. 17). Danga's knowledge of both commercial and more specialized music scenes and the 'set of emotions and associations' attached to the music emanating from both of them facilitated his sound system's ability to hold musical appeal for his audiences.

For a DJ operating in London, there is no more apt forum for testing your balance of commercial and specialist knowledge than the West London nightclub. As I have discovered first-hand, their central location and broader appeal call on a specific meta-musical knowledge and an ability to understand the value of compromise. Elsewhere in this study, interviewees have highlighted the racial dynamics of the Central London club scene during the 1970s and 1980s. Their tale was one of selective door policies and brusque treatment of potential black audience members. Wala Danga did not discuss door politics, but did comment on the racial balance at the venues at which he performed and how race and location influenced his performance:

> I did a lot of nightclubs…I was quite a busy DJ in a way…the usual big clubs like Gullivers and Lighthouse…I found myself playing in a lot of the major London Nightclubs…I had to play clever, it was the mixture of everything, but there are times my brief was to play African music because there were other DJs who were playing Soul, Reggae and all that so…Sometimes they would say "you are the only DJ" so in which case I had to find some of my old Soul records, some of the Reggae records and include them in the set so that the variety would be wider….black music nights mostly (Danga, 2016)

Analysing this statement in the light of Danga's previous corroboration of Jaji's notion of 'stereomodernism' and pan-African cultural production, it seems likely that Danga's early contact with his father's musical repository and the programme content of radio in Zimbabwe made a significant contribution to the ability to play 'a mixture of everything', or specialize in a particular black music style at will. Discussing the role of the Jamaican sound system selector and the action of 'juggling' (selecting and performing pre recorded music for an audience), Henriques poses the question 'when the selector is alone in front of the crowd, how do they know which track to play next?' (Henriques,

2011, p. 125). We have already explored some of the affective elements of this decision during the course of this chapter, but during my conversation with Danga about his stints in more commercial Central London venues, he chose to elaborate further on the process:

> I think my first feeling usually for the night was to try a whole lot of records…You know, I just tried them out and then I could see the responses. Then soon after that when I settle, I would have known exactly where my crowd is…peoples' moods change. Even if you think they are regular, maybe they are not into that music for that day, you know. So you really have to find out exactly where they are on that day…So I never took it for granted that okay because they are regular people let me play what I played last week. No…I would always assume they are hearing me for the first time (Danga, 2016)

Here Danga adds temporal and reciprocal dimensions to Henriques' insights regarding musical selection. For Henriques, 'the selector is largely responsible for…steering the "groove" for the crowd in the musical procession of the evening' (ibid, p.127). He places the selector in control of the audience as the director of proceedings. Whilst Danga's statement does not challenge this idea outright, in his operating context (which, it must be remembered is quite different from the dancehall sessions in which Henriques work is grounded), he describes a more reciprocal approach which looks for feedback from an audience across a range of styles before 'settling' in an appropriate groove. Henriques does however describe the '*procession'* of a session – the sequence in which identifiable musical sections of the evening proceed (ibid, p.132). For Danga, this trying out of a whole lot of records constitutes a first segment of the night. This is in contrast to the usual dancehall session which, for the most part begins with 'classic golden oldies or "revival' which, by their nature are well worn and largely acceptable to all (ibid). This difference might well be attributed to the culturally diverse nature of Danga's West London audience in comparison to the culturally homogenous audience at a Jamaican sound system session. This diversity required selections from a range of musical corpora to be employed in order to find an appropriate musical groove in which to 'settle'.

In his introduction to the Africa Centre, Lloyd Bradley makes much of the importance of its social spaces to African students (Bradley, 2013). Interestingly, discussing his professional engagements pre the Limpopo Club, Wala recollects his regular night at

the University of London as one frequented not by Africans, but British white and a range of non-African international students

> I was also a regular at the London University every Thursday night…with the sound system…every Thursday night in the students union, so we built a lot of fan base in there...They were very popular nights…It was mostly students, the majority of which would be white, others would be from other countries, Indian, Malaysian…A few black people were there too…the audience was quite varied…I used to play them a lot of African music they would dance to it, so that then I would mix it with the local pop music that was there…we would play a bit of that. We would play some soul music…the way we'd mix it…there was a time everybody felt there's something for them…but meanwhile they are listening to other things…so we're kind of introducing people to new songs and bringing more people with the sounds that they like…Things I remember that were very popular at that time would be maybe the Sierra Leonean beat….Bunny Mack, and things like that. 'Sweet Mother'. (Danga, 2016)

Recalling Wala's intention to 'educate and entertain' stretching back to his days playing music for friends in Zimbabwe, it is perhaps unsurprising that his curatorial objectives often involved exposing audiences to new music. Particularly interesting here is the idea that his African sound system built a diverse fan-base at a Central London university venue. In close proximity to SOAS, amongst others, there is a sense that this kind of engagement could, in part, have contributed the racial mix at the Limpopo Club in later years. It also seems important to note the service that 'Wala Sounds' was providing by introducing a range of non-African people, to African popular music.

'Underground Activities'

In his work tracing the 'dub diaspora' of Jamaican music, Sullivan estimates that by the late 1950s 'there were already around 50 basement clubs in South London…of inestimable value as sites of cultural expression, social cohesion and autonomy for the African Caribbean community', adding that 'by the mid 1960s, sound system culture had spread to most major British cities' (Sullivan, 2014, p. 58). Bradley offers further detail, reasoning that the British attitude to 'immigrant entertainment' was one of containment and segregation – effectively forcing the sound system scene to operate on the periphery; the underground (Bradley, 2001, p. 115). In stark contrast to the findings of the previous section, another important aspect of Danga's embodied repository was his experience of entertaining this underground. Given the number of immigrants from Africa, the Caribbean and across Europe calling London home by the

late 1970s, the underground we are speaking of here though is rather more diverse than the Caribbean 'blues-dance' scene invoked by Bradley, Sullivan and others. Nevertheless, Danga points to several structural similarities, one of these being the 'soundclash'. Reflecting on the rise of the Reggae sound system Brewster and Broughton describe 'formalised head-to-head' competitions' between early Jamaican sound systems characterised by fierce competition, with volume, music selection and the occasional use of 'foul tactics' to win over the crowd in attendance (Brewster and Broughton, 2006, p. 122). The sound-clash concept continues to hold currency today, enjoying a much wider usage than the strictly Reggae invocation of days gone by. As a selector able to play music from the African continent alongside the obligatory Reggae fare of the 1970s Caribbean sound system, Wala and his Wala Sounds become an interesting, and perhaps unexpected signifier of diasporic processes of diversification. Mostly playing against novice Reggae sound systems that were in his 'range' (but occasionally against more well-established operations), Wala Sounds would compete with Reggae but 'then occasionally put in the African music as well'. According to Danga, this was a 'very different' approach at the time; one which 'used to take people by surprise'. He continues:

> the other sound systems never liked it, like you are cheating (laughs) because I would have recognised like "okay I have a crowd that understands my music too, so why not drop in one of them". And then everybody would be jumping (cheers)…So it was easy to say "so who do you think won this competition?" (Danga, 2016)

Henriques identifies the selectors' act of 'monitoring' – assessing the 'vibes of the crowd' and 'their understanding of their music' as a key element of the process of thinking through sound (Henriques, 2011, p. 142). For Danga, this monitoring was clearly a vital aspect of asserting the dominance of Wala Sounds in the sound-clash 'arena'. The difference here though being that where Henriques discusses monitoring in relation to where particular music tracks fit 'into the entire Dancehall scene and its history' (ibid), Wala Sounds expands the concept to include the distinct but related histories of Reggae and music from across the African continent.

This expansion was not simply limited to recorded music, the existence of Wala Sounds as an entity can actually be thought of as a liminal indicator of the

'Africanisation' of DJ culture which continues up until the present day. His commentary, taken in conjunction with material from the Africa Centre archives hints at some other notable players in this field who owned sound equipment which they used as medium to fashion their own sonic imprint

> There was a Ugandan guy who was also a DJ…there was also King Masco from Sierra Leone [he didn't have]…a proper sound system, he had a DJ set…all those people were kind of people we used to compete with in a way…because we were now vying for this African crowd (Danga, 2016)

Interestingly, Danga cites his exposure to the performances and ways of knowing of more traditional Reggae sound-systems as a key factor in maintaining his competitive edge amongst his African peers

> what I had done is gone to where the tradition was popular of DJing and where there was a long history of it so just seeing how it was done, learning techniques from it and improving on some of the things and adapting them to what we were doing…It was a big advantage yeah. (Danga, 2016)

Remaining on the 'underground', but shifting focus from the Caribbean repository of embodied knowledge to that of the African continent, a further key to the success of Wala Sounds, and indeed to the iconic programming strategy of the musical space at the Africa Centre, was Danga's history of playing at community functions with culturally homogenous audiences and their attendant musical expectations. Introducing his chapter on Danga and the Africa Centre, Bradley makes brief mention of the somewhat segregated state of African music events in 1970s London. What is not mentioned is the impact Danga's experience of entertaining these national community crowds had on his performance style and knowledge of African music. In our discussion, Danga contrasted this with the rather different expectations of the more mainstream Central London crowds we had discussed elsewhere in our interview

> The difference was now you are playing to an audience which is there like primarily from one community. So for instance if it's an audience from Ethiopia, they are just Ethiopians…not many outsiders, so your concentration and focus on the music had to be from that region only…I get booked for a dance. I go and research on the music…speak to people from that country, get a feel of it, you know how do people

dance it and all that? Then by the time I get there on the day I am well familiar with what I am doing…people would even, you know like "how come you know our music?" like that? "you are not even from our country". I said "well, I do my homework". (Danga, 2016)

Of prime importance here is the fact that this often steep learning curve, had a marked impact on the knowledge influencing programming decisions at the Limpopo Club. This is another example then, of how Danga's embodied knowledge is leveraged to affect audiences both through his own performances, and eventually, those of the artists which he booked as a result of his previous 'field/archival research'.

it was a lot of education yes. A lot of different parts of Africa, learning their music, their traditions, you know who are the artists there, who is singing? So it also gave me that other knowledge which I then used later on in Limpopo booking bands, because I was already now familiar with who are the biggest artists (Danga, 2016)

This last statement challenges Bradley's labelling of Wala's Limpopo Club booking strategy as 'random' (Bradley, 2013, p. 162), instead grounding the Limpopo Club programme in a bed of foundational work beginning quite some time before the club's official inauguration in 1983 – arguably stretching its roots right back to those formative years with Danga's fathers record collection discussed early on in this chapter.

Convergence: Performing the Archive at the Limpopo Club

In all of our lives, past experiences, negative, positive and neutral combine and converge in various ways as we navigate the present. For many of us however, that present may not afford us the opportunity to affect hundreds of other people with the knowledge and ways of knowing arising out of our personal repositories of experience. For the DJ or selector, this is exactly their professional path and in the case of Wala and Wala Sounds, this impact is lent yet more weight by the decision to programme live music experiences as part of his musical performance at the Limpopo Club. Although once the Club had started in earnest, Danga's physical sound system had been retired in favour of the PA system installed at the Africa Centre, the knowledge amassed on the various legs of Danga's musical journey explored in this chapter (and one must

presume, also that knowledge he chose not to discuss with me) was channelled through this new equipment to great effect. As we will explore in much greater depth in chapter 7, there are a number of factors which contribute to these 'vibes' including the physical space, the nature of the audience themselves and the energy of the performers' performances. For Danga, although, as stated elsewhere in this chapter, he was loathe to make premature assessments as to the condition of the 'vibes' of the crowd, he did establish particular performance patterns at the Limpopo Club as a selector

> there was always a plan….when people were coming in it was always the slow tunes…things like Akwaaba Beach you know, a bit of Manu Dibango, slow jazz kind of thing…But then it used to pick up as the night was getting warmer…we found out that as people come in, usually they want to relax first before they got entertained …a lot of people tended to dance more after the band…so we waited for that first set, where they take a break, before they come for the second set, then we are with the dance tunes…then we are kicking…We deliberately created that space for relaxation. Sometimes it's also the period which we will try our new tunes…you know we just see how people are reacting to it and if it's really good we save it for later… when [the band] do their last set, then that time until closing time is pure dance time, so all the floor fillers are there…Congolese music….that Sierra Leonean thing...But then gradually…the new sound is coming out, South African Kwaito…(Danga, 2016)

It would be misleading to put forward the impression that this 'plan' was in any way a rigid protocol however. It would be more appropriate to think of the sequence above in terms of a loose guide, shaping proceedings, but with enough space for changes in configuration dependent both on the 'feeling' of Wala and his reading of his audience – a reciprocal relationship in which both parties retain their sense of agency

> It's a feeling based on the sound that's playing at that moment…[its] In the music, but also studying the audience. There is a part you feel like "okay, its dragged on a bit", because you do have African records which are very long, you know so you need to be mindful...you are feeding off from each other. There is a point where the DJ, where you can feel he is in control. But then there is a point when the DJ is looking for guidance from the crowd now, like "where do I go from here?". So you look at them and see "okay they are into this mode, let me go with that…Or let me change it for them now. I think they have just about had too much of am [sic]. So I think it's, it's interactive. (Danga, 2016)

Earlier in this chapter, we discussed Danga's historic experiences of vocalizing during his performances. The matter of sound engineering and technical knowhow relating to

his sound system was also raised. What has thus far not been explored, however, is how these experiences were drawn upon within the environs of the Limpopo Club. Aligning with his earlier statements about wanting to provide a contextual education to the music he was playing to his friends whilst growing up in Zimbabwe, for Wala, the function of vocal performance within the Limpopo Club appears to be a combination of context provision and crowd excitation.

> We used to talk between songs but sometimes we never used to talk, we just transition from the record straight into the other…[we talked] about music. It was more or less like chants just to get the crowd going…like a hype kind of thing, you know…once or twice we would talk, you know introduce the records, introduced artists, like "most of you probably haven't heard this artist. If it's your first time listen to this carefully, this artist" give a little blurb about the artists and put the record on. "And I know most of you are here you are not in Africa, but at the moment in Africa this is the music that they are listening to at the moment. This is number one in Zimbabwe, number one in South Africa, number one" you know, so we give them like real-time feedback. "Wow". So they used to like that too "wow. when we come to you, this is when we hear what is going on back home" (Danga, 2016).

Recalling Wala's comments earlier on in this chapter regarding his audience actually supplying him with musical selections, it seems important at this juncture to revisit this idea in the context of the notion of this continental 'feedback' mentioned above. A circuit is formed in which currents of information - material and intangible - travel between DJ and audience all serving to somehow bring African people closer to 'their' music. This occurs on national and transnational levels, with the music of a specific African country being given to Wala by a national of that country to share with others within and beyond his national community; being received by migrants from those countries in the UK as music from 'back-home'. These currents could only serve to add to the convivial, almost familial atmosphere described by a number of interviewees taking part in this study and is discussed at greater length in chapter 7.

Sense & Force: Identifying an 'epistemological background'

This chapter has sought to locate aspects of the material and embodied repositories contributing to the sense and force (Scott, 2008, p. 2) of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. These spaces did not manifest fully-formed. This chapter has revealed that many of the ideas and techniques employed within the Limpopo Club space by Wala and his team were developed several years earlier – the result of transnational

migration, pan-African interaction and manifold audience-performer configurations. The dynamic, embodied nature of musical (re)performance, the art of DJing and the operation of, the 'African Sound System' can and should be considered as part of the pre-history of the Africa Centre's musical archives. Synthesising the evidentiary nature of the living techniques uncovered through 'digging' with Wala Danga, with the more traditional archival records included in this study creates a far more complex sense of the forces at work than would be possible from the available tangible material alone. This construct is a layered one, with each layer connecting and contributing to the next. Through excavation, we are able to draw connections between family generations in Zimbabwe, audio-electronic expertise in Jamaica and the UK and vocal traditions in the US. Philosophies foregrounding collectivity, which some scholars have identified as 'African', are rediscovered and re-circulated within and from DJ booths across Central London. This is no 'pure' recirculation however, performance techniques themselves absorbed from the repositories of peers from the Caribbean infuse and colour these transmissions, imbuing them with a uniqueness which is distinct, yet connective.

Within the study as a whole a key observation of this chapter's findings are the layers of active characteristics present when we view them from a temporally shifting perspective. In chapter 4, I argued that creativity, participation in pluralised social spaces, cultural contexts and (alternative) narratives were central to living archival working. Here I am asserting that not only are Danga's embodied knowledge and memory a feature of the archival narrative at hand, they are already naturally imbued with archival characteristics, making the narrative they produces here, a fertile archival substrate for future activations.

All activations, whether in the past, present or distant future, have an affective component. This thesis is also concerned with the affects, resulting from the invocation of this archive in past and present contexts. This chapter has touched on the idea of affect several times during its unfolding, but has been unable to render it full justice within the stated lines of engagement. It is with this in mind that I wish to discuss the affects present in the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club archives in the chapter which follows.

CHAPTER 7 – AFFECTS IN THE ARCHIVES

This chapter seeks to address the affects of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre and their archives taking Gregg and Siegworth's notion of affects located 'in those intensities that pass body to body' (Gregg and Seigworth, 2010, p. 1) as its point of departure. The affects generated by the Centre's name, its internal and external geographies, musical performances, interpersonal interactions, sound transmission and the available light are discussed with the purpose of better understanding the sensual pre-history of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre and the Limpopo Club. The discussion is predicated on the assumption that if an organic body is required in order for affects to be registered in meaningful, translatable ways, then a *living* archive is one in which the cognisance, storage and stimulation of these potentials for feeling must form a high priority. Chapter 8 engages with the racial and gendered aspects of these feelings, leveraging Mica Nava's idea of 'visceral cosmopolitanism', alongside other theoretical frameworks, as way of thinking through the myriad intercultural interactions from a purposefully embodied perspective.

Approaching the Africa Centre and the Limpopo Club as a living archive has involved working with people connected to the Centre and their memories. Following Hall, there is also a suggestion of open-endedness; an interactive deployment of both the existing archive and these present findings within present and future contexts. This chapter then, perhaps more than any other in this thesis, engage with layers of temporality. Its findings foster an understanding of how the musical spaces at the Africa Centre are remembered as *feeling* for different people at a range of points in time during the years under investigation. Feeling here is understood as a combination of conscious and unconscious phenomena, as 'intensities' or 'forces' and the feelings and emotions they engender in human beings. In this way, the analysis which follows takes its cues from theories which understand affect and emotion as interdependent (Bondi, 2014) rather than separate and distinct (Deleuze and Guattari, 2015).

Recent years, have seen the 'affective turn' breach the walls of the archival repository. The various forces and sensations readers, viewers and manipulators of archival

materials experience have increasingly been examined and theorized; narrating the archive, and its contents, as a web of affects and 'ambiences' (Cram, 2016). Much of this attention has been focused on the transpersonal and pre-personal intensities existing between 'traditional' archival materials and people; in both personal and 'professional' settings (Cifor, 2016; Cifor and Gilliland, 2016; Cram, 2016; Halilovich, 2016; Wilson and Golding, 2016). Other studies have concentrated on the potential 'imaginaries' of absent records (Gilliland and Caswell, 2016) and the affective nature of archives located in embodied and collective actions as opposed to the archival strongroom (Bastian, 2009).

In their introduction to a series of articles connecting archives with affect, Cifor and Giliand pose some questions pertinent to this current study:

> What is the capacity of recordkeeping processes, or of records or the physical place of the archives to engender psychological and physiological responses in those who encounter them? What is the nature of those affects?...In what ways, and to what extent, do records, and the holdings of our archives capture or contain emotions and other forms of affect that were experienced by the creators or others engaged or present in the making of the records (Cifor and Gilliland, 2016, p. 2)

The living archive complicates these lines of enquiry. In understanding the psychological and physiological responses generated historically, the preservation of these interviews and their activation (both here in these chapters and going forward) implies the generation of another layer of potential affects. The very existence of this chapter therefore evidences a living archive's propensity for a phenomenon which I am tempted to christen here as 'affect stacking' – bringing the affects of the past into the present and in doing so, projecting new forces and resonances into the future. Spinoza states that 'the body can undergo many changes and nevertheless retain impressions or traces…' (Spinoza et al., 1994, p. 154). This chapter should be read with this in mind. What are the impressions and traces which interviewees choose to remember about the musical space at the Africa Centre? What residues does the paper archive choose to preserve and how might these retained impressions affect the here and now?

It is my wish here to advance the engagement with the idea of music as an affective node but to do so with the understanding that it is but one of several such nodes which together create the ambiance or atmosphere of a musical space. Sara Ahmed's approach to thinking about affect as a messy 'unfolding of bodies into worlds…[a] drama of contingency, how we are touched by what we are near' (Ahmed 2010, p. 30) is useful here. Although clarity demands the segregation of these affective nodes for ease of analysis, it would be incorrect to consider them in this way. The reader is therefore requested from the outset to hold contingency as central to the discussion which ensues.

The notion of contingency cannot be neatly limited to the material and human subjects of my research, but must necessarily spill over into my personal involvement in the research process and the affects both material and the process itself stimulate within my being. It is commonplace for the archival researcher to avoid explicit relation of their feelings, sensations and emotions in response but it is precisely this 'affective proximity' (Clary-Lemon, 2014, p. 388) that makes a significant contribution to the knowledge which is produced by the research process. The questions ventured (or not) and the archives/responses shared in this thesis are in effect a personal account of the affective journey of working with archives and people. The messiness, the emotions, the resonances and dissonances serve to enact a world – forming and reforming my thoughts and generating potentials for future impacts.

In reviewing the research data collected, key themes include the affects generated by the name of the Africa Centre itself, the centre's position in the affective environment of the West End of London, the affects arising from the internal physical space of the Africa Centre, the nature and energy of musical performances and the affective responses to these performances, the behaviour and interactions of audience members at the Limpopo Club, the quality of sound transmission and the quality and quantity of the light illuminating (or not) each event. In the following sections, each of these are explored, building up a picture of how the affective atmosphere of the musical space at the Africa Centre is remembered. Consistent with the framing of this study, this remembering happened in both embodied and externalized ways. Each interview, to a greater or lesser degree incorporated both *lieux de memoire* (sites of memory, in this case archival documents) as well as *milieux de memoire (*real environments of memory

- in this case the minds and embodied archives of the interviewees) (Nora, 1989, p. 7). Some consideration of this dual (or perhaps multiple?) remembering is also given.

What's in a name?

> I think without a doubt the very name the Africa Centre. It starts with that. The space, the hall itself is of a certain what I call architectural beauty that lends a certain atmosphere. (Levy, 2015)

I would like to begin by focusing on the name and physical space of the Centre which Tony Levy, the former Box Office Manager at the Limpopo Club is quoted referring to above. His words were offered in response to my questions designed to elicit a greater understanding of the various affects associated with the Africa Centre. Exploring language and affect, Niko Besnier identifies three components of linguistic meaning: 'descriptive', 'social' and 'expressive', linking the third category with notions of 'affective' or 'emotive' meaning (Besnier, 1990, p. 419). Affect, language and the relationships between them were an element of the interviewing process which I believe deserve their own dedicated study. In the context of the aims of this current research, such a study would overstep the boundaries I have set. It is however necessary to pick up on one specific instance of linguistic and affective interplay as a part of setting the scene in which musical events were conducted.

For Tony Levy, the name the 'Africa Centre' was an integral aspect of the affective atmosphere of the space. In his estimation the configuring of that atmosphere 'starts with that [name]'. Thinking about Levy's 'pre-history' (Hall, 2001, p. 89), he had related to me at several points throughout his interview both his Jamaican heritage, and his affection for the African continent. In fact within the first three minutes of our interview, he shared with me a memory of an interaction with a Jamaican elder in his hometown indicating that from an early age, the term 'Africa' was one that was loaded with affects for him:

> …But this man, I can't remember if I said to him that the Queen is coming, or whatever, but I never forget to this day his exact words. He said to me "Tony, Africa is our home, not England"…that resonated with me so strongly and is a pillar of my life… so when he said this to me, it's well, it's like lights went off in my brain. (Levy, 2015)

This emotional association with the concept of Africa for people within the diaspora stretches back at least as far as the practice of African enslavement by Europeans and the ensuing colonial project itself. The Ethiopianism of Edward Wilmot Blyden and others exemplify the attempt of Africans in the diaspora, subjected to severe discrimination at the hands of white societies, 'to redefine the situation in a more positive light'; psychologically investing in a vision of Africa which 'served to create a utopia that could not be found' within that same society (Bracey, John H. Jr. and Meier, 1994, p. 2).

For some Africans in the diaspora who had been physically and conceptually separated from the continent by several hundred years of systemic oppressions, the name 'The Africa Centre' might potentially trigger a 'resonance' initiating the positive feelings that one would associate with such a utopian vision. Indeed, for poet Imani Sorhaindo (again of African-Caribbean heritage), the name 'The Africa Centre' represented a space which could potentially form a closer connection with Africa. In our interview, she described how she discovered the Africa Centre through the listings pages in the Voice Newspaper and was inspired to visit the venue because of its name:

EJ: Okay so you saw the listing and what was it, just the fact that it was called the Africa Centre?

IS: it was as simple as that. At that time my consciousness about being African was kind of just awakened. I was very much focused on the Caribbean history and studied that for my degree. And I was then starting to awaken to the fact that 'no actually there is something more here, that's not, my heritage goes beyond that'. So that's what kind of propelled me to go, to start going to the centre. (Sorhaindo, 2016)

The affective intensities ascribed to 'The Africa Centre' as a label operated as a similar propellant for many Africans residing in the UK but whose formative years were spent on the African continent. Adesose Wallace, the bandleader of cross-cultural musical outfit 'Ibile' and visual artist has roots in both Sierra Leone and Nigeria. He describes the name 'The Africa Centre' as a magnet, pulling in Africans from the continent and across the diaspora:

> Once it's called 'Africa Centre' where would an African go to?...You are from Africa you come to England and they say there is an Africa Centre, where will we go to? We go to Africa Centre yes…everybody came there to see the Africa Centre…and of course the people from the diaspora too (Wallace, 2015)

Of course it would be foolish to assume that these three words operated in the same way for all who encountered them. In the same interview, Wallace also acknowledged during his interview that not all people of African heritage enjoy the same affective associations with the word and concept of Africa. Mikey Dread was a regular Limpopo Club attendee from the late 1980s onwards. His responses expand on this difference in affective polarity in his account of inviting his friends, and members of the public, all of African heritage via the Caribbean, to attend the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre:

> one particular New Year's Eve, I came up with some friends. We said were all going to go up West…and we're there and we on the underground, and as we hit the Square I said "I'm going to check out the Africa Centre". This was New Year's Eve. And they said…they looked at me like I was off my head (Dread, 2015)

And with members of the public of African heritage:

> I would sometimes catch people, and you know they're going out…this is the area that they want to go and enjoy themselves. But you tell them the Africa Centre and it's like…from you say Africa or when they'd realise it…it seemed to have some kind of stigma in their minds (Dread, 2015)

The attractions and repulsions outlined above are important chiefly because of the way in which people would (and still do) encounter the Africa Centre. All interviewees' knowledge of the Africa Centre began with its name. Whether interpreting it as a metaphorical beacon for African diasporic interactions, or in the case of those whose heritage lay in the global north, a place where one could learn more about African cultures and meet fellow Africanists, a physical space which is the *centre* of *Africa*, in the middle of London could not fail to exert an affective force.

Spaces Within Places

Of course, a large part of the force or intensity tied up in the Africa Centre nomenclature lies in the fact that it *is* a physical space. This is indeed a vital shaping factor of the affective atmosphere, but it seems to me it is important to locate the building within the affective geography of the Covent Garden area of London before delving into the resonances of the physical structure itself. Remembering that this study deploys archival traces chiefly from the mid-1970s through until the mid-1990s, it is useful to draw on accounts which are located in different places along this conceptual timeline.

Both Zimbabwean scholar George Shire and Limpopo Club regular Mikey Dread remember the Africa Centre as a safe haven, raising the question safe from what? Interestingly, both refer to the racial politics of London as providing a negatively charged environment leading to emotional associations with the Africa Centre as 'safe'. This refuge-like quality evokes Matera's descriptions of mid-twentieth century black-owned and frequented night-spots in Central London providing islands of comfort amongst the often hostile clubs and streets of London's west-end (Matera, 2015, pp. 141–199). Shire and Dread's reasons for such associations however are markedly different. For Shire, the feelings of safety associated with the centre during the 1970s were tied to the fact that he was able to be open about his interracial relationships in a way that was not socially acceptable in the surrounding environment of the time:

> So it was a place that, it was safe. You couldn't go anywhere else it was dangerous, of course I had white girlfriends and so on, but you didn't snog in public as you would do now…It was dangerous affair, which is what makes the Africa Centre, it's those interracial relationships, it was a safe place…if it felt safe inside the Africa Centre…It didn't mean it felt safe in Soho. It didn't…We'd arrange to meet at the Africa Centre, but we would certainly not be holding hands…the idea of holding hands in public just didn't take place…so you'd meet in the Africa Centre, you'd have something of a normal in which when you are on the streets everybody is looking at you and you are awkward. It works on your psyche, you know what I mean? So it was unconsciously safe in that way. (Shire, 2014)

Gregg and Siegworth understand affect as the capacity 'to act and be acted upon' seeing affects 'in those resonances that circulate about, between and sometimes stick to bodies and worlds' (Gregg and Seigworth, 2010, p. 1). Conceived of in these terms,

we begin to understand that the environment of 1970s London, experienced as a person of African heritage, was one laden with resonances driving one to question their personal safety – especially when they chose to fraternize with white people in an intimate way. Indeed, white people engaged in such relationships were similarly endangered in the tense racial climate. Shire's statement that these affective intensities worked on his psyche is a powerful one. The sense from Shire is that the Africa Centre, and the understandings and personal trajectories of those who he would find inside gave rise to feelings of safety and security.

Moving to a later iteration of the Africa Centre (late 80s through to mid 90s), subjective safety remains an affective signature of the space for some, but for rather different (yet related) reasons. Mikey Dread remembers the Africa Centre as a safe haven from the discriminatory door policies of the London's West End at that time:

> It was nice for me, it was like yeah okay, this feels good. This feels, and in this area, this feels great, you know. Because the nature of the area, the politics of the street door politics made it, exalted it more…in the centre of London there was a politics that almost bought us 40 years backwards….[the Africa Centre] was a gift in Central London. It was a place I could just go yeah, cool. (Dread, 2015)

Dread's recollection brings to mind Gregg and Siegworth's description of affect as the marking of a 'body's belonging to a world of encounters…but also…non-belonging' (Gregg and Seigworth, 2010, p. 2). The ideas of belonging and non-belonging are at work here in a more concrete sense. Dread's consciousness of feeling good, and by implication welcomed, in the Africa Centre illustrates how the subconscious forces present both within and surrounding the Africa Centre had the power to manifest the psychological and physiological effects of belonging in association with the space.

Figure 25. The façade of the Africa Centre, 38 King Street c.1960s A threshold separating the ambiance and atmosphere of London's Covent Garden with that generated by the people, architecture, sound and light to be found in the various rooms in its interior. (© Africa Centre)

The front door, pictured in figure 25 above was, for some, a physical and conceptual barrier between an outer environment of racialised hostility and the friendly familiarity of the musical space which lay inside. Limpopo Club Box Office Manager Tony Levy attributes this association to the inclusive nature of the Limpopo Club door policy and its lack of strict entry requirements

> A lot of the clubs in London seemed to have had, or exercised a quota on the number of black people they'd let in…there's a dress code. A number code, so that's it…basically the rule was it's open to anyone, there is no dress code, no numbers code, nothing… my attitude is you know, I know what's out there on the streets, and this was like a refuge that Africans can come in, or anyone can come in who will not fit in or whatever on the outside, and I just found the atmosphere and whatever problems there were…it didn't happen in the Africa Centre. (Levy, 2015)

It is interesting that this positive encounter at the threshold of the venue, for Levy, was a key aspect of the affective complex which, for some at least, imbued the Limpopo Club with a positive energy of friendliness and acceptance. It is worth noting here though that this was not necessarily how all of those with whom I spoke remember the space – something we will explore in a little more detail as reflections on the atmosphere on the interior of the building are shared.

Moving Inside

Following these subjective accounts of the exterior and threshold of the Africa Centre, the next logical step is of course to penetrate the interior of the building and begin to identify the various affective agents contributing to the atmosphere within that space. As part of each interview, I asked interviewees to mentally walk me through their memory of the Africa Centre space as a way of better understanding those factors generating affects within the space itself. This was not a successful technique for all interviewees (particularly musicians interestingly enough), but did facilitate some useful insights. Often, I used images of the exterior and interior of the Africa Centre drawn from the paper archives to assist this process. Music Promoter and Band Manager Debbie Golt's recollection of the transit from outside to inside was particularly vivid. I include an abridged version of her account here. She begins by labelling the typical emotion she felt on her way to a Limpopo Club event:

> Anticipation…on a really good night, you'd go, parking would be a nightmare because I used to drive those days…so you would circle for a long while to find somewhere to park. . okay then you'd go in, there's a lot of people outside even before people had to come out to smoke…then you'd go, the lobby would always be packed with people arguing with poor…oh gosh I can't remember his name….he'd be having deep deep grief, serious grief…because people would always be trying to get in and not pay… so it would be quite a crush to get in. It would be really quite difficult to get in…so I imagine for some people it was quite stressful …And then it would be quite dark so you'd have to…acclimatise your eyes. The sound varied. But as I say, the DJ is here, and its just a hall, it was much smaller than it mostly needed to be (laughs) (Golt, 2015)
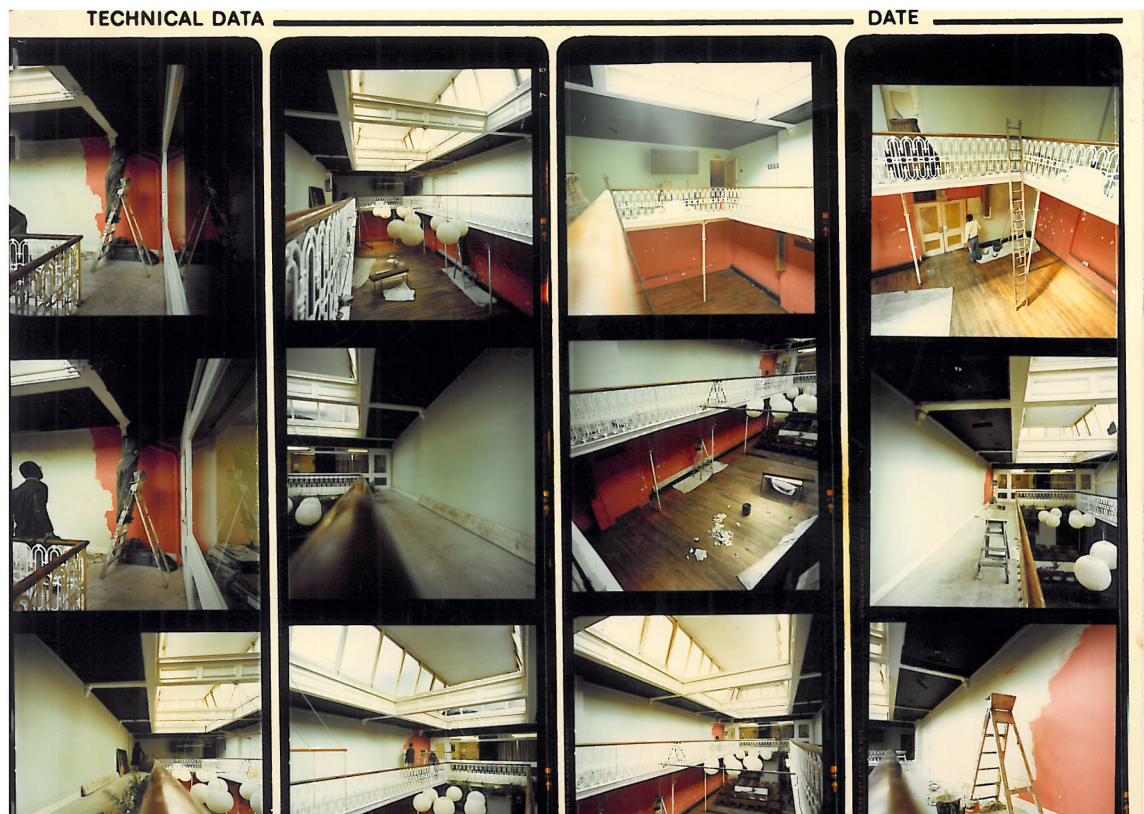
Figure 26. Contact sheet showing the redecoration of the main hall at the Africa Centre during the 1980s. The images show the main event area where the Limpopo Club took place and the balcony area which was used to exhibit artworks. (© Africa Centre)

Remembering my experience of attending the old Africa Centre building at King Street, I myself was quite shocked to discover how small the main events space actually was. I met the Africa Centre at the end of its life at King Street and thus immediately forgave it for its rather dilapidated presentation. Despite this, the disrepair of the space, combined with the lack of natural light did serve to create a rather heavy energy. I was therefore not surprised at the following recollections of poet Imani Sorhaindo and choreographer H Patten who had both visited the centre in the late 80s and early 90s:

> The energy at the time seemed to be quite heavy… it looked a bit antiquated really at the time (laughs). Some of the imagery, yeah I mean I was sort of maybe expecting something a little bit more modern…And just a lighter atmosphere…Even though people were very welcoming. You know it wasn't that, it was just, it almost seemed like the walls and the building itself was very antiquated….It was more about the physical environment…the structure as opposed to the people… I mean I was in my 20s so it wasn't really pulling me in as a young adult. (Sorhaindo, 2016)

The attribution of an energetic 'heaviness' to the physical structure of the Africa Centre is both reinforced and expanded upon in Patten's recollections. For him though, it was

the affects generated through his encounters with both the building's physical structure *and* its management which lay at the root of this feeling:

> it felt like you were walking into quite a colonial space… the Directors were all white and you got the feeling like if it was called the Africa Centre…but…we weren't controlling what was going on…it always seemed like quite a heavy space…there was this feeling that…it's like when you have a party in a schoolroom…it's not fully ours… there was always that sense that there's this colonial presence…. I think it's partly because of the design of the building, and partly because…you knew who were the gatekeepers …there was this sense of upstairs and downstairs…the offices tended to be run by white people so there was that sense of upstairs and downstairs to the space…And I think when the performances were going on…it suddenly occurred to me…that you had the weight in terms of the division of the energy and the performance that was going on downstairs, and then the high arts in terms of the exhibitions that were above and so it was almost like that upstairs downstairs division was there artistically as well. (Patten, 2015)

Figure 27. A view of the main event space taken from the gallery/balcony, c. 1980s. The small hall on the ground floor would be the Limpopo Club event space. A small stage for performers would have been erected against the far wall with a tiny 'dressing room' on the other side of that wall. (© Africa Centre)

Patten's statement is a complex one, invoking the 'real' and 'not necessarily sensible' phenomena Anderson attributes to an affective atmosphere (Anderson, 2009, p. 78). His experience of the heaviness of the main space is contingent both with its multi-level architecture, his conception of 'high art' and the power relationships between black and white actors within the space. His reflection also reveals something of himself and his own values and interpersonal assessments. He uses the singular adjective 'heavy' to describe what may be conceived of as a web of 'collective affects' (ibid). 'High art', colonial administration, whiteness and relative height have their own resonances attached to them; each modulated by actors such as H Patten and their own transmission and receipt of energies. Whilst each of these aspects could to some degree be isolated on an affective register, it is their *cumulative* affect which is remembered. High art, white people and first floor offices are not intrinsically 'heavy'. They might however be perceived as such when they converge in what has been fashioned as an *African* musical space within an *Africa* Centre, both existing within a postcolonial 'mother country'. It is the broader container in which these resonances are housed then, and the subjective expectations and/or boundaries this container creates which ultimately configures how these intensities are transmitted and received. Interestingly, these same elements were interpreted by Algerian bandleader Seddik Zebiri as an organizational separation, again for him, ownership, or rather the lack of it generating a feeling of elemental disunity.

> The Africa Centre is not belonging to the Africans. And because there is difference between Limpopo and upstairs…we've got everything we needed in there to share with our cultures. The only thing we don't have is the roots, the ownership, you know? It's just like steps…you've got downstairs and upstairs. Upstairs is somebody else downstairs is somebody else. it's like you live with a family and everyone is in their own house. (Zebiri, 2015)

If the energy of the Africa Centre as a whole, and its main space in particular was indeed a heavy or fragmented one, then there were certainly no shortage of more positive affects to counter this. Just as the disrepair of the building and organisational disconnects was a repeating theme amongst interviewees, so was the welcoming familiarity of the Africa Centre space, and the Limpopo Club within it.   Zimbabwean scholar George Shire recalls that the dated physical aesthetics of the Africa Centre mentioned by Sorhaindo had almost zero affective impact on him when compared to

the familiarity of the atmosphere created by the regular clientele during the mid to late 1970s:

> Familiarity…It's like walking into a local pub…The significance of it for me was that I would go there and I would meet somebody who I know…I was oblivious to what it looked like…It didn't actually matter to me at all…It was of no significance whatsoever. Aesthetics played a very small part if any…to my liking the place. (Shire, 2014)

Throughout his interview, Shire was careful to remind me that for him, a Zimbabwean in exile, the atmosphere of familiarity of which he spoke was dependent on the large numbers of Zimbabweans and others involved in liberation struggles for whom the Africa Centre would be one of a handful of regular haunts during the 1970s:

> the Africa Centre and Marlborough Arms sort of held me together during that period. The Marlborough Arms is important because it also engendered a group of us who were very much, who had been through Mozambique and Tanzania and so on who are either in ZANU or ZIPRA or sorry ZANLA or ZIPRA, ZANU or ZAPU…that's the condition which I knew people like Lewis Nkosi, Gidi, Pitika Ntuli, John Matikisa and all that lot…so we would eat at the Africa Centre, drink sometimes if there is a gig (Shire, 2014)

The overwhelming sense from my interviews with those who attended in the 1970s and into the 80s was that the resistance and liberation politics of that period was an extremely important determinant of the affective atmosphere, or 'vibes' of the Africa Centre at that time. In chapter 5, I quoted a list of hirers of the Africa Centre hall. It included a significant number of organisations engaged in liberation struggles on the African continent. At that time, it was usual to configure events bringing together music and politics. This is key to bear in mind when trying to better understand the web of attractions and repulsions which structure the atmosphere at the Africa Centre during the formative years of the Limpopo Club.

> As the armed struggle, liberation movement continues it also, it is the only place those conversations are taking place…the high point of the centre is marked by this…Mozambique is now independent. On the other hand UNITA is causing havoc, UNITA and South Africa are causing havoc both in Namibia and Zim...Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe are the defining liberation movements…so the people who frequented the Africa Centre, in the main…were part of that milieu. They were connected to armed struggle, liberation movements, at home. And it gave it a political

action in that sense…and so the Africa Centre's timeliness is to do with the conditions then and those conditions were what produced the excitement that retrospectively we look at (Shire, 2014)

Returning to our earlier discussion about the physical environment in London, Shire's comments regarding the relationship of liberation movements on his affective experience of the Africa Centre and the retrospective 'excitement' about the club these material conditions have generated are important to explore. Firstly, his recollections imply a much larger geographical 'contact zone' of affects than has been explicitly acknowledged thus far in this chapter. Armed struggles waged by Southern Africa's liberation movements from bases in the frontline states were changing how a venue felt and was experienced in Covent Garden. Georgia Born theorises four planes of the social mediation of music. For her, the second plane aggregates 'its listeners into virtual collectivities or publics based on musical and other identifications' (Born, 2013a, p. 32). For those attending the Centre's musical spaces during the late 1970s and early 1980s, armed struggle on the African continent appears to have been one such 'identification'. Secondly, recalling the 'affect stacking' term I invoked earlier in relation to the living archive, Shire is himself here alluding to the power of memory to generate excitement. Gililand and Caswell talk about the power of the unattainable archive to stimulate 'impossible archival imaginaries' – imaginaries based on archival material which does not exist or has never been seen (Gilliland and Caswell, 2016, p. 53). Shire's statement, in the context of the demarcation of a living archive this study represents both corroborates and challenges their thinking. Excitement generated by events for which no formal archive exists would appear to fit the definition of an 'impossible archival imaginary'. This is only true however, as far as you seek to exclude oral testimony and fragmented personal records from the archive in question[15]. Such a separation is of course precisely the mode of approaching archives which this thesis is aiming to erode.

---

[15] Of course such a statement is only valid as far as we are talking about events which have occurred within the living memory of potential interviewees.

Figure 28. Flyer for a meeting held at the Africa Centre to honour Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in South Africa c.1981 (© Africa Centre)

Post 1980 the liberation of Zimbabwe had been realized, but this did not stem the interweaving of entertainment and politics making its affective mark within the Limpopo Club space, not least because in Namibia and South Africa, the transition to majority rule had yet to occur. Accounts of political affects at Limpopo events stretch right into the 1990s despite the fact that some interviewees I spoke to understood the 1980s and 1990s at the club to be a very different moment from the nascent years of the musical space during the mid to late 70s. Tony Levy's powerful account of the 'camaraderie' generated by the freeing of Nelson Mandela is important to record here

> So for me it was just an astounding place it was absolutely you know, the camaraderie, I remember also the event that we had when Nelson Mandela was finally freed, that was just absolutely astounding to see the emotional effect it had on those South Africans who came there to celebrate his freedom. I mean I can see how people believe in spirits and ghosts because you could actually feel things in the air. (Levy, 2015)

Liberation politics then, are vital to understanding the affective environment of the Africa Centre. The politics of international development are important also. There were a number of NGOs operating out of the Africa Centre building leading to a significant constituency of development workers finding themselves in the Limpopo Club audience. These are not the only defining factors leading to pre-personal and transpersonal affects. Speaking about a slightly later period during the mid 80s, Tony Levy continues, attributing a feeling of welcoming, person-to-person interactions and the configuration of the space within which these interactions happened.

> I would say it's a place that without a doubt you know, you would be welcomed. That was really the atmosphere of the club. And also there was the intimacy of it, it's a fairly small venue and that, either before or after the events, the musicians actually mixed with the people and they were able to talk with them and stuff like that. Now there were lots of people there who were into music who could speak to someone to say, or even in the breaks to go on stage and look around and stuff. It was really really very loose...,also stuff like that will have had you know an impact on people. (Levy, 2015)

Levy describes a looseness, something which could possibly be interpreted as a permissiveness, which pervaded the atmosphere of the Limpopo Club during the 1980s. This same ostensible lack of boundaries is corroborated by Mikey Dread. For

him though the atmosphere of the main space at Limpopo Club events could be likened to a shebeen or blues party which, at the time, you would have to go to an economically starved inner London area to experience

> the vibe in the room felt like a local shebeen in an inner London area, but this was West End...A shebeen feels like a family orientated gathering, you know? Where it has its own regulations, its own code of conduct, but you can enjoy. It's a feeling of gathering to enjoy yourself…and that venue had that vibe about it. It kind of threw me because I wasn't expecting it, I was expecting some kind of bourgeois vibe…plus I was seeing brothers from all over Africa and different parts of the Caribbean, which was nice…so that kind of drew me to it. It just seemed to have the right radiance…you just come in with a positive vibe. That's what seemed to be coming across to me. I can just be relaxed from when I get through the door, and dance where I want to, how I want to, people dance how they want, where they want to and everybody's just up, positive. You know?…I've never felt unwelcome (Dread, 2015)

Dread's recollection is littered with pointers to his affective experience of the Limpopo Club. He talks of the Club having the 'vibe' of a shebeen. Elsewhere in his interview, he expanded on this saying that although these small illegal parties were about freedom of enjoyment, there was also an unspoken code of behaviour 'you felt it'. He also speaks of the experience of seeing people from Africa and the Caribbean as having the 'right radiance'. This suggests an energetic exchange which can only really be apprehended in terms of transpersonal forces, resonances and intensities.

It is agreed however that our receptivity or sensitivity to these energies is rather subjective. Shire for example was emphatic in my conversation with him that the Africa Centre environment could not be likened to that of a shebeen or blues party due to its race and class dynamics. We will pick this up in chapter 8, but it is a useful reminder of how subjective experience, memory, and therefore archives, can be. This is also true of the feelings of welcoming and familiarity remembered by Levy, Shire, Dread and many others. An interview with ethnomusicologist and broadcaster Lucy Duran, for example, is invoked to state precisely the opposite in the following chapter. Music within performance spaces exhibits an 'irreducible multiplicity' which is partly centred around the fact that the affective intensities change over time (Born, 2013b, p. 19). Georgina Born discusses this with respect to the 'mutual-modulation' of the components of a piece of music performed in a space. There was a building sense within this study of the changing atmospheres at the Africa Centre as a function of time

and racial background. This emphasises the need to take into account much more than just the temporal changes of the musical components themselves (as is the case with Born's work) to begin to understand the affective experiences of audience members at a musical event, or perhaps more accurately, a musical institution such as the Limpopo Club.

Energy of Musical Performances/Dance

Music and performance techniques are not the only sources of affects within a musical performance, but they are arguably some of the most important, often serving as the hub around which other affects are ordered and configured. Whether they were received as intended or not, the musical affects at the Limpopo Club were intentionally structured to bring about certain responses in the club's audience. At the same time, Wala, Kwesi and the Limpopo Club team were also very aware of the fact that often, the structure which they had put together was simply a foundation from which affects could spread in sometimes unexpected directions. Consciously, the intention was to create a pan-African musical experience which demonstrated the unity of the African continent, and the diaspora, in an embodied way. Subconsciously, at the affective level, energies were set in motion which gave rise to an air of spontaneity and freedom.

> We programmed bands from all over Africa…a pan-African club, a pan-African music thing, because we were trying to show this thing that unites us…people loved it because they could see the characters, the commonness that we had amongst ourselves as a people…so much energy…so there was that exchange which was happening, you know. It was that energy…raw energy…innocent, and you know upfront…it's not things that we rehearsed but when you see it you think 'wow!' They were people who came in and joined the band on stage, dance with them, you think they've come together but they just met them for the first time, but nostalgia and home, they are missing home, they're seeing a band it reminds them of home, they get on stage they want to dance the way they used to dance at home (Danga, 2015a)

For Danga, the core driver of these affects, these 'raw' energies or intensities driving feeling and action in the Limpopo Club space was rhythm but he also attributes some of these affects to audience members' separation with their home countries. Here the combination of nostalgia and African musics create particular sets of spontaneous and considered responses. Elaborating on the musical aspect, Danga, explains the

affective potentials of the call and response mechanism so common in music of African origin

> Dance music is dance music I think, in any language you can hear it. When it's thumping and you know…you could see the sense in the way people were dancing. I said ' well everybody's dancing, they feel the beat, they can feel the pulse'…there is something about African music…that call and response. You know whether it's guitars which are calling and the rest of the music responds, whether it's the voices that call and everybody sings…that call response is…part and parcel of it….we would know that this one would go well. People would love it, it's dance music. They are calling, and there is a response chorus on it, and people gradually begin to pick up what's the chorus is. (Danga, 2015d)

Danga's admission that 'we would know that this one would go well' implies a level of calculation and planning. In this instance he is talking about his DJ sets at the club, so there is an emerging sense of the Limpopo Club DJs as 'affective conductors', sequencing and manipulating affects as part of their relationship to the audience. Mikey Dread discusses this from the perspective of an audience member exposed to a live band. His account again paints the band as conductors of the energies, but recognises the interdependent relationship between band and audience

> But just on the energy and how perhaps the front man skills of communication with his audience was just like, flawless, faultless. [clicks fingers] you responded you know. You responded, it was like a wave…the power of what he had behind him was affecting us, so he must have seen the reaction and know how to play with it you know. The interplay was there, we are all part of that vibe, you know. We knew it and we knew we were affecting them too. (Dread, 2015)

As one might imagine, one of the most common, and often most powerful responses to the affects orchestrated by the Limpopo team and the bands which they programmed was dance. Reviewing my interviews and collating the various 'living traces' they collected, I struggle to think of anyone who did not mention dance as one of the strongest memories of a Limpopo Club event. Repeating the motifs of relaxation, spontaneity and freedom which have been riffed upon throughout this chapter, African music promoter Debbie Golt recalls the dancefloor at the Limpopo Club, touching on the notion of the power of music to move the crowd regardless of their conscious will

I just remember dancing so much and definitely people felt very at home dancing there, you know. Quite wild dancing that you don't see say at a concert or something…and there was a sort of feeling of, it got very hot. There was just no way you couldn't dance once it really got going…because of the power of the music. And the other thing I remember really distinctly from the dancing was, because there was so many Africans there, was the dancing, you know you'd go right down and you'd come up again, very live dancing like that…the bands would definitely play things to make people dance…people had come there to dance. (Golt, 2015)

There are a number of ways to approach the notion of the 'wild' response to the affects Golt recalls. As a choreographer of African dance, H Patten understands the hi-energy intensity of African music and dance that Golt refers to as a product of the exoticism of these forms. His take being that the portrayal of African dance as 'the vibrancy of the gleaming sweaty bodies…affects the type of music and the type of people who go to see that music' (Patten, 2015). Again then, we have the possibility that external affects and wider social contexts, in this case media representation within a postcolonial society, are influencing the nature of proceedings within the Club space. Tony Levy however recalls 'wild dancing' in both literal and spiritual registers:

It would be the physical expression of a spiritual journey. There are certain movements that ape the movements of animals in the jungle or spirits. So I learnt a lot along those lines there. That dance is not just dance you know…It's like a lot of men actually just dance alone because they are back home and you could see in their mind, the way they are, that they'd gone…they are there in the Africa Centre, but they're home, especially the South Africans. You could see that quite clearly (Levy, 2015)

H Patten's account adds detail to this notion of musical affects inducing psychological travel

If it's a South African like Hugh Masekela, you'd see all the South Africans come around…catching up on what's happening home and speaking about what they are going through, and what they've seen, and what his show meant to them …they feel like if they are in a vacuum here, where they are culturally drained and thirst for their culture when they get a chance. And so you would hear those conversations and you could then position people and know where they were coming from and so what role and purpose that artists was providing for them…it was linking to cultural memory in terms of bringing back all the different aspects of their culture and tradition, taking them home for a moment in time (Patten, 2015)

Of course, given that the crowd at the Africa Centre was nationally and racially mixed, not everyone in the space was being 'taken home', or undergoing the same set of affects and emotions during any one musical performance. H Patten recalls the differences in affective response to the rhythms in the space:

> you have different people, you could see those who are from that culture who completely understand the rhythm and the way they danced and respond and engage it as compared to other Africans who would, who would take it and feel the energy and the vibe of it but they would dance it in a way that was slightly different and be influenced by their home rhythmic experience…and then you'd see like Europeans who dance to it and when they are dancing to it I know they're hearing something different to what I'm hearing…their response is completely different. (Patten, 2015)

Expanding on this idea, during his interview, Patten was incredibly insightful in his analysis of the musical space at the Africa Centre. He introduced a concept of spaces within spaces which is useful here. For him, at one level, Limpopo audience members could form an organic whole, but at another, their backgrounds and understandings placed them in different affective spaces within that whole. Born also discusses the dynamics of music, affect and audience in both individual and collective terms. The 'multiplicity of any human subject's experience of music and sound as s/he inhabits a particular…performance venue' operating in tandem with the 'novel set of social relations' of a group of humans occupying that space together (Born, 2013b, p. 19). Patten locates it in the Africa Centre space thus

> They relate to the atmosphere because they get sucked in to the atmosphere of upliftment, the atmosphere of joy, the atmosphere of sorrow as well…you feel a sense of community and belonging that is separate to the community and belonging of the wider community within which we live. So it's almost like creating a countercultural space within the society, and I think everybody then gets sucked into that but at the same time there are multiple levels within which people enter. So it's almost like when you enter a house…some people are free to move around in the living room and then that's their limit. Some people are free to move from the living room and enter into your kitchen as well and then there's fewer people who are free to actually enter into the bedroom, you see what I mean? There are multiple levels happening at the same time. (Patten, 2015)

Patten's articulation of the multiple sets of social relations as distinct affective spaces brings us to a point where it is appropriate to discuss the different physical spaces comprising the 'musical space' at the Africa Centre. In the same way that the broader

geographical environment of the Africa Centre was discussed as contingent to the affective environment of the centre, the various spaces which were accessible to those attending a musical event at the Africa Centre each had their own associated affects which contributed to the overall feeling of the Limpopo Club.

Different Spaces

> the building fascinated me because it was not purpose-built by any way shape or means…the bar was like, well it was literally underground…the balcony became increasingly unsafe, but it was a good social space with two rooms… [the main space was] very intimate…It was like a school hall, really with wooden floorboards. (Golt, 2015)

> you sit out in the bar room, you are in a conversation, you go to the cloakroom, you bump into someone, you are talking, you sit on the sides, the two walls of the venue…you either get up and dance or you're in the next room. (Dread, 2015)

Thus far, I have spoken about the 'musical space' of the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club in a singular sense. My analysis has conceived of this space as one entity with different affects associated with it. Now, similar to the spaces within spaces that were discussed in the previous section, it is important to look at the division of spaces within the building. A three-storey structure with a shop front (at times a bookshop, at times a craft store), a restaurant, two bars, an event space, a balcony-cum art gallery, a resource centre and several offices, The Africa Centre's spatial complexity requires a more granular analysis. In the interest of brevity, I will constrain this analysis to those spaces which have been spoken about in some detail by multiple interviewees.

The Downstairs Bar and the Calabash Restaurant

Figure 29. A scene in the Africa Centre bar circa 1980s. The bar was also affectionately known as 'Soweto'. (© Africa Centre)

During the course of conducting research interviews for this project, it became apparent very quickly that the downstairs bar at the Africa Centre was remembered as an important part of the Africa Centre in general, and of the experience of attending musical events at the Centre in particular. In my time working to transfer the archives from the Centre to its eventual new home, this downstairs space was leased out to a comedy club and also provided a changing and equipment storage space for the various street performers operating in Covent Garden. In that sense, the downstairs space felt, to me, very separate – to the point where it almost didn't feature at all in my mental impression of the Africa Centre. In contrast to this almost legal separation by means of tenancy, the downstairs space at the Africa Centre was most definitely a part of the Centre historically, but interestingly, was for some interviewees associated with a sense of separation attributed in part to its subterranean location and further to the relationship of customers with each other and the organisation entrusted with running the bar:

it was more like our club… mostly the whole bar would go up, and then mostly I think it was mostly a friends circle. I got the impression it was more a very extended friends circle which becomes public but I didn't have the impression of many strangers…they probably were there, but then I was only really looking at my friends…the bar was run by the Ugandans, Ben….when the Somalis took over the bar, it really felt very separate. Because we all knew Ben and we knew he was so crooked, but he was Ben… it wasn't that they were Somalis…It was that we didn't know them, or you know that group of us didn't know them…there was a huge regular group of people…the bar was always full…(Golt, 2015)

Golt's memory corroborates other recollections explicated elsewhere in this research associating the Africa Centre and its musical spaces with feelings of friendliness, familiarity and community. The emerging sense is that this feeling of camaraderie combined with the physical geography of the space has the potential to stimulate affects experienced as integration or separation. Adding further layers, the olfactory sensations and acoustics of the bar, for some, form part of an atmosphere that generated a sense of excitement:

you go down the windy stairs, and as you go down the smell of beer…you know that there had been a lot of spilt beer and it's just in the carpet…there is already the sort of sense of excitement, you know walking down the stairs, and you get to the bottom of the stairs and turn left, and its dark and its cave-like and it's buzzy, and walking in, and the first thing is ' who do I know?'...I don't remember a time of sitting feeling uncomfortable on my own…you knew you were going to have good conversation, that was the point about the bar…you'd watch…the dynamics of people, but very often those dynamics were expressed through a political conversation….It felt comfortable, intellectually challenging, fun. Tremendous sense that we were going to be dancing that night and it was going to be great. Now there were other times…when it felt very uncomfortable and painful. But I was determined not to cede my right to be there (Jeater, 2015)

It is important to note three key points in relation to Diana Jeater's statement above. Firstly, there is the understanding that affects can be produced in anticipation to something which lies in the future, but relates to an experience which a subject has had in the past. In this case, the fact that Jeater had presumably experienced the joy of dancing to music at the Africa Centre on previous occasions, create a 'tremendous' sense of 'excitement' for what lay ahead that night. This affect should not be underestimated, particularly when we consider that by all accounts, the crowd at the Limpopo Club was by and large a regular one each with its individual and collective memories of enjoying the musical space. The second point which Jeater's recollection draws our attention to is the variable nature of these individual and collective affects.

Particularly at the level of the individual, she reminds us that entertainment spaces like the Limpopo Club can feel 'uncomfortable and painful' as well as exciting and fun. This was a point also raised by Lucy Duran, another white female academic who also, as alluded to by Jeater, has mixed memories of feelings of enjoyment and discomfort. In both cases, the interviewees connected this discomfort to the changing race politics within the centre). Interestingly, female African heritage interviewees (of which there are comparatively few, which is something we will return to in the following chapter) mostly did not discuss affects of discomfort and pain in their memories of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. Their recollections tended to favour the view that they did not feel comfortable with what they described as a kind of intrusion of white people into an African space. This is an entirely different, although clearly related kind of discomfort to that of Duran and Jeater and in some ways is particularly interesting given that fact that the archive evidences the central involvement of white people in the founding and development of the Africa Centre from its very inception.

It is unsurprising that such affects connecting to race and race politics were a feature of the musical space at the Africa Centre given the connection of many audience members and the Centre itself to the extended decolonial process and liberation struggles of 1970s and 1980s Africa. Whilst it is clear that music, enjoyment and a sense of community were an important part of the Limpopo Club experience, the political upheaval of the times were never far away. Imani Sorhaindo recalls the importance of the downstairs bar to this aspect of proceedings and their associated affective atmosphere

> In a social environment when people cluster together…that was the place where people were talking and it felt like an uprising…it felt like people were talking about revolution, they were talking about moving, they were talking about poetry and how to get the message across to the masses and that's where that real dynamic energy was, you know. In between the dancing there was a lot of talk, a lot of discourse (Sorhaindo, 2016)

For Sorhaindo, the bar was a space conceptually connected to the dancefloor, but providing the arena for a different aspect of the Limpopo Club experience. Wala Danga intimated to me that it was rare for him to bring political discourse to the microphone as a host of musical proceedings, but nevertheless it is clear that, as discussed in

chapters 5 and 6, the musical programming and selection strategies at the Africa Centre were not entirely free of political motives. Sorhaindo's statement suggests that the feeling of political 'uprising' at the Africa Centre was, at least during the 80s and early 90s, an important affective agent and one which found its strongest expression in a space connected to, but not central to the musical proceedings.

There is an established body of literature connecting traumatic experiences to issues of substance abuse (Ertl et al., 2016). It is not entirely appropriate to explore this topic under the rubric which this discussion proceeds, but it is important to mention here the connection that more than one interviewee drew between these liberation struggles, alcoholism and the cumulative affects brought about in the bar at the Limpopo Club as a result. Tony Levy, an African-Caribbean working the door at Limpopo Club events described it like this:

> it was the politics…liberation struggles going on….It's one thing hearing about apartheid, and actually sitting next to someone whose life has been destroyed by it…I watched a lot of very very fine minds go down the drain because of drink. A lot...that is something I found very disturbing…there were some very sad aspects of it for me. (Levy, 2015)

I recall myself being affected by the emotion with which Levy made this statement in our interview. It was clearly a memory which still held powerful affects for him over 30 years later; affects so powerful that emotion was stirred in me to the point that most of the journey home after our meeting was spent considering these affects relating to the trauma of the (post)colonial situation. Diana Jeater also remembered a sense of excessive alcohol consumption in her account of the bar at the Africa Centre:

> people did get very very drunk, very drunk, you know debilitatingly drunk and then would argue and fight and shout at each other and so on…there was a sense of going out to get drunk, not going out to have a nice evening, people kept on drinking beyond the point at which it would be pleasant to stop. (Jeater, 2015)

Figure 30. A general Africa Centre publicity leaflet from the 1970s showing the Calabash restaurant which was located on the level below the event space. (© Africa Centre). Note the paragraph detailing this history of the building on the left hand side and its incidental connection to the colonial 'heaviness' described by H Patten.

In contrast to the bar where the focus was drinking and political debate, Jeater remembers the adjoining Calabash restaurant as a space which felt calmer and less charged with the intensity of some of the other spaces one could occupy on a night out to the Africa Centre

> the restaurant was altogether much more civilised and laid-back, but there was movement between the two,…there wasn't this, you were actually in the restaurant or you were in the bar, people could amble in from the bar to the restaurant and join people when they were ready (Jeater, 2015)

It is important to note that the different feelings evoked by these alternative spaces cannot always be attributed to mere physical separation. For example, the bar and restaurant were connected enough that you were able to 'amble' between the two. Other informants have alluded to the fact that the simple presence of food combined with the furnishings and décor of the restaurant inspired a feeling that was distinctly

other from the bar and 'club' spaces. Of course, the theme of ownership and their ability to stimulate particular affects also emerges in relation to the restaurant space

> Paolo Diop…ran the restaurant in the Africa Centre…he was a key figure…when Paolo left…part of the kind of the friendliness of it ended for me because also he wasn't in the restaurant anymore…there was something so nice about, it almost felt like home or something going into that building (Interview with Lucy Duran)

Homeliness and friendliness were notions that many interviewees related to the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. Familiarity was often one of the key causes of these types of affects. We should not forget though that familiarity can operate in reverse depending on the experiences and idea one brings to a space though. My field notes relate a minority of informants who picked up on the almost familial affects of spaces like the restaurant, but not hitherto having been a part of the extended family or community in question, nursed feelings of exclusion as a result.

The Green Room

I visited the Green Room at the Africa Centre shortly before the Covent Garden venue opened its doors at the Africa Centre for the last time (unfortunately I did not have the forethought to take any pictures). It was a tiny 8x8 foot room which, when I saw it, was plastered with posters of historic Limpopo Club events. It is very common for green rooms and backstage areas at performance venues to inspire a quite different set of affects to those of the performance space itself, and the Africa Centre is no exception. Of the interviewees I spoke with, two in particular had interesting accounts of the affective atmosphere within the Africa Centre green room. H Patten recall it thus

> I seem to have spent more time in the Green Room until when the show start, then you go out into the performance space and then as its finish you're back into the Green Room with the artist dem an ting. And so in terms of the atmosphere, it was a sense that…you had the mixture of the political and the social….a lot of the producers also were not African….there was always other agendas at work …And sometimes you are conscious that you did not want to fall in line and become part of their agenda and help a particular agenda…consciotizing the artist to let them know that they are part of an agenda that's working as well as them being in a position where they are actually gaining respect…there were times where…the way in which the artist would be behaving within the Green room, you knew that that's not them, but that's the act that

they're putting on depending on who's bought them there and who is present in that room… sometimes you might have officials, like High Commissioners and things…you don't know who is who, but they will know, you see what I mean? So that will affect how they behave as well. (Patten, 2015)

Patten's position as a pan-African, afrocentric artist is clearly influencing his reception and processing of the affects of this particular space. For him, his worldview of the racial and music industry politics generally is exerting a significant influence on how this space was experienced as a part of his attendance to a Limpopo Club event. Firstly, there is a sense that restricted or exclusive access, and the presence of people perceived higher up in the social order brings with it a particular atmosphere. Secondly, Patten's afrocentrism contributes a filter for such an atmosphere as his memory suggests a sensitivity to what he perceives as a potential white exploitation of black African artists.

Diana Jeater's memory of the same space evinces a different sense of exclusivity adding a gendered experience to the hierarchy described by Patten

There was a backstage space and…there was a sense that that was quite heavily policed… not just anybody could go backstage and get stoned with the band…they had some control over what was going on…the backstage had a real sense of being a VIP area. So, I mean Chenjerai would often disappear backstage…but I didn't get invited…I have a sense it was pretty much a guy thing…it was a bunch of guys who would go back and get stoned together and you didn't take your woman along to that (Jeater, 2015)

It is interesting to note here that gender is remembered as forming one of the statuses contributing to your potential exclusion from a 'VIP' space within the Africa Centre. Of equal interest is the sense of internal and external atmospheres around the Green Room when Patten's and Jeater's accounts are read in parallel. Their accounts suggest a distinctly different atmosphere inside the backstage area whose feeling was conveyed to its exterior by way of the human security arrangements put in place by the Limpopo Club team.

The Absence of Light

Living in a world of continuously alternating light and darkness, most people are intimately aware of the varying affects associated with the relative availability of light in a particular space. Edensor reminds us that there are a preponderance of negative associations to an absence of light; also indicating that there are occasions when a lack of light might be construed as a positive thing (Edensor, 2013). In this research, light was mentioned by many informants as a contributing factor to the atmosphere of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. Most of these comments were made in relation to the main space at the Centre and often, were less than positive concerning the affective atmosphere relating to the paucity of light in the space. Imani Sorhaindo was quoted earlier in this chapter as remembering the Africa Centre space as 'heavy'. She attributed this quality in part to the lack of available light in the space. Algerian artist Seddik Zebril also remembers this lack of light in negative terms, offering a potential reason for the stylistic choice

> You've got the equipment in the stage and you go in, there's a dark thing where there is a mixer the mixing desk…It's always dark, and that is not the thing I do like as an individual. God gives the lights - give the light to people. At least the people can see where they're going, can see who they see. Enough, just enough to see. Not completely because I think because of that it's tactical thing they want people to know how many people in there. What's going on in there. They wanted people just come and fill it up. What they're talking about atmospheric. (Zebiri, 2015)

Zebiri's distaste for a lack of light, as a musician himself, may stem from an artist's disposition of having a vested interest in knowing how many people are in a space they are due to perform to and also how well they are able to communicate with other band members, the audience and the venue's sound engineer (in this case Wala Danga). All of these things are affected by the quantity of available light and here we see how a variable which might conceivably induce a positive affective response in some, can do the opposite in others depending on their concrete requirements within a space.

Some interviewees on the other hand were far more ambiguous about the positive or negative response to light levels but still evidence a discernable affective response

> Yeah, becaw [sic] you know it never really, when you think about it never really had much natural light coming in and so it almost was like, when you look at where it was

> also in the middle of Covent Garden etc, but when you entered that space it's like the rest of the world is closed out from it, so it felt like if it was in a vacuum (Patten, 2015)

For many interviewees, the disconnection from the outside world the Africa Centre afforded provided them with opportunities to psychologically transport themselves away from various characteristic features of the outside world. In fact, many described the Africa Centre as a refuge in which they in some way felt safer inside it than they did outside. Few explicitly attributed this sense to light directly, but the preceding quotes indicate that it is quite possible that light was a contributing factor to this sense.

Conclusion

This chapter was introduced by integrating the idea of remembered affects, and the affects stimulated in the present by contact with such memories. In doing this, and further, in deploying (or indeed dubbing) the material archive of the Africa Centre, it argues first implicitly, and here, explicitly, for a living of the archive which is conscious of pre-personal and interpersonal intensities, of feelings and of emotion. A repository of feeling (Cifor, 2016, p. 10). It is an idea which can be considered in related, but distinct ways. The majority of this chapter has been concerned with the contents of the archives of the Africa Centre and the Limpopo Club (apprehended in their expanded sense as both paper archives and living testimony) with respect to affect and feeling – i.e. how these archives record and replay feeling, atmosphere, sensation and emotion. Of equal importance in this study however, are the capacities these sensorial memories themselves hold for the stimulation of affects in the present. These have been touched upon at occasional points during the text from a necessarily personal perspective (for example, the affects stimulated during my conversation with Tony Levy about exile and alcoholism). The inclusion of these reflections are not simply a product of my own myopia as a writer and researcher, but rather serve to indicate the potentialities of the living archive, and indeed of the *living of the archive* for stimulating present and future actions. This is a vitally important point. I argued earlier in this thesis in favour of an archive which enacted a future. What was not divulged at that stage though were full the extent of the theoretical and practical elements enabling such enaction. I posit here that affect is one such element.

Affect should be an integral aspect of living archival working both for the Africa Centre, and for archives more generally. This assertion is based on the notion of a living archive as one which by its very nature involves people and whose deployment can stimulate, through sense and emotion, practical, outputs. From Spinoza down, affect theorists seem to be in agreement on one thing at least – that affects stimulate actions and responses in living persons. If affect cannot be divorced from the living, then why would it not be considered in living archival working? Amongst other things, this chapter has highlighted the fact that remembered affects are able to stimulate affects in the present (Diana Jeater's anticipation of dancing at the Limpopo Club based on her positive memory/emotion of doing the same for example). Recalling that this research proceeds on the basis that it wishes to clarify how the 'pre-histories' of the Africa Centre archives could impact upon 'living' these archives in the present, it seems to me fairly obvious that feeling and emotion must form a part of this. The possible practical applications of this are outlined in the final chapter of this thesis, where potential future activations of the archives in question here are explored. First however, it is necessary to consider the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club archives through the narrower lenses of race, class and gender. Despite the knowledge that an entire chapter of this thesis is devoted to such considerations, it has been impossible for these aspects of the archive not to permeate totality of the study such was their centrality to the memory of the musical spaces of the Africa Centre and their potency with respect to the visceral encounters experienced by some interviewees.

CHAPTER 8 – A COSMOPOLITAN CONVIVIAL CONTACT ZONE?

Formations of race, class and gender impact hugely on the ways material is collected, preserved and shared. A living of the Africa Centre archive which did not engage with their operation within the musical spaces at the Centre would be flawed to the point of nullifying the usefulness of this study. Of course, each chapter has engaged with one or more of these issues in its own way, but often through a lens which, unintentionally, serves to tint their fractious nature with its own peculiar hue. For example, we touched on race and class in the context of their affects in Chapter 7, however there they were not theorised on their own terms, but within a framework of their impact on the pre-personal and interpersonal intensities they stimulated within the musical space. Similarly in Chapter 6, race was a factor, but not one which was foregrounded over and above the importance of embodied pre-histories. This chapter then, seeks to apprehend race, class and gender within theoretical structures developed precisely for that purpose.

Situated in the heart of a postcolonial London itself questioning operations of race, class and gender, the workings of all three are centrally important in understanding the Africa Centre archive. Given the contents of the preceding chapters, readers are entering this discussion fully aware of issues speaking to the frictions characteristic of the divisions each of these terms imply. We know, for example, that for the majority of its existence, the Africa Centre was guided by a Council of Management which was predominantly, but not exclusively, white and middle/upper class. We are also aware that up until the 1990s, decision-making at the centre was presided over by white Directors. Interestingly, as this chapter will show, it was the class differences, rather than racial ones (although for the most part, these are incontrovertibly linked), that would impact most noticeably on the shape of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. Gender considerations have also been touched on earlier in this study. Again in Chapter 7 we learnt a little of the importance of the Africa Centre as a space where interracial, intersexual relationships were sought out and, at least partly, lived out. This chapter explores this phenomenon in more detail. In the context of the research questions posed at the outset of this study, the findings of this chapter are important

both as part of interrogating the pre-histories of the archive in question, and also in determining resonant nodes for its future activation and exploration.

A Convivial Contact Zone

Figure 31. Chartwell Dutiro Spirit Talk performs at the Limpopo Club c.1990s (© Michael Spafford/ Limpopo Productions)

It is important to reiterate a point made at the outset of this study. The Africa Centre was never a self-determined African organisation, and therefore, the Africa Centre archive should not, in my opinion, be considered a black archive in the sense that archives like London's Black Cultural Archives or the Huntley Archives held at London Metropolitan Archives are perceived. If we can accept this, then it naturally follows that the musical spaces at the Africa Centre, whether they be the Limpopo Club, or those that predated it, *must* have been sites marked by cultural plurality. From the image above showing Zimbabwean Mbira Master Chartwell Dutiro on stage at the Limpopo Club, it is clear that cross-cultural contact was a feature of the Limpopo Club both on and off stage. Gilroy characterises conviviality as 'processes of cohabitation and

interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of social life in Britain's urban areas' (Gilroy, 2006, p. xi). His work invests such processes with the power to contribute to societal cohesion in a way which state sponsored multicultural projects were unable to (ibid). Important in Gilroy's rendering is the acknowledgement of the fact that intolerance necessarily exists in such convivial spaces. Accepting this, the overall sense remains (and this is borne out by Back and Sihna's work on the subject (Back and Sinha, 2016)) that conviviality engenders a level of cohesion despite the sometimes fraught nature of the relationships through which it is defined.

In the case of the Africa Centre, there is a definite temporal aspect to the functioning of convivial relations within its musical spaces. Lucy Duran's account, for example, traverses two rather different memories of the racial dynamics at the Africa Centre.

> We became part of a network…of Senegalese, Gambians, Cote d'Ivoirians who would meet every Sunday….a kind of a party, stroke kind of Sunday gathering kind of thing and it was lots of fun and I was introduced to lots and lots of different kinds of music and lots of people at that time, and one of them was a guy called Paolo Diop who was the cook at, he ran the restaurant in the Africa Centre and he lived in the little flat at the top with his wife and two children….so these became, this was my social network completely….these were the people who often came to the concerts at the Africa Centre….my recollection of it was that [the crowd at the Africa Centre was]…racially very mixed and mixed in terms of age as well…there were people there who had been living in the Gambia or had been living in Ghana….White British people, and then there were all kinds of Black British, Black Caribbean, Black African, you know just racially very, very mixed audiences. And it was fun… (Duran, 2015)

Initially, Duran describes a space (in the late 1970s and early 1980s) which overlapped with her personal networks and seemed to celebrate difference in a way which one assumes is comfortable from its designation as 'fun'. This contrasts with her recollection of the musical space at the Centre a few years later in the mid 1980s which, for her, was structured by a growing resentment amongst a prominent group of Black Africans and Caribbeans (the African Dawn group, which included Wala Danga) surrounding white ownership/leadership of Black cultural production

> in the mid-1980s there was a kind of a backlash….there was the whole thing about, you know, don't promote African music if you are white….In hindsight, now I understand better what all of that was about and I can see that…there was a phase that this all had to go through of you know, questioning people's motives in promoting

> African music….African Dawn was one of the groups that played a lot at the Africa Centre and they became very militant about all of this….they became very politicised and very divisive about race and the involvement of, you know, anybody who was white, and their motives, questioning their motives….it didn't affect you know my social group. I mean we were totally mixed because you know we were white husbands and white wives and all Senegalese couples and all Cote D'Ivoire couples and mixed this, and mixed that. Boyfriends and girlfriends, you know it was completely mixed… I would say that Africa Centre became a little bit hijacked by the African Dawn group…or way of kind of political ideology of you know Africa for Africans (Duran, 2015)

Duran's recollection sketches the overlapping lines of intimate relationships, friendships and social spaces. Each of these fit within our convivial mould due to their positioning of difference within 'everydayness'. Secondly, it is striking that Duran describes the tensions of the mid eighties as 'a phase that this all had to go through' (Duran, 2015). Gilroy, Back and Sihna all recognise that the cohesion conviviality engenders is not an easy one. It is instead characterised by unsettled fractures, breaks and disputes. Hesse's notion of a residual multicultural transruption is useful here if we consider its application at a local (as opposed to national) level. His theory describes the resurfacing and renarrativisation of age old, apparently settled, colonial disputes and frictions 'in unexpected places and at unforeseen times' (Hesse, 2000, p. 18). Duran's account also foregrounds the importance of what Wise calls 'Transversal Enablers' (Wise 2007, p. 5) to the relative tranquillity or turbulence of a multicultural space like the Africa Centre. Her recollection cites the then chef at the Africa Centre's restaurant, Paolo Diop, as someone with influence within the Centre and whose interpersonal skills created connections across difference, resulting in a highly mixed social network within the pre-Limpopo Club musical space. Back and Sihna's 'convivial capabilities' also speak to this. In particular their recognition of 'an aptitude for connection and building home in a landscape of division' and 'capacity for worldliness beyond local confines' as personal skills vital to the convivial project (Back and Sinha, 2016, p. 530).

Let us not however oversimplify what are highly complex temporally dependent dynamics. Wala Danga and the African Dawn group, for example are cast in the quote above as sources of friction within the environment of the musical space. Whilst this may have been the case, it is also true that Danga, and other African Dawn members, had been a regular feature of the musical space at the Africa Centre since at least the mid 1970s; meaning they were also present during the more racially harmonious phase

Duran outlines. During my interviews with Danga, he was careful to describe the Africa Centre space as being one which included African, Caribbean and European audiences. We must therefore deduce then, that the flux of emotions, rationale and actions in convivial spaces, both on the individual and group levels is not fixed and instead grows out of personal responses to the societal configurations of the day.

In an interview conducted in 1999, a transcription of which exists in the Africa Centre archives, former programme manager Tony Humphries discusses changes in consciousness at the Africa Centre post 1981. For him, this precipitated in the Centre's aims and objectives as a recognition that the 'Africa' in 'Africa Centre' should apply to those Africans forcibly removed from the African continent during the transatlantic slave trade and domiciled in the Caribbean before making the journey to the UK. Further, he remembers it as a time where the operation of difference within the organisation was being questioned and reflected upon. This is important in the context of our present discussion for two reasons. One, both the Brixton riots and the Black People's Day of Action, a mass mobilisation of people of African heritage (predominantly from the Caribbean), occurred in 1981, a year when white-run British institutions as a whole were forced to reconsider their relationship to people of African heritage living in the country. Two, this acknowledgement in the Africa Centre is a marker for a wider confluence of Africans, and Africans via the Caribbean in the struggles against racism and oppression worldwide. Such alliances have of course existed in the UK at least since the first Pan African Congress in London in 1900, and in the 1980s, manifest in organised responses such as those directed against apartheid in South Africa. Since the decolonisation of Africa and the Caribbean during the 1950s and 1960s, excepting such notable examples as Obi Egbuna, the Ibo Author, Playwright and former leader of the UK Black Panther Party, much of the struggles directed against the British state on the domestic front had been led by Africans from the Caribbean, with Africans from the continent generally placing the inequities of life and need for political freedom in their countries of origin above those they faced on British soil. Whilst this is grossly reductive, with the reality being far more nuanced than space in this chapter permits, my purpose in pursuing this line of enquiry is to make the point that the change in the complexion of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre during the early 1980s described by Duran and others occurs in sympathy with a rising resistance in both African and African Caribbean communities to the daily oppressions which they faced at the hands

of instruments of the state directed by middle and upper class whites. Temporally, this coincides with the publication of *The 'Empire Strikes Back',* a text asserting the centrality of race within debates around cultural studies which was symptomatic of the time (University of Birmingham, 1982). My assertion here is that the racial foment of the times is experienced within the musical space at the Africa Centre as a racial uneasiness directed against whites, particularly those with an apparent stake in African cultures. By stake, I refer to what a Marxist might label control over the means of production. It is a configuration probably best summed up in the words of Solomos, Findlay, Jones and Gilroy in their essay *The Organic Crisis of British Capitalism and Race.* They remark: 'changes in the form of racism during the seventies were forged in the crucible of the struggles waged by black people against the patterns of domination *imposed by the manner of their incorporation into the relations of production*' (Solomos et al. University of Birmingham, 1982, p. 35) (Emphasis mine).

At the time, Lucy Duran was known at the Africa Centre both for touring nationally and recording West African Kora players like Amadu Bansang Jobarteh. Other white informants who, in various ways, acknowledged such tensions within the space were all, without exception, people whose livelihoods in some way were connected to the study, promotion or presentation of African cultures. Tony Humphries, then Programme Manager at the Africa Centre, for example recalls:

> There were a few individuals who….for their own political reasons…were quite prepared to give me a very hard time for being a white man…there were also Africans who felt very uncomfortable with the number of white people…something we were acutely aware of was that the Africa Centre in that era was top heavy with white people in the sort of middle and senior management (Humphries, 2014)

Humphries was present at the Africa Centre early on in the 1980s, and so his memories are located in this period. By the mid 1980s, however, there is a feeling that in an apparent reaction to this Eurocentric 'top heaviness', certain African-led initiatives had been established within the programme structure of the Africa Centre; one of these being the official institution of the Limpopo Club as a flagship, African-led musical event. These initiatives were discussed in chapter 5 in the context of pan-African self-determination but a reprise is useful here to supplement the current line of discussion.

Limpopo kind of came at a time when that kind of thinking was happening…I was…working with, African Dawn, we were actually based at the Africa Centre.…we were the ones which were kind of pushing the bar further and further…challenging even the composition of the management of the place…'why can't we have a significant number of Africans on the Management Committee?'.… …there was that kind of progressive element that was happening now…it was an interesting time…Then Keith coming with Africa in the Pictures, the concept of African films, you know, so everything was geared for Africa in a positive way…Then Akina Mama Wa Africa, A women's kind of forum was also launched from the Africa Centre, and with Wanjiru who was working there. So it was like, people were doing things…So whatever you are doing it's like, you can't be behind.….the club just grew bigger and bigger…it became like the backdrop for what everybody else was doing.…'so let's meet at Limpopo', that's the members of African Dawn, or their friends, or Lioness Chant… Ngugi is there, other poets, Ptika from South Africa is there. It was like that melting pot you know of artists, people with ideas, so you know a very interesting period.
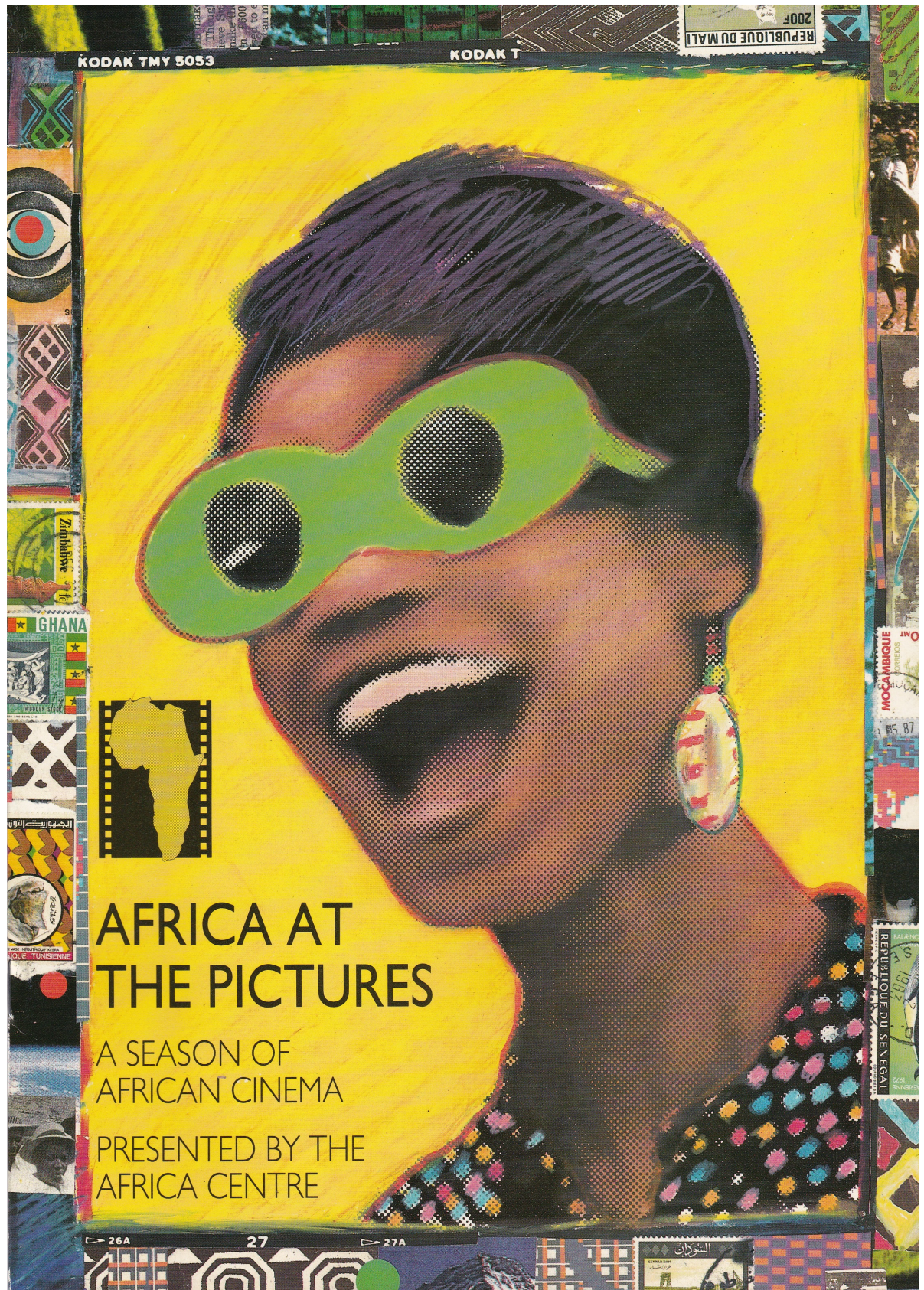
Figure 32. Africa at the Pictures programme cover (c. 1990s). One of Zimbabwean Keith Shiri's key contributions to programming for the Africa Centre at a time when, according to Wala Danga, Africans were establishing much more control of programming at the Centre (© The Africa Centre)
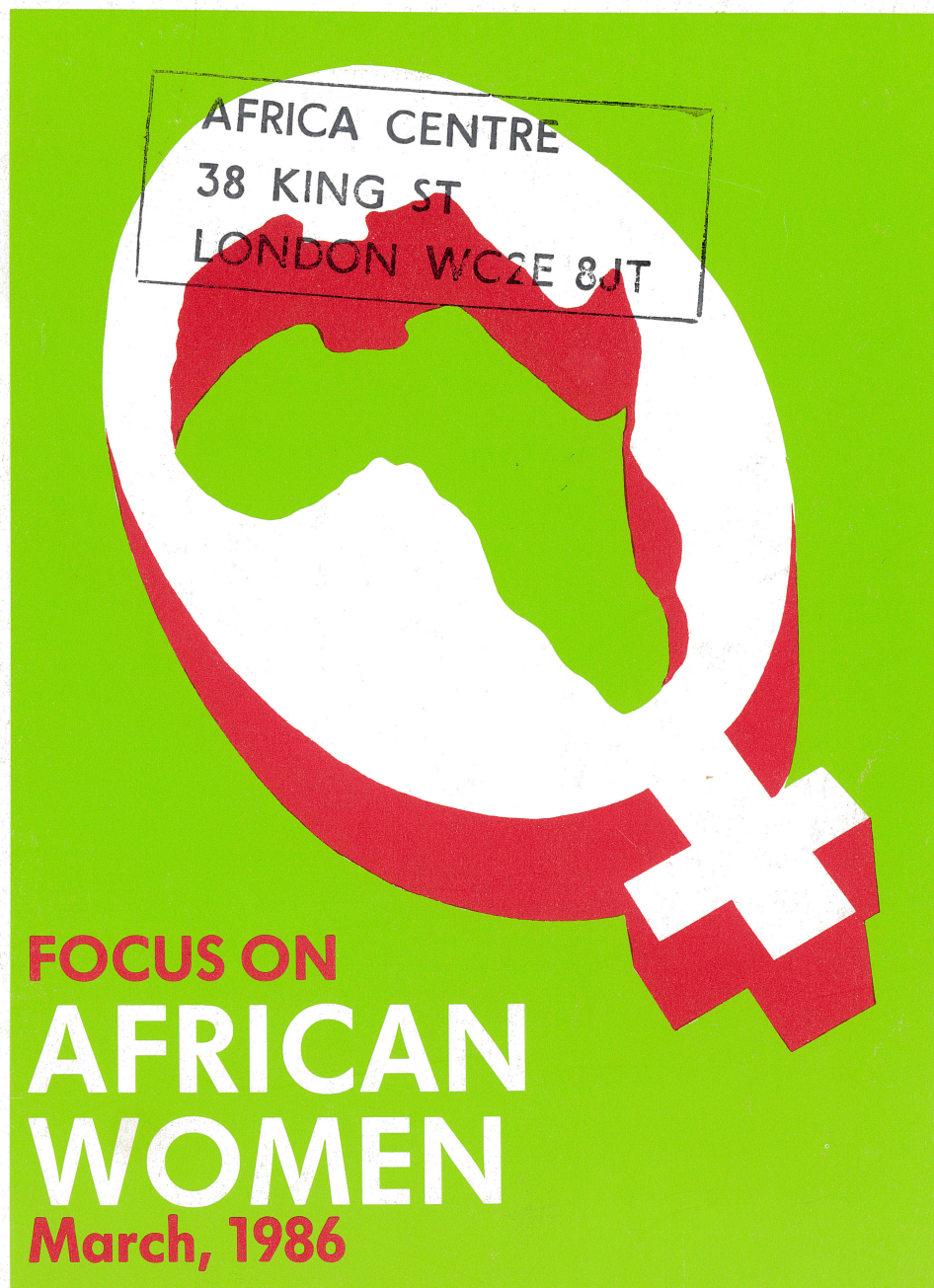
Figure 33. Nish Matenjua's Akina Mama wa Afrika organisation was an important voice for African women at the Africa Centre. Its involvement at the Centre also coincided with Nigel Watt's Directorship. Undated. (© The Africa Centre)

Danga's recollection places the formal establishment and success of the Limpopo Club within a time-frame characterised by more dynamic, African-led initiatives within the Centre. These involved practical challenges to the former configurations entirely in-line with the political zeitgeist of the times. Nava's 'visceral cosmopolitanism' is once more useful in its acknowledgement of this temporal shift towards what she labels 'the cosmopolitanism of the present' (Nava, 2007, p. 117). She notes that the 1970s going into the 1980s was a period which 're-racialised' Britain – the paradoxical source of this being 'the declaration of black identity by Caribbean, African and South Asian groups' (ibid, p. 118). For Nava then, this was a period in which racialisation was being produced by black and Asian actors 'as much as by white racists' (ibid). It is interesting to note Nava's comments within the context of this present discussion concerning black led cultural production at the Africa Centre as it was clearly a period that seemed to demonstrate tangible benefits to Africans and Caribbeans operating within the space. Are we to understand that this racialization was negative (as Nava implies), or was positive (as Wala Danga's reading suggests). Clearly any reading of this period in time must, by its nature be laden with complexities. Wala Danga's relationship to Nigel Watt, the former Africa Centre Director (1984-1991) being a case in point. Within the same interview Danga credited Watt, with providing the support which enabled these black-led initiatives to thrive. Danga and others reserved an appreciation for Nigel Watt which was rarely extended to any other white upper middle class males our interviews touched upon. It is clear that Watt had somehow managed to endear himself to the Africans at the Centre in a way that his peers had not. This is significant in relation to the argument I am making here that the Limpopo Club was an important convivial space, this is significant. Despite the social and political challenges exposed here, intercultural friendships and understandings were forming which are still in existence over thirty years later (Danga and Watt are still in regular correspondence today). Again, drawing on Back and Sinha's model, such positive relationships developed as a result of convivial capabilities like the capacity for worldliness beyond local confines showing an aptitude for connection (Back and Sinha, 2016, p. 530).

Such capabilities were present not only in the workforce of the Africa Centre and the Limpopo Club, but also within the ranks of the performers themselves. Nsimba Bitende for example, despite his Afrocentric stance concerning African cultures and veneration

of figures such as Marcus Garvey was still perfectly open to co-operation and collaboration with white musicians within his Taxi Pata Pata outfit, which played Congolese Soukous music to great acclaim at the Africa Centre and all over the UK.

Figure 34. Flyer for an Africa Centre Christmas Stage Show featuring Nsimba Foggis (aka Nsimba Bitende), bandleader of Taxi Pata Pata. (© Limpopo Productions)

Equally, the British Ghanaian band Orchestre Jazira, boasted a white, all-female, horn section and made a point of trading on their sonic multiculturalism.

Considering the audience in the Africa Centre's musical space, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s, the general feeling from the interviews undertaken during this study is that audiences were mixed, although predominantly Black African and, like the relationships outlined here amongst the staff of the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club, were characterised by a blend of tension and cohesion. Nsimba Bitende for example recalls a mixture of white and African heritage students frequenting the centre during the 1980s and early 1990s

> I could see a lot of African people [and also]…people they are studying Africa, like SOAS, students….maybe SOAS or African studies….some of them were intellectual people (Bitendi, 2015)

Robert Urbanus, a founding partner of London-based Sterns Records, the longest running outlet specialising in African music in London also recalls a mix of cultures, saying that compared to larger African music concerts (which he complained always had an overwhelmingly white audience), the Africa Centre had a much stronger African contingent:

> The Africa Centre was a cooler place [than Southbank], on the one hand, with a much more mixed audience….there was a better mixture of people (Urbanus, 2015)

Whilst this mixture is remembered favourably by some, others viewed this opportunity to mingle interculturally with less enthusiasm:

> you can have these kind of like hippy type people, you know. So you'd have a mix of…stand on your toes dancing awkward, you know getting in the way….then you had the real kind of stunning looking Senegalese women who are generally kind of like very tall very dark and very stunning. And they dress, you know they have got expensive gowns on. And you have got this one who has probably slept in his clothes for the last six weeks since Glastonbury, but you know they are all in the same space, you know sort of spilling drinks….that was a very kind of specific feature of the scene that was going on at the time….the Africans were very kind of, were very accommodating, and the white people were in seventh heaven because

> they are kind of like enjoying the music, they get to wear a dashiki, and so, and it
> was more like the British blacks that were kind of feeling that you know, not awkward
> but they used to be annoyed (Nzinga Soundz, 2016)

This point, made by a 'Black British' woman of Sierra Leonean heritage involved in African music during the 1980s is particularly interesting for the distinction it makes between Africans from the continent and those who have grown up here in the UK. The sense is that there are distinct differences in opinion concerning navigating multicultural musical spaces such as the one at the Africa Centre. For Nzinga Soundz, Africans from the continent were far more accepting of the presence of white British people than their anglicised counterparts who, remembering Back and Sinha's capabilities, had a diminished aptitude for connection in a potentially divisive environment. During that interview, this was attributed to the idea that Africans who had spent a longer time in the UK (or had been born here) faced a particular kind of struggle, which Africans who had spent much of their lives on the African continent could not appreciate on the same terms. This notion adds a further nuance to the assertion put forward earlier in this chapter concerning the relationship between continental Africans and their counterparts raised on British soil. The point was made that during the early 1980s, there was some coherence between the struggles of each group that was reflected in the Africa Centre space as discontentment directed at white British people. The quote above demonstrates that even within this formulation, there were further fissures, aptly demonstrating the layered and uneasy nature of convivial encounters.

Interestingly, very little evidence came to light during the study of serious tensions in the relationship between the differing nationalities of Africans from the continent in the Limpopo Club space. All of the Africans interviewed seemed to broadly share Wala Danga's view on difference which was:

> it was very much like that going in the first time enjoying the company of other Africans
> and wanting to find out more about other Africans really, about the places where they
> have come from.…Where you are meeting other Africans and you are looking for, not
> differences but similarities, (Danga, 2015a)

This spirit of transversal enabling, as we have discussed elsewhere in this study, carried beyond the African states and over to the Americas for Wala and his team. So

much so that during the 1990s, they were involved in setting up an Afro-Latin offshoot of the Limpopo Club at the Africa Centre catering for London's Afro-Cuban population:

> it was professional people, it was different races coming. You know, not just Africans. So it was getting very, very popular…in those periods when we'd get people from Cuba saying 'how about us, we are also part of Africa. you are not doing any Cuban music, are you not doing an African Cuban music?'. And then we started our Cuban nights…So it was an interesting point. That people would come and challenge and you know 'you are not including us. Where are we?' You know and we would accommodate everybody. Or try to. (Danga, 2015c)

Figure 35. Flyer for the Limpopo Club offshoot focussing exclusively on Afro-Cuban music established at the Africa Centre by Wala Danga in collaboration with Afro-Cuban promoters Omnilatin. c. 1990s (© Limpopo Productions)

Over the course of our several conversations, Danga did recall that certain communities which entered the space in numbers during the 1990s, such as the Congolese, were less open to a music policy which breached the bounds of their national tastes, but there was never any mention of a corresponding fracture in relations between Congolese and non-Congolese from Wala or either of the Congolese born musicians I interviewed. It was noted however that some of these nationalities did not choose to use the Africa Centre space as a social space more generally and may only be seen when musicians from their country were performing.

The functioning of music as a cohesive force within the space is something that deserves explicit mention here. From the mid 1970s through to the year 2000 the musical spaces at the Africa Centre were populated by a mixed crowd – even during the most racially tense periods in the early 1980s discussed in this chapter. Despite the tensions of governance and appropriation outlined here, both white and African heritage visitors to events [and band members] have related to me that despite their misgivings about tensions and racial hierarchies, they continued to visit the Limpopo Club in order to keep abreast of new developments in African popular music. I believe this is particularly important in the context of conviviality and its unsettled nature. It suggests that music has the potential to tempt people across lines of difference; placing them in close enough proximity to begin the difficult task of navigating those differences and identifying potentials for consensus.

A Note on Conviviality and Class

This study was embarked upon with the feeling that class would be of great importance in the operation of social relations in the musical spaces at the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club. It was therefore quite surprising to learn, from several interviewees, that this was not necessarily their recollection. Further reflection however, stimulated in particular by

a short extract from an interview conducted in 1999 with ex Director Nigel Watt, challenges this commonly held view in a rather unexpected way:

> I don't think we changed that much, except there was a tendency to go downmarket. Alistair was very much the intellectual, and literature. My approach was more bottom up – trying to get more people in…there was probably a tendency to go a little more populist. (Watt, 1999)

Wala Danga, adds detail to how this 'downmarket' tendency involved music at the Centre, comparing the Directorships of Alistair Niven and his successor Nigel Watt:

> Not that they didn't, or were not keen. But I think they were more literature-based people. They more or less encouraged those kind of mediums at the Africa Centre. Nigel loved music when he came in so we kind of hit it together on the same note, then made the proposal then. I think it was just before he came in, but when he came in he kind of carried it, carried through. And we made the proposal and he was agreeable to it, and it worked well. You know. He was very supportive of the idea. (Danga, 2015a)

From the above, we can extrapolate an important understanding about the impact of class on the musical space at the Africa Centre. In my interviews, it occurred to me that all the interviewees had taken my questions about class in the context of the class differences of the people making up the audience at Limpopo Club events. Their unanimous response was that people of many different classes attended the Africa Centre and class differences did not significantly impact on the dynamics of people within the space (although there was a general feeling that the Africa Centre was predominantly visited by the middle-classes). Whilst I must admit that the sense I get from meeting so many people associated with the space is that regardless of race, the Africa Centre was frequented by a lot of well educated, if not well paid, people from broadly middle-class backgrounds, It would be disingenuous of me as a researcher to overemphasise this point given the lack of evidential support from the memories of the people who were actually there. What the preceding quotes point to however, is something much more fundamental – how class impacted on the very existence and development of a musical space at the Africa Centre.

Both Alistair Niven (Africa Centre Director 1978 – 1984) and Adotey Bing (Africa Centre Director 1992 – 2006), in different ways, were primarily interested in tailoring the programme at the Africa Centre to attract intellectual, politically astute and artistically aware constituencies to the Centre. Here Wala Danga indicates that this kind of focus at a directorship level can be detrimental to spaces for popular music, a form which may not be considered sufficiently intellectually challenging for such audiences. In contrast, Nigel Watt, himself born of the middle classes, approached his tenure with a 'tendency to go downmarket' (Watt, 1999). This statement suggests that Watt is not of the working classes himself (the idea of going down-market suggests that your starting point is somewhere other than the working class masses), whilst indicating the significance of his decision to work from the 'bottom up' as it relates to the Limpopo Club. The golden years of the Limpopo Club are generally accepted to be the mid 1980s, through to the mid 1990s. A period roughly corresponding with Watt's tenure as Director. We might postulate then, that the success of the Limpopo Club can be attributed in part to the support the Limpopo team received under Watt's directorship; characterised by his decision to lower the intellectual gravitas of aspects of the Centre's programme.

MUSIC

We have taken advantage of our new stage and public address system to develop our music programme. From October onwards, apart from the month of January, we have organized a live music event every Friday, the Limpopo Club. London based bands and visting groups perform and business is building up well. We also introduced a regular Thursday disco and this has not been so successful.

Figure 36. Excerpt of the Africa Centre's 1988 Annual Report evidencing the physical investment made in the musical space at the Africa Centre (© Africa Centre)

Beyond the rather elementary observation above lies an idea about the contingency of race, class, gender and migration which is rather difficult to pin down. George Shire touches on it most satisfactorily in his interview which I will quote here at length:

you have to think of class through another…prism. The kinds of people who went to the Africa Centre were not…in that classification system.…in many ways the experience of class and classlessness is lived in and through sexual stories.…you will find who is hanging out with who. And in what context?.…most of the time the majority of white women, other than of a liberal type, that would know that story, would be themselves outsiders from their own community. And so the question of class was lived through that, through that story. That place. The part-time sex symbol, you know the dark and lovely [laughs]…That's the moment in which some of us began to think about class.…we sort of had read about class in and through Marx, and trying to translate it through the sort of typography it comes from, it doesn't, of course it's there, but…it's an afterthought.…sometimes it doesn't explain to you certain kinds of things, it just doesn't.…it enables you something, but it also makes you not see some things.…you became a different class by virtue of just having left one place to another.…it was a shock to me when I first arrived in this country to see a white person begging. I had come from a place that it was not possible. A white person was synonymous with being judge and jury. The idea of a white person being homeless was outside of my imaginary.…In order to understand that, one has to go through another story.…to live in a room with 17 other people…we didn't think of it as to do with class.…that was the only place who could give you accommodation. You didn't think "I am only been giving accommodation in this house because of my class". It was much more because of, it was to do with race. So race is the paradigm through which we thought class.…I still think it is. It also was never a sort of pivotal classification system in that way. It was one amongst the range…we could think of it in conjunction, that's what the arguments about class and classlessness is about. It is to do with…actually to think in relation to a number of others. (Shire, 2014)

Shire's insight apprehends well the complexity of thinking through class within a space like the Africa Centre. Although it would be rather easy to summarise the Centre as a place frequented mostly by middle class African students and middle-class liberal whites, and controlled by middle and upper class whites, such a rendering would leave the contingency and messiness of these classifications unspoken. It seems fair to assert that the majority of those attending the Africa Centre's musical spaces came from a middle class background. Once we try and assign the same classification to their experience of life during the period of their lives they attended the centre however, rigid class distinctions begin to dissolve somewhat, particularly in the case of Africans. This brings to mind Hall's analyses of race and class. For Hall, 'class is lived through race and race is lived through class…they're two interdependent, not exactly the same' (Hall and Back, 2009, p. 676). He does however assign an enhanced status to class for 'if you solve the class question, you would of course solve the other question' (ibid).

Considering class hierarchies in a different way is important in relation to the notion of conviviality as I invoke it in this present discussion. There is a feeling emanating from the theory on the subject that a convivial space or a convivial encounter has something

about the everyday of it. The temptation is to make this idea of the everyday somehow synonymous with the working classes. This, for me, limits the notion of conviviality in rather unhelpful ways. Firstly, it suggests that only the working classes are capable of experiencing everyday encounters, which is a plainly ridiculous idea, and secondly, it assumes that these experiences are lived through fixed lenses of class, which, as Shire's quote suggests, is equally questionable. This study then, argues for a conviviality which is not bound to class, but rather takes into account the blurriness and contingency tied to class relations in spaces like the Africa Centre populated by people of African heritage and liberal whites whose own experience of class is modulated by virtue of their relations across racial lines.

A Rooted Cosmopolitanism

If we can broadly agree that the musical spaces at the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club were indeed convivial spaces, then what about the idea that these same spaces were characterised by cosmopolitanism? Was the Centre remembered/reflected through its living and material archives as a space characterised by parochialism or one where universal humanity trumped difference? Findings thus far plainly suggest that there is a parochial element to the memory of the space, but within this, a sense in which difference was routinely transcended, or at the very least, put on hold, for the sake of a greater union. Appiah's rooted cosmopolitanism provides a helpful framework to think through such situations. For him, it is perfectly possible for people to be committed to common institutions and 'the conditions necessary for a common life' (Appiah, 1997 p.629), but that this commitment does not have to manifest in the same way and carry the same meaning for all: 'elections, public debates, the protection of minority rights have different meanings to different people…there is no reason to require that we all value them in the same way...all that is required is that everybody is willing to play the game.' (ibid). I argue here that the Limpopo Club was conceived as precisely this kind of space; where national allegiances and racial differences were expected to rub up against, but not supersede, the international and ultimately, universal, acceptance of difference.

Firstly, it is of great significance to note that Limpopo Club events were overwhelmingly promoted specifically playing on national distinctions. Most artists performing at events

were categorised in accordance with their country of origin. This is an important point as it demonstrates that even before entering the space, people were expecting to be confronted by difference, whether it be a 'brother or 'sister' from somewhere else in the African continent, from the Americas, or from Europe.

Figure 37. An example of the Limpopo Club's combined listings flyers of which there were many during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Each act is always labelled with their country of origin. (1990s, © Limpopo Productions)

Figure 38. A Flyer for one of Stella Chiweshe's many visits to the club in 1990. Note the reference to Zimbabwe, rooting her in that part of the African continent. (© Limpopo Productions)
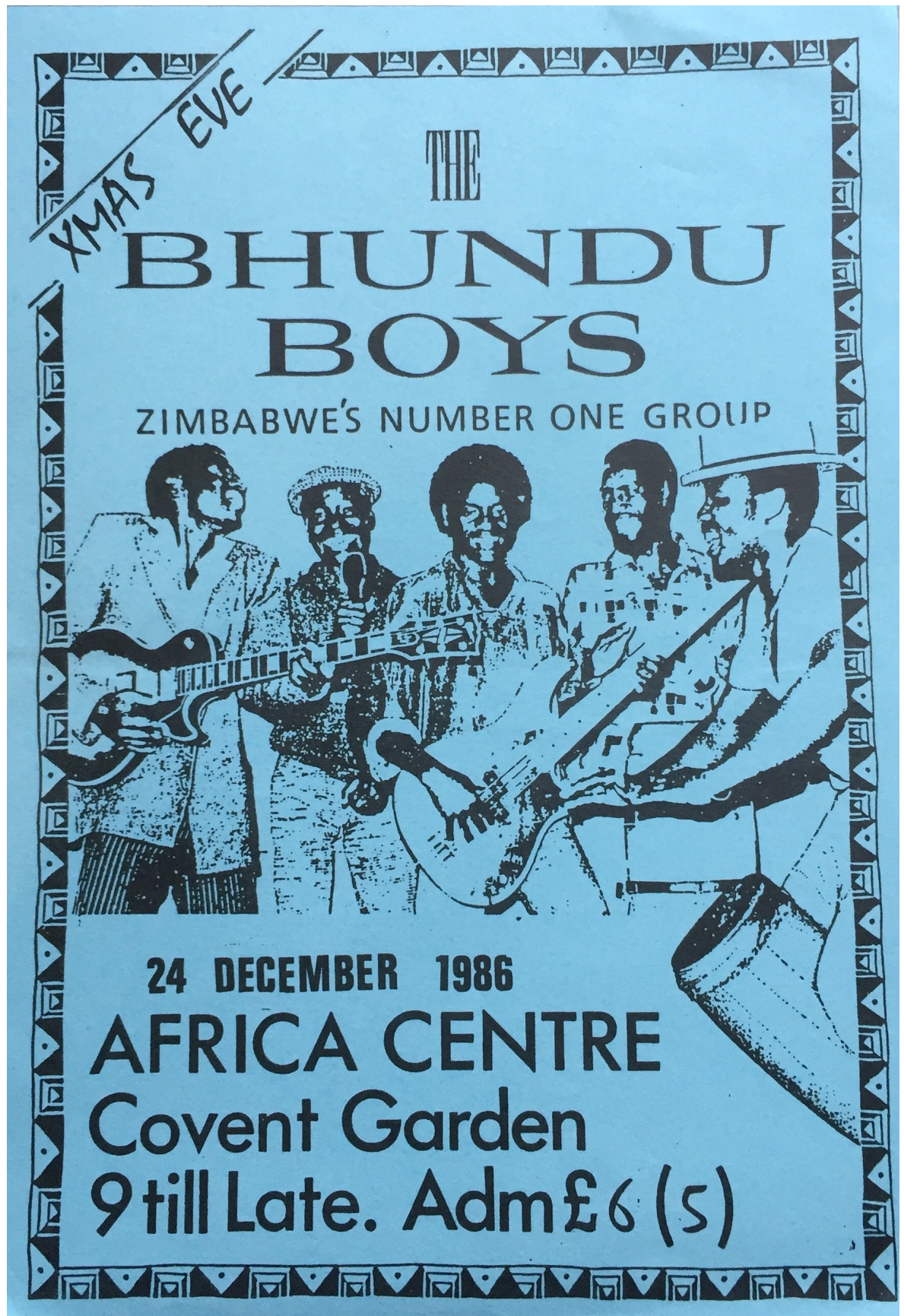
Figure 39. Flyer for a Christmas gig by the Bhundu Boys in 1986. Despite their fame at the time, they are still represented rooted in their nation state. (© Limpopo Productions)

Throughout this study, examples have been brought to light of the presence of Africans from different parts of the continent in the Limpopo Club space. In particular, the sense has been that nationals from countries with former colonial links with the UK could be found at the Centre in significant numbers. Zimbabweans, South Africans, Ghanaians, Nigerians, Sierra Leoneans and Jamaicans were all present. As is clear even from the flyers presented above, their presence was not however played out on purely universal terms, but rather as people rooted in their respective national identities, but willing to 'play the game' as a cohesive unit.

Appiah's notion of rootedness takes on an ambivalent hue within the Limpopo Club context as often, the very reason that nationals of a particular African country were present in the space, was a direct result of social and political problems which had in some way *uprooted* them from their country of origin.

> at different points you also had different nationalities who were using it. Say there was a war in Namibia, then you will get lots of Namibians congregating at the Africa Centre. The support, Zimbabweans used to use it a lot during that time, South Africans at some points, you know or if there is civil wars even in Africa, the Nigerians at some points coming up, Ethiopians at one point. So there has been these episodes of people who come and go….we would notice from our audiences that now we were getting a lot of Congolese people coming to the club, and invariably they would like to hear Congolese music. And likewise, some of them would bring us the music. So yes you could see that change you know like, we kept the pulse going for Limpopo, but inside that we were trying to feel and respect our audiences that were coming through the door. (Danga, 2015a)

Reflecting on this statement in the context of cosmopolitanism and the tendency toward the global or universal at the expense of the parochial is an interesting process. The DJs perspective allows for extremely useful insights to be made. Recalling that the Limpopo Club was established as a pan-African musical space which, originally intended to embrace all, Danga's keeping 'the pulse going for Limpopo' might be read as an upholding of this original aim. Within this, feeling and respecting the 'audiences that were coming through the door' suggests a nuanced acknowledgement, and maybe even appreciation, of difference within this greater whole.

Visceral Cosmopolitanism: White Women and African Men

George Shire has been quoted early on in this chapter as referring to the 'dark and lovely' in relation to interracial relationships within the Africa Centre space. It was very clear, very early on in the interview process (and interestingly, much less clear from material archival sources) that male-female relations, particularly those between white women and African men, were a significant aspect of the musical experience, or indeed any other experience, at the Africa Centre.

Mica Nava's writings on cosmopolitanism suggest that miscegenation was a feature of life in Central London long before the Africa Centre first opened its doors in the 1960s. Her work discusses Soho clubs such as the Bouillabaisse and Frisco's International; spaces purposely established to host mixed crowds of white British Women and African American G.I.s exploring interracial relationships during the 1940s (Nava, 2007, p. 74). For Nava, the growing consciousness of 'else awareness' in Britain, particularly London, during the 1930s was part of an imaginary equating foreign lands and foreign travel with 'culture, romance and sensuality' (ibid 2007, pp. 78 – 79). This 'cosmopolitan consciousness' often directed towards European cityscapes within the upper and middle classes, operated slightly differently where American culture was concerned as it was greatly influenced by the American film industry and its traction within popular culture. Lower middle and working class British women were consuming messages of modernity and opportunity in the cinemas, dancehalls and department stores of London (ibid 2007, p. 80). Transgressive relationships were a component of this modernity and nowhere were they more evident than in musical spaces. The music, dance, and often, darkness of these spaces formed environments where sensual and sexual relationships could be played out across the lines of race and class (ibid 2007, pp. 81–82). Such relationships were labeled transgressive for a reason. They occurred within a wider society which was becoming increasingly polarized on questions of race. In that context, for a white woman, an interracial relationship with an African-American or Caribbean man represented not only freedom and modernity, but also a political intervention. Intimate connections across racial divisions demonstrated an empathy with the excluded other and rejection of the wider society's prejudices and stereotypes (ibid 2007, p. 91). In that sense, such relationships were empowering for the woman within the bounds of the relationship itself, but also for *women* more generally due to a forcing 'into social consciousness…a more assertive and contrary

female sexuality than commonly acknowledged' (ibid 2007, p. 92). A man of African heritage in the same situation, according to Nava stood to gain through 'an enhancement in his status in the broader community of men'. (ibid 2007, p. 92).

Returning to the 'dark and lovely' at the Africa Centre, the research conducted for this study, both informally through conversations and more formally through interviews suggests that Nava's theorisation of 1940s Britain can be useful, with modification, for understanding the kinds of instinctual, close contact cosmopolitanism characteristic of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. Of all the accounts, my interview with Professor Diana Jeater, a well respected academic was the most useful in making sense of this particular aspect of the space, and I will focus on her memory here in order to explicate these connections.

For Jeater, remembering the Africa Centre as a site of encounter for white women and African men set in motion a sort of top-level retrospective analysis of the racially related tendencies more generally in the space and how gender and inter/intra-racial dynamics played into these

> it was something that I was kind of aware of at the time and strikes me as even more striking in retrospect, it was white women and African men….I can't think of any other white guys that I met there regularly….other than Nigel Watt obviously was there because he was the Director. But yeah that was basically it for the white guys. And actually I can't think of any other white women that I got to know well there and I'm wondering whether there was a sense of competition…And there was definitely a lot of tension between the black women and the white women…It was not expressed but it was recognised….there was this argument that kept coming up which is also reflected in Paul Gilroy's book about black middle-class women being hostile towards white women who dated black middle-class men because they were saying 'there's a limited pool of black middle-class men and they are our men, and you're taking them'. And my argument was…class, would trump race and that there's nothing to stop a black middle class woman dating any middle-class man, and you know there was an issue around that. Now I think in retrospect, they may have been more right than I was (Jeater, 2015)

Striking in this recollection is the power of the living of the archive, or in Jeater's case, the re-living of the archive, to stimulate deep and often, very personal reflections on the distance of travel on one's personal journey. In the context of Nava's cosmopolitanism, this excerpt serves to fix the Africa Centre as a site not simply of potential

miscegenation, but also of interracial competition for the black body. In this sense, there is a further layer added to the viscerality described by Nava. Whilst her reading focuses on sensual encounters between African-American men and white women, and the tensions this may cause in wider British society, here we are invited to supplement this with the remembered reality of inter and intra-racial competition. For Jeater this competition was built upon a set of complex power relationships

> I do think that the power relationships for black women dating white men are complicated. I think the power relationships of black men dating white women are complicated as well, but I think that it's more empowering because of parallel oppressions if you like for a white woman to date a black man then it is for a black woman to date a white man (Jeater, 2015)

Nava's visceral cosmopolitanism does engage with the notion of power and empowerment. Like Jeater here, she finds that a white woman in an interracial relationship is simultaneously marginalised and empowered by her sexual choices, but on balance is able to benefit from the situation through the personally and societally transformative meaning of her choices within the wider culture. Nava does not however engage in the way that Jeater does here with what these choices might mean for a woman of African heritage. Interestingly, given that she is a white woman herself, her insights serve to cast further light on some of the racial tensions raised by women of African heritage quoted elsewhere in this thesis. Jeater recalls

> The experience in the bar down there in the dark cellar of the Africa Centre was that for example I could be sitting at a table chatting to a bunch of guys, predominantly African guys and a black woman who also knew these guys possibly African, possibly British but in any case a sense of blackness, self identifying, would come and join the table and would with body language ease me out of the conversation, and that kind of thing was happening all the time, and I wasn't the only white woman who noticed that. I don't know whether the black guys noticed it….in retrospect there is a lot of complicated politics going on here and what I was experiencing was not unusual, probably, for those black women…this was a big learning process for me and I'm sure for them as well… though it felt very damaging and undermining at the time I think it was actually a good learning experience for me in terms of understanding what people mean when they talk about being marginalised. (Jeater, 2015)

Whilst I would argue that it is difficult to truly understand the full meaning of societal marginalisation through such an experience, this aspect of Jeater's recollection is

particularly important in its tying together of the viscerality discussed here with the theme of convivial spaces introduced at the beginning of this chapter. Invoking Gilroy, Back and Sinha, I have ventured that a convivial space, and the encounters occurring within it can be at once fractious and bonding. In some ways, it is difficult for lasting cohesion across difference to occur unless such challenging relationships and situations are felt and navigated. On this basis, I am would like to suggest that the musical spaces at the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club, far from being mere entertainment destinations, were spaces providing ripe, and sometimes painful opportunities for its various actors to delve beyond surface cultural differences, and begin to define, and redefine their positions within a multicultural London. The fact that Professor Jeater's account is very definitely located in the present, although gazing at the past, speaks directly to the overall purpose of this study. A living of the archive is always explicitly concerned with a subjective consideration of the present, and a tentative shaping of the future, with the fragments of the past, remembered or recorded, serving as grist for its mill.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to engage with race, gender and class in the musical spaces at the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club within the context of the construction of a pre-history of the archive which can inform its future activations. It has argued that the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club was a multicultural convivial space which, through its positioning of white British and African actors in close social proximity became an arena for the playing out of layers of consonant and dissonant interracial relationships, both platonic, and more sexually charged in nature. The relationships explored through the testimonies of the various actors were temporally dependent, influenced both the social and political milieu of the time and the personal experiences of the various actors involved. Class was found to have played a pivotal role in the successful programming of the space, with the decisions made by the Directors of the various different eras of the centre (and their own perceptions of class) being critical in establishing the space as a central hub for lovers and players of African music. Complementing the work elsewhere in this thesis, this chapter has also foregrounded the visceral aspects of interracial relations at the centre, choosing to focus on a particularly gendered and classed story of sexually-charged interracial relations which came through strongly during the research process with living people but was virtually absent within the

material records of the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club archives save for a handful of images featuring white women and men of African heritage.

Of course, a study of such broad scope is bound to leave gaps within which further work can be done. The arguments put forward in this chapter suffer in particular from a paucity of recollections of women of African heritage. Several African women intimately connected to the Centre as administrators, programmers, organisers and performers were contacted during the course of conducting this research, but only two responded positively to requests to be interviewed. Their perspectives on the subjects discussed in this chapter were explored in the context of pan-Africanism and affect elsewhere in the thesis and therefore were not repeated here explicitly, but rather woven into the chapter's underlying narrative. This chapter would have further benefitted from a much more detailed analysis of the operation of class within the musical space at the Africa Centre, particularly one focussing on its dynamics amongst the audiences at musical events. During the research process, although several questions concerning class were posed to interviewees, almost none, with the exception of George Shire, responded in a manner enabling substantial post-interview analysis to be made[16]. Gender an class in the musical spaces at the Africa Centre are therefore, obvious potential areas for further research if the right questions can be found to unlock the mental doors to the information this study was unable to access successfully.

Most importantly, this study is interested in forming a better understanding of the Africa Centre archive as the basis of structuring future activations. In this sense, this chapter perhaps provides some of the richest, most engaging material the study has uncovered. Brexit in the UK, Trumpism and the contested, but nevertheless powerful rise of parochialism across the global north makes material inspiring the thinking through modes and means of relating to each other across difference extremely valuable. Being secure enough in oneself to assert both a rootedness within a cultural or racial group and a commitment to universality is something we as a society are still grappling with some 20 – 30 years after the times this chapter engages with. The self

---

[16] Other than Shire, and two respondents that remembered the space as being frequented by the middle classes, the majority of the respondents commented that a mix of classes was present but failed to engage with follow-up questioning on the subject.

reflexivity in Jeater's account here is particularly powerful, and, in the context of future activations of the archive, provides an exciting new addition to the collection which, like many of the accounts upon which this thesis is built could prove immensely valuable in the 'dubbing' and remixing of the contents of the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club archives going forward.

CHAPTER 9 – CONCLUSION: RE/LIVING THE ARCHIVE

This thesis has formulated new theoretical and practical arguments for a broader, more ambitious vision of the archive. In doing so, it is unique in its simultaneous definition and demonstration of the living archive of the Africa Centre. In this respect, the thesis also further innovates in relation to prior literature on 'black history' and musical spaces in its foregrounding of the initiatives of continental Africans in the UK during the latter twentieth century. The research is important as the first academic study of London's most prominent African popular musical institution – the Limpopo Club.

The ambitious vision of the archive I have tried to show here, must comprehend both the material and intangible aspects of an archival site or collection, not placing one above the other simply because tradition encourages one to do so, but enjoying the generative potential of the space where the two meet. Tradition, I argue, does however have a place in the case of the archives of the Africa Centre, but perhaps not solely the Jenkinsonian archival tradition we have come to know in the UK. As a cultural organisation founded as a Centre for African education and cultural production, a Centre rethinking its value and position in a decolonial moment, it is important that work with the Africa Centre embraces Western and non-Western traditions in the same way that both black *and* white actors shaped the Centre's programmes and spaces. I have called upon Hall, Marable, Falola and others during this study to underline the fact that there may be something missing from archival working as it has come to be understood within the west and that gap has everything to do with the embodied and the so-called intangible. As I write this conclusion, the archives of the Africa Centre have been deposited at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA). Whilst this signifies the beginning of a period of increased stability for the material in the archive, it also places additional barriers between the public and those moments of danger invoked by Hall and inspired by Benjamin (Hall, 2001, p. 89). Unless steps are taken to ensure the activation of the collection by its associated communities (in a similar way to the annual activations of the tangible and intangible aspects of the Huntley archives also cared for by LMA ("No Colour Bar | Huntley Archives | Huntley Conferences," n.d.)), it is entirely possible that the material archives of the Africa Centre could be left to languish far away from the active, dynamic and embodied cultural contexts which I have argued

here are integral to the Centre itself, and to working with such a collection. It is now that the findings of this study take on a greater importance as plans for the constitution and activation of the archive are formed.

Elements

Initially, this study set out to determine the core theoretical and practical elements of archival working based on 'living' principles. Chapter 4 demonstrated that it was the mediation of the archive by those with an understanding of its generative potential that enabled material to live. I have argued here that living, in the archival paradigm, constitutes the enaction of world and mind. The bringing together of the context of the material and that of the person. The fragmentation of the master narrative, encouraging the growth of alternative narratives and facilitating therapeutic interventions sensitive to cultural contexts. It is difficult to comment on matters so subjective as peoples' personal needs for healing, but it is somewhat easier to identify the organisational and communal healing the Africa Centre and its collective constituencies are currently in need of.

The sale of its old site and relocation to a different geographical area, along with what some perceived as a lack of communication about these matters, created distance between the Africa Centre and its audiences. I have shown in this thesis that the atmosphere of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre, in some way, was always contingent on social and political issues affecting Africa and her diaspora. African politics and the politics of diaspora has changed much since the heyday of the Limpopo Club and so we can safely conclude that bringing back the 'good old days' is an impossibility. I would like to suggest that an approach which eschews pure reminiscence of times gone by, and instead focuses on the potential for the Centre's archives (in material and embodied form) to speak to present day African/Diasporic issues is what is required to begin to heal the rifts and ruptures of recent years. For example, the founders of the Limpopo Club were agitating against white privilege within the Africa Centre governance structure in 1983. The runaway success of contemporary works such as Reni Eddo-Lodge's 'Why I'm No Longer Talking To White People About Race' (Eddo-Lodge, 2017) suggests that opportunities exist to leverage the archives of this agitation in speaking to new audiences in new ways if we are able to find the right language and medium with which to do so.

The artist has been at the forefront of the living archival endeavour and it is to the artist, this study has found, that we must look for such language and media. This is the time then to create opportunities for artists of African heritage to interface with the archive in both its material and embodied aspects. This thesis has grown out of the musical spaces of the Africa Centre and I propose that it is African heritage creatives across the disciplines, especially music, in the case of our present focus, that are equipped to facilitate a living of the archive of the Africa Centre in a manner which is useful in the now. Of course, it could be argued, as Diana Taylor has, that Africans in London are living the archive already. If we are open to the idea that performance should be taken 'seriously as a system of learning, storing and transmitting knowledge' (Taylor, 2003, p. 83), and this thesis argues that it should, then artists in the capital are already living the history of the Africa Centre more than they may yet have come to realise. Archival interventions of the kind we are discussing here would then serve to lift such processes out of the subconscious, into the realm of conscious thought.

Much time has been spent here convincing the reader of the importance of understanding the pre-history of the archives of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre. The 'dubbing' of four chapters of material relating to the 'what' that generated these archives was not accidental. My aim from the very beginning has been to impress upon the reader the indispensability of context in the understanding and activation of archival material. This is an appropriate juncture then, to consider for a moment how that context has been brought forth throughout this work. The material archives of the Africa Centre were well-endowed in certain respects and lacking in others. One of the richest seams of information preserved in the collection is the series of ephemera from which much of the visual material included in this thesis was drawn. Whilst material such as this could alert us to when an event occurred, how it was represented and who was involved, what it absolutely could not do was explain to us how that event felt, or what the emotional, social and political subtext might have been. This study has mitigated against these material silences through the inclusion of the memories of living persons as intangible aspects of the archive. This was done not to make the argument that living testimony is richer in information or more complete than material archives, it is not. Rather, my intention was to advocate for the affective power of the living voice in archival working; especially when invoked in conjunction with the

documentary source. The archive can cause us to feel, but in its traditional configuration, does not itself have feelings. It is, in part, feelings which enable us to engage on a deep embodied level with the archive which is inclusive of living voices. One would be right in thinking, that such an approach is limited by the span of a human life. Once there is no one left living who experienced an event or an era, to whom does one turn for a living recollection? This is perhaps the reason why much of popular black history is focussed on the events of the last hundred years; a period which, even when no living voices remain, is richly documented in film and audio. Maybe it was the visceral appeal of near history as against the aloofness of times further past that drove the Guyanese scholar activist Walter Rodney to assert that it would be the study of the history of 'New World blacks', rather than that of say pre-colonial Africa which would be the primary weapon in contemporary diasporan struggles against imperialism (Rodney, 1969, p. 59). Having said this, with the generative power of the living archive in creative hands, even the most ancient of collections can be enlivened when the intervention in question is underpinned by the principles upon which this thesis rests.

Pre - histories

Taking its cues from Hall's musings on the shape of an archive before its formal constitution, this research, in accordance to the codes of dub and the remix, identified *selected* 'pre-histories' of the Africa Centre archive and their possible impacts upon the 'living' of the Africa Centre archives. Chapter 5 began the work of establishing a context for this living by assessing the conceptual shape of the Africa Centre, and its musical spaces pre 1980. Musical events at the centre were found to have a much more ethno-musicological thrust, with scant evidence of regular spaces for the enjoyment of popular African music. The music of Africa was something other, to be consumed as an object of study rather than enjoyed on its own terms. Also in this chapter, I argued that pan-Africanist ideologies could be traced to the very founding of the Africa Centre but that the meaning and expression of the idea had changed radically over time in line with key actors' perceptions of race and black self-determination. In my conclusion, I made an impassioned case for the potential dubbing, remixing and re-narration of the chapter's substrate. There is a connection between the drive towards economic and cultural self-determination of African and Caribbean artists at the Africa Centre and the current crop of young musicians (and other artists) of African heritage. Entrepreneurship, economics and ownership are key themes, particularly amongst

exponents of contemporary music styles like Grime (White, 2014), Trap, Drill and the current renaissance of Black-led UK Jazz (Bakare, 2017). What potentials might there be for inspiration and learning if the sounds and stories of the Africa Centre's musical spaces were stripped down and reinterpreted in our contemporary moment with the same verve with which the dub engineer selects and rebalances the elements of their mix to suit the needs of the time?

One of the keys to the living archive this study has sought to illuminate is the importance of embodied ways of knowing as archival technologies. Taylor's assertion of the centrality of embodied practices to the 'transmission of social knowledge, memory and identity' (Taylor, 2003, p. 84) support the decision taken in this work to make explicit connections between the embodied ways of knowing amassed by Wala Danga earlier in his life, and their impact on the Limpopo Club space. Consonant with the tones of pan-Africanism set early on in the discussion, purposeful attention was paid to the transnational, pan-African influences on his performance and event programming style which eventually came to characterise both Danga's DJ sets and live music programming choices at the Africa Centre. An interesting observation here is that whilst it is possible to write and theorise about this organic, embodied archive, the medium of text creates an insurmountable barrier to the experience of the very phenomenon it describes. The optimum mode of transmission of the material in Danga's embodied repertoire is through its (re)performance either by himself, or by those who have absorbed such techniques through their proximity to his practice. This again signals the need for a revision of our concept of the archive if we are to work with this knowledge in the present. Interventions bringing together Danga and his peers with contemporary practitioners are vital if the knowledge amassed across years and continents is to be preserved and shared through its original medium.

Integral to this work at the intersection of body and material is the notion of affect. Both the material and embodied archives possess mechanisms for recording and transmitting affects. It is the affective nature of material, whether it is preserved or performed, which ultimately drives our interest in repeated engagement with it. This thesis has argued this case implicitly, through the insertion of visible echoes of the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club archives in the form of flyers, photographs and text,

and explicitly, through the petitioning for the inclusion of affect as an archival consideration. More than this, I have also engaged with affect as a particular form of sensual pre-history, enabling the reader to gain a more nuanced picture of the musical space of the internal and external geographies of the historic Africa Centre building in a manner that was only possible through engaging with the lived memories of those who physically attended the club in its various iterations. Such geographies of feeling serve a greater purpose than detailing imaginary pictures painted with broad brushes however. The replaying of these feelings in the present stack these historic affects, generating novel sensations in the present moment and opening spaces for future sensory stimulation and its resultant actions.

Few things are more affective than sexual attraction and it is therefore of little surprise that interpersonal attractions were found to be an important shaping factor of the racial dynamics of the Africa Centre and the Limpopo Club. The thesis' positioning of the Africa Centre as a multicultural, convivial space characterised, amongst other things, by interracial relationships, argues for the temporal dependence of these descriptors, and their modulation by greater social forces. Moreover, the visceral nature of this particular strain of cosmopolitanism was highlighted, again pointing to the need for an archive of *feelings*. Class, through the modifying lens of race, was considered both in terms of its operation as a factor influencing the very existence of the Limpopo Club space, and more challengingly, as a shaper of the dynamics amongst the audiences frequenting popular musical events at the Africa Centre. This is also where the study's biggest shortcomings were revealed. The failure of many respondents to provide meaningful responses to questions aimed at determining class operations within the Africa Centre's musical space is indicative of an area ripe for further work. In the context of the aims of this study, it is not a catastrophic failing. The pre-history of the musical spaces has been outlined in a fashion offering substantial entry routes for present and future activations and engagements despite the lack of detailed information in this particular area. Of more concern though was the difficulty in persuading female respondents of African heritage to take part in the study. Whilst several interviewees acknowledged the male domination of the performance spaces at the Africa Centre, it is interesting that despite efforts on my part, only two out of twenty-six respondents were both black and female. Perhaps this was the reason why the Limpopo Club hosted periodic women only club nights:

Figure 40. Flyer for African Women In Concert in 1997. Sadly despite numerous attempts I was unable to interview female Ghanaian singer Gifty Naa DK (© Limpopo Productions)

This facet of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre/Limpopo Club also warrants further scholarly attention.

Again, the characteristics assigned to the pre-history of the archive find correspondences in contemporary debates. Interracial relations, whilst more acceptable than they were during the 1970s and 1980s remain a source of discussion, and sometimes, contention (Balesteros, 2017). Further, race and class remain high on the popular agenda, but are now viewed through the lens of and media hyperbole of phenomena such as gentrification (Lees, 2016).

Activations

Given the active nature of the living archive, it is imperative that this work concludes by pointing to some practical lines of action emerging out of the theoretical elaborations herein. The final question driving this research asked to what extent and in what ways might a 'living' approach to heritage working apply to the Africa Centre going forwards? Identifying the ways in which this living approach might be applied has become an urgent task. The fact that many of the material archives discussed (and displayed) throughout this thesis are now housed in a large archival repository, conceptually and physically removed from their communities of origin, places a significant responsibility on this research (and this researcher!) to suggest practical ways in which the historic and contemporary constituencies of the Africa Centre can strengthen the connection to this material.

Five Pillars

As a result of a series of public consultations held at the Africa Centre in 2016 and 2017, strategic pillars were identified around which the work of the organisation is focussed ("The Africa Centre - what do we do and what is our mission?," n.d.). These are:

- Culture
- Entrepreneurship and Innovation

- Intellectual
- Education
- Social

Given that these foci have been determined by the Centre's constituencies themselves, it is imperative that any activation of the Centre's archives adds value to one or more of these strategic areas of operation.

Of the five, given the pre-histories detailed throughout this thesis, actions responding to the themes Culture, Social, Entrepreneurship and Education seem particularly suited to the active application of this research. Further, one of the Africa Centre's key priorities at time of writing is engagement with younger members of the African diaspora. This is evidenced both by their formal constitution of a 'Young Africa Centre' group ("Young Africa Centre," n.d.), and the nature of the programming at their annual Summer Festival – a large street festival with multiple music and dance stages, a market, and programming including the visual and performance arts ("Festival - The Africa Centre Summer Festival," n.d.).

Deep

Having discussed the pre-histories, methodologies and theories laid out in this thesis with the interim Director of the Africa Centre, its team members, and Wala Danga, this study's central actor, a proposal for the further activation of the archives has begun to emerge. A working title of 'Deep' has been chosen, signifying a deep dive into the archive; an action penetrating far beyond the material itself.

Deep is conceived of as an intergenerational lab inviting emerging musicians of African heritage to dissect and remix the work of their musical elders with an awareness of the social and political contexts in which the work was originally produced. The lab will interrogate the pre-histories of the Africa Centre, generating exciting new work in the process. It is a project which will be delivered both physically and digitally, with the

digital aspects connecting participants and a wider cohort of practitioners with the lab in real time whilst archiving content for future inspiration.

The vision for Deep is the creation of physical and digital spaces where emerging musicians are inspired to create new work through their contact with the Africa Centre archives. Naturally, these archives will not be limited to the documentary material housed at the London Metropolitan Archives, but will include living encounters with musicians, DJs and activists for whom the Africa Centre has been an important aspect of their professional trajectories. The Deep project revolves around a series of intergenerational exchanges. Facilitated encounters which will invite young diasporan Africans to connect with both the archive and the repertoire of the Africa Centre (Taylor, 2003) These exchanges will encourage the cross-pollination of classic and contemporary musical ideas, providing a supported environment for the working through of embodied repertoires in the presence of physical archival materials. The project strives to move beyond music, opening up the archives of African musical history in the UK, and exploring legacy and postcolonial identities for inspiration and information. Deep will engage electronic music producers as well as instrumentalists and vocalists, offering all spaces for the absorption, remixing, reinterpretation and dissemination of ideas rooted in their cultural legacies.

It is important to articulate the multiple purposes of such an intervention. Younger performers will enrich their intellectual and embodied understandings of particular musical forms drawn from across Africa and the diaspora, and further developed here in the UK. Whilst such an encounter is of obvious benefit to their personal repertoire, the fact that the artists involved, young and older, will be of African heritage renders the collective benefit of *preserving* the cultural repertoires through *use.* Similarly, the invocation of the Africa Centre's archives within specific meta-interventions designed to elicit discussion around pan-Africanisms, performance, ownership, entrepreneurship, economics, affect and living with difference – all themes arising out of this present research - again preserves the legacies of the musical spaces at the Africa Centre and Limpopo Club through use and activity. This preservation of legacy is a key benefit for both the older participants (many of whom feel their work has not been sufficiently recognised within the UK industry) and the Africa Centre itself.

Considering the future of this intervention, Deep will be a touchstone for future music programming at the Africa Centre – acknowledging the past but facing the future. By bringing together musicians from across the African diaspora to create and innovate, Deep articulates the long-term vision of music at the Africa Centre and has the potential to significantly influence programming at the centre going forward. Flinn and Stevens have suggested that 'feelings of connectedness, ownership, and community are fundamental components of a sense of belonging in contemporary society' (Flinn and Stevens, 2009, p. 17). This is perhaps the most important potential benefit of living archival working for the Africa Centre as an organisation. In chapter 7 we discovered that the name of the Africa Centre exerted a powerful pull on audiences. In my experiences of working at the Centre, its history exerts a similar force. In actively directing this force, it is hoped that the fractures of recent years can be gradually replaced by a collective sense of connection and community.

Deep's key project outputs will be:

- Collaborative performances including a headline slot at the Africa Centre Summer Festival

- A programme of open rehearsals[17], a public exhibition, talks and workshops

- A digital platform widening engagement with the project and hosting resources for the benefit of future musicians

- A cascading of recorded stems of workshops/performances through music educators to budding producers and musicians.

- The accrual of material generated throughout the duration of the project in the Africa Centre archives.

---

[17] This is itself an idea inspired by the living archive of the Africa Centre. I am told that writer N'gugi Wa Thiong'o and members of African Dawn hosted a series of communal, open rehearsals for their controversial performance of 'The Trial of Dedan Kimathi' at the Africa Centre in the early 1980s.

Planning for Deep has already begun, and subject to funding, the project is tabled to launch in late Spring 2019.

Open Endings

It is quite a challenge to end something that, in effect, has no ending. This thesis began by affirming the open-ended nature of working with the living archive and in that spirit, I would like to suggest that this is not an end, but simply a continuation. In the same way that the Africa Centre sold its former building and what seemed to onlookers to form an end, actually constituted a new chapter, this thesis is but the first in what will hopefully be a long line of activations for the embodied and material archives of the Africa Centre. Broadening my gaze, I am also hopeful that readers of this work will leave with an altered, and optimistic outlook concerning the nature and capabilities of the archive. Since qualifying as an archivist, I have striven to bring this understanding, which predates by far my entry into the archival profession, to all those who are willing to listen. I am extremely grateful for this rare opportunity to share an extended theorisation *and* consider a practical intervention. The archives are dead. Long live the archives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrams, L., 2010. Oral history theory. Routledge, London ; New York, NY.

Acheampong, A., 1998. The Africa centre in London. Review of African Political Economy 25, 657–659. https://doi.org/10.1080/03056249808704353

Achebe, C., 2006. Things fall apart, Penguin red classics. Penguin, London.

Adeleke, T., 2009. The case against Afrocentrism. University Press of Mississippi, Jackson.

Adi, H., 1998. West Africans in Britain, 1900-1960: nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and communism. Lawrence & Wishart, London.

Adi, H., 1993. West African students in Britain, 1900–60: The politics of exile. Immigrants & Minorities 12, 107–128. https://doi.org/10.1080/02619288.1993.9974821

Adi, H., Sherwood, M., 2003. Pan-African history: political figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787. Routledge, London ; New York.

African Dawn, 1983. Beseige The Night. AD Records, London.

Anderson, B., 2009. Affective Atmospheres. Emotion, Space and Society 2, 77–81.

Anderson, B.R.O., 2006. Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism, Rev. ed. ed. Verso, London ; New York.

Andrews, K., 2018. Back to black: retelling black radicalism for the 21st century, Blackness in Britain. Zed Books, London.

Appiah, A., 2006. Cosmopolitanism: ethics in a world of strangers. W.W. Norton & Co., New York.

Appiah, K.A., 1997. Cosmopolitan Patriots. Critical Inquiry 23, 617–639. https://doi.org/10.1086/448846

Araeen, R., 2001. Re-thinking history and some other things. Third Text 15, 93–100.
https://doi.org/10.1080/09528820108576904

Arjun Appadurai, n.d. . archive public. URL http://archivepublic.wordpress.com/texts/arjun-appadurai/ (accessed 9.1.14).

Armah, A.K., 1979. Two thousand seasons, African writers series. Heinemann, London.
Asante, B., 2014. Interview with Barby Asante.

Asante, M.K., 2003. Afrocentricity, the theory of social change. African American Images, Chicago, Ill.

Ashley, S.L.T., 2014. "Engage the World": examining conflicts of engagement in public museums. International Journal of Cultural Policy 20, 261–280.
https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2013.808630

Back, L., Sinha, S., 2016. Multicultural Conviviality in the Midst of Racism's Ruins. Journal of Intercultural Studies 37, 517–532. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2016.1211625

Bailey, D., Boyce, S., 2001. An introduction. Third Text 15, 87–88.
https://doi.org/10.1080/09528820108576902

Bakare, L., 2017. The UK jazz invasion: "I"m sure that some purists wouldn't even call it jazz'. The Guardian.

Barrett, L.E., 1997. The Rastafarians, 20th anniversary ed. ed. Beacon Press, Boston.

Bastian, J.A., 2009. "Play mas": carnival in the archives and the archives in carnival: records and community identity in the US Virgin Islands. Archival Science 9, 113–125.
https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-009-9101-6

Bastian, J.A., Alexander, B. (Eds.), 2009. Community archives: the shaping of memory, Principles and practice in records management and archives. Facet Pub, London.

Bell, D., 1972. The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism. Journal of Aesthetic Education 6, 11–38. https://doi.org/10.2307/3331409

Besnier, N., 1990. Language and Affect. Annual review of anthropology Vol.19, pp.419– 45.

Birley, A.R., 1999. Septimius Severus: the African emperor. Routledge, London ; New York.

Birmingham City University, 2017. Birmingham City University : Black Studies - BA (Hons) - 2018/19 Entry [WWW Document]. Birmingham City University. URL http://www.bcu.ac.uk/courses/black-studies-ba-hons-2018-19 (accessed 10.21.17).

Bishop, C. (Ed.), 2006. Participation, Documents of contemporary art. Whitechapel ; MIT Press, London : Cambridge, Mass.

Bitendi, N., 2015. Interview with Nsimba Bitende.

Black In The Day, 2018. Black In The Day [WWW Document]. Twitter. URL https://twitter.com/blkintheday?lang=en (accessed 9.22.18).

Blaisdell, B., 2004. Selected Writings and Speeches of Marcus Garvey. Dover Publications, USA.
Bob Marley & The Wailers, 2017. Bob Marley & The Wailers - Africa Unite Lyrics [WWW Document]. Genius Lyrics. URL https://genius.com/Bob-marley-and-the-wailers-africa-unite-lyrics (accessed 8.15.17).

Bolton, A., Pole, C., Mitzen, P., 2001. Picture this: researching child workers. Sociology 35, 501–518.

Bondi, L., 2014. Understanding feelings: Engaging with unconscious communication and embodied knowledge. Emotion, Space and Society 10, 44–54. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2013.03.009

Born, G. (Ed.), 2013a. Music, sound and space: transformations of public and private experience. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge ; New York.

Born, G., 2013b. Music, sound and space transformations of public and private experience.

Bracey, John H. Jr., J.H.J., Meier, A., 1994. Black Ideologies, Black Utopias: Afrocentricity in Historical Perspective. Contributions in Black Studies Vol. 12, 1–6.

Bradley, L., 2013. Sounds like London. Serpent's Tail, London.

Bradley, L., 2001. Bass culture: when reggae was king. Penguin, London.

Brewster, B., Broughton, F., 2006. Last night a DJ saved my life: the history of the disc jockey, Revised Edition. ed. Headline, London.

Bruner, J.S., 1966. Toward a theory of instruction, Nachdr. ed. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Casely-Hayford, G., Topp Fargion, J., Wallace, M., British Library, 2015. West Africa: word, symbol, song.

Centre for Research on Social Inclusion, Everyday Multiculturalism Conference :, Velayutham, S., Wise, A., 2007. Proceedings of the Everyday Multiculturalism Conference of the CRSI - 28-29 Sept. 2006 online publication. Centre for Research on Social Inclusion, Macquarie University, Sydney.

Chinweizu, 1987. Decolonising the African mind. Pero Press ; Available from SUNDOOR, Lagos, Nigeria : London.

Cifor, M., 2016. Affecting relations: introducing affect theory to archival discourse. Archival Science 16, 7–31. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9261-5

Cifor, M., Gilliland, A.J., 2016. Affect and the archive, archives and their affects: an introduction to the special issue. Archival Science 16, 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9263-3

Clarke, S., 1980. Jah Music. Heineman Educational Books Ltd, London.

Clary-Lemon, J., 2014. Archival Research Processes: A Case for Material Methods. Rhetoric Review 33, 381–402. https://doi.org/10.1080/07350198.2014.946871

Collective, E., 1976. History Workshop Journal. History Workshop Journal 1, 1–3. https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/1.1.1

Connor, S., 2004. The Cambridge companion to postmodernism. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK; New York.

Cook, T., 2001. Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives. Archivaria; Archivaria 51.

Cook, T., 1997. What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift. Archivaria 17–63.

Cram, E., 2016. Archival ambience and sensory memory: Generating queer intimacies in the settler colonial archive. Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies 13, 109–129. https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2015.1119290

Craven, A., 1968. West Africans in London. Institute of Race Relations, London.

Cziko, G., 1995. Without miracles: universal selection theory and the second Darwinian revolution, A Bradford book. MIT, Cambridge, Mass.; London.

Danga, W., 2016. Interview with Wala Danga.

Danga, W., 2015a. Interview with Wala Danga.

Danga, W., 2015b. Interview with Wala Danga.

Danga, W., 2015c. Interview with Wala Danga.

Danga, W., 2015d. Interview with Wala Danga.

Davidson, J., Bondi, L., Smith, M., 2007. Emotional geographies. Ashgate Pub., Aldershot, England.

Deleuze, G., Guattari, F., 2015. A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia. Bloomsbury, London.

Deleuze, G., Guattari, F., 1987. A Thousand Plateaus. Continuum, London.

Denise, L., n.d. Bio - DJ Lynnee Denise [WWW Document]. DJ Lynnee Denise. URL http://www.djlynneedenise.com/bio/ (accessed 1.12.16).

DeNora, T., 2000. Music in everyday life. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge ; New York.

Dread, M., 2015. Interview with Mikey Dread.

DuBois, W.E.., 1926. Criteria of Negro Art. The Crisis Vol 32, 290–297.

DuBois, W.E.., 1925. The social origins of American Negro art.

Duran, L., 2015. Interview with Lucy Duran.

Economic and Social Research Council, 2012. ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (FRE) 2010.

Eddo-Lodge, R., 2017. Why I'm no longer talking to white people about race. Bloomsbury Circus, London, UK.

Edensor, T., 2013. The Gloomy City: Rethinking the Relationship between Light and Dark. Urban Studies 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013504009

Ekeke, R.E.C., 2011. African Traditional Religion: A Conceptual and Philosophical Analysis. Lumina Vol. 22, 1–18.

Ertl, V., Saile, R., Neuner, F., Catani, C., 2016. Drinking to ease the burden: a cross-sectional study on trauma, alcohol abuse and psychopathology in a post-conflict context. BMC Psychiatry 16. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12888-016-0905-7

Falola, T., Library of Congress, 2016. Ritual Archives [WWW Document]. Library of Congress. URL https://www.loc.gov/today/cyberlc/feature_wdesc.php?rec=7711 (accessed 7.29.17).

Fanon, F., Chevalier, H., 2007. A dying colonialism, Nachdr. ed. Grove Press, New York, NY.

Fanon, F., Farrington, C., Sartre, J.-P., 2001. The wretched of the earth, Repr. ed, Penguin classics. Penguin books, London.

Featherstone, M., 2000. Archiving Cultures. British Journal of Sociology 51, 161–184.

Feeney, M., 1999. Interview with Margaret Feeny.

Feeny, M., 1977. Africa Centre Annual Report 1976/1977. The Africa Centre, London.

Festival - The Africa Centre Summer Festival, n.d. . The Africa Centre. URL
        https://www.africacentre.org.uk/events/ (accessed 9.26.18).

Fiske, J., 1990. Introduction to communication studies, 2nd ed. ed, Studies in culture and
        communication. Routledge, London ; New York.

Flinn, A., 2011. Archival Activism: Independent and Community-led Archives, Radical Public
        History and the Heritage Professions. InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and
        Information Studies 7, Article 6.

Flinn, A., 2007. Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and
        Challenges1. Journal of the Society of Archivists 28, 151–176.
        https://doi.org/10.1080/00379810701611936

Foster, H., 2004. An Archival Impulse. October 110, 3–22.

Foucault, M., 2002. Archaeology of knowledge, Routledge classics. Routledge, London ; New
        York.

Foucault, M., Faubion, J.D., 2002. Power. Penguin, London.

Future Histories, 2005. FutureHistories [WWW Document].
        http://www.futurehistories.org.uk/. URL http://www.futurehistories.org.uk/main.htm
        (accessed 8.30.15).

Gilliland, A.J., Caswell, M., 2016. Records and their imaginaries: imagining the impossible,
        making possible the imagined. Archival Science 16, 53–75.
        https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9259-z

Gilroy, P., 2006. After empire: melancholia or convivial culture?, Reprinted. ed. Routledge,
        Abingdon.

Gilroy, P., 1993. The black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness. Verso, London; New
        York.

Golt, D., 2015. Interview with Debbie Golt.

Goulbourne, H., 1998. Race relations in Britain since 1945, Social history in perspective. Macmillan [u.a.], Basingstoke.

Gregg, M., Seigworth, G.J. (Eds.), 2010. The affect theory reader. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

Halilovich, H., 2016. Re-imaging and re-imagining the past after "memoricide": intimate archives as inscribed memories of the missing. Archival Science 16, 77–92. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9258-0

Hall, S., 2001. Constituting an archive. Third Text 15, 89–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/09528820108576903

Hall, S., 1999. Un-settling "the heritage", re-imagining the post-nationWhose heritage? Third Text 13, 3–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/09528829908576818

Hall, S., Back, L., 2009. AT HOME AND NOT AT HOME: STUART HALL IN CONVERSATION WITH LES BACK. Cultural Studies 23, 658–687. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380902950963

Ham, F.G., 1975. The Archival Edge. The American Archivist 38, 5–13. https://doi.org/10.2307/40291712

Hamilton, C., 2002. Refiguring the Archive. Kluwer Academic, Dordrecht ; London.

Hardiman, R., 2009. En mal d'archive: Postmodernist Theory and Recordkeeping. Journal of the Society of Archivists 30, 27–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/00379810903264591

Harris, V., 2002a. The archival sliver: Power, memory, and archives in South Africa. Archival Science 2, 63–86. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435631

Harris, V., 2002b. The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory and Archives in South Africa. Archival Science 2, 63–86.

Henriques, J., 2011. Sonic bodies: reggae sound systems, performance techniques, and ways of knowing. Continuum, New York.

Herodotus, De Sélincourt, A., Marincola, J., 2003. The histories, Further rev. ed. ed, Penguin classics. Penguin Books, London ; New York.

Hesse, B. (Ed.), 2000. Un/settled multiculturalisms: diasporas, entanglements, "transruptions." Zed Books ; Distributed in the USA exclusively by St. Martin's Press, London ; New York : New York.

Hiam, J., 2015. Interview with Jonathan Hiam.

History of WASU - The WASU Project [WWW Document], n.d. URL http://wasuproject.org.uk/history-of-wasu/ (accessed 9.8.18).

Holler, C., 2010. The Double Club: Music [WWW Document]. The Double Club. URL http://thedoubleclub.co.uk/disco/Music.html (accessed 2.2.17).

Honest Jon's, 2014. Living is Hard - West African Music in Britain 1927-1929 [WWW Document]. Honest Jon's Records. URL http://www.honestjons.com/label.php?pid=32803 (accessed 1.5.14).

Hopkins, I., 2008. Places From Which to Speak. Journal of the Society of Archivists 29, 83–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/00379810802515069

Humphries, T., 2014. Interview with Tony Humphries.

Humphries, T., 1999. Interview with Tony Humphries.

Hutton, C., 2007. Forging Identity And Community Through Aestheticism and Entertainment: The Sound System and The Rise Of The DJ. Caribbean Quarterly 53, 17–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/00086495.2007.11829714

Hyndman, J., 2001. The Field as Here and Now, Not There and Then. Geographical Review 91, 262–272.

Jaji, T., 2014. Africa in stereo: modernism, music, and pan-African solidarity. Oxford University Press, New York.

James, C.L.R., 1969. A history of Negro revolt.] A history of Pan-African revolt. (Second edition, revised.). Drum & Spear Press, Washington.

James, L., 2012. "What we put in black and white": George Padmore and the practice of anti-imperial politics. London School of Economics, London.

Jeater, D., 2015. Interview with Diana Jeater.

Jenkinson, H., 1937. A Manual of Archive Administration, 2nd ed. Percy Lund, Humphries & Co Ltd, London.

John Cage Trust, n.d. John Cage Unbound: A Living Archive [WWW Document]. John Cage Unbound: A Living Archive. URL http://exhibitions.nypl.org/johncage/ (accessed 10.15.13).

Johnson, M., 2009. The body in the mind: the bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason, Paperback ed., [9. print.]. ed. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Jones, A.M., 1969. African Drumming, National Sound Archive C Series Recordings. Africa Centre.

Jones, A.M., 1959. Studies In African Music. Oxford University Press, London.

Ketelaar, E., 1996. Archival Theory and the Dutch Manual. Archivaria 41, 31–40.

Killingray, D. (Ed.), 1994. Africans in Britain. F. Cass, Portland, OR ; London.

Kincheloe, J.L., Horn, R.A. (Eds.), 2007. The Praeger handbook of education and psychology. Praeger, Westport, Conn.

Kirsch, G., Rohan, L. (Eds.), 2008. Beyond the archives: research as a lived process. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, [Ill.].

Kitchen, R., 2015. Interview with Roger Kitchen.

Kopano, B.N., Brown, T. (Eds.), 2014. Soul Thieves: The Appropriation and Misrepresentation of African American Popular Culture, First edition. ed, Contemporary Black history. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Koser, K. (Ed.), 2003. New African diasporas, Global diasporas. Routledge, London ; New York.

LaBelle, B., 2015. Background noise: perspectives on sound art, Second edition. ed. Bloomsbury Academic, New York.

Leedy, P.D., Ormrod, J.E., 2010. Practical research: planning and design, 9th ed. ed. Merrill, Upper Saddle River, NJ.

Lees, L., 2016. Gentrification, Race, and Ethnicity: Towards a Global Research Agenda?: GENTRIFICATION, RACE, AND ETHNICITY. City & Community 15, 208–214. https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12185

Levy, A., 2015. Interview with Anthony Levy.

Living Archive, 2015. Origins of Living Archive | About us | Living Archive. URL http://www.livingarchive.org.uk/content/about-us/origins-of-living-archive (accessed 9.24.15).

Lynch, B., 2010. Whose Cake is it Anyway? Paul Hamlyn Foundation.

Lyotard, J.F., 2004. The postmodern condition: a report on knowledge. Manchester University Press, Manchester.

MacNeil, H., 2001. Trusting Records in a Postmodern World. Archivaria; Archivaria 51.

Magee, K., Waters, S., 2011. Archives, Artists and Designers. Journal of the Society of Archivists 32, 273–285. https://doi.org/10.1080/00379816.2011.619707

Makonnen, R., 2016. Pan-africanism from within. Diasporic Africa Press, Brooklyn, NY.

Marable, M., 2005. Living Black history: how reimagining the African-American past can remake America's racial future. Basic Civitas, New York.

Matera, M., 2015. Black London: the imperial metropolis and decolonization in the twentieth century, The California world history library. University of California Press, Oakland, California.

McAvinchey, C., 2014. Interview with Caoimhe McAvinchey.

McAvinchey, C., 2009. Making an Invitation: Creative Engagement with the LIFT Living Archive. London Internation Festival Theatre, London.

McKemmish, S., 2005. Archives: recordkeeping in society. Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University, Wagga Wagga, N.S.W.

McKemmish, S., 1996. Evidence of me. The Australian Library Journal 45, 174–187. https://doi.org/10.1080/00049670.1996.10755757

Meehan, J., 2006. Towards an Archival Concept of Evidence. Archivaria 61, 127–146.

Menne-Haritz, A., 2001. Access — The reformulation of an archival paradigm. Archival Science 1, 57–82. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435639

Miller Chernoff, J., 1981. African Rhythm and African Sensibility: Aesthetics and Social Action in African Musical Idioms., 1st ed. University Of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Munro, M., 2010. Different drummers: rhythm and race in the Americas, Music of the African diaspora. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Munz, P., 2002. Philosophical Darwinism: On the Origin of Knowledge by Means of Natural Selection. Routledge.

Nava, M., 2007. Visceral cosmopolitanism: gender, culture and the normalisation of difference. Berg, Oxford ; New York.

Newman, A., McLean, F., 2004. Presumption, policy and practice: The use of museums and galleries as agents of social inclusion in Great Britain. International Journal of Cultural Policy 10, 167–181. https://doi.org/10.1080/1028663042000255790

Newman, A., McLean, F., 1998. Heritage builds communities: The application of heritage resources to the problems of social exclusion. International Journal of Heritage Studies 4, 143–153. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527259808722232

Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2005. Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature, Reprint. ed, Studies in African literature. Currey [u.a.], Oxford.

Niven, A., 1979. The Africa Centre in London. Kunapipi Vol 1, 173 – 176.

No Colour Bar | Huntley Archives | Huntley Conferences [WWW Document], n.d. . No Colour Bar | Home. URL https://www.nocolourbar.org/huntley-conferences (accessed 9.26.18).

Nora, P., 1989. Between Memory and History. Representations 26, 7–24.

Nzinga Soundz, 2016. Interview with Nzinga Soundz.

Olusoga, D., 2018. Black and British: a forgotten history. Palgrave Macmillan, S.l.

Osthoff, S., 2009. Performing the archive: the transformation of the archive in contemporary art from repository of documents to art medium. Atropos Press, New York.

Owusu, K. (Ed.), 1988. Storms of the heart: an anthology of Black arts & culture. Camden Press, London, England.

Owusu, K., 1986. The struggle for Black arts in Britain: what can we consider better than freedom. Comedia Pub. Group, London.

Oxford Dictionaries, 2017. Therapy [WWW Document]. Oxford Living Dictionaries. URL https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/therapy (accessed 10.9.17).

Patten, H., 2015. Interview with H Patten.

Pawlikova-Vilhanova, V., 2007. Christian Missions in Africa and their role in the transformation of African societies. Asian and African Studies 16, 249–260.

p'Bitek, O., 1986. Artist The Ruler. Heineman Kenya, Nairobi, Kenya.

Peckham Platform, 2015. Peckham Platform - South London Black Music Archive [WWW Document]. peckhamplatform.com. URL http://www.peckhamplatform.com/whats-on/exhibitions/south-london-black-music-archive (accessed 11.23.15).

Perks, R., 2009. Video [WWW Document]. Oral History Society. URL http://www.ohs.org.uk/practical-advice.php#video (accessed 5.20.14).

Perks, R., Thomson, A. (Eds.), 1998. The oral history reader. Routledge, London ; New York.

PM, C.B.O. 11/27/17 at 3:55, 2017. Aside from the royal engagement, it's still rare for a white man to marry a nonwhite woman in the U.K. [WWW Document]. Newsweek. URL https://www.newsweek.com/harry-meghan-engaged-uk-interracial-marriage-low-723540 (accessed 9.26.18).

Pratt, M.L., 1992. Imperial eyes: travel writing and transculturation. Routledge, London ; New York.

Pratt, R., 1990. Rhythm and resistance: explorations in the political uses of popular music, Media and society series. Praeger, New York.

Prosser, J. (Ed.), 1998. Image-based research: a sourcebook for qualitative researchers. Falmer Press, London ; Bristol, PA.

Putnam, R., 1995. Bowling alone. America's declining social capital. Journal of Democracy 6, 65–78.

Resident Advisor, 2014. RA: Plastic People - London nightclub [WWW Document]. Resident Advisor. URL http://www.residentadvisor.net/club.aspx?id=738 (accessed 6.17.14).

Rodney, W., 2012. How Europe underdeveloped Africa. Pambazuka Press, Cape Town.

Rodney, W., 1969. Groundings With My Brothers. Bogle-L'Overture Publications, London.

Rogers, B.F., 1955. William E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and Pan-Africa. The Journal of Negro History Vol 40, 154–165.

Rose, G., 2012. Visual methodologies: an introduction to researching with visual materials, 3rd ed. ed. SAGE, London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.

Rycroft, S., 2013. Lightshows and the cultural politics of light: mid-century cosmologies. The Sixties 6, 45–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/17541328.2013.776234

Rycroft, S., 2011. Swinging city: a cultural geography of London, 1950-1974, Re-materialising cultural geography. Ashgate Pub. Ltd, Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT.

Save The Africa Centre Campaign, n.d. . About. URL http://savetheafricacentre.wordpress.com/about-save-the-africa-centre-campaign/ (accessed 10.14.13).

Schellenberg, T.R., 1975. Modern archives: principles and techniques. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Schwartz, J., Cook, T., 2002. Archives, records, and power: The making of modern memory. Archival Science 2, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435628

Scott, D., 2008. Introduction: On the Archaeologies of Black Memory,. Anthurium: A Caribbean Studies Journal Vol. 6, 1–16.

Sewell, T., 1987. Garvey's Children: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey.

Shepperson, G., 1962. Pan-Africanism and Pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes. Phylon 23, 346–358.

Shire, G., 2014. Interview with George Shire.

Simon, C., 2002. Introduction: Following the Archival Turn. Visual Resources 18, 101–107. https://doi.org/10.1080/01973760290011770

Smith, K.E., 2006. Problematising power relations in "elite" interviews. Geoforum 37, 643–653. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2005.11.002

Sorhaindo, I., 2016. Interview with Imani Sorhaindo.

South London Black Music Archive - Archives and Creative Practice [WWW Document], n.d. . Archives and Creative Practice. URL

http://www.archivesandcreativepractice.com/south-london-black-music-archive/ (accessed 2.2.16).

Spinoza, B. de, Curley, E.M., Spinoza, B. de, 1994. A Spinoza reader: the Ethics and other works. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

Stoler, A.L., 2002. Colonial archives and the arts of governance. Archival Science 2, 87–109. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435632

Sullivan, P., 2014. Remixology: tracing the Dub diaspora, Reverb series. Reaktion Books, London.

Taylor, D., 2003. The archive and the repertoire: performing cultural memory in the Americas. Duke University Press, Durham.

Temple, C.N., 2010. The Emergence of Sankofa Practice in the United States: A Modern History. Journal of Black Studies 41, 127–150.

Terracciano, A., 2015. Interview with Alda Terraciano.

The Africa Centre, 2014. What We Do [WWW Document]. The Africa Centre. URL http://www.africacentre.org.uk/about-us/what-we-do/ (accessed 3.1.14).

The Africa Centre - what do we do and what is our mission?, n.d. . The Africa Centre. URL https://www.africacentre.org.uk/what-we-do/ (accessed 9.26.18).

The Archives and Records Association, n.d. Diversity [WWW Document]. Archives. URL http://www.archives.org.uk/what-we-do/diversity.html (accessed 3.8.18).

Thompson, E.P., 1966. History from Below. The Times Literary Supplement 279+.

Tonkin, E., 1984. Ethnographic research: a guide to general conduct: Academic Press. Academic Press.

Turner, V.W., Bruner, E.M. (Eds.), 1986. The Anthropology of experience. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

University of Birmingham (Ed.), 1982. The Empire strikes back: race and racism in 70s Britain, Hutchinson university library. Hutchinson in association with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, London.

University of Chichester, 2017. History Matters [WWW Document]. University of Chichester. URL https://www.chi.ac.uk/department-history-and-politics/research/history-matters (accessed 10.21.17).

Urbanus, R., 2015. Interview with Robert Urbanus.

Valge, J., Kibal, B., 2007. Restrictions on Access to Archives and Records in Europe: A History and the Current Situation. Journal of the Society of Archivists 28, 193–214. https://doi.org/10.1080/00379810701611951

Vaneigem, R., 2017. A declaration of the rights of human beings: on the sovereignty of life as surpassing the rights of man, 2nd edition. ed. PM Press, Oakland, CA.

Vansina, J., 1985. Oral tradition as history. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wis.

Varela, F.J., Thompson, E., Rosch, E., 2000. The embodied mind: cognitive science and human experience, 8. print. ed. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Veal, M.E., 2007. Soundscapes and shattered songs in Jamaican reggae, Music/culture. Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, CT.

Wallace, A., 2015. Interview with Adesose Wallace.

Watt, N., 1999. Interview with Nigel Watt.

White, J., 2014. (in)visible entrepreneurs: creative enterprise in the urban music economy. University of Greenwich, United Kingdom.

White, M., Epston, D., 1990. Narrative means to therapeutic ends, 1st ed. ed. Norton, New York.

Wilson, J.Z., Golding, F., 2016. Latent scrutiny: personal archives as perpetual mementos of the official gaze. Archival Science 16, 93–109. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-015-9255-3

Young Africa Centre, n.d. . The Africa Centre. URL https://www.africacentre.org.uk/young-africa/ (accessed 9.26.18).

Yow, V., 2005. Recording Oral History - A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences, Second Edition. ed. Altamira Press, New York, Toronto, Oxford.

Zebiri, S., 2015. Interview with Seddik Zebiri.

APPENDIX

Appendix I –Interview Schedule for Living Archival Initiatives

1. Interviewee Background

- Academic/professional interests

- Connection with archives/heritage

2. Project Overview

- Aims and objectives of project

- Geographical location

- Time span of project

- Key partners & target constituencies.

- Heritahe materials involved with project

2. Project Methodology/Methods

- How project was carried out

- Key active elements

- Involvement of the arts?

- Mediation of material?

- Theory/ideas underpinning activations

- Why the 'Living Archive' (if applicable)

3. Successes

- How successful was a living approach?

- Was success measured/measureable?

- Any participant feedback?

4. Issues

- Were there any issues with activations?

- Things that might be altered before undertaking a similar intervention?

Appendix II – Oral History Interview Schedule for Former Africa Centre Employees

1. Background

- Place of birth
- Schooling
- Work history
- Previous involvement with African issues and communities

2. Starting at the Africa Centre

- Attraction to the Centre
- First impressions of the Centre
- Personal vision for the centre
- The arts at the Africa Centre

3. Working at the Africa Centre

- Key initiatives which characterised your time at AC
- Wider context: shaping political factors in UK and African continent.
- Positioning of the Africa Centre: Grass-roots vs. Elite.

4. Conviviality, Cosmopolitanism & Representation

- Who organised events at the Africa Centre (internal employees or external organisations)?
- Who attended these events?
- Purpose(s) of events program?
- Role of AC events in context of wider British cultural 'scene'.
- Role of music at AC
- How were music events promoted?
- Types of people who attended music events at AC
- Interactions in the space. Cohesion of different elements of the audience
- Dominant conceptions of Africa

- Conscious decisions to represent Africa in particular ways?

- Importance of race/regional distinctions.

- Public perception of AC's representation of Africa.

5. Space & Affect

- Atmosphere at AC building (contributing factors)

- Broad comments of atmosphere at events generally

- Atmosphere at music events (contributing factors: space, crowd, music, light)

- Personal feelings at music events

- Temporality – consistent atmosphere across musical events?

- Mental walk through of the (musical) space

6. Power & Transnational Networks

- Interviewees personal networks at the time

- Reach of networks from the centre

- Artistic networks

- Other organisations working in this area co-temporally.

7. Endings
- Any questions arising from interview content that have not been posed/amswered.
- Any questions interviewee feels should have been asked.
- Any closing statements from interviewee

Appendix III – Oral History Interview Schedule for former Africa Centre Audience Members

1. Background

- Place of birth
- Schooling
- Work history
- Previous involvement with African issues and communities

2. Connection with the Africa Centre

- Attraction to the Centre
- First impressions of the Centre
- General memories of music at the Africa Centre

3. Conviviality, Cosmopolitanism & Representation

- How were music events promoted?
- Types of people who attended music events at AC
- Backgrounds of musicians in bands
- Changes in musical delivery based on ethnic makeup of crowd
- Interactions in the space. cohesion of different elements of the audience
- Dominant conceptions of Africa
- Conscious decisions to represent Africa in particular ways?
- Importance of race/regional distinctions.
- Public perception of AC's representation of Africa.

5. Space & Affect

- Atmosphere at AC building (contributing factors)

- Broad comments of atmosphere at events generally

- Atmosphere at music events (contributing factors: space, crowd, music, light)

- Audience reception to African musics

- Particular effects of rhythm

- Effect of crowd on the performance experience

- Personal feelings at music events

- Temporality – consistent atmosphere across musical events?

6. Power & Transnational Networks

- Awareness of networks linked to the space

- Power relationships (music industry context, promoter/artists & crowd)

7. Endings

- Any questions arising from interview content that have not been posed/amswered.
- Any questions interviewee feels should have been asked.
- Any closing statements from interviewee

Appendix IV – Oral History Interview Schedule for former musical actors at the Africa Centre

1. Background

- Place of birth
- Schooling
- Work history
- Previous involvement with African issues and communities

2. History and experience of the music industry

- Bands and initiatives involved in
- Style of music
- Range of influences
- Recollections of the scene in London
- Recollections of the scene in country of origin if different

3. Connection with the Africa Centre

- Attraction to the Centre
- First impressions of the Centre
- General memories of music at the Africa Centre

4. Conviviality, Cosmopolitanism & Representation

- How were music events promoted?
- Types of people who attended music events at AC
- Changes in musical delivery based on ethnic makeup of crowd
- Interactions in the space. cohesion of different elements of the audience
- Dominant conceptions of Africa
- Conscious decisions to represent Africa in particular ways?

- Importance of race/regional distinctions.
- Public perception of AC's representation of Africa.

5. Space & Affect

- Atmosphere at AC building (contributing factors)
- Broad comments of atmosphere at events generally
- Atmosphere at music events (contributing factors: space, crowd, music, light)
- Audience reception to African musics
- Particular effects of rhythm
- Effect of crowd on the performance experience
- Personal feelings at music events
- Temporality – consistent atmosphere across musical events?

6. Power & Transnational Networks

- Awareness of networks linked to the space
- Power relationships (music industry context, promoter/artists & crowd)

7. Endings
- Any questions arising from interview content that have not been posed/amswered.
- Any questions interviewee feels should have been asked.
- Any closing statements from interviewee

Appendix V – Oral History Interview Schedule for Limpopo Club Directors

1. Background

- Place of birth
- Schooling
- Work history
- Previous involvement with African issues and communities

2. History and experience of the music industry

- Bands and initiatives involved in
- Style of music
- Range of influences
- Recollections of the scene in London
- Recollections of the scene in country of origin if different

3. Connection with the Africa Centre

- Attraction to the Centre
- First impressions of the Centre
- General memories of music at the Africa Centre

4. Conviviality, Cosmopolitanism & Representation

- How were music events promoted?
- Types of people who attended music events at AC
- Changes in musical delivery based on ethnic makeup of crowd
- Interactions in the space. cohesion of different elements of the audience
- Dominant conceptions of Africa
- Conscious decisions to represent Africa in particular ways?
- Importance of race/regional distinctions.

- Public perception of AC's representation of Africa.

5. Space & Affect

- Atmosphere at AC building (contributing factors)
- Broad comments of atmosphere at events generally
- Atmosphere at music events (contributing factors: space, crowd, music, light)
- Audience reception to African musics
- Particular effects of rhythm
- Effect of crowd on the performance experience
- Personal feelings at music events
- Temporality – consistent atmosphere across musical events?

6. Sonic Bodies

- Musical history – what is the geanealogy? Where does it begin from?
- Limpopo Club – What is the scene?
- Technique – what is the 'signal chain'. The setup and process of listening
- Selection – what and why? Roots and reactions? Affects? Reading of the crowd? Continuous evaluation
- Vocalising – function of the voice. Vocal timing and technique
- Working within the space
- Techniques carried from abroad
- Additions. How the music is re-performed

7. Power & Transnational Networks

- Awareness of networks linked to the space
- Power relationships (music industry context, promoter/artists & crowd)

8. Endings

- Any questions arising from interview content that have not been posed/amswered.
- Any questions interviewee feels should have been asked.
- Any closing statements from interviewee

Appendix VI – Examples of images used for Photo-elicitation during Oral History Interviews

Contact sheet showing the redecoration of the main hall at the Africa Centre during the 1980s. The images show the main event area where the Limpopo Club took place and the balcony area which was used to exhibit artworks. (© Africa Centre)
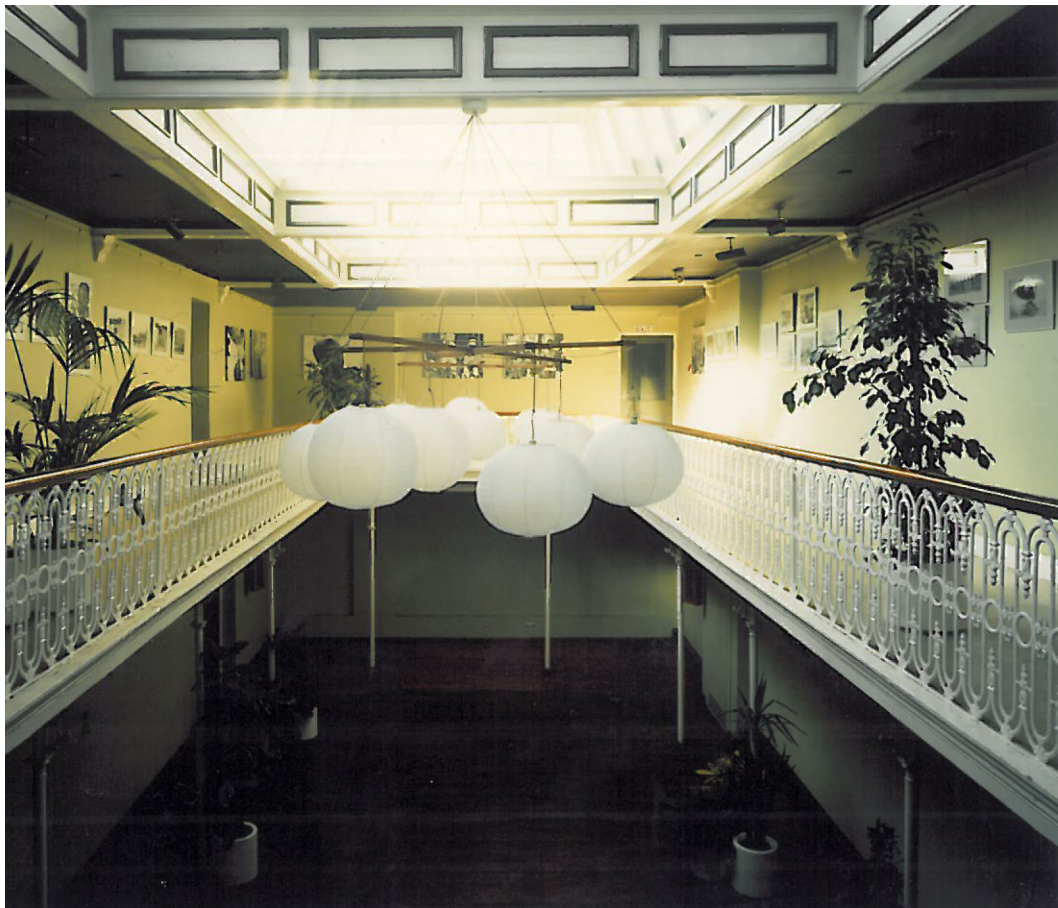
A view of the main event space taken from the gallery/balcony, 1980s. The small hall on the ground floor would be the Limpopo Club event space. A small stage for performers would have been erected against the far wall with a tiny 'dressing room' on the other side of that wall. (© Africa Centre)

Poster advertising Sierra Leonean band 'Super Combo' and the Africa Centre c. 1982
(© Africa Centre/Limpopo Productions)

The Africa Centre Bookshop c.1990s (© Africa Centre)

Appendix VII – Information Sheet for Oral History Interviews

I am sending you this information sheet because I would like to invite you to take part in my research study. However, before you decide whether to participate or not, I would like to outline why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read this information and ask me any further questions you may have should anything be unclear.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study aims to fill a gap in current knowledge about the important role that African focused social spaces and African Musicians have played in the development of a postcolonial society in the UK. There has been a significant amount of this type of research involving 'Black Britons' of Caribbean heritage, but much less relating to continental Africans and continental Africans living in the UK.

This study will create a body of oral history recordings which explore the subject in the words of its participants. The research will collate oral history interviews with up to thirty participants. These will be people who were employed by the Africa Centre, the team behind the Limpopo Club, musicians linked to the Club/Centre, people who attended musical events as audience members and other key figures. The study will focus on the period circa 1975-2000. The interviews created will be archived (if you agree to this) so that they are accessible to the public in years to come. Between the interviews and my analysis, the study aims to uncover a rich picture of the important role that musical events and musicians have played in enabling intercultural understanding in London and beyond.

Who is organising and funding the research?

My name is Etienne Joseph. I am a doctoral researcher working in the School of Global Studies at the University of Sussex. My research post is funded collaboratively by the University of Sussex and the Africa Centre. My academic and professional experience includes interview-based research, research into African and Caribbean musics, the curation of sonic spaces, and a working knowledge of the preservation and access of archival materials.

Why have I been asked to take part?

I aim to interview up to thirty participants. This number includes people who have worked for the Africa Centre and/or the Limpopo Club, musicians who have played at the Centre/Club, past members of the audience at these musical events and other figures who may be able to offer contextual detail. I think that you fit in to one of these groups and that is why I am requesting your participation.

Do I have to take part?

It is not compulsory for you to take part – however, I believe that you have something important to contribute to the study, and to future research aiming to understand the role that Africans and African social spaces have played in the development of a postcolonial society in the UK; I hope therefore that you will contribute. If you agree to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. Please note that you will still be free to withdraw at any time and will not be asked to give any reasons if you choose to do so.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

One of the aims of this project is to create an archive of interviews with people whose contribution to intercultural relations in the UK may so far have gone unrecorded. I also seek answers to questions relating to the process of creating spaces which are effective in fostering intercultural understanding. This knowledge could be useful today in the planning and evaluation of like initiatives.

I trust that the interview will provide you with an opportunity to relive some of your experiences of the difficulties and the pleasures of working with African culture in London, and of the networks that were formed in this endeavour. I also hope that you will find it rewarding to have your contributions recognised publicly and that you will be pleased to have an opportunity to add your account to a historically significant collection of archived interviews.

What does taking part mean?

If you agree to take part I will arrange an interview which will be recorded in audio or video. I would prefer to interview you in your own home as it is important that the interview takes place in a location in which you are comfortable. If you would rather

have the interview at your place of work or somewhere else convenient to you, that too could be arranged.

The interview will be carried out by myself, and could last between one and three hours. During this time I will ask you questions to recall your memories relating to the Africa Centre, the Limpopo Club and engaging with African music in London. I may also bring photographs, flyers or other materials to aid this process.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

I hope that the experience of taking part will be enjoyable. However, as with all work of this nature, I am are aware that some sad or distressing experiences might also be recalled. In such an event, the interview can be paused, rescheduled or terminated at your command.

What happens to the interviews?

The interviews will be transcribed and stored digitally together with any other digital objects (photographs or video) created during their production. The contents of these must be agreed upon by you before they can be used for the purposes of the project or any other purpose. All data will be held at the University of Sussex for the two-year duration of the project. I will take full responsibility for these materials during this time.

Personal data on workstation fixed hard discs have adequate protection e.g. password access to files to prevent unauthorised access. Where possible, this data will be stored on the hard-drive of a standalone PC, not networked or connected to the internet.

Contact detail sheets will be stored separately.

What happens at the end of the project?

I propose to deposit a digitised version of the interview data at a specified archival repository. You will be given the opportunity to consent to this deposit or withdraw from the project as you see fit.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

It would not be ideal for me to fully or even partially anonymise data whose validity will lie in accounts of personal achievement and experience. However, if you wish to edit your contribution or close it for a period of time, this will be possible and will be carried

out in line with current guidelines relating to ethical research practice and in discussion with you.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

All those who take part in interviews will be offered copies of the interview transcripts and a summary of research findings. The research findings are to form a part of my doctoral thesis and may also be published in academic literature as well as being the subject of academic talks and possible media appearances.

Use of Quotations

Publications or reports arising from the project may use quotations of your words from the research interview. In your consent form you will be asked to confirm that you are happy for your quotations to be used. I will check with you how quotations should be attributed. It is also possible that after archiving, the interview you give and any associated materials may be used by other researchers. You will also be asked in your consent form if you are happy with this.

Who has reviewed the study?

This study has been ethically reviewed by a University of Sussex Cross Schools Research Ethics Committee (C-REC).

Prior to this, and in order to obtain clearance to go ahead, the research was reviewed and agreed by the University of Sussex Director of Doctoral Studies.

Contact for Further Information:

If you decide to take part, please keep this information sheet and send an email indicating your willingness to do so to:

[redacted in line with GDPR guidelines]

I can also be contacted by telephone on:

[Redacted in line with GDPR guidelines]

Thank you for taking the time to read this, and if you have chosen to do so, thank you

for choosing to participate in this study.

Appendix VIII – Information Sheet for Living Archive Projects Research Interviews

I am sending you this information sheet because I would like to invite you to take part in my research study. However, before you decide whether to participate or not, I would like to outline why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information and ask me any further questions you may have should anything be unclear.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study aims add to the current academic and professional work around the concept of the 'living archive'. The term has been used in several different ways, but in each case, the idea that materials found in the archive can be leveraged to create new work (which may well also become part of the archive) is a core principle. The 'living archive' also often incorporates a participatory element. Historically, archives have tended to be closely guarded, often excluding those who are not 'bona-fide researchers' (read academics). This exclusion has also been seen in archival collecting policies, where the histories of 'marginalised groups' have not been selected for long-term preservation. The 'living archive' attempts to turn this paradigm on its head, using participatory methods to select and engage with archival materials. Unsurprisingly, the term has for the most part been used in relation to the archives of creative endeavours.

Working with the archives of London's Africa Centre, a collection documenting fifty years of the organisation's history, and other related materials, this study aims to support utilising these archives in a participatory way. There is very little publicly available research data evaluating the use of archives in this way. This is mostly because organisational evaluations of such ventures tend to be commercially sensitive and therefore, kept private. Through interviewing participants in this study, I hope to be able to gain a more grounded understanding of participatory approaches to archives and in doing so, make a useful contribution to the current literature on the 'living archive'.

Who is organising and funding the research?

My name is Etienne Joseph. I am a doctoral researcher working in the School of Global

Studies at the University of Sussex. My research post is funded collaboratively by the University of Sussex and the Africa Centre. My academic and professional experience includes interview-based research, and research into the participatory uses of archives – with a particular focus on archives relating to people of African and Carribbean heritage.

Why have I been asked to take part?

I aim to interview up to 10 people who have created, curated or interacted with what could be considered a 'living archive'. I have identified you/your project as someone I think it would benefit the study to talk to and this is why I am asking you to take part in this study.

Do I have to take part?

It is not compulsory for you to take part – however, I believe that you have something important to contribute to the study, and to future research aiming to understand participatory approaches to working with African and Carribbean heritage; I hope therefore that you will contribute. If you agree to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. Please note that you will still be free to withdraw at any time and will not be asked to give any reasons if you choose to do so.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

One of the aims of this project is to begin to enrich the currently meagre vein in the archival literature discussing the use of archives in participatory/creative ways. Your contribution will assist in expanding this resource and in doing so, enabling new and practicing archivists to broaden their ideas regarding what an archive is, and how it can be used.

What does taking part mean?

If you agree to take part I will arrange an interview with which will be audio recorded. I would prefer to interview you in your own home or place of work as it is important that the interview takes place in a location in which you are comfortable.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

I hope that the experience of taking part will be enjoyable. However, as with all work of this nature, I am are aware that some sad or distressing experiences might also be

recalled. In such an event, the interview can be paused, rescheduled or terminated at your command.

What happens to the interviews?

The interviews will be transcribed and stored digitally together with any other digital objects (photographs or video) created during their production. The contents of these must be agreed upon by you before they can be used for the purposes of the project or any other purpose. All data will be held at the University of Sussex for the two-year duration of the project. I will take full responsibility for these materials during this time.

Personal data on workstation fixed hard discs have adequate protection e.g. password access to files to prevent unauthorised access. Where possible, this data will be stored on the hard-drive of a standalone PC, not networked or connected to the internet.

Contact detail sheets will be stored separately.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

It would not be ideal for me to fully or even partially anonymise data whose validity will lie in accounts of personal achievement and experience. However, if you wish to edit your contribution or close it for a period of time, this will be possible and will be carried out in line with current guidelines relating to ethical research practice and in discussion with you.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

All those who take part in interviews will be offered copies of the interview transcripts, audio recordings of their interview and a summary of research findings. The research findings are to form a part of my doctoral thesis and may also be published in academic journals and books.

Use of Quotations

Publications or reports arising from the project may use quotations of your words from the research interview. In your consent form you will be asked to confirm that you are happy for your quotations to be used. I will check with you how quotations should be attributed. It is also possible that after archiving, the interview you give and any associated materials may be used by other researchers. You will also be asked in your consent form if you are happy with this.

Who has reviewed the study?

This study has been ethically reviewed by a University of Sussex Cross Schools Research Ethics Committee (C-REC).

Prior to this, and in order to obtain clearance to go ahead, the research was reviewed and agreed by the University of Sussex Director of Doctoral Studies.

Contact for Further Information:

If you decide to take part, please keep this information sheet and send an email indicating your willingness to do so to:

[Redacted in accordance with GDPR guidelines]

I can also be contacted by telephone on:

[Redacted in accordance with GDPR guidelines]

Thank you for taking the time to read this, and if you have chosen to do so, thank you for choosing to participate in this study.

Appendix IX – Consent Form for use of Oral History interviews for research purposes

ORAL HISTORY RECORDING AGREEMENT: APPROVAL

The purpose of this agreement is as follows:

- **To demonstrate that you, the interviewee, give your consent to taking part in an oral history interview for the above named project**.

- **To demonstrate that you, the interviewee, give your consent for the approved version of the recorded oral history interview, the transcript of said interview and any other associated materials, such as video recordings or photographs made during the recorded interview, to be quoted and otherwise used by the researcher in the course of his academic work.**

- **To provide an opportunity to indicate how you wish any quotations from your interview to be attributed.**

The Agreement:

This Agreement is made between Etienne Joseph, Doctoral Researcher at the University of Sussex's School of Global Studies ("the Interviewer"/"the researcher") and you ("the Interviewee", "I")

Your name:

……

Your address:

……

……

……

regarding the recorded interview/s which took place on:

Date/s:

………………………………………………………….…………………………………………………………………

The Declaration:

I, the Interviewee declare that I consent to take part in the interview recording and hereby enter into a process of informed consent with the interviewer.

Use and Copyright Declaration

Please tick the relevant boxes below if you agree with the statements they pertain to:

☐ Subject to my review of the written transcript of my recorded interview I consent to the agreed version being used by the researcher for the present project, and any subsequent work arising as a result of this project. I understand that use may include, but is not limited to written quotation of my words and the public airing of excerpts of my recorded interview, and can occur across all media currently available for such purposes. Additionally, I hereby give my consent for any other materials created during the process of the interview including photographs and video recordings to be used by the researcher for like purposes.

☐ I consent to the reassignment of all copyright in my recorded interview, interview transcript and associated materials for use in all and any media, to the interviewer.

I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Design and Patents Act 1988.

Attribution Declaration

In the event of quotations taken from my interview being used by the researcher in academic or published works, I would like these attributed as follows:-

Preferred attribution:

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Agreement.

By or on behalf of the Interviewee:

Signed:
....
...

Name in block capitals:
....

Date: …………………………………………………………….

By the interviewer:

Signed:

....

.....

Name in block capitals:

....

Date: …………………………………………………………….

Appendix X – Consent Form for deposit of Oral History interviews in the Africa Centre or Limpopo Club archive (or subsequent place of deposit of these collections)

ORAL HISTORY RECORDING AGREEMENT: DEPOSIT

The purpose of this agreement is as follows:

- **To demonstrate that you, the interviewee, give your consent for the approved version of the recorded oral history interview, the transcript of said interview and any other associated materials, such as video recordings or photographs made during the recorded interview, to be deposited in an archival repository.**

- **To provide an opportunity for you to restrict access to these deposited materials for a specified time period.**

The Agreement:

This Agreement is made between Etienne Joseph, Doctoral Researcher at the University of Sussex's School of Global Studies ("the Interviewer"/"the researcher") and you ("the Interviewee", "I")

Your name:

……

Your address:

……

……

……

regarding the recorded interview/s which took place on:

Date/s:

……………………………………….…………………………………………………………………………

Archival Deposit Declaration

It is intended that the recorded interview, interview transcript and any associated materials will be deposited in an archival repository. Please indicate your agreement, reservations by ticking statement 1, 2, 3 or 4:

STATEMENT 1:

☐ I consent for my recorded interview, interview transcript and any associated materials to be deposited in an archival repository. I understand that this means they will be accessible to the public and their contents may be re-used by future researchers.

STATEMENT 2:

☐ I consent for my recorded interview, interview transcript and any associated materials to be deposited in an archival repository, but wish to close these from public access for a period of:

……………. years.

STATEMENT 3:

☐ I consent for my recorded interview, interview transcript and any associated materials to be deposited in an archival repository, but reserve the right to withhold these materials should I not be happy with the repository chosen for deposit.

STATEMENT 4:

☐ I do not consent for my recorded interview, interview transcript and any associated materials to be deposited in an archival repository.

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts. Both parties shall, by signing overleaf, indicate acceptance of the Agreement.

By or on behalf of the Interviewee:

Signed:

....
...

Name in block capitals:

....

Date: …………………………………………………………..

By the interviewer:

Signed:

....

.....

Name in block capitals:

....

Date: ………………………………………………………………..

Appendix XI – Consent Form for Living Archive Projects Research Interviews

CONSENT FORM FOR SCHOLARLY RESEARCH: INDIVIDUAL

The purpose of this agreement is as follows:

- To demonstrate that you, the interviewee, give your legal consent to taking part in a recorded interview relating to the above named project.

- To demonstrate your awareness that in signing this agreement, you are aware of the possible ways in which the information in your interview may be used.

- To demonstrate that you agree to sign over copyright of your contribution, for use in any and all media, to the interviewer

The Declaration:

In consideration of the work that Etienne Joseph is doing to gather data relating to the use of historical materials for participatory archival engagement, I grant him permission to use the information from my recorded interview in scholarly publications and presentations relating to this and other areas of scholarly research subject to my review of the interview and or associated transcript. I am aware that these presentations may include radio and television broadcasts and that materials may also be published on the internet.

I understand that in signing this consent form, I am agreeing to sign over copyright of my contribution to Etienne's project to him, for use in any and all media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Design and Patents Act 1988.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Agreement.

By or on behalf of the Interviewee:

Signed:

....
...

Name in block capitals:

....

Date: …………………………………………………………..

By the interviewer:

Signed:

....
.....

Name in block capitals:

....

Date: …………………………………………………………..