Settlement patterns and rural development: a human geographical study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia

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CHAPTER 3

SETTLEMENT PATTERN CHANGE DURING AND DIRECTLY AFTER
COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

"Kabandaulu, china kyulu, nako kyulu kikuchine"
Small anthill, respect the big one,
so that the big one will respect you
(Respect your elders and they will respect you)

3.1. CHANGES IN THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

In this chapter, changes are discussed concerning the Kaonde village settlement pattern during the colonial period. Since a sharp delineation between the colonial period and independence in 1964 cannot be made for aspects such as settlement change, the following analysis includes changes up to the 1960's and 1970's. The chapter consists of two main parts: the first (3.1.) deals with general aspects concerning spatial change in the district in regard to territorial division, the influence of migrant labour, the tendency toward decrease in village size and village location along roads; the second part (3.2.) discusses the territorial mobility of the Kaonde village and the process of segregation within the single village.

3.1.1. Arrival of colonial administration

"...A terrific blow came upon the native mind by seeing the first European ever since the earth was created by the Almighty God under the sun. This was a great nuisance in the native mind. The European in question called at Jipumpu's village. He was coming from the direction of the Barotse. He began asking Jipumpu whether he had any slaves with him. He replied affirmatively. So the Captain began setting all the slaves free from bondage, both from Jipumpu and his people...

...Jipumpu and his people were utterly impressed on seeing the Europeans' rifles and how they could be fired within a minute. He found it quite futile to try and fight with them as he had no proper weapons to be compared with what he had seen. This left an impressive stain upon the people..."
This is how the feelings of defencelessness at the arrival of the first Europeans in the Kasempa area were described by Chibanza (1961, 68) in his Kaonde History. Direct causes for the British extending their sphere of influence from Barotseland to the north were the reports of intensive slave trade and expectations of rich copper deposits in the north (Bradley 1959, Clark 1955, Denny 1957). A military expedition through the present North-Western Province area took place in 1900 \(^1\). Colonel Harding, expedition leader and acting administrator for Northwestern Rhodesia, gives the following account in his book 'In Remotest Barotseland' (1904, 368-369):

"Though we left Lialui with a small caravan, composed solely of the necessary carriers, a few police, and Barotse indunas sent as usual by the King to guide and look after me, we had, before reaching Kasempa, a following of several hundred natives—husbands looking for their wives, mothers looking for their sons, and children looking for their parents who had been stolen and sold for slaves. I was successful in restoring a number of these unfortunate people to the respective owners. Whilst at Kasempa I was fortunate enough to be able to punish a noted slave trader storming his kraal at daylight and burning all his belongings. From Kasempa, which is 250 miles north of Lialui, we journeyed to the source of Kabompo, a distance of about 200 miles, passing through a country nearly denuded of natives by slave raiders, but well watered, mineralized and to all appearances healthy."

After this, the British South Africa Company (BSAC) established a police post in 1901 near Chief Kasempa's village which was situated at the foot of Kamusongolwa Hill \(^2\).

This post was re-enforced and extended into an administrative station in 1902, to further restrain the slave trade and to give administrative support to the new mining activities in the area \(^3\). Great expectations about copper and other mineral deposits had resulted from an expedition led by G. Grey for the Tanganyika Concessions Co. This expedition of 1899 began in South Rhodesia and travelled via the administration posts at Kalomo and Nkala in Northwestern Rhodesia to the north along the Kafue River and returned following the Lunga River (Grey 1901, Guernsey 1953). The expedition, aside from visiting the old Kansanshi copper mine, located various copper deposits in the area along the Lunga and to the north of Kafue Hook (e.g. the Jumbo and Buffalo mines) (Barangwanath 1964, Copeman 1954). The promising finds led already in 1901 to the start of copper
exploitation at the Kansanshi mine (Bancroft 1961, 106).

The newly-formed Kasempa District reached from the Kabompo River in the west to the Kafue River in the east. For several years the north remained an 'open' area where the slave trade to Angola continued. It was a period in which various skirmishes took place in the whole area in reaction to European intrusion (Clark 1955, Copeman 1952, 1956). After arbitration by the king of Italy in 1905 which led to definite boundaries between the British and Portuguese spheres of influence, additional police and administration stations were opened in the northwest of the district (see Appendix X). The administration post at Kasempa became the centre of the district which was geographically well situated on a higher plateau, fairly free of tsetse fly, surrounded by an area of fertile red clay soils, and near to a good water supply from Lufupa river. Kasempa is one of the few administrative centres in the country which has remained at its original location and that likewise bears the name of the local chief.

The contacts with Kasempa and places northwards took place originally from the then capital of Northwestern Rhodesia, Kalomo, via Nkala and canoe-crossing points on the Kafue and Lunga rivers; less important was the poor connection via extensive sandy areas and wide dambos to Mankoya (today Kaoma) and Mongu. After completion of the railway connection between South Rhodesia and Broken Hill (present Kabwe) in 1906, the main route to Kasempa was via Broken Hill and Mumbwa (250 km.). Transportation in that time was by foot or bicycle; the presence of tsetse fly, especially along the Kafue and Lunga rivers, made the use of horses and oxen impossible. It was not until the 1930's that connections with Lusaka and the Copperbelt became more important and the road network was revised to suit motorised transport.

In contrast to some parts of Northeastern Rhodesia, no treaties were made with local headmen for mineral rights. The BSAC based their right to mineral exploitation in the area on a treaty made in 1900 with King Lewanika, the paramount chief of the Lozi of Barotseland (Bradley 1959, Caplan 1969). Although no exact boundaries were defined in this treaty, it was presumed that the whole area to the north of
Barotseland belonged to the sphere of the Barotse king. Lewanika based this claim on the fact that a few Kaonde chiefs had given him tribute in exchange for his protection. The BSAC accepted this interpretation all too gratefully as a legitimising of the extension of its activities over the whole of Northwestern Rhodesia. The first European expeditions to the north were therefore accompanied by Lozi indunas (King Lewanika's councillors). But it was soon clear that the Kaonde did not appreciate this Lozi interference. The claims Lewanika made over the Kaonde, and particularly about the area between the Lalafuta and Dongwe rivers the so called Kasempa Salient, were a matter of bitter dispute between British authorities, Lewanika, and the Kaonde chiefs for a long time (Shaloff 1972). The beginning of colonial rule was felt directly by the local inhabitants through: abolition of slavery; demarcation of the territorial boundaries of the various chiefships and required permission before forming a new village or moving a village from one chief's area to another; the introduction of taxation and the resulting labour migration to urban centres. The last two factors especially influenced the settlement pattern and will be discussed in the following sections 6).

3.1.2. Division of area into chief territories

In an area where territorial demarcation hardly existed and where internal power struggles were numerous and caused constant alteration, it was now attempted to fix territorial and political hierarchical divisions. The BSAC appointed ten chiefs and defined the boundaries of the chiefdoms to facilitate administration. (cf. table 3.1. and fig. 3.1).
IKASEMPA chiefs in 1920

IKASEMPA chiefs since 1947

approximate boundaries chief areas

KASEMPA DISTRICT CHIEF AREAS

Fig. 3.1
Table 3.1. Kasempa District Territorial Division 1918/1929

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Number of Headmen (1918)</th>
<th>Inhabitants (1929)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kasempa</td>
<td>Bena Kyowa</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>8831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasonso</td>
<td>Bena Kyulu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapeshi</td>
<td>Bena Kyulu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalasa</td>
<td>Bena Mbwa</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinsengwe</td>
<td>Balembu</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushima</td>
<td>Balembu</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyoka</td>
<td>Balongd</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingwe</td>
<td>Bapumpi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munyambala</td>
<td>Bena Luo</td>
<td>9 (in 1924)</td>
<td>915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kizela</td>
<td>Bena Luo</td>
<td>10 (in 1924)</td>
<td>1052</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The precise reasons for recognising these chiefs cannot be determined, as colonial archive sources give no explanation. The policy of ruling the whole area by having sufficient chiefs was a primary consideration. This resulted in the appointment of quite a number of chiefs having control over fairly small groups due to the dispersed population distribution, as can be seen in the table above. It was not easy to determine which headman should have been recognised as chief on a traditional basis as there was a limited degree of clear hierarchical ordering. There was often only a slight difference between chief, regional leader of a village cluster, or leader of a village. Regarding the political divisions superimposed on Zambia during colonial rule, Apthorpe (1960, 28) rightly considers it an European myth that clear tribal structures, and therein the position of leaders, existed. The word for chief, 'mfumu', has varied connotations and certainly does not denote one particular function. The word is used e.g. to describe a leader of a village cluster, as well as each village headman, or even a polite title for a guest. Van Binsbergen (1979, 150) points out that for many population groups in Zambia a 'chief' can have various functions: a political leader or a religious leader, or a combination of the two.
The term 'chief' is used here in the sense of political leader of a clan-section which is localised in one or more village clusters. The Lundas recognised and formalised political leadership in the 19th century. Leaders of clan-sections placed themselves under a Lunda ruler and received protection and a title together with chieftainship insignias (bracelet ('lukano'); shells ('mpande'); bell ('luonge')). In return, tribute was paid to the Lunda ruler. But this traditional process of appointing a chief does certainly not apply for all chiefs appointed by British administration, especially in cases of leaders of some of the smaller clans; it is doubtful if they ever received a title of the Lundas. It can be noted, however, that for nearly all the different clans present in the area, a chief was recognised by the administration.

The politically powerful position of Chief Kasempa in the centre of the district also greatly influenced the choice of chief appointments. Chief Jipumpu, who died a few years after the beginning of colonial rule, as well as his successor Kalusha, who had close contacts with the British officials (Anley 1926), had had undoubted influence on the administrative division. It is remarkable that there was only one chief appointed in the whole of the North-Western Province from the Bena Kyowa clan which is numerically a large and widely dispersed clan (cf. table 3.1.). This is in contrast to various other much smaller clan groups from which more than one chief was appointed.

Within the Bena Kyowa clan were a number of important village headmen, but Chief Kasempa considered these as regional headmen (Kitumbafumu), councillors for the chief, and not as autonomous chiefs. Although they were leaders of relatively large groups of villages, they were not appointed as chiefs by the colonial officials. Oral tradition sets forth that some of these leaders were traditionally considered chiefs as this had been recognised by the Lundas (Chibanza 1961,86). It is noteworthy that several clan-sections closely allied to the Bena Kyowa, such as the Bayanga and Basamba, had leaders recognised as councillors of Chief Kasempa but not as chiefs in their own right.

The administrative division meant the stabilisation of the internal political status quo at the beginning of the 20th century. No large population movements occurred after this time.
Relocations of villages from one territory to another were not allowed except by permission of colonial administrators and the two chiefs involved. Formation of new villages was deterred by requiring a minimum number of men for a new village and then allowed only by permission of the chief. But despite these rules, the general tendency for village fissioning was not much affected and there remained a high degree of village mobility within a chief's area (cf.3.2.).

A final word about the colonial administrative division. With the BSAC principle of direct rule, chiefs and village headmen were required to carry out policy rulings, under supervision of a native commissioner, as part of the colonial administrative machinery. Later when North Rhodesia became a protectorate under the Colonial Office, the administrative system of 'indirect rule' was applied. The intention was to empower the autochthonous political hierarchy with more of the internal administration and to give more autonomy and financial responsibility to newly established Native Authorities. The administrative model would be based on a state organisation, comparable to that of the Bemba or Lozi, with a paramount chief for the whole area and a limited number of subordinate chiefs.

Remodeling non-state organised population groups, like the Kaonde, for adoption of such a hierarchical system could not be easily accomplished. Internally, no chief was recognised as Paramount chief of the Kaondes. Although Chief Kasempa had a position of primus inter pares, he was certainly not recognised as a senior chief by the Kaonde chiefs in the north (Solwezi District). Being subordinate to a Lunda Paramount chief was unacceptable to the southern Kaondes in particular and moreover, the Lunda Paramount Chief Musokantanda lives in Zaire. Subordination to the Lozi was also out of the question even though King Lewanika and his successor Yeta had their aspirations. Possibly some of the southern Kaonde chiefs could accept this but not the northern Kaondes 9).

It was decided in 1936 to locate a superior native authority in Kasempa directed by Chief Kasempa, who then became, in fact, Senior Chief, which still had little effect
on the Kaondes in the Solwezi District. In 1951, the colonial administrators made a last effort to unite all Kaondes under Chief Kasempa. A meeting with all the Kaonde chiefs of the North-Western Province to accomplish this was a fiasco and no decision was taken for appointing one Senior Chief for all the Kaonde (Kakoma 1977, 338; Short 1973, 58). Subsequently, in the Solwezi district, Chief Kapiji Mujimanzovu of the Balonga clan became recognised as Senior Chief and a superior native authority was established in Solwezi. This chief, as seen in Chpt. 2, was entitled to this position in view of his seniority in an old clan group. The internal traditions had thus proven stronger than the 'rational' and unifying aspirations of colonial administration. The same applies to the division into chief areas. Between 1945 and 1948, many smaller chieftainships were abolished over the whole country and the number of native authorities reduced (Gann 1969, 379). The number of officially recognised chiefs was decreased to four in Kasempa District, namely Kasempa, Kizela, Ingwe, and Mushima (cf. fig. 3.1). The five abolished chiefs received the title of 'ex-chief' and were incorporated into the four areas, the majority into the area of Chief Kasempa (cf. Appendix III).

These rulings were internally opposed and are still regretted by the local population. Inhabitants still regard their own clan-section leaders as chief and one has to take into account a strong degree of feelings of identity of the various clan-sections with their headmen. In this respect the social-territorial pattern is much more varied and complicated than the division into a few administrative areas suggests (cf. also Chpt. 4).

3.1.3. Introduction of a tax system and the labour migration

The taxation ruling was an introduction which caused a radical process of change and was clearly opposed from the beginning, remaining a symbol of foreign domination until the ruling was abolished with independence in 1964.

The first levying of taxes began in the Kasempa District in 1907, at the villages of Chief Kasempa and Chief Kalasa, and in the area around the Kansanshi mine (Chibanza 1961, 69; Clark 1955). The first reaction was to relocate villages
further away from the administration centres and the routes used by the Europeans.

Taxes were 5 sh. per man and for his second wife. But this was soon altered to a system of huts per village (hut tax), which would again change to taxation of all adult and healthy males who were capable of working (taxable males). Partially dependant on the local officials' standards, this meant in fact that 80-90% of males over 18 years had to pay taxes (Kay 1967,79). Taxes could be in the form of cash or one month's work, usually in maintaining or laying roads. Although taxation was a limited income for the BSAC, the most important reason for taxation was its functioning as a stimulus for supplying a steady stream of labour to the industrial centres. Heisler (1974,37) notes that: 'At Kasemaa in 1909, for instance the tax was doubled partly to increase the supply of labour to the nearby mine (Kansanshi), which suffered from an acute labour shortage.'

With regard to taxation, it should be remarked that a system of payments traditionally took the form of working for the chief ('mulasa') or giving him part of the results of the hunt (ivory, skins, meat) and gifts from the first harvest. Soon after the arrival of the colonial regime and the introduction of taxes, the tribute and presents paid to local chiefs and headmen dwindled. The administration tried to stop this tendency as the chiefs were part of the government system and respect for the chief played an important role in the colonial government system. In 1918, the Kaonde chiefs in Kasemaa and Solwezi District were instructed to pay their tribute to Musokantanda (Kakoma 1977, 201). The chiefs were told: 'it is not supposed that large presents be given, but perhaps the headman will think it well to assist (Musokantanda) sometimes and not go empty-handed when they visit him'. (CO 417/618).

Rather than encouraging obtaining cash through an agricultural market production, this was in fact discouraged. This can be illustrated by a remark made by the Administrator of the northwest region in 1910 regarding Kaondes selling maize to the mines in Katanga: 'It would seem to be a better policy, to encourage the energies of the Bakahondi in the direction of mining rather than agriculture'. (Simonis 1975,107).

Although the taxation system was an important impetus for labour migration, the wish to take part in the
money economy to buy goods such as calico, iron cooking utensils, weapons, in 19th century obtained with the help of exchange and the long distance trade, played a role too. Soon labour migration got a self-reinforcing effect and from the first decades of the century up until today it dominates the socio-economic situation in most of the rural areas of Zambia.

Before going into some specific effects of labour migration, a few words first about general repercussions. Interesting summaries of the many studies about workers migration in Africa south of the Sahara are those by Gugler (1969), mainly focused on studies on Zambia, and Van Binsbergen/Meilink's (1978) extensive analysis of studies made from a marxist as well as non-marxist viewpoint. In general, the individual, motivated primarily by economic considerations, finds himself in a situation where the urban-industrial sector is using the reproductive forces and cheap labour of the mainly pre-capitalistic subsistence sector, resulting in the (temporary) absence of a large part of the male population. But it should be recognised that migration, temporary and permanent, is a centuries old phenomenon in Africa (Colson 1960). Although not to the extent involved in labour migration, men were away in the past for longer periods because of hunting activities, visiting relatives, warring, and slave trading.

Agricultural activities were largely done by women and children and it was only for occasional tasks such as cutting trees that the village was dependent on men's labour. With the decrease of hunting opportunities on the one hand, and the imposition of a money economy on the other, migration to the cities became the means of earning cash to pay taxes and of subsistence increment. Also, as already mentioned, developing agriculture was discouraged especially in the beginning of colonial rule and no internal farming market production evolved. The colonial economic policy was centred on the external international market through raw material exploitation and export. Food production for urban centres was controlled by a small group of white farmers. When more attention is given to
developing African agriculture in the 1950's, the emphasis is primarily on those areas favourably situated in relation to urban markets or on a market production of crops for export, such as tobacco. This situation was unfavourable for isolated rural districts.

In general, a number of mutually re-enforcing factors were involved, such as the adverse geographical situation far from market centres, presence of tsetse fly, lack of colonial stimulus for developing an internal agricultural market system when cash economy was introduced, and, certainly not least important, the attitude of the men toward agricultural activities. This situation led to acceptance of labour migration as the most secure and direct form of earning an income. But, as a result the men's interest in earning money by means of labour migration is one of the most retarding factors in rural development (Gugler 1968, 482).

It should be noted here that repercussions of labour migration also vary per region. It is e.g. especially striking that the Kaonde of Kasempa District maintained the system of shifting cultivation and kept sorghum as the main staple food. The study of the Bemba by Richards (1961) is well known. She describes the influence of labour migration on the agricultural practice due to the frequent absence of a high percentage of male villagers. There occurred a shift from sorghum to less labour intensive perennial cassava cultivation, a crop of a more limited food value.

Watson (1958) notes that the patrilineal Mambwe absorbed the effects of labour migration on village society by regulating the timing and length of men's absence so that the traditional agricultural system could continue in contrast to the matrilineal and residentially unstable Bemba society.

The matrilineal Kaonde, having in many ways a comparable social structure to the Bemba, did not alter their agricultural system on a scale in any way resembling the degree to which the Bemba changed from sorghum to cassava. Although the percentages of absent men do not differ greatly for the 1950's and 1960's for both areas, other factors such as a higher population pressure in Bemba area as well as comparatively better soils in the south-eastern parts of North-Western Province must be considered of influence here.

3.1.4. Direction and types of migratory labour

Labour was first drawn to the diverse small mines which were being exploited with strongly varying degrees of success at the beginning of the century, such as the Kan-
sanshi mine, some small mines around Kasempa and near the Lunga River, and the various mines situated in the Kafue Hook area; in addition, migration to the mines in Rhodesia (Wankie) and South Africa (Witwatersrand) came about through organised recruitment. This was soon followed by migration to the tin mines at Broken Hill (today Kabwe) and to the mines in the Katanga Province of the Congo (today Shaba province in Zaire), an area where relatives live and the same language is spoken.

Working conditions in the mines were horrendous and many died or returned ill to their village (Gann 1969, 107, 123). Kasempa is one of the only districts in Zambia where open conflict broke out. A few newly recruited men demanded compensation pay from an European recruiter in Kasempa for their brother who had died in the mines of South Africa. Refusal led to an assault on the recruiter's European assistant. After months of searching the isolated villages of the North-Western Province, the accused were tried and publicly hanged before many chiefs and headmen in Kasempa in 1912. (Clark 1955; Grimstvedt 1956, Short 1973). No organised labour recruiting was done in Kasempa District after this time, but spontaneous individual labour migration steadily increased.

During the 1930's, migration started from the North-Western Province to the Copperbelt. In addition, in the north of the province (Solwezi District) there remained an orientation toward Zaire and in the south (Kasempa District) toward Mumbwa, Kabwe, and Lusaka (Hellen 1968, 99). The extent of labour migration from the North-Western Province was at first relatively smaller than that coming from the North and East Provinces of Zambia which are the areas with the largest percentage of absent men and, in later years, with the highest migration loss. Figures indicating the number of absent men per area must be viewed with caution and it should be remembered also that intra-district considerable fluctuation, even per village, existed. As a rough indication in 1938, 33% of the adult men from the Kasempa District were absent (compare the N. and E. provinces, 50-60%). Figures from the North-Western Province increased slowly: 1952-36%, 1954-45%, 1957-51%, 1961-51% (in comparison, the North Province: 59%, 59%, 59%, 62%) (Hellen 1968, 97). Within the North-Western Province, Kasempa District had the highest number of absent men (in 1961-60%) although not the highest when compared to districts in the N. and E. provinces
with over 70% (Kay 1967,78). The cause for the slow rise in migration to places outside the province might be the presence of diverse small enterprises involved in mining or exploration activities in the province itself as well as the bad road connections, until the 1950's, with the cities. Also the lack of a migration tradition to one area, such as the Bemba had with the Copperbelt or the Nyanja speakers to the Lusaka area (Jackman 1973,57), retarded a quick migration increase in the beginning.

In considering the labour migration process from the urban situation, a distinction is often made between a) labour circulation, b) temporary urbanisation, c) permanent urbanisation (Heisler 1973,210). Seen from a rural point of view the migration process can be sub-divided into:

a) **Labour circulation** - migration of primarily men for a limited time span (a few months to 3 years) and regular return to the village 11).

b) **Semi-permanent migration** - men as well as women locating for an extended period in urban areas to return to their rural area after retirement, lengthy illness, or after accumulating some capital.

c) **Emigration** - permanent location in the city with a high net migration from the rural areas, especially people with some education.

It goes without saying that the chronological succession of these types is closely bound to governmental migration policy and especially to the workers' housing policy in towns. A sharp delineation between the types above mentioned is not possible. Short term labour circulation continues even though there is today a strong trend to permanent location in the city. Similarly, there are indications of an increased tendency in the 1970's to return to rural areas due to the rising cost of living, unemployment, and threats to security in town.

**Type a)** The short term circulation was important for a long period - from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1950's. Moving to the city was a result of needing cash to pay taxes, but the economic motivation quickly grew for
accumulating a limited assortment of goods such as clothes, pots and pans, bicycles, guns, and sewing machines. Contacts were intensively maintained with relatives left behind and, after a period, one returned to the village community and the network of rural social relations continued.

This type of migratory labour did not in the first place signify an alteration of the existing social structures within the village community. Nearly all the men, including chiefs and headmen, had experienced being away so that no change in prestige status was involved with return. Various anthropological studies (Mitchell 1961, van Velsen 1960, Watson 1958) analyse the influence of labour migration and notice the continuation of social cohesion in the rural areas. In that respect one generally speaks of migrants being 'part-time urban dwellers' as well as 'part-time tribesmen'.

In addition to the economic necessity and rising economic motivation to work in the cities, social motives also played a role. These may have determined the particular moment for temporarily breaking contact with the village (Gugler 1969,471). A move to the city supplied an additional possibility for changing one's place of residence in case of village conflicts or disputes. Going to the city also offered a possibility to fulfill one's social obligations such as payment of bride price and compensation for accusations and conflicts. It also contained the element of a young man going through a 'rite of passage'.

Type b). Village life and village location begin to be affected to a much greater extent when labour migration increased in the 1950's and started taking the form of semi-permanent migration. Increasing migration and relatives traveling to and from the city make the orientation toward the main roads important. This is especially the case when the main routes through the district were considerably improved in the '950's, and traffic increased.

Having had an extended period in the city it was more difficult for returning migrants to adjust to their old village surroundings. The authority of the headman was questioned and the tendency grew for forming a separate, new, village. This was strengthened especially when one had
retirement pay or savings and wanted to begin an economic activity without being hindered by the large group of relatives making demands on one's capital. Settlement increases along roads where one could start a small store or tea room or establish oneself as craftsman (tailor, etc.). Locations were chosen by bus-stops, junctions, river crossings, or where the government had established restcamps for migrants. Business was directed towards migratory workers and their relatives traveling along the roads, and the store-keepers were dependent for supplies on traders from town.

The pattern of locating along the roads was quickly followed by other villages and a linear location pattern arises as in so many other parts of Zambia (Williams 1973).

Type c). Finally, a word about permanent location in the city. The first general census in Zambia was taken in 1963, and repeated in 1969. The population of the district had been reduced by 3.8% during this time (from 33,942 persons in 1963 to 32,656 persons in 1969). If one takes into consideration the natural population increase (3% annually), emigration is calculated to be 17.2% from the district (Jackman 1973,9). Kasempa is then one of the strongest expulsion areas of the North-Western Province.

No data is available on the absence of men after 1963. But the sex ratio (man:women) gives an indication of the alteration in the composition of the migration stream. In 1963, the sex ratio for the Kasempa District was 92 men to 100 women, for 1969, 94:100. These figures point to the conclusion that although still more men than women are absent, the population decrease in the 1960's is composed of both men and women.

Seen from the point of view of settlement pattern it can be said that this type of emigration had no further direct influence on village location 12).

3.1.5. Changes in location pattern, 1940-1970

Geographically seen, the decades 1940-1960 show a substantial change in village location pattern. On the basis of archive maps (Shone 1949), the location of village clusters in the 1940's can be roughly reconstructed (cf.fig. 3.2). The villages were generally located along rivers, streams, and dambos. By early 1970, this pattern had completely changed.
Village clusters are concentrated along the main routes (author's observation, cf. fig. 3.2). Locations along roads, which are aligned on the crests, had been chosen particularly where roads come in the vicinity of rivers or dambos, or near wells constructed by the government. Although the labour migration described above and especially type b, was of the utmost importance for this settlement pattern change, other factors have also been of influence.

a) Various population groups were forced to relocate under colonial rule. For instance in the south-east of the district, the village groups from Kinsengwe and Nyoka were moved during 1947-50 from the east side of the Lunga to the west where they were regrouped near to a road and around a newly established centre (Kelongwa) for reasons of accessibility and sleeping sickness control. In 1944, the Kasonso villages were moved due to the creation of the Kafue National Park. To combat sleeping sickness the villagers were urged in the 1950's to move again and to settle along the Mumbwa road 13).

Apart from these relocations the colonial administration tried to encourage situating villages near roads and particularly at places where services such as a primary school or dispensary were established. This was also advanced by constructing simple windlass wells at these points.

It can be observed that in general sites along a road were chosen at those (few) points where a road crosses a river or as is more often the case, where the road is not far from a dambo, which contains water all through the year. For the effects of this settlement change on agricultural practice and especially the diet, a much more detailed survey is needed. Certainly, effects differ locally. Generally it can be said that the villages are farther away from streams and sites along streams favourable for streamside gardening.

Effects on the diet with regard to a smaller supply and variety of products in the early dry season (early maize, vegetables) are connected with this. Moreover, having a village along the road may effect the distance to the main subsistence gardens. While maintaining a (changing) village site along the road, the distance to suitable areas for the sorghum crop can increase, causing more villagers for longer periods to be away temporarily from the main village in order to live in a garden village near their fields.
Fig. 3.2 LOCATION VILLAGE CLUSTERS IN KASEMPA DISTRICT 1945

Fig. 3.3 LOCATION VILLAGE CLUSTERS IN KASEMPA DISTRICT 1970
b) Connected with the general pattern of location along the roads, there has also for some decades been a slow but gradual growth in permanent settlement around larger centres offering some employment and facilities. In the district this is observable around the administrative centre Kasempa and the missionary post Mukinge and as well to a lesser degree around a few centres where native authorities together with other services had been established (e.g. Kizela, Ingwe) 14).

For the rest of the district it can be observed, however, that in the period of the first introduction of services (1930-1950), the site of the service was frequently forced to relocate due to constant village movements (cf.3.2.). Facilities established by the government and mission-like local courts, schools, dispensaries were repeatedly forced to close down for lack of population and to move to another site. Fig. 3.3 gives data pertaining to the various service locations and relocations in the south-eastern part of the district during 1930-1960. With the rising demand for services as well as a great increase in the number of offered services immediately after independence, the tempo increases for villages locating near service centres. This process of relocation is also strongly influenced by the restrictions being lifted affecting new village formation since independence. Many villages disband and new, smaller villages locate around the numerous small centres, mainly erected along the main roads. Still, we see that villages frequently move along the road and around these centres (cf.3.2.2. and 4.3.3.). In the 1970's, however, the general village settlement pattern stabilises in most parts of the district and gets a fixed character of location along roads and around centres (cf.also fig.7.7).


In the beginning of this century, village size altered quickly due to the arrival of British rule which abolished the slave trade and warring conditions. The larger enclosed villages built for safety reasons were abolished and the tendency was to form small villages probably in accordance with the settlement pattern as it was before the period of
intensive slave trade (Turner 1957,40; Kay 1964,256). The 'Kasempa District Note Book' (KDD 1/5) mentions, for instance, that in the 1920's there was a strong tendency towards a decreasing village size and a large degree of village dispersion. But small village size was disadvantageous from a colonial administration viewpoint. Rules were made to limit new village formation as much as possible. Chief's permission and at least 15 adult male villagers were required to erect a new village. This norm was lowered to 10 in later years and to 6 men in the 1950's. In the years directly before independence, the rulings were no longer enforced.

An important factor that influenced the decline in village size was that with colonial rule the position of chief and headman was at issue on several fronts. The BSAC regarded these positions as an extension of its administration apparatus. The headman was involved in tasks such as registration of his villagers in connection with taxation, and he was held responsible for the order and tidiness of the village. The headman came into a conflict situation between his position as leader and trusted representative of his villagers and the imposed function as representative of the administration for carrying out unpopular rulings (Gluckman 1963,151; Mulaisho 1972). This weakened the already difficult position of the headman who as the most important representative of his own village matrilineage also had to care for other villagers who were only connected by marriage to his lineage.

The former religious functions of the headman were also threatened, as colonial rule prohibited traditional religious practices. Moreover, many new religious movements arose through missionary activities. This meant the creation of religious leader positions which were not associated with the position of village headman. When, as we saw in preceding section, labour migration increased to the cities and a category returned home after an extended urban experience, the tendency for villages to disintegrate became really general. Turner remarks on the situation of the neighbouring Ndembu:

'Everywhere we see the spectacle of corporate groups of kin disintegrating and the emergence of smaller residential units based on the elementary family (Turner 1957,43).'
Changes in village size in Kasempa District can be summarised as follows (cf. Table 3.2.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of villages</th>
<th>Number of inhabitants</th>
<th>Average inhabitants per village</th>
<th>Villages with:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>20,807</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>(457)</td>
<td>(17,755)</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1639</td>
<td>26,753</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Particularly after independence, villages with 100 or more inhabitants were nearly extinct. In the centre of the district, the average is about 9-10 people per village/farm. In the more isolated areas of the district, village size averages ca. 20 people.

Within the general change of settlement pattern and village size discussed here, a high degree of geographical mobility of the villages remained and to an important extent permitted the changes described above. In the following sections I will examine more closely the pattern of territorial mobility as well as the factors influencing the continuous change in composition of the Kaonde village.

3.2. MOBILITY OF THE VILLAGE AND ITS INHABITANTS

A constant process of village relocation, in space and time, can be observed both for pre-colonial and colonial times, as well as to some degree, today. This is a question of the relocation of one village as well as of a whole group of villages - the village cluster. It could be said that until recently practically every village was moved to a new site every few years, and that its composition had also changed. These relocations, often ascribed to the mode of subsistence economy - shifting cultivation and hunting - were actually determined by a complex of factors, which I will review in this section.

Relocations of the village and the village cluster can be roughly divided into a number of types:
a) the movements of clan-sections (one or more village clusters) over fairly long distances; these movements took place in the pre-colonial period - whereby internal and external political reasons especially played a part, as discussed in Chpt. 2, and ceased with the arrival of colonial rule.

b) movements of the village cluster over medium-range distances (10-30 km.) took place fairly regularly, primarily because of internal political and socio-religious reasons, continued in the colonial era but have ceased more or less today.

c) movements of the single village for socio-religious and ecological reasons; formerly, these movements took place within the pattern of relocations mentioned under a and b; today, movements of the single village are still frequent.

Besides these spatial relocations of a village, there is a multitude of changes within the village composition itself. Many anthropological studies on the matrilineal peoples of Central Africa emphasise the phenomenon of changing location and composition; Richards (1961,109), describing the Bemba village, notes:

'One of the chief characteristics is the lack of permanence,... not only the site of the settlement changed, the community itself alters both in size and composition.'

In this section, I will analyse these changes using examples from the southeastern part of the district. Although the examples cover only some villages and village groups, based on observation and information in the district and literature concerning similar phenomena for related population groups in Zambia, the illustrations may stand for the Kaonde village in general and give an impression of the highly fluid character of the settlement pattern.

3.2.1. Movements of a village cluster, 1900-1978

A village cluster of the Bena Mbwa (village dog) clan under leadership of Chief Kalaşa was located near the Lunga River early this century (Melland 1969,37; Thornhill 1915,31) 16. It is known from oral information given by Chief Kalasa that two stockades existed at the end of the 19th century, namely, Chief Kisoko Kalasas village and that of his nephew and successor,
Fig. 3.4
MOVEMENTS OF KALASA VILLAGE CLUSTER, 1900–1970

Fig. 3.5
MOVEMENT OF ONE VILLAGE OF THE KALASA VILLAGE CLUSTER
Bonshe. Shortly after 1900, the walled villages disappeared and the population lived in 10-20 separate villages. Oral descriptions relate where the Kalasa villages were located for the past sixty years and the streams near which the respective chiefs died (Jaeger 1972). On this and on the basis of Kasempa District archive maps (Shone 1949), and on observations I made during 1967, 1972, and 1978, it is possible to roughly reconstruct the route of the Kalasa village cluster between 1900 and 1978 (fig. 3.4). These relocations are shown on fig. 3.4 and described in more detail in Appendix VII. The Kalasa village cluster moved seven times over distances of 10-30 km. between 1900-1978 within the territorial boundaries set ca. 1920. The route was roughly circular and the distance covered during the last decades was considerably less compared to those at the beginning of the century. Early this century jumps of ca. 30 km. from one stream to another were made, later distance decreased to about 10 km. Relocation took place within an environment showing no great variation. Considering the limited population of 500-1000 people and the absence of other villages in the area, moving over these distances was certainly not a necessity bound to shifting garden plots.

There are a number of factors at issue with the relocation of a village group in general, as can be seen in this case.

a) Socio-religious factors:
The death of the chief causes the movement of the village group to another site. In this case as well each time a Chief Kalasa died, his successor shifted to another area 17). After deliberation with related headmen, the newly appointed chief chose a site in another area to build his chiefs' village. Gradually, depending on the degree of popularity acquired and if the newly chosen settlement location appeared a good one, the other villages would follow.

Conflicts concerning the succession may also mean that some villages will leave the area. Sometimes these split-offs then form the basis for a new village cluster under another regional headman.
b) Political factors:
Political considerations also determine the relocation and particularly the direction taken. In the case of the Kalasa village cluster, the arrival of colonial rule, the appointment of a chief in an adjacent area, and later the establishment of a missionary school influenced movement direction.

c) Ecological factors:
A major factor in the past was moving to another hunting area. Declining success of the hunt, although difficult to determine whether this was the result of an actual decline of game in an area or whether it was attributed to socio-religious circumstances, resulted in movement to another area where it was hoped that conditions would improve.

d) Economic factors:
Points where employment was offered influenced village movement. When the Jifumpa mine near the Lunga was opened in the 1930's, the Kalasa village cluster located nearby, and left when the mine shut down after a few years. Employment possibilities during the establishment of the Kanongo service centre and a volunteer camp located nearby during 1967-73 also drew villages to that area.

It can be generally said that village cluster mobility was caused by a complex of factors whereby socio-religious considerations played an important part in moving and especially in determining the time to move, while political conditions and economic possibilities determined the direction of the relocation.

3.2.2. Relocations of a village, 1945-1975

Within the above discussed village cluster movements, short-distance movement of individual villages took place regularly. These gradual moves are from stream to stream within a certain location. A brief outline of the movement of one village within the Kalasa village cluster will illustrate this point (cf.table 3.3.). Between 1945 and 1975, the village of Kilalo moved nine times. From 1945 to 1964 it shifted locations along the Mpungu river and its tributaries. After 1964, it was situated near the Kanongo service centre but relocated again within that vicinity (cf.fig.3.5).
Table 3.3.: Relocations of Kilalo village, 1945-1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Village location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945-49</td>
<td>Kalukundu stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-52</td>
<td>Kayawe stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-53</td>
<td>Kabetola stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953-59</td>
<td>Mpungu River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-63</td>
<td>Lunga River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-67</td>
<td>Kanongo stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-72</td>
<td>Location near the road leading to the Kanongo service centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-74</td>
<td>Relocation along this road to a site nearer to the Mpungu River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Location near the Lubofu River due to internal conflicts within the Kalasa cluster caused by a case of drowning in the Mpungu River</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The village remained an average of four years at each site, moving an average of 3 km. per relocation. Relocation sometimes coincided with a year when the villagers were living in a temporary village consisting of simple huts established near a newly-cleared field. If the newly-chosen site appears to bring fortune both in social and economic aspects, more permanent huts are constructed.

The regular relocation of garden plots, often mentioned as the cause for village movements, is only one of the reasons why a village moves. Allan, in his study 'The African Husbandman' (1967,6) points to the non-agricultural aspects and speaks of 'obligatory' and 'voluntarily' shifting cultivation. Peters (1950,51), based on a survey of Lala villages on the Serenje Plateau in 1946, comes to the conclusion that in 42% of the cases the sole reason or one of the reasons for a
move was shortage of land due to trees not yet sufficiently regenerated for agricultural practice. This means that for over 50% of the cases, factors other than agricultural necessity were involved.

Based on personal communication with villagers in Kalasa area (1968), on Hudson (1935) and Peters (1950), the factors causing village relocation are divided here into two main groups, namely ecological and social considerations.

a) Ecological factors:
a1) Bringing a new garden plot into use is a gradual process. As mentioned in Chpt. 1, a garden shifts slowly since, if possible, a new garden is made adjacent to the old. If this is no longer possible, a garden is made elsewhere. In the past, moreover, garden plot relocation took place because of crop destruction by large game such as hippos or elephants. If the distance from village to garden remains ca. 2-3 km., the village is not necessarily moved closer. Temporary villages are often built at the garden site and one stays there for part of the year. When other factors arise, the village will be relocated at a site near to the new gardens.

a2) After a few years, the hut construction is eaten away by termites to such an extent that new huts must be built. Moreover, after some years the general deterioration of the direct environment is such that it necessitates building a new village.

A practical consideration in constructing a new village is the presence of an adequate number of young men to help with building new huts. Lack of this can temporarily delay a relocation.

a3) Depletion of firewood supply in the immediate area influences village relocation.

a4) Lack of a reliable water supply in the dry season can necessitate a move. In the south of Kasempa District, villagers must sometimes dig deeply into dambo or dry stream-beds to obtain a sufficient water supply during the dry season. Problems encountered lead to relocation.
b) Socio-religious factors:
b1) Recurrent sickness or death is a sign that the location is unfavourable and the village moves.

b2) Death of a headman automatically causes relocation. The dead man's hut is burned and villagers gradually leave the site. Moreover, in former times it was also the custom to bury people, especially headmen and chiefs, underneath their own house (Anley 1926). Fear for the spirits of the deceased makes the site no longer an attractive place.

b3) Conflicts resulting from arguments or accusations of witchcraft lead frequently to fission and/or movement of the village. Sometimes only some individuals leave the village to settle elsewhere. In other cases the whole village disintegrates and the headman decides to start a new village with some of his following elsewhere.

The above mentioned factors will usually occur in combination. While ecological factors become slowly more pressing and necessitate movement, it seems that social factors will often dictate the actual movement of departure from a site.

3.2.3. Changes within village cluster composition

In addition to the regular relocation of the village cluster and the village, there is also a continuous change in composition. Within a village cluster, villages leave, other villages arrive and new villages are formed. Number and composition of villages within the cluster is thus subject to alteration. In the cluster there is often a core of closely related village headmen, but alterations occur frequently in this configuration as well. The changes within a village group will be considered here for the Kalasa and Kasonso village cluster for 1923-1949-1969. The names of the villages from these groups are known for this period 19). A village bears the name of the village headman, and his successor assumes the same name. Being chosen from the matrilineal relatives the clan designation of the village also remains the same. Village name and clan thus are fixed in time and space, although location and village composition change. The following summary gives an indication of the fluctuations within the village clusters of Kalasa and Kasonso (cf.table 3.4.).
Table 3.4.: Changes in the Kalasa and Kasonso village cluster 1923-1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalasa villages</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of villages</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Village names in 1923 present in 1949+1969:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Village names in 1949 present in 1969:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kasonso villages</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of villages</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Village names in 1923 present in 1949+1969:</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Village names in 1949 present in 1969:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of changes is particularly great within the Kalasa group. Of the 21 villages present in 1923, only four are present in 1949 and five in 1969 (due to one village returning after 1949 to the village group). Conflicts concerning the succession of Chief Kalasa in the 1920's caused many villages to leave and to relocate by Chief Shibukinya in the Ndola Rural District from whom they had split off in the 19th century. The Kalasa villages decreased in number, but in following years other villages joined the group and several new villages were formed by fission from older villages.

The difference is also great between 1949 and 1969: of the 15 villages present in 1949, only 6 are left in 1969. In the period 1949-1969 12 other villages joined the group or were newly formed.

The Kasonso group appears more stable during the period 1923-1949. But between 1949 and 1969, ca. 50% of the villages have moved elsewhere.

Alteration in composition is even more evident when considering the clans present in the village clusters of Kalasa and Kasonso (cf. table 3.5. and 3.6.).
Table 3.5. Clan affiliation: Kalasa village cluster 1923-1949-1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bena Mbwa</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena Mbushi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bapumpi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena Nonyi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balembu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena Nzovu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bashishi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena Ngee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena Kasaka</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6. Clan affiliation: Kasonso village cluster 1923-1949-1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bena Kyulu</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balembu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena Mbushi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena Nzovu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basamba</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena Nongi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bena Ngee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bashishi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a village cluster one clan, namely that of the regional headman or chief, is most represented. In this case it is the Bena Mbwa clan of (ex-Chief) Kalasa and the Bena Kyowa clan of (ex-Chief) Kasonso. We see here that these clans' dominant position has eroded over the years. In the case of the Kalasa group, there is a sharp decline of the Bena Mbwa villages between 1923 and 1949. The Bapumpi clan for a time is even the most numerous. This group tried to take the leadership role in
the village cluster and a Bapumpi clan member opted to be recognised as the regional headman (the position of ex-Chief Kalasa). When a Bena Mbwa clan member was finally recognised as regional headman, several of the Bapumpi villages left the area to form a separate village cluster elsewhere 20).

The Kasonso group again shows more stability. The Bena Kyulu clan remains dominant, which indicates a large degree of social cohesion within the cluster. This is due to prestige attained by Chief Kasonso as one of the older Kaonde chiefs, representing a clan group which had been settled in the Kafue and Lunga area for centuries. Increased fissioning of villages since the 1950's led in this case as well to an increase in the number of headmen from various clans.

In general, a survey of village clan affiliation presents an opportunity for gaining a quick impression of the homogeneity and social cohesion surrounding a headman of a certain clan-section. This type of analysis makes it possible to define for a wide area which population groups are bound together by clan affiliation and might be, historically seen, of the same background. This data is important for a government policy aimed at bringing village clusters together and for launching a policy to stimulate the general development of an area. Appendix V supplies a summary of the clan affiliation of the village groups situated in the southeast and southwest of Kasempa District in 1969. It appears from this review that in the late 1960's:

a) In most village groups one clan is numerically dominant e.g. the clan of the chief or regional headman.
b) In most village groups, next to the clan of the chief or regional headman, one or two other clans are more represented than the others. In most cases they are affiliated to the dominant clan (cf.2.3.).

3.2.4. Individual mobility

The internal composition of a village also alters frequently due to the fact that people reside in a great number of different villages during their lives (Appendix XII, no.1 and 2). An individual has a large choice of village residence possibilities. Village fissioning into smaller units
enlarges, moreover, the number of villages having relatives where one can settle. Migration to the city and a stay with relatives there increases residence change even more.

In Kasempa District 17% of the population had changed residence within a year (1968/69) (C.S.O.1974). If we look at one village cluster, population changes are substantial. Table 3.7. summarises figures for population change in one area during 1968. Around 20% of the inhabitants in the Kanongo area of the Kalasa village group changed village within or outside the area, or moved into the area from another part of the district or from town.

In 1968 the population in the area increased due to the establishment of a new service centre (Kanongo) and a volunteer agricultural extension camp and the opportunities offered for employment by these services. Movement to town is responsible only for a small part of the population mobility. A whole complex of social tensions in general are connected with the mobility of people from one village to another such as conflicts concerning uxorilocal or virilocal residence after marriage, affection between children and their grandparents and power struggles within villages for the headman position. I will briefly discuss here the way residential patterns after marriage and generation divisions in the village affect population mobility. Watson (1954), in his article on the Kaonde village, gives some more details and Turner (1954 and 1957) gives a masterly analysis of village fission, social tensions, and generation division in neighbouring Ndembu villages.

a) Marriage and village choice.
The situation arising from the conflict between the norm of uxorilocal marriage, whereby the man is expected to settle in his wife's village, and his wish to settle virilocally, taking his wife to the village of his family, is influential. A man is bound by marriage to work for some years for his wife's parents in her village ('Benabuko').

In principle, the headman of a village strives to keep his married daughters and particularly his married sisters and their daughters in his village, making use of their working forces and using them to form a large village. Moreover, the male children of his sisters and sisters'
Table 3.7.: Population changes in Kanongo area in 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>January 1968</th>
<th>December 1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of villages</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per village</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 villages separated from an existing village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 village arrived from another area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Movement and arrival/departure of people:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-17 years</td>
<td>&gt;18 yrs</td>
<td>&gt;18 yrs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrivals</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement to another</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village in the area</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement to a newly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>formed village</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival of new village</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival from town</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival from elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the district</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departure to town</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departure to other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locations in the district</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Born in 1968: 28
Deceased in 1968: 7

In total, 43 people moved to another village within the area. 57 people from elsewhere settled in the area and 37 people left the area. Of a total population of 680 at the end of 1968, 137 people (20%) had changed residence.
daughters belong to his clan and are in the line of succession for headman. On the other hand, after a few years a married man strives to return to his 'own' village (that of his mother's matrikin) where he has possibilities of succeeding as headman. Besides, as Watson (1954) notes, there are additional possibilities for a man to locate with his own kin. He can go to the village of his father's family ('Benatata' - the people of my father, in fact his father's matrilineage and the village of the clan of his father). He may also go to a village of one of his grandparents ('Benankambo'). A man might locate in one of these villages if his chances of becoming headman in his mother's brother's village are slight because of the presence of other brothers or nephews of his uncle. Location in the village of his grandparents may then be attractive because the bond of affection to them is strong and in that village he might be part of the senior village section (refer below). If later on the man's chances of becoming headman increase, he might move to the village of his uncle.

Changing social relations within the kin group, and conflicts and disputes in the village make it usual that the young marrieds in particular change village regularly. We can observe that when a man becomes headman, his mobility decreases. He is then established in his own village and while the village can relocate spatially, he will remain with that village but will be surrounded by a changing group of relatives.

b) Village generation divisions.
Watson (1954) draws attention to the genealogical generation divisions in the Kaonde village. The Kaonde village was originally divided into two sections, namely, the section of the senior ('Mutenge wa makulumpe') and the section of the junior ('Mutenge wa wanyike'). This division is related to the genealogical affiliations with the headman rather than to age and alternating generations form together a group. The headman and those belonging to his genealogical generation - his classificatory brothers and sisters - form together with their grandchildren the senior section, also termed the section of uncles ('Kwaba mwisho'). Those of the generation under the headman - his children, and his brother's
and sister's children - form together with their grandparents the junior section, also termed section of nephews ('Kwaba kumipwa').

In the past, the senior as well as the junior section had their respective separate meeting huts ('kinsanza') in the village. Important village meetings with the headman took place in the senior section's hut, but members of the junior section sat outside. Senior section members had the prerogative of taking part in the decision-making within the village.

These genealogical generation relations are mirrored by the spatial distribution of huts in the village which is divided into senior generations' huts, (Headman with his generation and alternating generations) on one side and the junior generations' on the other. Thus, spatially, proximate generations live somewhat apart, although this division is not obvious today since the huts form a continuous rectangle or oval pattern. But in Kaonde villages everybody knows which side forms the senior and which the junior section.

Fig.3.6 illustrates the composition of an average Kaonde village, ca. 1968. The core of the village is made up of the headman (A1) and members of his maternal kin group - his brother and sister and some of his mother's brothers' kin. The headman's generation (A) lives with his grandchildren's generation (C) on one side, and the proximate generation (B) on the other half. (An exception in this case are the young children, C4, who have their own hut, not sleeping with their parents, but the hut is placed near to their parents). Head of the senior section is A1, the headman. His successor is, in principle, his brother, A2. The headman has managed to keep some of his married daughters and their husbands in the village, and some of his sister's sons (B1,4,5) are present who will also be considered for succession. The enlargement of the headman's kin group in the village led to his mother's sister's sons, and daughter, leaving to form separate villages under their own names in 1968. Watson assumes that village division into junior and senior sections influences one's choice in settling in a village. This appears very reasonable. It is appealing for a young man to live with his grandparents especially if one of them is headman by
MUVUMI VILLAGE PLAN 1968

GENEALOGY VILLAGE MUVUMI. 1968
AND RECENT DIVISIONS KIBELUKA AND KUKWILA VILLAGE

LEGEND
- female
- male
- deceased
- left village
- divorced
- children who live in hut of parents
which he will become part of the senior section. When the headman dies, this means an alteration in relations within the village. If the headman is succeeded by his nephew, a member of the proximate generation, this generation becomes senior, and the senior section changes to junior. This can precipitate modifications in the village to the extent that inhabitants move away. Generally, there is a conflict situation between uncle-generation (the headman and his (classificatory) brothers) and the nephew-generation. The age differences are not always large and a nephew is often older than the headman's younger brothers, but, still, adelphic candidates usually have priority. As such, an attempt is made to keep the order of succession in the headman's generation for as long as possible. Although I have not done research on succession patterns, there are indications, based on some headmanship successions, that there is even a structural pattern of skipping a generation and of favouring succession in the grandchild generation, leaving out the nephew's generation. The close emotional bonds between the alternating generations and the possibility of not having to alter the section division in the village may support this pattern. (see also Turner, 1955 on spatial separation and succession in Ndembu villages).

It should be observed here that a number of circumstances were different in the pre-colonial period. It may be assumed that cross-cousin marriage was more common, although certainly not the only marriage-bond, which means that the kinship group was less numerous and, as villages were larger, relatives were to be found in a more limited number of settlements. Domestic slavery might also have played a role where, as Douglas (1964) points out, a headman had marriageable women at his disposal to keep his sons and nephews in the village. Douglas argues therefore that village stability was greater at that time, whereas spatial generation division might have been more important.

Chief Kalasa relates that in the last century Chief Kisoko lived in a walled village and that the generation of his nephew resided in an adjacent walled village. This points to an even more definite division into two totally separate villages of the proximate generations.

Although individual mobility is strongly influenced by social factors as discussed above and there was probably an increase in last decennia through more relatives living in more villages, economic considerations also influence where one locates.
In former times, factors such as game availability, fertile soils near a village, and sufficient and good water supply have been of influence; today employment possibilities and market outlets are important in the choice of village residence.

To end this chapter, I will follow the changes that took place over a period of 20 years in the settlement pattern of a former large Kaonde village as well as the influence of economic opportunities on the village composition.

3.2.5. Changes within Kiboko village, 1952-1968-1978

Watson (1954,10-13) studied the genealogy and village plan of Kiboko village in 1952. The same village was studied by myself in 1968 and again in 1978, thus making a comparative analysis possible.

Kiboko is one of the oldest and best known villages of Chief Kasempa's clan, the Bena Kyowa. The headman bears the same title as the first Kasempa chief, Kiboko, who lived in Zaire ca. 200 years ago. The present headman, Kiboko, claims to be a direct descendant. Oral accounts relate that a Kiboko headman lived in the village of the then Kasempa Chief Jipumpu during the time (1897) of Kasempa's war with the Lozi after which Kiboko departed to establish himself as an autonomous headman in the area of the Upper-Musondweji, ca. 50 km. northwest of Kasempa. He became recognised by Kasempa as the regional headman of the Bena Kyowa clan in that area.

In 1938, the village split up. Headman Kiboko Mukinkwila remained in the same area and his brother, Kiboko Mwatula moved to another area in connection with internal disputes. Kiboko Mwatula relocated at a site 30 km. east of Kasempa in the vicinity of the Lubofu River. The area was sparsely inhabited and Kiboko became regional headman under Chief Kasempa for this area. Kiboko's village moved several times from 1938 to 1952 over short distances along the Lubofu River. When Watson studied the village in 1952, a new village had just been built under a new headman Kiboko. The same headman was still alive in 1978.

Fig.3.7 shows the village plan of 1952 (Watson 1954). The village had a rectangular form consisting of two long rows of
Fig. 3.7
KIBOKO VILLAGE PLAN, 1952

LEGEND
- HUT
- KINSANZA
- GENERATIONS C and E
- GENERATION D

Watson, the Kaonde village 1954

KIBOKO VILLAGE PLAN, 1958
- hut
- Kimberley brick house
- abandoned hut
- abandoned kinsanza

Legend:
- HUT
- KINSANZA
- GENERATIONS C and E
- GENERATION D

Watson, the Kaonde village 1954
Fig. 3.8

GENEALOGY OF KIBOKO VILLAGE, 1952 and 1968

LEGEND

△           male
○           female
bullet △     deceased before 1952
△△△          deceased 1952-1968
●●●          left village since 1952
No. 22 arrivals since 1952
and further or separate hut since 1952

Family moved outside village centre
Family left the area since 1952

Watson, 1954 and additions author, 1968
huts dominated by the headman's hut (D1) at one end of the village. Proximate generations are separated. The generation of the headman (D) lives in one section together, the junior generation in the other section (cf.genealogy fig.3.8). The village core is made up of the headman and his (classificatory) brothers and sisters. Further, relatives of his mother's sisters are present. In the village four lineages descending from sisters of the deceased headman are present.

The village moved again in 1957, a few kilometres to a place next to the main route to Kasempa. The village plan of two rows of huts had been recreated just as in the 1952 situation as could be observed from the hut ruins and fruit trees still present in 1968. The village plan changed considerably in the period 1957-1968. In 1968 the village layout had changed into a spatially loose conglomeration of huts (cf.fig.3.7). The headman's hut is no longer central and the village meeting hut ('kinsanza') is not used. The headman, no longer active because of age, has left matters concerning the village to his younger (classificatory) brother (D17) who acts as deputy headman ('swanamuni').

The extent of the village had decreased from 21 huts with 35 adults (children living in their parent's house not counted) in 1952 to 17 huts and 24 adults in 1968. Several family groups had left between 1952-1968 and only a few people joined the village. Watson (1954) assumed that future fissioning would take place along the lines of four lineage groups present in the village (cf.fig.3.8 no.I-IV). A fissioning as such had not exactly taken place. It is noteworthy, though, that members of the lineage groups II, III and IV were among those in particular who left, being from families not directly linked to the headman. But they left not as complete lineage groups but rather in smaller family units. A number of these relocated elsewhere in the district or in the city. Other smaller families had formed a spatially separate section within the village (such as C10 and C13/14). Because Kiboko is a well known name these sections are externally still known under the name Kiboko, although intra-village, they are separate units. Important alterations had taken place again between 1968 and 1978. Instead of further village decrease, the number of inhabitants has increased with, in particular, additions from
the headman's family group (lineage I). The economic developments which have taken place since 1970's in the area are an important cause of this.

The village is situated near an area of fertile red clay soils well suited for sorghum as well as maize cultivation. Likewise, there is room for bringing new fields into use while keeping the old garden plots bush-fallow for a couple of years.

Several men took part in a cooperative scheme which was set up in 1966, receiving government subsidies for deforestation so that fields became suitable for tractors. Within the cooperative, one worked one's own fields with the help of intensive government support. For some years a relatively good income was made. After a period of decline, the cooperative became part of the Mpungu settlement scheme in 1974 (cf. 5.2.). Various villagers became members of the scheme while keeping their own fields and receiving assistance from the services of the scheme. The acting headman became a member of the scheme's farmers committee. Most of the participants could once again earn a good income by taking advantage of the services offered by the project (seed, tractors, and credit).

This new economic possibility resulted in various kin group members again settling in or near the village and in their taking part in the farmers' project. Moreover, several young men returned to the village and, having had some training, became administration functionaries or tractor drivers at the agricultural project. The village grew to 33 houses and 42 adults by 1978. A clear spatial structure in the village did not return. Actually, the village had become even more spatially scattered and now consists of an agglomeration of small house groups (cf. fig. 3.9). The living areas are particularly determined by the heads of families who have a farm plot or a function by the project. Notable are the many Kimberley brick houses that have been built which reflect economic means as well as a feeling of being socially established in the area.

Also noteworthy is that the headman's family group in particular has enlarged. Fig. 3.10 shows the genealogy of this group. We see that a kinship configuration has grown which is very similar to that of 1952 - namely, a number of family groups descending from the matrilineal line of the headman's sisters.
Fig. 3.9
KIBOKO VILLAGE PLAN, 1978

- hut
- Kimberley brick house
- Farm: owner of farm plot at agric. scheme
- Nuclear family
Fig. 3.10

GENEALOGY OF KIBOKO VILLAGE - FAMILY GROUP I, 1978

- ● ▲ deceased
- ⌂ left village
- ⌘ divorce
- No. 30 arrivals since 1969
- and further or separate hut since 1969
- family returned since 1969
The alterations in the village during the period 1952-1978 can be summarised as follows:

- the village is spatially divided in a number of sections based on the small family group; it is general for the Kaonde village to fission into a number of separate villages headed by family leaders, although in this case the whole agglomeration remains known by the famous name of Kiboko.

- the village does not function any longer as a corporate unit and there is no central meeting hut anymore.

- the spatial division into generation groups has disappeared, proximate generations live closely together now in small units.

- the village has remained permanent since 1957 although huts change position regularly.

- after a decrease between 1952 and 1968, the village population has increased in number in the 1970's through new agricultural economic possibilities being offered.

- the group of relatives of the headman and acting-headman has grown in particular; social relations with these leaders are less important with regard to village functions than to the fact that these village notables fulfill a central function in the executive committee of the nearby agricultural scheme. Matrilineal kinship with the headman therefore means an access to economic possibilities.

In concluding this chapter we can observe that in the colonial period a process of village size decline existed which has intensified since Independence. The fissioning of villages into nuclear family groups locating as spatially separate entities is observed everywhere. In this respect the general process of individualisation visible in numerous sectors of the society is clearly reflected in the settlement pattern. Considered spatially throughout the district, important alterations occurred in the location of the villages: linear ribbon settlements along the roads and concentrations around small service centres became the general pattern. Within these changes, territorial mobility could still be seen connected as it is with aspects of the matrilineal structure of the society as well as with socio-
religious and ecological factors. A society that gives the appearance of spatially being very fluid and loosely structured contains in fact very complex structures, determined by various interrelated factors.

It is against the background of this spatially fluid situation that, especially since independence, rural development is being stimulated. In the governmental programmes, an important place is repeatedly taken up by items such as stabilisation of the population, permanent settlement, village regrouping and concentration in certain areas. The following chapters will deal with these programmes as well as the population's reactions to them.