Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Moving along the roadside: A social history of Mwinilunga District, 1870s-1970s

Pesa, I.

Citation
Pesa, I. (2014, September 29). *Moving along the roadside: A social history of Mwinilunga District, 1870s-1970s*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/28744

Version:	Corrected Publisher's Version
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/28744

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/28744 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Peša, Iva
Title: Moving along the roadside : a social history of Mwinilunga District, 1870s-1970s
Issue Date: 2014-09-23

Moving along the roadside

A social history of Mwinilunga District, 1870s-1970s

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,

op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,

volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties

te verdedigen op dinsdag 23 september 2014

klokke 15.00 uur

door

Iva Peša

geboren te Zadar, Kroatië in 1987

Promotiecommissie

Promotoren:

Prof. dr. R.J. Ross

Prof. dr. J-B. Gewald

Overige leden:

Prof. dr. J.K. van Donge (University of Papua-New Guinea)

Prof. dr. E. Frankema (Wageningen University)

Prof. dr. P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers

Copyright © Iva Peša, Leiden

Cover design: Photograph by Iva Peša, Mwinilunga, 2008

Druk: CPI Wöhrmann Print Service – Zutphen

Acknowledgements

The journey of this PhD thesis was a long road. This thesis could not have been written without the assistance and contributions of other people, friends, colleagues and family. This is a humble attempt to thank those who undertook the journey with me and supported me along the way.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Jan-Bart Gewald and Robert Ross. Not only for their insightful comments, academic support and numerous conversations, but especially because they believed in me and motivated me to pursue this research. Their comments and support proved formative and invaluable. Without your contributions, this thesis would never have been possible.

Large parts of this research have been conducted in Zambia. The first time I set foot in Zambia in 2007, it reminded me of the island where my grandmother lives in Croatia and where I used to spend most of my summer holidays, riding my grandfather's donkey and picking grapes whilst running away from the wasps. The resemblance of the landscape and the welcoming attitude of the people I met during my short stay made me feel at home. This motivated me to conduct a study on the agricultural history of Zambia. My supervisor Jan-Bart Gewald proposed Mwinilunga District. Although I knew nothing about the area, I decided to give it a try and I have never regretted the choice.

So many people have helped me along the way, during research trips in 2008 and 2010. In Lusaka I have spent many hours digging through archival records at the National Archives of Zambia, where Marja Hinfelaar and the members of staff provided me with enormous assistance. They collected numerous boxes for me, gave me tips on how to understand the archives, but also made me feel at ease in Lusaka. It was a truly pleasant experience to do research at the National Archives of Zambia and to interact with the staff, other researchers and the students I met along the way. Much shorter research trips were made to the United National Independence Party archives in Lusaka and to the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines archives in Ndola. The assistance and material there were extremely valuable.

In Lusaka my stay was made extremely pleasant due to the friendship of Madeleen Husselman and the inhabitants of 21 Ngulube Road, which came to feel like home. Marja Hinfelaar and the University of Zambia provided me with institutional affiliation and academic assistance, for which I am truly grateful. Walima Kalusa provided me a valuable introduction to Lusaka and shared his experiences of doing research in Mwinilunga with me, for which I remain grateful. Special thanks go to Leah Samakayi, who came to my house every day and taught me Lunda, even when my pronunciation was ridiculous and my grammar horrible. Thank you for your patience, friendship and lessons in Lunda culture.

I spent one month in Ndola, where Theresa Maseka welcomed me to her house and made me feel at home. Next to being my host, she was my research assistant. She practiced Lunda speech with me and located Lunda migrants on the Copperbelt for interviews. Her meals, patience and jokes made my stay truly enjoyable. Webster tirelessly retrieved the documents at the ZCCM archives for me, but also proved a good conversation partner and companion. The Lunda language lessons which Harriet offered me were amazing. Not only did she teach me the grammar and vocabulary, she also taught me how to apply all the language rules in practical situations. Without her help I could never have felt so comfortable in Mwinilunga.

Most of all, I am indebted to the people who shared their stories, friendship and lives with me in Mwinilunga District. When I first came to Mwinilunga, Julian Chiyezhi and her family welcomed me, introduced me and assisted me in setting up the research. She and her family have remained instrumental and I am happy that they got the opportunity to meet my parents. *Tunasakilili nankashi.* The agricultural department of Mwinilunga provided logistical support, by driving me around on their motorbikes, facilitating my stays in various chiefdoms through their officers and most importantly by becoming my friends and colleagues. Special thanks go to Ambrose Musanda and his son Peter, who made me feel like an equal, instead of a stranger. Without your friendship my stay would not have been the same. For my stays in the district I would especially like to thank those who opened their

homes to me, shared their meals with me and assisted me as translators, assistants and friends. Although they are too numerous to mention, special thanks go to Daniel Chinshe, the Kamuhuza family, the Jinguluka family, the Kalota family and the Kambidima family. Senior Chief Kanongesha provided me the freedom and the assistance to conduct my research, for which I remain thankful. You all made the days, evenings, weeks and months memorable and enjoyable. Cooking, washing clothes and just chatting with you inspired this thesis in numerous ways. Gibby Kamuhuza tirelessly cycled through the district with me, located 'knowledgeable elders' and engaged in learning 'deep Lunda' proverbs and explaining these to me. The lives and stories of the numerous elders whom I interviewed are the foundations upon which this thesis is built, and even if your names have not been explicitly mentioned, I sincerely hope to have done justice to what you have shared with me. This thesis could not have been written without your experiences and stories.

In the United Kingdom I conducted shorter spells of archival work at the Rhodes House Library, the Public Records office and at the John Ryland's Library in Manchester. My special thanks go to Graham Johnson who made the Echoes of Service archival records accessible to me. It was extremely pleasant and informative to meet Betty Denning, the wife of the former colonial officer R.C. Denning, whose notes are deposited at the Rhodes House. Thank you for sharing your stories, pictures and afternoon with me.

The institutional assistance provided by the NWO, the 'Muskets to Nokias' project, the Institute for History and the African Studies Centre at Leiden University proved invaluable. The CART group, a wonderful initiative by a unique group of people, provided a prolific and supportive academic environment. The inspiration and assistance provided by Marja Hinfelaar, Giacomo Macola and Hugh Macmillan in particular were valuable. I hope that this community continues to conduct research in the field of Central African history. Most inspirational has been my fellow PhD colleague, Mary Davies. Mary is the most enthusiastic practitioner of African history whom I know, and it has been a joy to share the office with her for two years. The conversations in Leiden with Esther van Eijk, Sophie Feyder, Mariana Perry, Paul Swanepoel and the PhD students in History and African History have been insightful, inspirational and uplifting. Thank you for being there when I needed to complain about something trivial or for drinking coffee with me, it made the writing process so much more enjoyable. Thanks also go to the students whom I had the joy of teaching over 2011, 2012 and 2014 – you probably taught me more than I could teach you and you showed me why African history is something to always be enthusiastic about!

A very special thanks go to those who will not find their names back in this thesis, but who have inspired and supported me along the way. You have been there with me and you have been able to motivate me and to lift me up, even during the times that I was preparing and writing this thesis and when I was quite frankly not one of the nicest persons to be around. It is my sincere intention to reciprocate all your attention, support and ceaseless confidence one day. Dear friends, dear Lina, Anna and Annika, dear Mom and Dad, thank you! The person who did his utmost best to assist me with this thesis is Ivo. He printed, copied and did annoying computer-related things for me, he proofread boring chapters but said they were interesting, but most importantly he supported me and he was endlessly patient. His dedication to me resulted in the completion of this thesis and in the birth of our beautiful son Bruno in May 2013. Bruno and Ivo thank you for being there, without you this thesis would be insignificant.

Thank you all for going on this journey with me, hopefully the following pages can do you justice. Without you it would not have been the same.

Contents

Introduction 1

Conceptualising social change: The Rhodes Livingstone Institute and Victor Turner 7

Reconceptualising continuity and change: Theories, narratives and representations 10

Continuity and change: Debates on labour migration, capitalism and kinship 11

A local history of social change 15

Approach, aims and method 17

Chapter outline 24

1: Pathways through the past 27

Constructing a region: The Lunda entity, history and reproduction 28

A window to the world: Long-distance trade and slavery 34

Engaging the metropole: Colonial rule and local negotiation 40

'Cinderella gets the ball at her feet': Food, labour and roads 48

The birth of a nation? Independence and beyond 52

Conclusion 56

2: Production 58

The foundations of production in Mwinilunga District 60

Production and debates on the 'moral economy' 62

From shifting cultivation to fixed farming: Policies and practice 65

On subsistence and market production 68

Meal: Markets, state policies and values 70

Cassava: Creating a land of plenty 73

Maize: Faltering towards modernity? 75

The foundations of production: Staples, markets and the state 76

Meat: Hunting, herding and distribution 79

Hunting: Meat, merit and masculinity 80

Herding: A source of meat, a source of money 85

Ideological frameworks, marketing and administrative control: The co-existence of hunting and herding 88

Beeswax 90

Pineapples 94

The rationale of market production 97

Conclusion 100

3A: Mobility 103

Historical roots of mobility 106
Drawing and crossing borders: An 'imaginary line' on the map 108
Cross-border trade: Calico, cigarettes and cassava 110
Trading rubber: Crossing borders, making profit and asserting autonomy 111
Circuits of trade: Legality, entrepreneurship and the state 112
Moving along the border: Migration, identity and the state 117
Population movement, refugees and identity 119
The politics of belonging: Crafting and challenging the nation-state 121
Conclusion 124
3B: Labour Migration 127
From 'lazy natives' to 'able-bodied men': Constructing the idea of work 128
Taxation, tax evasion and the control of labour 130
Going to work: Stereotypes, recruitment and the origins of labour migration 135
Comparing the Copperbelts: Work and mobility 138
Of modernist narratives and social connectivity: Motives for labour migration 141
Money, consumption and building wealth 143
Social connectivity and self-realisation: The socio-cultural dynamics of labour migration 145
Decay or boom? Labour migration and local livelihoods 151
Conclusion 161
4: Consumption 164
From locally produced to store-bought goods: Exchange and the creation of value 165
Production and exchange: The foundations of trade 166
Goods, value and meaning: Wealth in people and self-realisation 170
Ironworking: Smelters, smiths and craftmanship 173
The practice of ironworking in Mwinilunga 173
Mass-manufactured iron tools: Competition or opportunity? 175
Cloth, clothing and culture 179
Bark cloth and animal skins: The meaning and value of clothing 180
From imported goods to objects of local desire: The spread and attractions of manufactured clothing 182
Clothing consumption, production and social relationships 186
Clothing, culture and self-realisation 188
Grass, mud and bricks: Housing, community and permanence 191
Grass, mud and the meaning of housing 193
Promoting 'improved' housing: Official attempts at housing reform 195

Goods, people and wealth: The rationale of consumption 201
Conclusion 207
5: Villages 210
Villages and farms: Settlement patterns, social organisation and authority 211
Chiefs, headmen and authority: Governance and mediation 215
Village leadership in a historical perspective 219
Colonial adaptation: Authority, recognition and village fission 221
Village leadership within the Zambian nation-state 224
Competition, co-operation and relationships: Reciprocity, accumulation and power 225
Work parties and piecework: Co-operation or competition? 225
Sharing a meal: Food, power and hierarchy 230
Witchcraft, jealousy and power: Discourses on accumulation and sharing 235
Witchcraft as a discourse about fertility, wealth and power 236
Kinship, gender and the family: Social relationships and individualisation 243
Men and women: Contestation, co-operation and accumulation within the household 243
Cultivating separate fields: Labour, gender and property 248
Marriage: Households, kinship and social connectivity 250
Kinship, wealth in people and individualisation 252
Social change, continuity and reconfiguration: Disputes, rituals and value transformation 255
Rituals, conflict and reconciliation 256
Continuity and change in village life 260
Conclusion 261
Conclusion 264
Sources 269

Introduction

Village layout and settlement patterns in Mwinilunga, a district now part of Zambia's North Western Province, changed profoundly between 1870 and 1970.[1] In the 1950s Victor Turner, a path breaking anthropologist of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute who conducted fieldwork in the area, analysed these changes and noted the appearance of 'farms'. He described the 'ribbon development along the road of small settlements, a few hundred yards away from one another, each with its own headman and each containing a small corporate grouping of kin.'[2] As a result of factors such as the *Pax Britannica*, the cash economy and labour migration, Turner predicted the replacement of large concentric villages by small roadside settlements.[3] He argued that:

> labour migration to the urban industrial areas is positively emancipating the individual from his obligations to his kinship group (…) If a man wishes to accumulate capital to set up as a petty trader or tailor, or to acquire a higher standard of living for himself and his elementary family, he must break away from his circle of village kin towards whom he has traditional obligations.[4]

Turner interpreted the appearance of 'farms' not only as a change in settlement patterns and village layout, but linked this phenomenon to changes in patterns of production (cash crop agriculture), mobility (labour migration), consumption (store-bought goods) and social relationships (individualisation and family nucleation). He saw changing settlement patterns as the outcome of a process of linear and comprehensive social change.[5] Did Turner's assumptions and his predictions about the course of social change prove true?

The situation Turner described in the 1950s differed markedly from previous settlement patterns.[6] At the close of the nineteenth century villages in Mwinilunga appeared defensive, were isolated by the deep bush and might have been surrounded by tall stockades as a reaction to slave raiding.[7] One of the first colonial officials in the area vividly described his approach to such a village:

> With my party in single file I advanced slowly along one of the paths which, owing to the dense bush and matted undergrowth, was more like a tunnel, and presently found myself confronted at a distance of some twenty yards by a stout stockade from ten feet to twelve feet in height, with a narrow gateway closed by a heavy tree trunk swung from a hinge at the top of the gate posts.[8]

Settlements would be concentrated in favourable ecological micro-environments (close to water, hunting and cultivating grounds), yet the fragile nature of resources provoked dispersed and frequently shifting residence patterns.[9] Administrators described villages as randomly spread over the landscape and attached pejorative valuations to villages and their inhabitants throughout the first half of the

---

[1] For studies of changing settlement patterns in Zambia's North Western Province, see: D.S. Johnson (ed.), *Handbook to the North-Western Province* (Lusaka, 1980); D. Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development: A human-geographical study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia* (Amsterdam, 1981); G. Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping in Zambia' (University of Hull, 1967); M. Silberfein, *Rural settlement structure and African development* (Boulder etc., 1998).

[2] V.W. Turner, *Schism and continuity in an African society: A study of Ndembu village life* (Manchester etc., 1957), 42-3.

[3] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 220.

[4] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 43.

[5] V.W. Turner, *The drums of affliction: A study of religious processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Oxford and London, 1968), 24.

[6] Nineteenth century settlement patterns in this area have been described in: A. von Oppen, *Terms of trade and terms of trust: The history and contexts of pre-colonial market production around the upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster etc., 1994).

[7] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 6-7, 41, 228; J.A. Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, change, and social transformation in South Central Africa* (Madison, 2001), 32.

[8] E.A. Copeman, 'The violence of Kasanza', *The Northern Rhodesia journal* 1:5 (1952), 65; Description of events in 1906.

[9] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 49-50, 229-30.

twentieth century.[10] Settlement patterns were linked to ideas about 'civilisation' and the colonial administration set out to change the state of affairs in Mwinilunga:

> For a century or more, they [Lunda] had been harried by slave-raiding parties (…) so only the stronger headmen had been able to form villages – others lived like animals in the bush, eating wild fruits and honey (…) Administration to them [Lunda] means: i A decent hut must be built – to take the place of the old grass shelter = "nkunka". ii Roads must be made – when a winding track thro' the bush is preferred. iii Gardens must be cultivated – whereas they prefer that nature should provide for their wants in the shape of honey & wild fruits.[11]

By concentrating scattered settlements into large orderly villages, which would be loyal to the government and economically productive by generating cash crops and labour, the colonial administration sought to transform the Lunda village.[12]

The outward appearance of villages in Mwinilunga had changed dramatically by the 1950s. Following the expansion of infrastructural facilities, officials remarked that villages had started to form 'long almost uninterrupted ribbons' along the roadside and noticed 'a universal movement to the vicinity of the roads.'[13] Colonial observers linked changing settlement patterns to a myriad of other changes – such as involvement with the cash economy, labour migration and colonial rule – all interpreted as expressions of comprehensive social change.[14] It is in this ideological context that Turner noted the increasing appearance of 'farms'. Turner assumed that not only settlement patterns were caught up in the process of 'irreversible change', but that economic relations, interpersonal association and ways of life were bound to be affected and transformed.[15] Over the period 1870-1970 village layout had changed from dispersed and defensive settlements to concentrated roadside villages, but it is the question whether this change in outward appearance also brought about change in other spheres of society. Did changes in settlement patterns necessarily lead to changes in the economic sphere or in interpersonal relationships? Was the authority of village headmen radically altered as a consequence of the appearance of farms? Or did roadside villages produce more cash crops for marketing purposes than villages located at a distance from the road? Notwithstanding change it is possible that there were long-term continuities in patterns of livelihood procurement, social conduct and modes of thought.[16] By focusing on issues of continuity and change this thesis highlights the unexpected course of historical practice, which did not always fit into linear narratives and should therefore be studied within an alternative conceptual framework.[17]

How has the process of social change (exemplified by issues of production, mobility, consumption and social relationships) been negotiated in the area of Mwinilunga between 1870 and 1970? In order to address this central research question, it is important to identify what the standard representation of the social history of Mwinilunga District has been.[18] The process of social change in

---

[10] See: (NAZ) SEC2/955, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, November 1947.

[11] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks, F.V. Bruce-Miller, History of the Sub-District, 1918, Folio 29 & 30; Compare with: (BOD) Richard Cranmer Dening, Land Tenure Report No.7, North-Western Province.

[12] Compare this to other parts of Zambia: A. von Oppen, 'Bounding villages: The enclosure of locality in Central Africa, 1890s to 1990s' (Habilitationsgeschrift, Humboldt University of Berlin, 2003); Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'; H.L. Moore and M. Vaughan, *Cutting down trees: Gender, nutrition, and agricultural change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990* (Portsmouth etc., 1994).

[13] (NAZ) NWP1/2/40, K. J. Forder, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, September 1952.

[14] See: (NAZ) SEC2/963, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District tour report, 31 January 1955.

[15] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 36-7; Turner, *Drums of affliction,* 24.

[16] Compare with: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; An interesting case study from an adjacent area is: K. Crehan, *The fractured community: Landscapes of power and gender in rural Zambia* (Berkeley etc., 1997).

[17] For a similar argument, see: J. Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity: Myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley etc., 1999); T.T. Spear, *Mountain farmers: Moral economies of land and agricultural development in Arusha and Meru* (Oxford etc., 1997), 238; J. Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests: Toward a history of political tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, 1990).

[18] A similar approach has been adopted by: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; K. Crehan, ''Tribes' and the people who read books: Managing history in colonial Zambia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 23:2 (1998),

Mwinilunga has overwhelmingly been interpreted within a metanarrative of linear, comprehensive and transformative change.[19] Ideas of transition have been adopted by colonial administrators, agricultural experts, post-colonial officials and anthropologists alike.[20] Within this line of thought an 'epochal divide' would be posited following the impact of exogenous forces, such as colonialism or capitalism.[21] This metanarrative has emphasised external over internal causes of change and has advanced ideas of rupture rather than continuity. Outward expressions of social change which such representations have highlighted are, for example, the replacement of conical grass thatched houses by square brick houses; clothing change from bark cloth and animal skins to imported mass-manufactured clothing; changes in agriculture from 'subsistence' to 'market' production; labour migration to urban areas in search of waged employment; or shifts in the importance of extended kin-based associations towards nuclear family households.[22] Yet such transitions should be questioned. It will be suggested that the process of social change in Mwinilunga District was gradual and incremental, rather than rapid or transformative. Even as numerous changes were manifested in outward appearance, inhabitants of Mwinilunga District were able to negotiate and appropriate change in accordance with long-established practices and modes of thought.[23] New influences were embedded within existing frameworks, rather than discarding or transforming these. The tension between continuity and change will be at the heart of this work.

As the example of changing settlement patterns in Mwinilunga already suggests, there was no simple accord between representations of social change and the course of historical practice.[24] Colonial officials, post-colonial experts, anthropologists and even much subsequent historiography have interpreted changing settlement patterns within a narrative of comprehensive social change, or even within a 'modernist narrative' of transition from 'tradition' to 'modernity'.[25] Yet local historical practice did not fit into such discursive constructs. Moving towards the roadside did not necessarily entail a trend towards individualisation or commercialisation, as contemporary observers had expected. Forms of extended kinship and existing practices of agricultural production could retain importance, as even when people moved towards the roadside they did so for their own reasons and with their own aims in mind.[26] It will be proposed that in the historiography of Mwinilunga District

---

203-18; J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution: The dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume two* (Chicago and London, 1997). These works have analysed the discourses through which social change has been represented.

[19] The 'modernisation myth' in Zambia has most eloquently been set out by James Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, 14-7, 33; J. Ferguson, 'Mobile workers, modernist narratives: A critique of the historiography of transition on the Zambian Copperbelt', *Journal of Southern African studies* 16:3-4 (1990), 385-412 and 603-21; See parallels in: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Crehan, *The fractured community.*

[20] See examples in: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Crehan, *The fractured community.*

[21] See the discussion on the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute below; Spear, *Mountain farmers,* 8.

[22] The metanarrative of social change will be elaborated in the chapters of this thesis, based on archival and oral evidence as explained below.

[23] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; See parallels in: Spear, *Mountain farmers,* 238; Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests.*

[24] Issues of discourse, representation and practice have long been debated in social sciences and historical theory. For the Zambian context see: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Crehan, *The fractured community*; Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; More generally see: Spear, *Mountain farmers*; Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution*; S.S. Berry, *No condition is permanent: The social dynamics of agrarian change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison, 1993); J.I. Guyer, 'Naturalism in models of African production', *Man* 19:3 (1984), 371-88; J.I. Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization in Equatorial Africa', *Man* 28:2 (1993), 243-65; C. Piot, *Remotely global: Village modernity in West Africa* (Chicago etc., 1999); V.Y. Mudimbe, *The invention of Africa: Gnosis, philosophy and the order of knowledge* (Bloomington, 1988).

[25] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'; Von Oppen, 'Bounding villages'.

[26] See examples in: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

hitherto linear narratives, which imply ideas of 'development', 'progress' or 'modernity', have been dominant and that such narratives have obfuscated the non-linear course of historical practice.[27]

The dissonance between representations of social change and local historical practice became particularly apparent when studying the agricultural history of Mwinilunga District.[28] Despite almost one century of official propaganda for maize as a 'modern' cash crop, producers in Mwinilunga overwhelmingly continued to prefer cassava. Cassava, however, was not a 'traditional' subsistence crop, but rather enabled an engagement with the market through the production of other crops or through the direct marketing of cassava. Producers could grow more than enough for their own subsistence, but would not sell crops due to the unavailability of markets, price fluctuations or for other reasons.[29] Historical transitions, from 'subsistence' to 'market' production, which colonial officials, agricultural experts and even some scholarly works proposed as necessary, did not appear clear-cut.[30] Pineapple farmers who had produced tons of pineapples in the 1970s could revert to subsistence production of cassava several years later once markets slumped.[31] Even if concepts of 'subsistence' and 'market' production did not seem to fit the historical reality of Mwinilunga District, such concepts continued to be adopted to represent practice. Representation and practice fed into one another in multiple and complex ways. Narratives stand in a dialectical relationship to historical practice, 'actions and representations are indissolubly linked.'[32] Colonial representations proved surprisingly influential, being replicated implicitly and explicitly by government ministries, foreign NGOs and even being reflected in the language of oral interviews.[33] Farmers in Mwinilunga today talk about producing cassava for 'subsistence', as a 'traditional' crop – even if nothing about this crop, introduced from America through the long-distance trade over the course of the seventeenth century, could be termed 'traditional'. The metanarrative of linear social change, expressed by Turner and propounded by colonial officials and post-colonial experts, has thus been internalised by the population of Mwinilunga District, who now apply a discourse of 'tradition' and 'modernity', as the example of cassava evidences.[34] This work aims to set out, analyse and question the metanarrative of social change in Mwinilunga District, by testing hypotheses from this narrative against the ambiguous course of historical practice.

[27] A similar argument has been made by: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Berry, *No condition is permanent.*

[28] This research was conducted in 2008 for my Master thesis: I. Peša, 'Cinderella's cassava: A historical study of agricultural adaptation in Mwinilunga District from pre-colonial times to independence' (Mphil thesis, Leiden University, 2009).

[29] See: I. Peša, ''Cassava is our chief': Negotiating identity, markets and the state through cassava in Mwinilunga, Zambia', in: J-B. Gewald, A. Leliveld and I. Peša (eds.), *Transforming Innovations in Africa: Explorative studies on appropriation in African societies* (Leiden etc., 2012), 169-90; C.C. Fourshey, '"The remedy for hunger is bending the back": Maize and British agricultural policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920-1960', *The international journal of African historical studies* 41:2 (2008), 223-61; A. von Oppen, 'Cassava, "The lazy man's food"? Indigenous agricultural innovation and dietary change in Northwestern Zambia (ca. 1650-1970)', in: C. Lentz (ed.), *Changing food habits: Case studies from Africa, South America and Europe* (New York, 1999), 43-72.

[30] See: G. Carswell, 'Food crops as cash crops: The case of colonial Kigezi, Uganda', *Journal of agrarian change* 3:4 (2003), 521-51; Berry, *No condition is permanent.*

[31] I. Peša, 'Buying pineapples, selling cloth: Traders and trading stores in Mwinilunga District, 1940-1970', in: R. Ross, M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša (eds.), *The objects of life in Central Africa: The history of consumption and social change, 1840-1980* (Leiden etc., 2013), 259-80.

[32] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* XXIII.

[33] See parallels in: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* XXI-XXII; Crehan, 'Tribes and the people who read books', 203-18.

[34] See parallels in: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

Social change in Mwinilunga District has been analysed through the seminal studies of Victor Turner in the 1950s and by James Pritchett in the 1980s.[35] These anthropologists, however, did not make full use of available historical sources, which are indispensable to an understanding of the process of social change.[36] Both Turner and Pritchett adopted assumptions about the transformative and linear nature of social change, especially brought about by colonialism and capitalism.[37] One example of this mode of thought is the alleged assertion of colonial hegemony following the introduction of taxation in Mwinilunga in 1913.[38] Archival sources as well as Turner and Pritchett's work have suggested that taxation had a profound effect on society, causing widespread flight, tax evasion, famine and consequent repressive measures.[39] The British colonial administration, in an attempt to 'demonstrate the overwhelming force at their disposal', 'burned down some Lunda villages, shot some people, and occasionally held wives and children hostage in a calculated display to show the futility of resistance.'[40] Underlining the transformative nature of colonial rule, Pritchett asserted that the British 'discouraged or destroyed most of the traditional means of subsistence, enforcing migrant labor as the only option [to earn tax money].'[41] Yet a close reading of archival sources and a pairing with oral history suggests otherwise. People might have fled into the bush on approach of the tax official, but most returned several days later once the official had passed. More attention should be paid to processes of local negotiation, agency and gradual change.[42] Colonial rule did not necessarily have transformative effects on daily life, as subsequent chapters will illustrate in detail, whereas the changes that did occur did not follow a simple linear course.[43] Existing understandings of and explanations for social change in Mwinilunga District should therefore be adjusted.

The nature, course and local specificity of social change will be studied by focusing on one particular area over a prolonged period of time.[44] The availability of detailed anthropological analyses of social change, coupled with a variety of historical sources, make Mwinilunga District a good case study to understand processes of social change. The hypotheses about the nature, course and direction of social change, proposed by colonial officials, Turner, Pritchett and post-colonial agents, will be questioned and tested against a detailed analysis of historical practice. Through an in depth case study this thesis aims to reach broader conclusions about processes of social change in twentieth century Central Africa.[45] Recent scholarship has fruitfully engaged in questioning the representations and metanarratives through which social change has hitherto been understood.[46] Anthropological and historical reconstructions have challenged the hegemony of colonial rule by asserting cross-cultural dialogue and pointing towards the co-construction of discourse.[47] Others have deconstructed the local meaning of concepts such as 'capitalism', suggesting processes of appropriation by arguing that

---

[35] Monographs by Victor Witter Turner: *Schism and continuity*; *Drums of affliction*; *The forest of symbols: Aspects of Ndembu ritual* (Ithaca etc., 1970); Work by Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; *Friends for life, friends for death: Cohorts and consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu* (Charlottesville etc., 2007).

[36] J-B. Gewald, 'Researching and writing in the twilight of an imagined conquest: Anthropology in Northern Rhodesia 1930-1960', *History and anthropology* 18:4 (2007), 471; D.M. Gordon, 'Rites of Rebellion: Recent anthropology from Zambia', *African studies* 62:1 (2003), 131-2.

[37] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 7-10; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 36-7.

[38] See also: F. Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest: The British occupation of Zambia, 1884-1924* (Essex, 1981).

[39] For a more detailed analysis see Chapter 1; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 7-8; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 33-5.

[40] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 36.

[41] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 229.

[42] See: Gewald, 'Researching and writing', 471.

[43] See: W.T. Kalusa, 'Disease and the remaking of missionary medicine in colonial Northwestern Zambia: A case study of Mwinilunga District, 1902-1964', (PhD thesis, John Hopkins University, 2003); Spear, *Mountain farmers.*

[44] Compare with: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Crehan, *The fractured community.*

[45] See the discussion on the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute below; Crehan, *The fractured community,* 233.

[46] For example: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Piot, *Remotely global*.

[47] See for example: Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution*; Spear, *Mountain farmers.*

universal concepts can be interpreted in specific ways.[48] Still others have questioned the usefulness of concepts such as 'modernity' or 'globalisation'.[49] Yet despite such nuanced work, assertions of linear transitions from 'tradition' to 'modernity', which overwhelming adopt ideas of development, continue to be made.[50] This study is an attempt to question such narratives. It argues that an effective critique of accepted terms can only be made through a particular case study of local history.[51] Although some of the processes described in this thesis do have parallels in other areas, it is only by adopting a confined spatial and temporal focus that meaningful conclusions about the nature of social change in Mwinilunga District can be reached.

Social change will be approached with a focus on the unexpected course of historical practice and the fluidity of daily life.[52] It should be critically examined to what extent the assumptions underlying standard narratives of social change accurately represent the historical reality of places such as Mwinilunga. Based on a detailed reading of archival sources, coupled with the assumptions about social change proposed by Turner and the Rhodes Livingstone Institute, four spheres of social change have been selected for analysis, namely production, mobility, consumption and social relationships. Social change in these four spheres has predominantly been represented through narratives of linearity, transition and transformative change.[53] Assumptions about the course of social change in these four spheres will be boiled down to four hypotheses, which will form the starting point of each thematic chapter. In the sphere of production the transition from 'subsistence' to 'market' production of cash crops will be questioned; in the sphere of mobility the hypothesis that increased mobility would bring about transformative change, either positively leading to 'development' or negatively to 'underdevelopment', will be examined; in the sphere of consumption the transition from 'self-sufficiency' to 'market-integration' through access to store-bought goods will be problematized; and lastly in the sphere of social relationships the hypothesis that extended kin-based affiliations would give way to the nuclear family and a process of individualisation will be scrutinised. Each chapter will test one hypothesis against historical sources, assessing whether existing narratives are indeed valid ways in which to interpret social change. In order to better understand the context within which this study is located, an overview of the historiography, in particular of the works of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute (RLI), will first be provided.[54]

---

[48] Crehan, *The fractured community*; Berry, *No condition is permanent.*

[49] J. Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world: African consumerism and the genealogies of globalization* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2008); Piot, *Remotely global.*

[50] For an overview of recent debates, see: H. Englund and J. Leach, 'Ethnography and the meta-narratives of modernity', *Current anthropology* 41:2 (2000), 225-48; Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity;* L.M. Thomas, 'Modernity's failings, political claims, and intermediate concepts', *The American historical review* 116:3 (2011), 727-40.

[51] A similar argument is made by: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Crehan, *The fractured community.*

[52] This approach has been inspired by works such as: Berry, *No condition is permanent*; Piot, *Remotely global.*

[53] Compare with: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; F. Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for? An African historian's perspective', *African affairs* 100:399 (2001), 189-213.

[54] The Rhodes Livingstone Institute is alternatively referred to as the Manchester School. See: T. van Teeffelen, 'The Manchester School in Africa and Israel: A critique', *Dialectical anthropology* 3:1 (1978), 67-83; J.H. van Doorne, 'Situational Analysis: It's potential and limitations for anthropological research on social change in Africa', *Cahiers d'études africaines* 21:84 (1981), 479-506; R.P. Werbner, 'The Manchester School in South-Central Africa', *Annual review of anthropology* 13 (1984), 157-85; J-K. van Donge, 'Understanding rural Zambia today: The relevance of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute', *Africa* 55:1 (1985), 60-76; H. Macmillan, 'Return to the Malungwana drift – Max Gluckman, the Zulu nation and the common society', *African affairs* 94:374 (1995), 39-65; L. Schumaker, *Africanizing anthropology: Fieldwork, networks, and the making of cultural knowledge in Central Africa* (Durham and London, 2001); Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion', 125-39; W.M.J. van Binsbergen, 'Manchester as the birth place of modern agency research: The Manchester school explained from the perspective of Evans-Pritchard's book 'The Nuer'', in: M. de Bruijn, R. van Dijk and J-B. Gewald (eds.), *Strength beyond structure: Social and historical trajectories of agency in Africa* (Leiden etc., 2007), 16-61; Gewald, 'Researching and writing', 459-87.

Conceptualising social change: The Rhodes Livingstone Institute and Victor Turner

The understanding of Zambia's history has been profoundly shaped by the pioneering and formative work of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute, a social science research institute looking at the influence of British colonial rule in Central Africa.[55] RLI researchers carried out fieldwork in urban and rural locations throughout Northern Rhodesia, especially in the period from the 1930s to the 1960s.[56] This was the heyday of colonial rule and socio-economic change brought about by capitalism, labour migration and cash crop production.[57] This context provided ideal case studies with which the RLI could develop its interest in social change.[58] Significantly, RLI researchers moved away from the conception of tribes as bounded or homogenous units, marked by isolation, cohesion or systemic equilibrium.[59] Adopting a materialist approach of diachronic analysis, the RLI set out to research social conflicts, schisms and processes of change.[60]

The RLI sought to identify processes through which large forces such as capitalism and colonialism would bring about social change. Researchers aimed to account for 'the differential effects of labor migration and urbanization on the family and kinship organization, the economic life, the political values, the religious and magical beliefs' of society.[61] RLI researchers connected issues of industrialisation, labour migration and colonialism to life histories and micro case studies.[62] They assumed that within the 'total social field' changes in one part would automatically lead to changes in society as a whole.[63] According to Max Gluckman, there were periods of relative stability and 'repetitive equilibria' when contradictions, conflict and change could be contained within the system of society. But there were equally periods in which the equilibrium was disturbed, change could not be controlled and a radical transformation of society would result.[64] In the case of Northern Rhodesia

---

[55] Gewald, 'Researching and writing', 461; Crehan, *The fractured community,* 55; Schumaker, *Africanizing anthropology.*

[56] Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion', 126. A small selection of RLI works: Urban – A.L. Epstein, *Politics in an urban African community* (Manchester, 1958); J.C. Mitchell (ed.), *Social networks in urban situations* (Manchester, 1969); G. Wilson, *The economics of detribalization in Northern Rhodesia I & II,* Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 5-6, (Manchester, 1942; reprinted 1968); G. Wilson and M.H. Wilson, *The analysis of social change: Based on observations in Central Africa* (Cambridge etc., 1945). Rural – E. Colson, *Social organization of the Gwembe Tonga* (Manchester, 1960); N. Long, *Social change and the individual: A study of the social and religious responses to innovation in a Zambian rural community* (Manchester, 1968); M. Gluckman, *Politics, law and ritual in tribal society* (Oxford, 1965); A.I. Richards, *Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1939); W. Watson, *Tribal cohesion in a money economy: A study of the Mambwe people* (Manchester, 1958).

[57] Werbner, 'The Manchester School', 161-3; Macmillan, 'Return to the Malungwana drift', 50; Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion', 126; Gewald, 'Researching and writing'.

[58] Schumaker, *Africanizing anthropology,* 115; Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion', 126.

[59] A. Kuper, *Anthropology & anthropologists: The modern British school* (3rd edn., London and New York, 1996), 1-34, 136; Macmillan, 'Return to the Malungwana drift', 44-9; Binsbergen, 'Manchester as the birth place', 18-24, 37-4; Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion', 128-30.

[60] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Werbner, 'The Manchester school', 163, 176; Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion', 131; Macmillan, 'Return to the Malungwana drift', 47-8.

[61] M. Gluckman, 'The seven year research plan of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute', *Journal of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute* 4 (1945), 9; Quoted in: Werbner, 'The Manchester School', 163.

[62] Werbner, 'The Manchester school', 159-62; Schumaker, *Africanizing anthropology*; Van Binsbergen, 'Africa as the birth place', 39-42.

[63] Werbner, 'The Manchester School', 174-5; Macmillan, 'Return to the Malungwana drift', 50; Schumaker, *Africanizing anthropology*, 77.

[64] Kuper, *Anthropology and anthropologists,* 139; Macmillan, 'Return to the Malungwana drift', 52; P.M. Cocks, 'Applied anthropology or the anthropology of modernity?: Max Gluckman's vision of Southern African society, 1939-1947', *Journal of Southern African studies* 38:3 (2012), 649-65.

capitalism and colonialism seemed to cause such a radical transformation, although it remained difficult to predict the exact timing and nature of the break that would ensue.[65]

In a review article, James Ferguson has claimed that RLI urban research was characterised by a 'modernist narrative' of progressive change through urbanisation and industrialisation, 'a metanarrative of transition in which tribal rural Africans were swiftly becoming modern, urban members of an industrial society.'[66] Permanent urban settlement, as opposed to temporary labour migration, would mark 'the emergence of Africans into the modern world.'[67] Ferguson has been denounced for misreading the nuances of RLI work and critics argue that urbanisation has never followed a linear path.[68] Nevertheless, RLI work – which was overwhelmingly concerned with questions of social change – proposed assumptions about the nature and direction of change, which Ferguson aptly connected to issues of 'modernity'. In an influential theoretical treatise, RLI researchers Godfrey and Monica Wilson indeed suggested linear processes of social change, claiming that economic, political, religious and social changes were all interlinked in a total social field: 'Within living memory men's relations in Central Africa were primitive; now they are being very rapidly civilized.'[69] The RLI applied similar assumptions to rural areas, which were studied through the prism of structural transformations brought about by colonisation, industrialisation and urbanisation.[70]

Rural RLI studies, exemplified by the influential work of Audrey Richards, have overwhelmingly described social change in negative terms of breakdown and crisis, brought about by colonialism and capitalism. Especially labour migration, which caused high levels of male absenteeism, would impair agricultural production and would strain village organisation.[71] Within this context Victor Turner published his ground-breaking monograph on the socio-economic organisation of villages in Mwinilunga, focusing on village cohesion and fission.[72] Turner developed the renowned technique of 'situational analysis' within the framework of the 'social drama', which enabled a study of change through specific case studies and manifestations of rituals.[73] He interpreted: 'performances of ritual as distinct phases in the social processes whereby groups became adjusted to internal changes and adapted to their external environment.'[74] Even if Turner provided ample evidence of individual variation, agency and the flexibility with which actors dealt with macro-level influences, he equally pointed towards the limits of creative adaptation: 'changes brought about by the growing participation of Ndembu in the Rhodesian cash economy and an increased rate of labour migration, have in some areas (…) drastically reshaped some institutions and destroyed others.'[75]

---

[65] Macmillan, 'Return to the Malungwana drift', 52; Gewald, 'Researching and writing', 470, 476.

[66] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, 33; Ferguson, 'Mobile workers, modernist narratives', 385-412 and 603-21.

[67] J.C. Mitchell, 'A note on the urbanization of Africans on the Copperbelt', *Human problems in British Central Africa* 12 (1951), 20; Quoted in: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, 20.

[68] H. Macmillan, 'The historiography of transition on the Zambian Copperbelt: Another view', *Journal of Southern African studies* 19:4 (1993), 681-712; D. Potts, Counter-urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt? Interpretations and implications', *Urban studies* 42:4 (2005), 583-609.

[69] Wilson, *The analysis of social change*, 2 (3-13).

[70] Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion'; Macmillan, 'Return to the Malungwana drift'.

[71] Audrey Richards only later joined the RLI, yet her work was formative for rural RLI studies: Richards, *Land, labour, diet;* Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

[72] Monographs by Victor Witter Turner: *Schism and continuity*; *Drums of affliction*; *The forest of symbols: Aspects of Ndembu ritual* (Ithaca etc., 1970); See: B. Jules-Rosette, 'Decentering ethnography: Victor Turner's vision of anthropology', *Journal of religion in Africa* 24:2 (1994), 160-81. Turner's ideas about 'liminality', symbol and ritual have proven to be particularly influential: V.W. Turner, *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure* (Chicago and London, 1969); V.W. Turner, *Dramas, fields, and metaphors: Symbolic action in human society* (Ithaca etc., 1974). For a more comprehensive overview of Turner's work, see the sources section.

[73] Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion', 131; Kuper, *Anthropology and anthropologists*, 144-5.

[74] Turner, *Forest of symbols*, 20.

[75] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 17; Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion', 131.

Turner described the 'breakdown of traditional villages into small units headed by younger men who participate in the encroaching cash economy', heralding crisis within the old order of society.[76] He claimed that 'the old order was doomed' and that 'to become eminent they [individuals] must commit themselves whole-heartedly to the cash economy (…) [which] was breaking down the structure of the village.'[77] Socio-economic changes led to the disintegration of villages into ever smaller units ('farms'), which in turn affected forms of interpersonal association, matrilineal kinship, relationships between generations and genders, as well as forms of political authority and agricultural production.[78] By reconciling conflicting parties and restoring social structure and custom, rituals could slow down the pace of change and temporarily solve contradictions within society, yet the direction of change was irreversible.[79] Despite a veneer of continuity through ritual redress, change was rampant:

> [People] try to slow down the rate of change by many devices, in order that they may carry on their daily lives within a framework of routine. One of the ways in which they attempt to do this is by domesticating the new, and subjectively menacing, forces in the service of the traditional order, so that for a time, for example, cash is accumulated in order to acquire traditional symbols of prestige or build up a clientele of followers to bid for long-established positions of authority. But ultimately the contradiction between the basic assumptions of the new order and those of the traditional order distorts and then disrupts the social structure. The new order smashes the old, and the traditional set of conflicts is supplanted by a different one. During the process of transition, traditional kinds of conflict that were formerly not merely controlled by customary machinery of redress, legal and ritual, but were also converted by them into social energy which sustained the system, can no longer be so controlled, for the redressive machinery is breaking down. The result is that such conflicts accelerate the destruction of the traditional order.[80]

Turner's work thus fits into the general framework of RLI thought on social change.[81] Turner assumed that influences of colonialism, labour migration and capitalism would lead to changes in patterns of belief, social relationships and economic organisation. Adhering to a narrative of linear and transformative change, Turner put forward strong hypotheses about the course of social change in Mwinilunga District.

With the benefit of hindsight what can we say about questions of social change in Mwinilunga? Turner's hypotheses will be tested against an empirical study of historical events, processes and consciousness. This thesis is not an attempt to conduct a case study in RLI fashion. Neither does it restudy Turner's work as such. Instead, it uses Turner's work as source material to grasp processes of social change in the 1950s and it engages with the hypotheses about the course, direction and pace of social change put forward by Turner.[82] Do narratives of linear change, propounded by RLI scholars, colonial officials and post-colonial experts alike, provide the best framework to understand processes of social change or should alternative interpretations be proposed? When viewed within a long-term historical perspective, the changes in settlement patterns which Turner observed as transformative appear contested, gradual and diffuse.[83] Rather than placing emphasis on ruptures or radical change, attention will be paid to continuity and processes of local negotiation, contestation and appropriation of change. By historicising Turner's observations and testing his hypotheses a different understanding of social change in Mwinilunga can be obtained.

---

[76] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 10.
[77] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 136.
[78] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 138.
[79] Turner, *Drums of affliction*, 90.
[80] Turner, *Drums of affliction*, 130.
[81] Macmillan, 'Return to the Malungwana drift', 50-1.
[82] This work is significantly different from the work by Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[83] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Three.

Reconceptualising continuity and change: Theories, narratives and representations

Why would it be relevant to study colonial assumptions and RLI thought about social change from the 1950s? It might be assumed that after more than fifty years such ideas would have become outdated or discredited. Yet RLI conceptions of social change were, in certain respects, very similar to later ideas about the course of change.[84] The 'language, metaphors, problems, and solutions' employed in the 1950s have implicitly and explicitly influenced current understandings of social change.[85] To assert a parallel in modes of thought and representations between the 1950s and more recent scholarship is in no way to suggest that recent work has not moved beyond old debates or interpretations. It is merely to acknowledge a strong historical legacy, as: 'the attachment of anthropologists and others to a linear metanarrative of emergence and progress is clearly an ongoing matter, and not simply an aspect of a now "out of date" historical past.'[86]

Parallel to the RLI interest in social change, academic thought from the 1950s onwards was dominated by 'modernisation' theories. Such theories provide prime examples of linear conceptualisations of social change.[87] Modernisation theories placed 'tradition' and 'modernity' in stark contrast to one another, suggesting that in a historically progressive process traditional societies would move towards modernity.[88] Ideas of modernisation have proven highly influential and enduring. Even if criticism of modernisation theories has been profound, recent work continues to engage with issues of modernity, its nature and what it entails.[89] Post-modern studies critique ideas of modernisation, yet they engage with notions of modernity. Despite all the insecurity about what 'the modern' is, it continues to be taken as a point of departure. Ideas of modernity have become a metanarrative, connoting assumptions which are not always voiced, but are ever present and inform thought.[90] The understanding of social change in the area of Mwinilunga has been heavily influenced by such ideas of linear change, modernisation and modernity.

The process of social change within a local setting will be examined, as 'the dismantling of linear teleologies of emergence and development remains an unfinished task – indeed a task barely begun – in African studies and elsewhere.'[91] How did 'big forces' such as colonialism and capitalism, influence – but in turn equally become shaped and changed by – actors operating on a small-scale local level?[92] Narratives of linear social change did not match the intricacies of historical practice. Change should not be interpreted as all-encompassing, as previous practices could linger on and actively shape responses to change.[93] Rather than stressing linear and transformative processes of social change, the inhabitants of Mwinilunga tend to emphasise a degree of continuity with the past. Notwithstanding

---

[84] This is evidenced by the academic interest in RLI studies, see for example: J. Pottier, *Migrants no more: Settlement and survival in Mambwe villages, Zambia* (Manchester, 1988); Crehan, *The fractured community*; Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity.*

[85] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* XXI.

[86] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, 16.

[87] These ideas date back to the age of Enlightenment, but their main articulation was after the Second World War, by scholars such as W.W. Rostow. See: Thomas, 'Modernity's failings', 727-40; F. Cooper, 'Africa's pasts and Africa's historians', *Canadian journal of African studies* 34:2 (2000), 298-336; J.C. Miller, 'History and Africa/Africa and history', *The American historical review* 104:1 (1999), 1-32, for a discussion of progressive narratives of history and ideas about modernity and modernisation in African historiography.

[88] S.N. Eisenstadt, *Tradition, change, and modernity* (New York, 1972), 10; Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for?', 196-7, 206; Thomas, 'Modernity's failings', 727.

[89] Englund and Leach, 'Ethnography and the meta-narratives of modernity'; Thomas, 'Modernity's failings'; Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*.

[90] Englund and Leach, 'Ethnography and the meta-narratives of modernity', 226.

[91] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, 17.

[92] Crehan, *The fractured community,* 9.

[93] See: F. Trentmann, 'The politics of everyday life', in: F. Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of consumption* (Oxford etc., 2012), 521-47; Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for?', 192; Spear, *Mountain farmers,* 238.

changing appearances and fundamental social change, the Lunda 'speak of themselves as a people who have successfully maintained their traditions.'[94] Far from being a mark of changelessness, traditions are 'continually transformed as people struggle over social changes and conflicts within their society.'[95] Tradition has enabled the inhabitants of Mwinilunga to make sense of and deal with change. It could be 'a reservoir of flexible values from which (…) [people] continually sought solutions to new challenges.'[96] Tradition mediated processes of change and continuity: 'Tradition is thus both persistent and changing, a kind of historical running average, as the lessons of the past are continually reinterpreted in the context of a present that is itself in the process of being assimilated into the past.'[97] Traditions change gradually and incrementally, they are 'continually reinterpreted and reconstructed as 'regulated improvisations' subject to their continued intelligibility and legitimacy.'[98] In this sense traditions can be 'critically important in understanding historical processes of social change and representation.'[99] Studying the changing discourse of tradition can therefore enable an alternative understanding of the process of social change in the area of Mwinilunga.[100]

Continuity and change: Debates on labour migration, capitalism and kinship

Besides Turner's momentous studies of Mwinilunga District in the 1950s, Pritchett conducted extensive research in the area in the 1980s. Pritchett set out to study continuity and change, using history to gain an understanding of the present and to comprehend the 'indigenization of social change'.[101] Notwithstanding the merits and in depth analysis of Pritchett's anthropological work, he uses mainly secondary sources to outline the historical context of the area.[102] Pritchett overemphasises historical ruptures, such as the overwhelming influence of long-distance trade, the violent imposition of colonial rule, the transformative power of the colonial state or the impact of post-colonial development schemes. By using a more comprehensive range of archival and oral historical sources, notions of continuity and change in Mwinilunga will be historicised.

In his meticulous study of medical practitioners in Mwinilunga District, Walima Kalusa paints a more balanced picture. Challenging the transformative, disruptive and exogenous nature of colonial rule, he argues that the 'projection of colonizers as an all-powerful entity whose policies turned Africans into hapless victims' obscures 'the ways in which people on the imperial frontier appropriated western (…) knowledge and technologies.'[103] Kalusa proposes to study colonial rule through notions of dialogue and local agency, emphasising that the colonial encounter could produce unintended consequences beyond administrative control. Responses to colonialism should 'be read as part and parcel of a long-established tradition of cultural reinterpretation that preceded and outlived

[94] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 5; This view has been confirmed by numerous oral interviews.

[95] T.T. Spear, 'Neo-traditionalism and the limits of invention in British colonial Africa', *Journal of African history* 44:1 (2003), 6.

[96] N. Kodesh, 'Renovating tradition: The discourse of succession in colonial Buganda', *The international journal of African historical studies* 34:3 (2001), 514.

[97] Spear, *Mountain farmers*, 238.

[98] Spear, 'Neo-traditionalism and the limits of invention', 26.

[99] Spear, 'Neo-traditionalism and the limits of invention', 5-6.

[100] This approach draws inspiration from: Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests;* C.A. Kratz, '"We've always done it like this … Except for a few details": "Tradition" and "innovation" in Okiek ceremonies', *Comparative studies in society and history* 35:1 (1993), 30-65; D.L. Schoenbrun, 'Conjuring the modern in Africa: Durability and rupture in histories of public healing between the Great Lakes of East Africa', *The American historical review* 111:5 (2006), 1403-39; P. Harries, 'Imagery, symbolism and tradition in a South African Bantustan: Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkhata, and Zulu history', *History and theory* 32:4 (1993), 105-25; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[101] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 7.

[102] Gewald, 'Researching and writing', 471; Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion', 131-2.

[103] Kalusa, 'Disease and the remaking of missionary medicine', 9; See also his 'Language, medical auxiliaries, and the re-interpretation of missionary medicine in colonial Mwinilunga, Zambia, 1922-51', *Journal of Eastern African studies* 1:1 (2007), 57-78.

colonialism.'[104] By focusing on dialogue and local agency insight into processes of social change in Mwinilunga can be advanced.

Mwinilunga District shares a number of traits with the surrounding area. A regional focus which highlights interconnections is therefore indispensable. The empirically rich work of writers such as Von Oppen, Miller, Schecter, Hoover, Crehan, Kalusa, Chabatama and Kakoma has facilitated the contextualisation of Mwinilunga within the broader area and within long-term historical trends.[105] Yet even global forces which appear at first sight to have a universal or homogenising influence can become adapted in locally specific ways.[106] The social history of Mwinilunga District highlights the specificity, appropriation and internalisation of change. Even micro studies of remote localities can advance our understanding of large forces such as capitalism:

> concern with the small details of people's day-to-day lives in particular times and places allows us to trace out something of what the large abstractions of monetization, commoditization, the state, and so on actually mean on the level of individual lives – and to trace out what these translate into both as regards the material realities they produce at the local level and in terms of how these realities are understood and imagined. This focus on the lived realities of particular places at particular historical moments can also pose the hoary old question of structure and agency in a potentially more fruitful way. Precisely because of its narrow focus, the carefully located case study enables us to explore both the creativity of individuals and the structuring of the spaces within which that creativity is exercised – and explore this not in some vague and generalized way but through particular empirical realities.[107]

Questions of continuity and change, structure and agency as well as the internal or external causes of change, will be tackled by studying one locality in depth over a long period of time.

A longstanding debate in African history concerns the relationship between exogenous forces and local agency.[108] Within Central African historiography particularly colonialism, which has been linked to capitalism, industrialisation and urbanisation, has been heralded as marking an 'epochal divide'.[109] Such work stresses transformative and external change, rather than paying attention to internally generated processes of change.[110] A prime example within Zambian historiography is Macpherson's work, which asserts that colonial rule was established rapidly and unproblematically, if violently.[111] A close reading of archival sources suggests a different view:

> the incoming colonial administration was far from powerful, and was, instead, dependant on the goodwill of the local population (...) the colonial state had been established, not by conquest but in a series of initially symbiotic *ad hoc* relationships between junior representatives of the British South Africa Company and a varied and disparate arrangement of resident power brokers.[112]

---

[104] Kalusa, 'Disease and the remaking of missionary medicine', 221.

[105] See above and: J.C. Miller, *Way of death: Merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade 1730-1830* (Madison, 1988); R.E. Schecter, 'History and historiography on a frontier of Lunda expansion: The origins and early development of the Kanongesha' (PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin Madison, 1976); J.J. Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej: Reconstructing Ruund history (The nuclear Lunda: Zaïre, Angola, Zambia)' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1978); C.M. Chabatama, 'Peasant farming, the state, and food security in the North-Western Province of Zambia, 1902-1964' (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1999); B.C. Kakoma, 'Colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia: A case study of colonial policy in the Mwinilunga District of Zambia, 1901-1939' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1971).

[106] Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for?'; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world.*

[107] Crehan, *The fractured community*, 233.

[108] See in particular: Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution;* Spear, *Mountain farmers*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

[109] S. Ellis, 'Writing histories of contemporary Africa', *Journal of African history* 43:1 (2002), 5; RLI work equally proposed such views.

[110] For a critique, see: S. Feierman, 'African histories and the dissolution of world history', in: V.Y. Mudimbe, J.F. O'Barr and R.H. Bates (eds.), *Africa and the disciplines: The contributions of research in Africa to the social sciences and humanities* (Chicago and London, 1993), 167-212.

[111] Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest.*

[112] Gewald, 'Researching and writing', 471.

Studying continuity and change in Tanzania, Spear argues that external factors of change should not be overemphasised:

> Many writers stress the external forces acting on African societies as the main causes of change (…) Such a focus is clearly inadequate, however, when it comes either to explaining the multitude of changes which have occurred within African societies or to understanding how and why Africans responded to external forces as they did.[113]

Instead of pointing out the transformative nature of social change, as RLI scholars and much subsequent historiography have done, attention will be paid to individual agency, local negotiation and internally generated processes of change. In this manner the gradual nature of change and the long-term continuities which shaped consciousness and lived reality in Mwinilunga District come to light.[114]

The social history of Mwinilunga District can contribute to three ongoing debates within Central African historiography, namely those on labour migration, capitalism and kinship. Zambian historiography, due to the Copperbelt mines, has been dominated by urban studies and questions of labour migration.[115] Amin has negatively described Zambia as part of 'Africa of the labour reserves'.[116] The effects of labour migration on local communities have been much researched. Many studies have assumed that labour migration would profoundly affect, or even transform, the economic, social and political organisation of villages, either negatively (leading to proletarianisation, agricultural decline and family breakdown)[117] or positively (by creating wealth and agricultural entrepreneurship).[118] Yet the effects of labour migration did not have to be transformative. The case of Mwinilunga will be set within the regional context of mobility, by emphasising the longstanding nature of mobility and the agency of actors as they participated in urban economies or straddled the rural-urban divide.[119] Next to economic motivations, labour migrants were driven by socio-cultural aspirations towards 'self-realisation'.[120] Existing debates have all too often adopted polarising dichotomies of urban and rural, development and underdevelopment or modernity and tradition.[121] The case of Mwinilunga challenges such dichotomies, by pointing out the variety in migrant labourers' life histories. Some migrants returned, whereas others stayed in urban areas. Clearly defined 'stages' of migration do therefore not seem applicable.[122] Through an empirical analysis of life histories, which go against universal trajectories of migration, debates on labour migration can be advanced.

---

[113] Spear, *Mountain farmers*, 8.

[114] Inspiration for this approach was taken from: Spear, *Mountain farmers*; Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*.

[115] See: RLI work; Or recently: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; J.L. Parpart, '"Where is your mother?": Gender, urban marriage, and colonial discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945', *The international journal of African historical studies* 27:2 (1994), 241-71; For rural studies, see: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Pottier, *Migrants no more*.

[116] S. Amin, 'Underdevelopment and dependence in black Africa: Historical origin', *Journal of peace research* 9:105 (1972), 105-19.

[117] For rural breakdown see: Richards, *Land, labour, diet;* For a critique: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

[118] Watson, *Tribal cohesion in a money economy*; K.P. Vickery, *Black and white in Southern Zambia: The Tonga plateau economy and British imperialism 1890-1939* (New York etc., 1986).

[119] See: O. Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating or migrating villagers: A study of movement from North West Zambia to Angola' (PhD thesis, University of Bath, 1999); I. Kopytoff (ed.), *The African frontier: The reproduction of traditional African societies* (Bloomington etc., 1987); J.A. Andersson, 'Re-interpreting the rural-urban connection: Migration practices and socio-cultural dispositions of Buhera workers in Harare', *Africa* 71:1 (2001), 82-112; H. Englund, 'The village in the city, the city in the village: Migrants in Lilongwe', *The journal of Southern African studies* 28:1 (2002), 137-54.

[120] J.I. Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization in Equatorial Africa', *Man* 28:2 (1993), 243-65; See also: Andersson, 'Re-interpreting the rural-urban connection'; Englund, 'The village in the city'.

[121] See: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; J.A. Andersson, 'Informal moves, informal markets: International migrants and traders from Mzimba, Malawi', *African affairs* 105:420 (2006), 375-97.

[122] See the discussion between: Ferguson, 'Mobile workers, modernist narratives'; Macmillan, 'The historiography of transition'.

Questions of labour migration have conceptually been linked to debates on capitalism.[123] Labour migration and capitalism, in conjunction, are alleged to have restructured the relationship between rural and urban areas.[124] For rural areas the working of markets and the influence of global capitalism on spheres of production, consumption and social relationships have been vehemently discussed.[125] It has long been debated whether Africa's involvement in the world economy led 'along a road toward material and social progress or into a dead end.'[126] Linear assumptions about change, such as those suggesting a transition from subsistence to market production, can be questioned through the case of Mwinilunga.[127] Capitalism should not be treated as a monolithic force, and this is borne out by the variety of reactions to cash crop production throughout Zambia. In the Southern Province, situated along the railway line and well connected to major markets, both small peasants and large-scale farmers emerged who focused on producing maize as a cash crop.[128] The same prosperity was not experienced in other parts of the country. The Northern Province provides an example of agricultural breakdown under the influence of labour migration.[129] Mwinilunga District is different still, for neither did the area experience agricultural collapse, nor did large-scale wealthy farmers emerge. Instead, 'most of the peasants of North-Western province remained relatively food secure in colonial Zambia, largely due to their resilience, initiative, and industriousness.'[130]

Contributing to debates on the influence of capitalism, markets and the state in the locality of Mwinilunga, this study will focus on the socio-economic aspects of daily life more than Turner and Pritchett's work has done.[131] Taking the material basis of society as a vantage point enables a different understanding of processes of social change. A socio-economic approach entails an emphasis on issues of livelihood procurement, agricultural production, the consumption of goods and motives for labour migration.[132] How did cash crop production influence social organisation within the village? Did the acquisition of store-bought goods signal market integration or did it merely lead to dependency? To answer such questions a shifting focus on 'large structures' and case studies of daily life is required, in order to understand how: 'the great surging narrative of contemporary capitalism translates into real power relations among real people in real places.'[133] The nature of capitalism in Mwinilunga will be analysed whilst remaining attentive to local variations and specificities of production, consumption and social relationships.

Capitalism did not only influence patterns of mobility, production and consumption, but affected social relationships and kinship as well.[134] According to Turner, the effects were negative: 'Everywhere, we see the spectacle of corporate groups of kin disintegrating, and the emergence of smaller residential units based on the elementary family.'[135] Turner predicted that forces of colonialism and capitalism would exacerbate the inherent tension between matrilineal descent and virilocal

[123] See: Amin, 'Underdevelopment and dependence'; A. de Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty: The role of migration – a critical review of the migration literature', *The journal of development studies* 36:2 (1999), 1-47.
[124] Amin, 'Underdevelopment and dependence'.
[125] See: K. Polanyi, C.M. Arensberg and H.W. Pearson (eds.), *Trade and market in the early empires: Economies in history and theory* (Glencoe, 1957); P.J. Bohannan and G. Dalton (eds.), *Markets in Africa* (Evanston, 1962).
[126] F. Cooper, 'Africa and the world economy', *African studies review* 24:2/3 (1981), 1.
[127] R.H. Bates, 'Some conventional orthodoxies in the study of agrarian change', *World politics* 36:2 (1984), 234-54.
[128] Vickery, *Black and white.*
[129] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* provide a more nuanced view.
[130] Chabatama, 'Peasant farming, the state, and food security', III.
[131] Van Binsbergen, 'Manchester as the birth place', 36; Van Donge, 'Understanding rural Zambia today', is of the opinion that the RLI did adopt a specific focus on material aspects of life.
[132] For a similar approach, see: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Spear, *Mountain farmers.*
[133] Crehan, *The fractured community,* 9.
[134] See: R.H. Bates, 'Capital, kinship, and conflict: The structuring influence of capital in kinship societies', *Canadian journal of African studies* 24:2 (1990), 151-64.
[135] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 43.

marriage, causing village conflicts which could only temporarily be resolved through ritual redress.[136] RLI scholars, laying the foundation for current understandings of kinship, portrayed kinship as one of the mechanisms through which access to land, labour and material resources could be negotiated, as 'the flexible, dependent and contingent result of processes of political manipulation within that group.'[137] Even if the RLI understood kinship association as dynamic and flexible, RLI scholars have equally tended to view the relationship between kinship and socio-economic and political organisation as causal or unidirectional, assuming that the cash economy would lead to an individualisation of society and a disencumbering of links of extended kinship.[138] Instead, a dialectical relationship between kinship and social change should be asserted. Socio-economic relations stimulate particular forms of kinship, but in turn relationships of kinship shape reactions to socio-economic and political change. Affiliations among extended kin have not simply given way to the nuclear family or to a process of individualisation, as RLI scholars had predicted. Pritchett aptly emphasises the continued importance of relationships of kinship, generation, gender and class in Mwinilunga District.[139] It will therefore be examined how relationships of kinship are related to and affected by broader processes of social change. By looking at the nature, course and direction of social change in Mwinilunga District this study hopes to contribute to broader debates on labour migration, capitalism and kinship in Central Africa.

A local history of social change

In order to grasp processes of social change, it is imperative to situate this case study in space as well as time. How is it possible to study broad historical processes, such as colonisation, monetisation, capitalism and nationalism through the lens of a specific locality? Within Zambia, Mwinilunga District is regarded as a 'remote' or even a 'marginal' area.[140] Crehan asks how we should 'understand the place of "peripheral" rural communities within the overall trajectory of a global capitalist development that would seem to be continually expanding and reaching ever deeper into ever more corners of the world', but which 'at the same time has traced such a grossly skewed and uneven path.'[141] Sometimes locations at the margin can reveal broader processes, such as capitalism or globalisation, with particular clarity, by pointing towards reception, reinterpretation, negotiation, domestication and localisation.[142] The conclusions reached for Mwinilunga do not necessarily apply to other parts of the region. Nonetheless, studying a specific area in depth can illustrate that even processes which appear to be universal do not have a single outcome.[143] Conducting a study of continuity and change in this area can provide examples of how broad processes gain local specificity, how social change is mediated through historical practice and local agency. According to Cooper, studying capitalism in African localities is interesting exactly because of its anomalies, which point towards the variability of global trends and the contestation of outcomes. A study of the locality of Mwinilunga District can illuminate 'large-scale, long-term processes without overlooking specificity, contingency and contestation.'[144]

---

[136] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Turner, *Drums of affliction*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Van Doorne, 'Situational analysis', 486-8.

[137] Van Binsbergen, 'Manchester as the birth place', 37; Van Donge, 'Understanding rural Zambia today', 66-8.

[138] Van Donge, 'Understanding rural Zambia today', 61; See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Crehan, *The fractured community*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*. Also: Berry, *No condition is permanent*; W. MacGaffey, 'Changing representations in Central African history', *Journal of African history* 46:2 (2005), 189-207.

[139] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; For a similar view, see: Berry, *No condition is permanent.*

[140] See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Von Oppen, 'The village as territory: Enclosing locality in Northwest Zambia, 1950s to 1990s', *Journal of African history* 47:1 (2006), 60-1; Crehan, *The fractured community,* 1, 12.

[141] Crehan, *The fractured community*, 15.

[142] Miller, 'History and Africa/Africa and history', 30; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world.*

[143] Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for?'; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world.*

[144] Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for?', 200.

Mwinilunga is not a bounded unit of study. Prior to the colonial period, Mwinilunga District was not even a unit as such and the inhabitants of the area continue to be characterised by mobility. Labour migration, kinship and chiefly politics link Mwinilunga to the surrounding region in multiple ways.[145] Nevertheless, it makes sense to view the social history of Mwinilunga District, which did increasingly become a unit over the course of the twentieth century, through the lens of space and place.[146] A spatial approach 'draws attention to the places and zones of interaction where people carried out social practices and generated perceptions', about identity, social belonging and relationships to the wider world.[147] It will be analysed how individuals in Mwinilunga constituted social relationships in space, focusing on cohesion and collaboration, as well as contestation and conflict between local, regional, national and global levels.[148] In the 1950s Turner already pointed towards the importance of space, place and sociality in Mwinilunga by emphasising settlement patterns, village layout and social organisation. He observed that large concentric villages were progressively breaking up into smaller units located along the roadside, a process which influenced both space and sociality.[149] Questions of social change will be linked to spatial issues through this presumed transition. If inhabitants of the area indeed moved towards the roadside, to what extent did this movement influence forms of association and daily life? The locality of Mwinilunga will be viewed as a site where practices are produced, where social reproduction and contestation takes place, where meaning and historical consciousness are shaped.[150]

A locality is both spatial and social, it connotes not only physical space but also social connections between inhabitants.[151] Locality can be regarded 'as a particular mode of sociality, i.e. as a particular means of structuring social relations, practices and identities in space and time.'[152] A locality is not a bounded entity, but is actively and historically constructed. It involves a continuous process of creation, 'the production of locality', which can reveal power relations and contestations between actors.[153] How was the locality of Mwinilunga shaped and constructed over time? Locality is inherently relational to a broader context, with which it is in constant dialogue.[154] What is the locality of Mwinilunga produced 'from, against, in spite of, and in relation to'?[155] Focusing on the production of locality can shed light on why certain practices, ideas and values were applied at certain times, thereby exemplifying the nature, pace and outcome of processes of social change. Local neighbourhoods:

> are contexts in the sense that they provide the frame or setting within which various kinds of human action (productive, reproductive, interpretive, performative) can be initiated and conducted meaningfully (…) meaningful life-worlds require legible and reproducible patterns of action (…) a neighborhood is a context, or a set of contexts, within which meaningful social action can be both generated and interpreted.[156]

A locality defines its importance and meaning vis-à-vis other localities, regions and global developments. The production of locality is driven by this broader context, but also generates its own

[145] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating', 95-7; Schecter, 'History and historiography'.
[146] For a similar approach in nearby Chavuma, see: Von Oppen, 'Bounding villages'.
[147] A.M. Howard and R.M. Shain (eds.), *The spatial factor in African history: The relationship between the social, material, and perceptual* (Leiden etc., 2005), 21.
[148] See: Howard and Shain, *The spatial factor in African history*; C.J. Gray, *Colonial rule and crisis in Equatorial Africa: Southern Gabon, ca. 1850-1940* (Rochester, 2002).
[149] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[150] A. Appadurai, 'The production of locality', in: *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization* (Minneapolis, 2003), 178-99.
[151] Appadurai, 'The production of locality', 178.
[152] Von Oppen, 'Bounding villages', 17.
[153] Appadurai, 'The production of locality', 181.
[154] Von Oppen, 'Bounding villages', 14.
[155] Appadurai, 'The production of locality', 184.
[156] Appadurai, 'The production of locality', 184.

context, within which local actions, ideas and values become intelligible. The spatial context of Mwinilunga District will be sketched, providing examples of the connections between Mwinilunga and the broader region as well as the specificity of the district itself. A focus on locality enables an understanding of how historical practice was given shape and how it was located in relation to spatial and social processes.

Social change will be approached from the vantage point of everyday history. This approach emphasises individual consciousness, motives and agency and highlights the specificity of Mwinilunga District.[157] The experiences, actions and habits of individuals will be studied, no matter how contradictory, elusive or slowly changing these might appear. The everyday is familiar and can therefore escape observation because it changes so slowly. Nevertheless, the everyday is the site where 'people find meaning, develop habits, and acquire a sense of themselves and their world.'[158] The everyday can be a platform on 'which people through their actions exercise direct influence on their condition.'[159] It is in the everyday that practices, habits and beliefs are either reinforced or come under pressure and change. The everyday life of the locality of Mwinilunga changed only gradually. This process of gradual change refutes narratives of linear and transformative change. Studying the everyday life of the locality of Mwinilunga can thus contribute to solving the paradox between continuity and change.

Approach, aims and method

Based on a reading of Central Africanist social sciences and historiography – in particular the works of the RLI – coupled with an assessment of archival sources and oral history, a metanarrative of social change has been identified. Social change in Mwinilunga District has dominantly, though not exclusively, been understood and represented within this metanarrative.[160] The metanarrative of linear and transformative social change has found expression in three separate, but interconnected, domains: in official policy, academic debate and in local historical consciousness.[161] With regard to agricultural production, for example, a linear transition from subsistence to cash crop production has been postulated throughout much of the twentieth century. Turner predicted the increasing importance of cash crop cultivation in the 1950s.[162] In tandem, colonial policies attempted to stimulate cash crop production, labelling maize as a 'modern' cash crop which should replace 'traditional' subsistence crops, such as cassava. Official policies and academic discourse, in turn, influenced local modes of speech and thought. Locally, cassava became denounced as a subsistence crop, 'just for eating'. Predictions of a transition from subsistence to cash crop cultivation have been made by academics, have been reproduced in policy circles and have been internalised by local cultivators.[163] Representations, be they those of colonial officials, experts or anthropologists, 'have a foothold in the complexities of the real world, but more important they have as one of their sets of referents those practices, meanings, and values' of historical actors themselves.[164] Yet this does not mean that narratives adequately reflect processes of social change, or that any single representation forms the best frame to understand historical practices.[165] Even if cassava is denounced as a subsistence crop, it has been marketed on occasion and it continues to be the favoured food crop among cultivators in

[157] See: J. Brewer, 'Microhistory and the histories of everyday life', *Cultural and social history* 7:1 (2010), 89.
[158] Trentmann, 'The politics of everyday life', 522.
[159] Trentmann, 'The politics of everyday life', 529.
[160] See the previous discussion of RLI work; Pritchett engages with this metanarrative, although he does challenge some of the hypotheses.
[161] See: Crehan, 'Tribes and the people who read books', for a similar disaggregation.
[162] V.W. Turner and E.L.B. Turner, 'Money economy among the Mwinilunga Ndembu: A study of some individual cash budgets', *Rhodes-Livingstone journal* 18 (1955), 19-37.
[163] Peša, 'Cassava is our chief'.
[164] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* XIX.
[165] See the discussion in: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

Mwinilunga.[166] This work will examine to what extent the metanarrative of social change in Mwinilunga District adequately reflected historical practice and processes of social change.

The metanarrative of linear social change will be translated into four testable hypotheses for the spheres of production, mobility, consumption and social relationships. These hypotheses, which make predictions about the course of social change, have been adopted by colonial and post-colonial officials, anthropologists, scholars and to a certain extent even by the population of Mwinilunga District throughout much of the twentieth century.[167] For the sphere of production a transition from subsistence to market production of cash crops has been proposed; For the sphere of mobility a transition from immobility to mobility has been postulated, either positively leading to development or negatively leading to underdevelopment; For the sphere of consumption a transition from local self-sufficiency to a dependency on mass-produced store-bought goods has been proposed; For the sphere of social relationships a transition from extended kinship affiliation to family nucleation and individualisation has been postulated. Academic work, government policies and local discourse have presented such transitions as historically progressive.[168] In the 1950s, for example, both Turner's work and colonial reports predicted a transition from extended kinship towards family nucleation and individualisation.[169] Due to the passage of time, such predictions can be tested today. Was there indeed a trend towards individualisation? Or did historical practice diverge from the hypotheses formulated within the metanarrative of social change? In order to answer such questions, a detailed reconstruction of historical practices in Mwinilunga District from the 1870s until the 1970s has been made. If the hypotheses about the nature and course of social change did not prove true, how can this be explained? Why did subsistence production or kinship affiliation persist? Based on a historical reconstruction alternative frameworks for understanding social change will be proposed.[170] The account provided in this thesis is but one interpretation of historical events. It suggests an alternative framework through which to interpret processes of social change in Mwinilunga District. Yet despite careful analysis, there remain inevitable gaps and biases in the narrative. Some notes on the approach, method and aims of this work will further explain the choices made and will point towards the shortcomings.

A first attempt to unsettle prevailing analyses of social change in Mwinilunga District is the temporal focus of this study (1870s-1970s). The division of African history into pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods already suggests that colonialism has commonly been viewed as presenting a fundamental rupture in historical practice, consciousness and representation.[171] Official reports, works by the RLI and much subsequent historiography have suggested that 'colonialism has to be seen as introducing a real discontinuity.'[172] The break brought about by colonialism has been linked to a host of transitions, such as those from pre-colonial self-sufficiency to colonial and post-colonial market integration. Yet such discursive transitions obscure the long-term trends and continuities that straddle temporal divides.[173] Pre-colonial methods of production in Mwinilunga could already be market-oriented, whilst colonial and post-colonial methods of market production built on pre-colonial foundations. Parallels can be asserted between cassava production for long-distance trade caravans in the nineteenth century and market production in the 1950s or 1980s, as the production of cassava

[166] Peša, 'Cassava is our chief'.
[167] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[168] Compare with: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity.*
[169] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[170] A similar approach has been adopted by: Spear, *Mountain farmers.*
[171] Ellis, 'Writing histories of contemporary Africa', 5; For critiques see: Schoenbrun, 'Conjuring the modern'; Cooper, 'Africa's pasts and Africa's historians', 306, 318; Howard, 'Nodes, networks, landscapes, and regions', 103-4.
[172] Crehan, *The fractured community*, 56.
[173] For a critique, see: Feierman, 'African histories and the dissolution of world history', 167-212.

constituted the basis for market participation in Mwinilunga District both in earlier and later periods.[174] Due to the availability of written sources, the pre-colonial analysis of this work starts in 1870, but the historical overview chapter will point out long-term trends from the 1750s onwards.[175] In order to question whether political independence in 1964 constituted a rupture or whether long-term continuities prevailed, the analysis extends until the 1970s, although observations from later periods have been added where possible and appropriate.[176] Bridging discursive temporal divides, the focus on the period from the 1870s until the 1970s contests linear transitions, paying attention to long-term trends and continuities instead.

A second attempt to bring out the non-linear course of history is the choice for a thematic approach. The choice of narrative approach powerfully shapes the representation of historical events, the causal connections between events and the understanding of processes of social change.[177] A thematic approach – much more than a chronological approach – unsettles the linear assumptions which have dominated previous representations of social change in Mwinilunga District, highlighting the non-linear, uneven and contradictory course of change.[178] Each thematic chapter will first set out the narratives which have been deployed to represent social change in the spheres of production, mobility, consumption and social relationships. After an outline of existing narratives, an empirical case study of historical practice will be presented and alternative concepts for understanding processes of social change will be proposed. These four spheres have been chosen due to their prominence in archival sources, RLI works and oral interviews.[179] Other spheres could have been selected, and a study of religion or a focus on chiefly politics would no doubt have been valuable, yet this choice of themes provides a representative overview of narrative constructs and covers a variety of aspects of daily life.[180] In order to offer a historical overview and to contextualise subsequent chapters, the first chapter does adopt a chronological approach. Yet the thematic chapters do not follow a strictly chronological course. The nature of sources has not enabled an equal covering of all topics throughout all periods of time. Whereas descriptions of hunting practices might have been rich in the 1930s, subsequent sources might have overlooked the issue and detailed analyses of hunting might only be accessible from the 1950s or the 1970s. On the other hand oral history provides impressions of time periods, rather than pinning down exact events to exact years. The sketchy nature of sources could prove a distinct asset, though. Juxtaposing the 1870s with the 1950s and the 1980s – leaping through time to a certain extent – might bring out the nature of continuity and change more clearly.[181] In this manner, long-term continuities might appear where discursive ruptures have been proposed. This unconventional historical approach highlights the ambiguity, contestation and non-linear course of history.[182]

---

[174] Peša, 'Cassava is our chief'.

[175] For pre-colonial trends, see: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Miller, *Way of death*; Schecter, 'History and historiography'.

[176] For post-colonial accounts, see: M. Larmer and G. Macola, 'The origins, context, and political significance of the Mushala rebellion against the Zambian one-party state', *The international journal of African historical studies* 40:3 (2007), 471-96; J-B. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, many histories: Towards a history of post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden etc., 2008).

[177] For a discussion, see: W. Cronon, 'A place for stories: Nature, history, and narrative', *Journal of American history* 78:4 (1992), 1347-76.

[178] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* also adopt a thematic approach.

[179] This choice of themes can be compared to Pritchett, Moore and Vaughan or Pottier for similarities.

[180] The theme of religion has been covered in great detail by the works of Turner. A restudy of Turner's work on religion would be extremely valuable, but the sources and my expertise did not allow such an undertaking. A study of chiefly, local and national politics is largely missing from this work, but see my forthcoming article: ''We have killed this animal together, may I also have a share?': Local-national political dynamics in Mwinilunga District, Zambia, 1950s-1970s', *Journal of Southern African studies* (2014).

[181] A similar approach has been adopted by: Spear, *Mountain farmers*; Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests.*

[182] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Berry, *No condition is permanent.*

This study rests on the premise that existing narratives of social change in Mwinilunga District have not adequately reflected historical practices and consciousness. To argue this, it is not sufficient to set out the narratives and their attendant hypotheses about the course of social change. Rather, it is imperative to test hypotheses against a detailed empirical analysis of historical practices.[183] Studying historical practice can provide an alternative perspective through which narratives of social change can be reassessed. The dynamic, untidy and non-linear nature of historical practice challenges narratives of linear and transformative change.[184] Whereas local voices were only rarely represented in the archival records, actions and practices were discussed and this might provide insight into aspects of consciousness. When agricultural experts proposed the cultivation of groundnuts as a cash crop in the 1950s, local cultivators refused to grow the crop due to ecological incompatibility and labour loads. This was not a rejection of market production, but might be interpreted as a resilience of existing practices and modes of thought, an assertion of agency.[185] Tracing such continuities, contradictions and acts of resistance in historical practice can counter linear narratives of social change. The 'importance of the mutual interpenetration of coexistent practices and representations' should be stressed, otherwise 'we are in danger of denying local people a significant domain of action, as well as consistently excluding them from the texts produced by scholars, officials, and experts on the grounds that they did not write them themselves.'[186] In the area of Mwinilunga individuals were able to negotiate continuity within change through practice and in historical consciousness.[187] Rather than adhering to a metanarrative of transformative social change, alternative concepts are thus called for.

Previous studies of Mwinilunga District have addressed questions of social change, but they have not made full use of historical sources and methods.[188] By using a rich body of historical sources, the specificity, nature and course of social change in the area of Mwinilunga can be approached from a different perspective. The historical method is particularly suited for studying social change, because history 'is the study of, and explanation for, change.' The historical approach seeks to contextualise events in order to identify 'the pace, direction, and essence of such change.'[189] Historians make sense of data by collecting, comparing and integrating information from many types of sources, such as oral, written and fieldwork materials, into a 'single, rich, multifaceted reconstruction that cannot be achieved by using any of these sources on its own.'[190] For this research several types of sources have been relied on, mainly archival material and oral history, combined with oral tradition and fieldwork observations. Despite attempts to balance different accounts against each other, to be attentive to ambiguities and to reach careful conclusions about the course of social change, all accounts – including the one presented here – remain 'particular representations embodying whole sets of assumptions', they can never represent 'raw unmediated "reality".'[191] Nevertheless, by making the mode of analysis explicit, the historical method can attempt to gain an understanding of processes of social change.

A wide range of archival sources dealing with Mwinilunga District has been consulted and assessed. Most importantly, research has been conducted at the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) in Lusaka, where broad-ranging material on Mwinilunga District, the North Western Province and Zambia as a whole is located.[192] The NAZ mainly contain administrative reports, government publications,

[183] A similar approach has been adopted by: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

[184] See: Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests.*

[185] Compare with: Spear, *Mountain farmers.*

[186] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* XXIII.

[187] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[188] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Discussion in: Gewald, 'Researching and writing', 471; Gordon, 'Rites of rebellion', 131-2.

[189] D. Henige, 'Oral tradition as a means of reconstructing the past', in: J.E. Philips (ed.), *Writing African history* (Rochester NY, 2005), 185.

[190] J. Vansina, 'Epilogue: Fieldwork in history', in: C.K. Adenaike and J. Vansina (eds.), *In pursuit of history: Fieldwork in Africa* (Portsmouth NH and Oxford, 1996), 135-6.

[191] Crehan, *The fractured community,* 50.

[192] See: M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola (eds.), *A first guide to non-governmental archives in Zambia* (Lusaka, 2004).

newspapers and a collection of historical manuscripts by prominent individuals, churches and non-governmental organisations. The collection of District Reports (tour, monthly and annual reports, as well as District Notebooks) has proven of particular importance. A complete list of consulted documents can be found in the sources section. As the NAZ mainly contain material from the colonial period, sources for post-colonial history have been drawn chiefly from the United National Independence Party archives (UNIPA) in Lusaka. Reports and correspondences of the UNIP government are housed there, but there is also a collection of material dealing with the African National Congress (ANC). Also, the Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines archives (ZCCM) in Ndola have been consulted in order to contextualise labour migration from the urban end of the spectrum. Next to archival research within Zambia, additional data were gathered in the United Kingdom. The Public Records Office (PRO) in Kew, the Rhodes House Library (BOD) in Oxford and the Echoes of Service missionary collection (EOS) in the John Rylands Library in Manchester have been consulted. These archives contain manuscripts by colonial officials, most notably Theodore Williams and R.C. Dening, in addition to diaries, correspondences and newsletters of the missionaries of the Plymouth Brethren. Even if these documents 'do not constitute coherent reconstructed histories', they can provide 'raw materials that make possible the writing of history.'[193]

These writings have been analysed both as representations and as data.[194] Written sources contain information about 'events' and 'facts', but as such they have their shortcomings.[195] Although written sources provide a wealth of information on administrative affairs, covering topics of law and order, agriculture, medicine, education and chiefly politics, they remain silent on many other issues, providing only glimpses of daily life and social change:

> the reams of colonial paper express the point of view of outsiders. They do not tell us how events and situations were perceived by colonial or postcolonial subjects and they do not allow us to transcend the interpretations of the official outlook embedded in them (…) Momentous events, which are documented, are rare in the social history of communities, while changing trends often go unnoticed [in the archival record]. Moreover, much of what was going on was simply not visible to outsiders.[196]

To tease out details about social change, documents can be read 'against the grain' or 'in-between the lines'. This approach might recover the ambiguities, power relations and unspoken issues hidden within the archival records.[197] Official records can yield insight into tax evasion and motives for cash crop production. When read carefully they can illustrate local historical practice and consciousness even when they have been written by 'outsiders'. On the other hand, archival records can be studied as representations, for the discourse they produce and reproduce. By approaching the archives in this way, their shortcomings and biases can be embraced. Official reports are the foundation upon which anthropologists and later scholars based their narratives and understandings of social change and they are thus a good starting point to study the development of discursive practices.[198] Yet archival sources have to be carefully contextualised and for this other types of sources are indispensable.

By making use of oral data, in particular oral history and to a lesser extent oral tradition, written sources have been supplemented, contextualised and questioned. The alternative perspective provided by oral sources might subordinate:

> the official ("elite") record to the recollections of those whose voices seldom appear in this record, and then only in an adversarial way. In effect these are contributions to the life-history genre, in which

[193] T. Falola, 'Mission and colonial documents', in: J.E. Philips (ed.), *Writing African history* (Rochester NY, 2005), 274-5.
[194] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* XXIII.
[195] J. Thornton, 'European documents and African history', in: J.E. Philips (ed.), *Writing African history* (Rochester NY, 2005), 255.
[196] Vansina, 'Epilogue', 135.
[197] A.L. Stoler, *Along the archival grain: Epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense* (Princeton NJ, 2009), 22, 34. See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, XVIII-XXV.
[198] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* Introduction.

> individuals great and small testify to their lives, the lives of others as they saw them, and events from a perspective far different than the canonical one.[199]

By allowing a degree of intersubjectivity, oral sources can facilitate the assessment of different voices and interpretations of the past.[200] Oral data have been used to question the archival material, to add new perspectives and to bring out information which had previously remained less visible or even unknown. Yet oral and archival sources cannot be studied as detached, as they both influence and are influenced by one another. Oral and archival sources share discourses and deploy similar frameworks for understanding the past. Recollections gathered through oral history apply terms such as 'subsistence', 'cash crops', 'tradition' and 'modernity' in a similar manner as written sources do.[201] To study local conceptualisations and historical consciousness oral history has been matched with a focus on practice.

Concrete practices can be evidence of agency and self-presentation as much as voices or written accounts are.[202] Oral history has proven particularly useful where it has been able to contextualise historical practice. That written and oral sources could refine each other and that such an approach might advance an understanding of historical practice became clear through the case study of the introduction of taxation in Mwinilunga District in 1913.[203] The introduction of taxation was initially approached through a reading of secondary and archival sources. A close reading of written sources revealed contradicting accounts about the nature of colonial hegemony. Whereas some officials argued that the introduction of taxation would create a loyal and productive subject population, others pointed towards high levels of default and despaired that taxation had merely caused disorder and had proven the limits of colonial power. When conducting interviews in Mwinilunga District the topic of taxation would be fervently discussed. Elders recalled having paid taxation, but also vividly remembered having fled the approach of tax collectors. Tax evasion, flight and acts of dissent were, however, not necessarily long-term acts as colonial officials had imagined. Whereas officials described the flight of entire villages across the border into Angola or Congo, it would be more common for individuals to temporarily move into the bush on approach of the tax collector, moving back several days later once the official had long passed. The introduction of taxation did not cause widespread flight, famine or serious disruption as some officials suggested. Instead, the introduction of taxation was accommodated within existing patterns of mobility and daily life without transforming these. What this example illustrates is that historical practices can be interpreted and represented in multiple ways.[204] Practices, as much as words and texts, should be contextualised through oral and written sources. Written sources might contain ambiguities when read carefully and against the grain. These ambiguities might be better interpreted and contextualised through the use of oral sources. Oral sources do not always corroborate particular events described in the archives, but do enable an insight into historical consciousness. The focus on practice has enabled an indirect but crucial insight into historical consciousness, which is so essential to a comprehension of processes of social change.[205] An understanding of historical consciousness and local perceptions about the course of social change has further been obtained through observations from historical fieldwork.

Research in Zambia was first conducted from August until December 2008, and thereafter from December 2009 until November 2010. Observations during fieldwork in Mwinilunga District enabled a practical understanding of issues such as agricultural production, fishing and house construction, but

---

[199] Henige, 'Oral sources', 187.

[200] Vansina, 'Epilogue', 138.

[201] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* Introduction.

[202] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* XXIII.

[203] See Chapter 1 for more details.

[204] For such different representations, see: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest.* The example of taxation will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 1.

[205] Inspiration for this approach has been derived from: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Spear, *Mountain farmers.*

also provided insight into issues of culture and consciousness, gender relations, ideology and religion. Although observations made in the present cannot simply be extrapolated to earlier periods, they can provide a context within which historical material is placed:

> Many threads link present or recent practices to past situations, whether social, political, religious, or economic. While change has indeed affected all these practices (otherwise there would be no history), experiencing the present and doing research on daily life in the recent past illuminates [historical trends].[206]

Historical fieldwork might, to a certain extent, balance the biases of other sources. Written records, for example, have a limited field of interest, omitting 'many data about the social details, unmentioned because they are supposed to be well known, and hence the absence of much information about the social reality of the time.'[207] Historical fieldwork brings forward exactly such data, providing insight into local historical consciousness. Another way in which to grasp historical consciousness was by learning the Lunda language. Gaining language proficiency illustrated modes of thought and facilitated social interaction and interviewing.[208] Interviews and historical fieldwork have been conducted in several localities throughout Mwinilunga District, in order to gain an understanding of the different villages and forms of socio-economic and political organisation in the area. In 2008 week-long residences in Ikelenge, Nyakaseya, Chibwika, Kanongesha, Ntambu and Kanyama were interspersed with stays in Mwinilunga Boma. In 2010 longer term residences in Ikelenge (two months), Nyakaseya (one month), Kanongesha (two months) and Ntambu (one month) were again interspersed with stays in Mwinilunga Boma. Informal conversations and semi-structured interviews have been conducted with a large number of elders, both male and female, a full list of which can be found in the sources section. Together with local research assistants elders would be contacted and repeated visits would be paid to most. Based on a reading of secondary literature and archival sources, themes of interest had been determined beforehand. Yet interviews brought out a variety of new themes and issues, generating a sensitisation to gender relations, property issues and rituals. Interview questions would be open-ended and the conversation would be directed to whatever the topic of expertise or interest of that particular person would be. For some this was hunting, for others female initiation, chiefly succession or a recollection of their personal experiences as labour migrants. Even if not all interviews have been quoted directly in the text, they have informed the framework of understanding and the narrative of social change proposed in this work.

Through this methodological approach an attempt has been made to grasp processes of social change in Mwinilunga District. The variety of research methods and sources might 'refine, challenge, inspire, reinforce, or confirm one another.'[209] In this manner, 'meanings, mentalities, and perceptions of mind' about the past have been explored.[210] Local experiences, beliefs and modes of knowing have been placed at the centre of analysis and have been juxtaposed to existing narratives of social change in Mwinilunga. The contradictions, ambiguities and struggles involved in history, historical consciousness and processes of social change have been scrutinised: 'History becomes, then, not the past itself, but struggles over the meaning of the past.'[211] An attempt has been made to move away from linear narratives of social change, which present history as single-stranded and definitive. Instead, attention has been paid to alternative views, contradictions and ambiguities in order to historicise the understanding of social change in Mwinilunga District.

---

[206] Vansina, 'Epilogue', 136.
[207] Vansina, 'Epilogue', 136.
[208] On the importance of language for historical understanding, see: Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests.*
[209] B.M. Cooper, 'Oral sources and the challenge of African history', in: J.E. Philips (ed.), *Writing African history* (Rochester NY, 2005), 191.
[210] C.K. Adenaike and J. Vansina (eds.), *In pursuit of history: Fieldwork in Africa* (Portsmouth NH and Oxford, 1996), XL.
[211] Cooper, 'Oral sources', 198.

Chapter outline

Based on a reading of secondary, archival and oral sources four spheres of social change have been selected (production, mobility, consumption and social relationships) and four hypotheses about the course of social change have been formulated. In each thematic chapter one such hypothesis will be drawn out and tested, in order to assess the nature of social change and to come up with alternative concepts which might more closely reflect the course of change. For purposes of historical and spatial contextualisation, the first chapter will provide an overview of the history of Mwinilunga District from approximately 1750 until the 1970s (Chapter 1). Events in Mwinilunga will be placed in a regional and (inter)national context, highlighting patterns of interrelationship. This overview will contextualise subsequent chapters and will raise questions about the nature of social change. Continuity and change will be problematized, long-term trends will be pointed out and prevailing periodization will be questioned. Were transitions from the pre-colonial to the colonial and post-colonial period indeed sharp ruptures, as much of the historiography suggests, or did patterns of continuity prevail? Social change will be linked to changes in settlement patterns, a focus which will reappear in subsequent chapters.

The following chapters will each take one hypothesis about the course of social change as vantage point. These hypotheses and the attendant narratives of social change, which suggest a linear historical transition, will be analysed and compared with a detailed study of historical practice. Chapter 2 will address the sphere of production. This chapter will question whether there was a transition from 'subsistence' to 'market' production in Mwinilunga District, by problematizing the concepts of 'subsistence' and 'market' production and by questioning whether these categories were mutually exclusive. Rather than reflecting patterns of production or agricultural practice, concepts of subsistence and market production were part of constructed discourse. By engaging in debates about the 'moral economy' and describing the internal foundations of production in Mwinilunga District, it will be argued that although many producers did partake in market production, this was not universally attractive or beneficial.[212] Food security and risk minimisation might hold prevalence over profit maximisation or market production. Food crops and subsistence production could, in fact, constitute the basis for market participation. Rather than being connected to economic (ir)rationality, the involvement or non-involvement of producers with the market had to do with ideological frameworks and existing patterns of production.

Chapter 3 will engage with issues of mobility, taking the presumed mobility transition – which posits that individuals in (Central) Africa were relatively sedentary and immobile until colonialism, industrialisation and urbanisation unchained the population and led to unprecedented mobility – as a starting point.[213] It will be demonstrated that mobility was always part and parcel of life in Mwinilunga District. In certain respects the colonial and post-colonial state limited mobility through the demarcation of boundaries and legislative measures, such as pass laws. Rather than stimulating mobility, the (post-)colonial state could act as a constraining force. Notwithstanding restrictions on mobility, individuals were able to circumvent these through cross-border interactions and trade (Chapter 3A). Mobility proved an effective strategy to minimise risk and maximise profit. Debates on labour migration will be considered separately (Chapter 3B). Within the 'modernist narrative' labour migration has been connected to issues of 'development', 'progress' and 'modernity'. Others have argued that labour migration would lead to 'underdevelopment', proletarianisation and rural decay.[214] Through a detailed study of life histories and historical cases it will be explored how mobility influenced the locality of Mwinilunga in terms of identity, belonging and livelihood.

---

[212] G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an uncaptured peasantry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980).

[213] See: J. Lucassen and L. Lucassen, 'The mobility transition revisited, 1500-1900: What the case of Europe can offer to global history', *Journal of global history* 4:3 (2009), 347-77.

[214] See: Ferguson, 'Mobile workers, modernist narratives'.

Chapter 4 will look at consumption. This chapter will question the transition from local self-sufficiency in artefacts and utilitarian goods to a dependency on mass-produced, store-bought goods under capitalist influence. Turner highlighted the role 'of the European-owned stores in stimulating new wants', evident from 'the high percentage of expenditure devoted to store goods.'[215] Yet despite 'new wants' and an apparent 'consumer revolution', changes in the social value, meaning and use of goods did not have to be transformative.[216] The consumption of both locally produced and store-bought goods was motivated by longstanding concepts of 'wealth in people'.[217] Even as outward appearances changed, the meanings attached to goods remained far more constant. Goods continued to be used in similar ways, to craft and maintain social relationships and allegiances to kin, neighbours and dependents.

Chapter 5 will bring the previous chapters together, by assessing whether and how changes in production, mobility and consumption influenced social relationships. A discussion of social relationships is reserved for the last chapter, because in many ways the context provided by the previous chapters is necessary to enable an adequate grasp of changes in social relationships. Social relationships, after all, are at the core of social change.[218] Did Turner's observations of the disintegration of extended kinship, the emergence of the nuclear family and trends towards individualisation hold true? Turner posited that the cash economy would destroy ties of kinship within the village, leading to the disintegration of large village units into smaller 'farms'.[219] Nevertheless, social relationships, kinship affiliation and villages themselves have been flexible enough to accommodate change without breaking down. To what extent did economic and political change also lead to social change?

Colonial officials, anthropologists and many others have made predictions about the course of social change in Mwinilunga District.[220] By testing hypotheses of linear social change, from subsistence to market production or from kinship to individualisation, a different understanding of social change might be reached. In order to better reflect the course of social change, alternative concepts such as the 'internal foundations of production', 'culture of mobility', 'wealth in people' and 'self-realisation' will be proposed. The central question running through these chapters is how the process of social change has been negotiated in the area of Mwinilunga. How, if ever, can we assess and understand processes of social and historical change? It will be suggested that rather than running along a linear path of 'progress', 'development' or 'modernity', change tended to be ambiguous, contested and gradual.[221] Negating radical transformations of society and defying sharp ruptures between time periods, long-term trends and patterns of continuity in daily life and historical consciousness will be highlighted.[222] In this manner the question of social change might be viewed in a different light. Although this account cannot provide a definitive analysis of social change in Mwinilunga District, it hopes to provide a fruitful lens through which to approach questions of social change and historical consciousness.

---

[215] Turner and Turner, 'Money economy', 31.

[216] R. Ross, M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša (eds.), *The objects of life in Central Africa: The history of consumption and social change, 1840-1980* (Leiden etc., 2013), Introduction.

[217] Guyer, 'Wealth in people'.

[218] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Berry, *No condition is permanent.*

[219] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 43.

[220] These predictions will be worked out in more detail throughout the following chapters.

[221] See: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; Berry, *No condition is permanent.*

[222] See: Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals*; Spear, *Mountain farmers.*

Map 1: Map of Mwinilunga District
Source: Nel de Vink

1: Pathways through the past
Continuity and change in Mwinilunga, c. 1750-1970

> In many parts of Northern Rhodesia the ancient (…) ideas and practices of the Africans are dying out, through contact with the white man and his ways. Employment in the copper mines, on the railway, as domestic servants and shop assistants; the meeting and mingling of tribes in a non-tribal environment; the long absence of men from their homes – all these factors are contributing to the breakdown of (…) the values of kinship ties, respect for the elders and tribal unity (…) But the Lunda (…) in their talk by the village fires still live in the strenuous and heroic past. Whatever time and raids have done to them, 'We are the people of Mwantiyanvwa', they say, and that is that![223]

The paradox between continuity and change is an enduring feature in the area of Mwinilunga. In the 1950s Turner suggested that factors such as labour migration would lead to 'tribal breakdown' and would bring about a radical transformation of society. Nonetheless, despite social change the Lunda have maintained a notion of continuity with the past through an emphasis on 'tradition'.[224] Some people might say that tradition has perished (*chisemwa chafwa dehi*). Yet the annual *Chisemwa ChaLunda* ceremony, (re)instated by Senior Chief Kanongesha in 1996, testifies that asserting connections to the past and upholding traditions remains important to individual and collective consciousness.[225] Whereas historical events, such as the establishment of colonial rule or the obtaining of independence, might propel change and cause discontinuities with earlier periods,[226] the effects of these changes have simultaneously been curbed by long-term patterns of continuity with the past. Continuity and change might go hand in hand, as new influences have been embedded within the context of existing practices and modes of thought.[227] Based on an assessment of the long-term socio-economic and political history of Mwinilunga, are there any foundations for asserting continuity with the past or has change been pervasive?

In order to provide a framework for the following thematically organised chapters, this chapter will offer a broad historical overview, drawn up around several major themes and landmarks. This overview will serve to place events within a historical context so that the impact of changes can be assessed and the degree of continuity with the past can be gauged. The focus will be on two aspects. First of all, on the relationships between the inhabitants of Mwinilunga and external actors, whether these were immigrants, traders or colonial officials. The constant interaction between actors on a local, regional and global level has influenced events in Mwinilunga in profound ways. Although changes did occur, the population of Mwinilunga was able to appropriate external influences and make sense of

---

[223] V.W. Turner, 'Lunda rites and ceremonies', *The occasional papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone museum* (Reproduction nos. 1-16, 1974), 336-7.

[224] This focus on 'tradition' is still maintained, see: Mulumbi Datuuma II, 'Customs of the Lunda Ndembu, Volume I, The Kanongesha chieftainship succession in Zambia' (Unpublished manuscript, 2010), 5.

[225] Debates on 'ethnicity' will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 3A&B (L. Vail (ed.), *The creation of tribalism in Southern Africa* (London etc., 1989), suggests that ethnicity was a construct rather than a fixed category); whereas the recent resurgence of 'tradition' will be addressed in Chapter 5 (E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge etc., 1983)).

[226] V.W. Turner, *The drums of affliction: A study of religious processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Oxford and London, 1968), 14, asserted that in the 1950s 'great waves of change were sweeping over the lives of the Ndembu', as a consequence of labour migration, the effects of capitalism and colonialism. That events such as the inception of colonial rule caused drastic ruptures in historical consciousness is argued by: J.A. Pritchett, *Friends for life, friends for death: Cohorts and consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu* (Charlottesville etc., 2007).

[227] J. Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests: Toward a history of political tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, 1990), 236-7; M.H. Wilson, 'Zig-zag change', *Africa* 46:4 (1976), 399-409. For the idea of 'progress' in historical narrative, see: E. Hobsbawm, *The age of empire 1875-1914* (London, 1987), 26-33.

events.[228] Secondly, changing settlement patterns will be examined, in order to test Turner's hypothesis that colonialism and capitalism would inevitably lead to 'village breakup'. Settlement patterns were historically flexible and ultimately resilient, suggesting that Turner's observations overemphasised the influence of the changes he witnessed in the 1950s.[229] This chapter will outline major trends, examine whether and when change occurred, and provide threads which will be elaborated in subsequent chapters. Challenging linear historical narratives which suggest sharp chronological divisions between time periods,[230] it will be examined how people in Mwinilunga negotiated and made sense of change.

Constructing a region: The Lunda entity, history and reproduction

When asked to recount their history, the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District will generally start by saying: 'We the Lunda, we have come from Mwantianvwa.'[231] With this statement they refer to the figurehead of the Lunda entity, a polity which was established between the beginning of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.[232] From its heartland surrounding the capital city Musumba, located along the Bushimaie-Nkalanyi River in present-day Congo, the Lunda entity gained influence and spread across large parts of the Central African plateau.[233] Notwithstanding its extensive regional impact, the origins and the political, social and economic basis of the Lunda polity consisted of the village. The village was a territorial as well as a human unit, with a group of matrilineally related kin at its core. It was governed by a council of elders (*ciyul*), which was headed by 'the owner of the land' (*mwaantaangaand*), a position of ritual importance through connection to the founding ancestors of the village. Individual villages would be grouped together in larger allied units, forming a vicinage and paying tribute to the Lunda court through a political representative (*cilool*).[234] Through such loose patterns of authority – later cemented into fixed hierarchies of headmen and chiefs by the colonial government – the village, the vicinage and the central Lunda polity were ultimately interconnected. The Lunda court, which had itself grown from small-scale village origins, depended on these connections for legitimacy and sought to reciprocate ties to outlying areas, for instance by sending gifts, endowing rulers with regalia or providing protection from outside attacks.[235] The expansion of the Lunda polity, achieved by gradually integrating villages on the fringes of its sphere of influence, was greatly aided by the practices of positional succession and perpetual kinship.[236] New

---

[228] See: C. Piot, *Remotely global: Village modernity in West Africa* (Chicago etc., 1999); K. Crehan, *The fractured community: Landscapes of power and gender in rural Zambia* (Berkeley etc., 1997).

[229] V.W. Turner, *Schism and continuity in an African society* (Manchester etc., 1957).

[230] J. Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity: Myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley etc., 1999), 17. Many RLI scholars adopted ideas about linear social change.

[231] All questions about 'early history' or 'origin' would provoke a similar response, providing an outline of Lunda dynastic history. For example: Interview with Mr Kasongu Mapulanga, 29 July 2010, Kanongesha.

[232] For a review of the date of origin of the Lunda entity, see: J-L. Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda et la frontière luso-africaine (1700-1900)', *Études d'histoire africaine* 3 (1972), 65-6.

[233] Alternatively referred to as (South-) Central African savanna. For an overview of early Lunda history, see especially: J.J. Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej: Reconstructing Ruund history (The nuclear Lunda: Zaïre, Angola, Zambia)' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1978); J. Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes de la savane: Les États des savanes méridionales de l'Afrique central des origines à l'occupation coloniale* (Léopoldville, 1965); Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'; R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.), *Pre-colonial African trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900* (London etc., 1970).

[234] Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes*; Hoover, 'Seduction of Ruwej'; R.E. Schecter, 'History and historiography on a frontier of Lunda expansion: The origins and early development of the Kanongesha' (PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976).

[235] See: Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'; E. Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule: The politics of ethnicity* (Cambridge etc., 1975).

[236] J. Iliffe, *Africans: The history of a continent* (Cambridge etc., 1995), 104; G. Macola, *The Kingdom of Kazembe: History and politics in North-Eastern Zambia and Katanga to 1950* (Münster etc., 2002), 39n: 'Through positional

subjects could be incorporated into the Lunda political system through the award of political or ritual titles. This linked them directly to the Lunda court and created a hybrid mix of population groups, origin and authority, blurring the distinction between 'insider' and 'outsider', 'autochthon' and 'immigrant'.[237] Villages had never been isolated or bounded, as even in early history links between local, regional and trans-regional developments, involving a multitude and mingling of actors, had been influential.[238]

Today, the subjects of chiefs such as Kazembe in the Luapula Province of Zambia, Chinyama in Angola and Musokantanda in Congo – encompassing the vast area between the Kasai River in the west and the Lualaba River in the east – all trace common origin through Lunda descent. The prestige, influence and strength of the original Lunda polity were merely some reasons contributing to the desire of outlying areas to seek association with the capital.[239] At the end of the nineteenth century Portuguese travellers described Mwantianvwa and his capital in lavish terms:

> The Muata-Ianvo is surrounded by a numerous court, which includes, as principals: the *mutia*, father of Ianvo; the *calala*, chief-executive in charge of transmitting orders to the armed population; the Muene *cutapa*, executor of high justice, generally the uncle of Ianvo; and many highly respected personalities and their *a-cajes* (concubines), who live with them (…) Usually it [his court] is composed of a rectangular palisade, which encloses it completely, and, depending on the magnitude, can be as long as 1500 meters on each side; locked up in the centre is the residence of the chief, with two circular walls and a corridor in between, above which is elevated a vast dome (…) [After listing the subordinate chiefs] All these are tributaries to the supreme chief, conform to his laws, and are obliged to send tax through a special committee. Failure of such payment is considered such a grave offence, that only rarely does the head of the tributary remain undamaged in case of repeat. Disposing over the lives of his subordinates (…) he destroys the villages of those who do not contribute to his supremacy.[240]

The goods with which Mwantianvwa surrounded himself added to his grandeur. Items such as lion and leopard skins, ivory, various types of coloured beads, palm oil, game meat, salt, tobacco, a variety of calicoes, gunpowder and firearms, all attested his mastery of complex circuits of domestic and foreign exchange, tribute and trade.[241] By means of these outward manifestations of wealth, prestige and authority the Lunda polity was able to strengthen its hold even over previously non-aligned population groups, constructing a region interconnected by the movement of people, ideas and goods.[242]

Although the level of control from the central Lunda polity rapidly diminished in outlying areas, various social, economic and political factors tied Musumba, Mwinilunga and other places of purported Lunda origin together.[243] These included the framework of long-distance trade and tribute, but also comprised ties of marriage, alliance, friendship and ritual.[244] Particularly tribute, which has been

---

succession, the successor to a name or title inherits not only his predecessor's insignia, rights and duties, but also his social and political relationships. Positional succession serves to maintain the form of descent groups and may evolve into perpetual kinship between titles. The perpetual relationship is an expressed kinship relationship between the holders of two names, which does not vary with the actual genealogical relationship of the people who are at any time holding the names. It is a fixed relationship between hereditary names which remains constant through the generation.'

[237] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; R.J. Papstein, 'The Upper Zambezi: A history of the Luvale people, 1000-1900' (PhD thesis, University of California, 1978).

[238] D.L. Schoenbrun, 'Conjuring the modern in Africa: Durability and rupture in histories of public healing between the Great Lakes of East Africa', *The American historical review* 111:5 (2006), 1403-39.

[239] Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej', offers a description of this migratory movement and lists the migrating chiefs.

[240] H.C.B. Capelo and R. Ivens, *De Benguela às terras de Iaca – Descrição de uma viagem na África central e ocidental, 1887-1890, Vol. 1* (Coimbra, 1996), 314-6. Translation by author.

[241] Capelo and Ivens, *De Benguela*, 315 and 317.

[242] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*.

[243] Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes,* 63.

[244] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule,* 1-7; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 78-84; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* XX.

referred to as the life-blood of the Lunda polity, is illustrative of these links of interdependence.[245] The meaning of the proverb '*kudya kekenyi kusinsishamu*' (eating what belongs to a termite one has to replace it), reflects that a chief should be reimbursed through tribute for the benefits his rule bestows on the people, otherwise his rule would be jeopardised and his authority would fade.[246] Because the rule of a chief should provide protection from external threats and redistribute long-distance trade goods to subjects, among other things, the provision of tribute was regarded as an act of moral obligation, rather than being exerted by force.[247] A local hunter was expected to offer the chest of his kill as tribute through his headman to Chief Kanongesha. Chief Kanongesha would then send locally prized items such as leopard skins, ivory or slaves to Mwantianvwa, if not regularly at least on special occasions such as at installation ceremonies. In return Mwantianvwa would remit valuable trade goods or emblems of chiefly authority, thereby providing subordinate chiefs with legitimacy and prestige.[248] In this way the various levels of authority were connected to one another, in a hierarchical and centralised, yet loose and reciprocal manner. Although by the end of the nineteenth century Chokwe incursions and slave raids discontinued the regular payment of tribute to Mwantianvwa, and subsequent colonial boundary demarcations cut right through existing allegiances, connections within the wider Lunda region continued to be upheld and renewed, remaining significant even at present.[249]

The Lunda-Ndembu,[250] as the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District are occasionally referred to, trace back their settlement of the present area to a migration from the core Lunda polity.[251] The causes for this migration are to be sought in internal power struggles at the centre and in a desire to extend Lunda influence to outlying areas. Propelled by the penetration of Luba influences from the east, Lunda emissaries set out to secure access to scarce salt pans, hunting grounds and agricultural land beyond the established boundaries of the polity.[252] The departure from Musumba involved many of the current major titleholders in the area, such as Kazembe Mutanda, Ishinde, Musokantanda and Kanongesha. Nominally, Ndembu refers to the stream along which the migrants sojourned after their departure from Mwantianvwa's court, before dispersing in various directions towards their present locations.[253] Evidence suggests that Chief Kanongesha, one of the main chiefs who came to settle along the Upper Zambezi, reached the present area between 1740 and 1755.[254] According to oral tradition, his following comprised of 12 members of matrilineal kin, some of whose descendants are still important chiefs in

[245] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule,* 5; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 78-84.

[246] Mulumbi Datuuma II, 'Customs of the Lunda Ndembu', 10.

[247] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 325: 'The giving of tribute was regarded as a moral obligation rather than as a compulsory matter – ultimately as a recognition of the historical origin and unity of Ndembu in Mwantiyanvwa.'

[248] Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Kasongu Mapulanga, 17 August 2010, Kanongesha, but also stated in: (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, A Report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936.

[249] J.A. Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, change and social transformation in South Central Africa* (Madison, 2001); O. Bakewell, 'The meaning and use of identity papers: Handheld and heartfelt nationality in the borderlands of North-West Zambia', *International Migration Institute Working paper 5*, University of Oxford (2007).

[250] The term 'Lunda-Ndembu' originated in the colonial period, serving to administratively differentiate the Lunda under Senior Chief Sailunga from the Ndembu under Senior Chief Kanongesha. The language currently used in the area is referred to as Lunda, and the term 'Ndembu' seems to have fallen into disuse at present. Throughout this work, I prefer to adopt the generic term 'Lunda' and will use 'Ndembu' only in references to other authors, in quotations from archival sources or where its use seems specifically warranted.

[251] L. de Heusch, 'What shall we do with the drunken king?', *Africa* 45:4 (1975), 363-72; T.Q. Reefe, 'Traditions of genesis and the Luba diaspora', *History in Africa* 4 (1977), 183-206; R.E. Schecter, 'A propos the drunken king: Cosmology and history', in: J.C. Miller (ed.), *The African past speaks: Essays on oral tradition and history* (Dawson etc., 1980), 108-25; L. Duysters, 'Histoire des Aluunda', *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale* 12:40 (1958), 75-98; V.W. Turner, 'A Lunda love story and its consequences', *Rhodes Livingstone journal* 19 (1955), 1-26.

[252] Macola, *The kingdom of Kazembe,* Chapter Two.

[253] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Ilunga, 16 March 2010, Ikelenge.

[254] Schecter, 'History and historiography', Chapter Four.

Mwinilunga District today.[255] These followers were assigned prestigious titles and tasks by Kanongesha, which in turn were sanctioned by Mwantianvwa. Illustrative are the titles of Mwinimilamba *Ifota*, the pathfinder or the one who led the way in the original migration; Ikelenge *Kalula*, the one who spreads the lion or leopard skin mat on which Kanongesha sits; and Nyakaseya, the one who pours beer for the chiefs, or the ritual wife of Kanongesha.[256] Through movement and the award of political titles Lunda influence was spread, but the establishment of authority in the area of Mwinilunga remained a gradual and intricate process.

Lunda oral traditions describe the settlement of outlying areas, such as Mwinilunga, in terms of epic migrations, involving the swift conquest and forceful subordination of established population groups.[257] This was most probably not the case. Rather, the area of Mwinilunga was occupied as a result of a general and gradual movement of population, from the outset involving mixed population groups located at the southern edge of the Lunda polity, rather than constituting a direct thrust from the centre outwards.[258] Intermarriage and the forging of strategic alliances between immigrants and existing population groups were crucial to this process. In the area of Mwinilunga the diverse set of population groups encountered was referred to as Mbwela.[259] Contrary to what some traditions might suggest, the Mbwela were not forcibly subdued or chased, but were rather integrated into the newly established Lunda polities in the area.[260] Due to such interaction and mixture of diverse people, ideas and influences, cultural hybridity and the incorporation of change, rather than uniformity of ideas, beliefs and practices prevailed in Mwinilunga.

Although Lunda migrants derogatorily referred to Mbwela as nomadic or even primitive,[261] they equally acknowledged the importance of Mbwela collaboration in successfully administering the area. Lunda men took Mbwela wives, and Mbwela lineage heads were granted Lunda political titles to bolster ties between the two. Mbwela were acknowledged as 'owners of the land' and given the position of 'ritual installer' of Lunda chiefs (*chivwikankanu*), firmly cemented by practices of perpetual kinship and positional succession.[262] Although the term '*kabeta kaMbwela*' is used to refer to 'the south', denoting the direction in which the Mbwela were chased, Mbwela presence was by no means obliterated.[263] Some Mbwela might have been driven away or killed by Lunda violence, but the fact that even today villages of Mbwela origin persist in the area of Mwinilunga – a marked example being the village of Nsanganyi in ex-chief Mukangala's area – testifies that co-existence was equally possible and was probably common.[264] Nevertheless, Lunda chiefs derive great prestige from claiming to have

[255] Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes,* 126; Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 7.

[256] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 11; Interview with Mr. Wombeki, 27 April and 11 May 2010, Nyakaseya.

[257] See: Interview with Chief Mukangala, 3 November 2010, Mwinilunga. Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 2-3, calls the population movement an 'invasion'.

[258] This is a summary of the nuanced work by Schecter, 'History and historiography'.

[259] The Mbwela are alternatively referred to as Nkoya or Lukolwe, they are linguistically and culturally diverse, yet constitute a kindred matrilineal group. These groups have commonly been defined by what they are not (a negative contrast), i.e. non-Lunda, rather than by similarity or unity. See: W.M.J. van Binsbergen, *Tears of rain: Ethnicity and history in Central Western Zambia* (London etc., 1992).

[260] Papstein, 'The upper Zambezi', suggests that the Mbwela were forcefully subdued. Yet for the area of Mwinilunga, Schecter, 'History and historiography', has suggested peaceful co-existence and gradual movement of population.

[261] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Papstein, 'The upper Zambezi'; Van Binsbergen, *Tears of rain.* See also archival material and oral interviews: (BOD) Richard Cranmer Dening, Land Tenure Report No. 7, North Western Province.

[262] Schecter, 'History and historiography'.

[263] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 3.

[264] Ex-chiefs Pompora and Kangombe, whose areas were transferred from Mwinilunga to Solwezi and Kabompo District in 1948, are reported as Mbwela chiefs.

fought and defeated the Mbwela, as this claim gives them legitimacy to occupy the present land.[265] Because land rights would be obtained through protracted occupation, cultivation and connections to ancestral spirits, long-established residents of an area, in this case the Mbwela, enjoyed a privileged position.[266] In order to assert land rights, Lunda chiefs formally had to establish their superiority by subjugating the Mbwela.

That the Mbwela were by no means powerless, but had to be carefully reckoned with, is tacitly acknowledged by oral traditions. Kanongesha Kabanda, one of the first Lunda chiefs who settled in the area of Mwinilunga, is said to have been severely wounded whilst fighting the Mbwela in the Mayawu plain, consequently dying from his injuries. This testifies that the outcome of Lunda-Mbwela struggles was by no means predetermined.[267] Rather than being unilaterally imposed, authority had to be brokered between numerous actors. Gradually, Lunda and Mbwela developed relationships of interdependence. Through the award of titles, by means of marriage and ties of kinship, all people in the Upper Zambezi area were eventually linked to the central Lunda court, no matter how tentatively or loosely. Such was the context within which individuals, headmen and chiefs in the villages throughout Mwinilunga negotiated issues of authority, hierarchy and power.

Because of their location on the southernmost fringes of the Lunda polity, the communities along the Upper Zambezi enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy from the central Lunda court.[268] Notwithstanding important ties to regional or polity wide developments, village units were the most significant levels of social, economic and political organisation.[269] The village was the daily stage for social interaction. Agricultural assistance, company in the hunt or advice and chatter in the light of the nightly fire could all be found within this unit.[270] Livingstone's description from the 1850s offers some insights into the appearance of southern Lunda villages:

> We came to a village every few miles, sometimes passed 10 in a day. These were civil (…) We often entered a village, and when sitting on oxback could only see the tops of the huts in a wilderness of weeds. By & bye the villagers emerged from their lairs, men & women each smoking a long pipe and followed by crowds of children.[271]

Such villages would consist of small units of matrilineally related kin, accommodating non-kinsmen at will.[272] Although villages appeared to be dotted across the landscape, their location was by no means arbitrary. Settlements would be strategically concentrated along waterways, close to hunting grounds or patches of fertile land.[273] High degrees of spatial mobility prevailed, and villages shifted in intervals ranging from one to twenty years. Movement might be motivated by the quest for hunting, fishing or cultivating grounds, or yet by quarrels and deaths within a village.[274] As a result of these movements, housing structures would be of an impermanent nature. Houses would commonly be made of poles

---

[265] (NAZ) SEC2/222, K.S. Kinross, Ndembo Chiefs on Merger of Courts, July 1944. 'When we Ndembu came from Luunda in early times we found no other Chiefs here but Ambwera whom we conquered (…) [Mwinimilamba claims:] Nyakaseya cannot be my senior (…) he did not fight with the Ambwera as I did.'

[266] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Based on a reading of archival sources (NAZ).

[267] This event is recounted in the official version of the Kanongesha royal history. See: Interview with Mr Jesman Sambaulu, 10 August 2010, Kanongesha.

[268] A.St.H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North through Marotseland* (London and New York, 1904), 33: 'Since the fall of Muato Yamvo's empire the greater part of this tribe [Lunda] had (…) broken up into small independent communities (…) owing to want of cohesion the districts more or less remote from the centre have proved a fruitful field for the slave trade.'

[269] Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes.*

[270] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity;* Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

[271] I. Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's missionary correspondence 1841-1856* (London, 1961), 261-2.

[272] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* XVIII-XIX.

[273] (NAZ) SEC2/955, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, November 1947.

[274] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 91; (NAZ) SEC2/955 R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1947; (NAZ) NWP1/2/17, F.M.N. Heath, Mwinilunga District Travelling Report, 1/1948.

and thatching grass, materials which facilitated frequent relocation.[275] Although agricultural production was widely practiced, there would equally be a heavy reliance on hunting and foraging to complement supplies of cultivated food.[276]

These highly mobile and impermanent living conditions were described as 'nomadic' or even 'primitive' by European travellers in the area. Colonial officials referred to Lunda settlements in similar terms: 'They depended a great deal upon wild forest produce in their diet. This was accompanied by a great deal of shifting, and they often lived for long periods in grass or leaf huts.'[277] Alternatively, such living conditions might be viewed as ecologically sound and inventive adaptations to a complex and fragile environment.[278] In an attempt to maximise access to resources, individuals sought to diversify their livelihoods by relying on a mixture of hunting, fishing, agriculture, and foraging. Although game appeared to be relatively abundant in the area, it could easily be chased away or depleted. In a similar manner the fertility of the loose Kalahari sands would rapidly diminish under permanent cultivation.[279] Whereas large, fixed settlements would have strained the fragile resource base heavily, small shifting villages enabled individuals to profit from existing diversity throughout Mwinilunga.[280]

The environment has influenced not only economic organisation and patterns of livelihood procurement, but also village settlements and political authority in the area. Centrifugal political relations, connected to the high degree of spatial mobility, tended to predominate in Mwinilunga. Turner attributed village fissure to the inherent antagonism between matrilineal descent and virilocal marriage. Whereas Lunda descent was reckoned through women, upon marriage women would move away to reside with the kin of their husbands. This caused continual tension, competition and a high degree of village fissure, as the husband and the brother would both compete for a woman's allegiance and offspring.[281] This 'radical incompatibility' of kinship relations, nevertheless, was not the only factor behind the small size of villages. Small villages equally enabled flexibility in a fragile environment. Because hunting and shifting cultivation formed the economic base of village society, small shifting settlements proved highly compatible and sensible.[282] Possibly, the village breakup into small units or 'farms', which Turner noted in the 1950s, was not new but had parallels with earlier periods. At the end of the nineteenth century villages and settlements already appeared to be mobile, flexible and small as an adaptation to ecology. The degree of continuity or change in village layout and organisation should therefore be further explored.[283]

Coupled with the geographical mobility and adaptability of villages, political hierarchies generally remained flexible and open to competition. The distinction between lineage heads, headmen and chiefs was often ill-defined and success was most clearly demonstrated by the size of the following one could muster.[284] Human labour, far more than land, was a scarce factor. Population densities remained low and did not exceed six persons per square mile even in the late 1960s.[285] The scarcity of population, the abundance of land, the fragile environment and the resulting high degree of spatial mobility, all stimulated political competition among villages. Early colonial administrators pejoratively referred to a lack of 'cohesion', as: 'internecine disputes, and mutual mistrust and feuds between every village and its very neighbour make combination [into large villages] most remote, if not utterly

[275] Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Andrew Kambowa, 2 October 2010, Ntambu.
[276] Van Binsbergen, *Tears of rain;* Papstein, 'The upper Zambezi'.
[277] (BOD) Richard Cranmer Dening, Land Tenure Report No.7, North-Western Province.
[278] W. Beinart: 'African history and environmental history', *African affairs* 99:395 (2000), 269-302.
[279] This argument will be further elaborated in Chapter 2.
[280] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* does hint towards the influence of ecological factors on the size of village units, but does not recognise their full importance.
[281] This is a summary of Turner's more complex argument. See: Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 76 and 302.
[282] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests.*
[283] This will be done below and in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.
[284] (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, A report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936. See: J. Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization in Equatorial Africa', *Man* 28:2 (1993), 243-65.
[285] (NAZ) Ministry of Agriculture, Monthly Economic Bulletin, February 1968.

impossible.'[286] In this competitive setting the position of village heads has been described as that of *primus inter pares*, holding a position of ritual importance and reigning rather than ruling.[287] A correlation between the rule of a village head and the size of a village existed. Informants still claim that: 'It depends on the rule of a headman how many people there are in a village. A bad headman causes a village to split because of lack of good communication, so people are encouraged to move to their own place.'[288] In the context of these competitive disputes for authority and recognition, a patchwork of ties and connections was created, as population groups continuously shifted and mixed. Yet there were certain tools which could be used to attract a larger, and more stable, following. The effective mastery of flows of trade was one of these.

Through politics, trade, kinship and mobility, ties of Lunda allegiance have created connections between local and regional actors and influences. Although these ties have been continuously adapted as a reaction to historical events, they have retained their significance even in an altered context. Notwithstanding profound changes within the Lunda polity itself, Lunda connections and allegiances provide a thread of continuity in the history of Mwinilunga.[289] It will be explored how connections between the local and the regional context, established by the Lunda entity, could provide a basis for subsequent interactions between Mwinilunga and regional, national or even global processes, influencing reactions to capitalism, colonialism and patterns of political authority. Could notions of Lunda identity provide an alternative frame of reference to Zambian nationalism, for example?[290]

A window to the world: Long-distance trade and slavery

Exchange and trade have since long played an important role in the Central African region. Occupational specialisation and environmental variation had induced trade, within a single village but also between villages and over long distances. The development of metallurgy, for instance, propelled the exchange of scarce iron tools for a range of available produce, including crops, livestock and reed mats. In West Central Africa this exchange dated back to the first millennium A.D. and could cover remarkably long distances, thereby connecting distant communities through extensive networks.[291] Localised trade, involving exchange between neighbouring villages and population groups, complemented regional trade networks. Local exchange was dictated by the differential allocation of scarce natural resources, as well as by occupational specialisation. The Luvale living on the banks of the Kabompo River, for example, would barter dried fish for grains or game meat with the Lunda living on the other side.[292] Good hunters could barter game meat for supplies of grain crops within their own village or in a neighbouring village. Similarly, for rare supplies of high-quality salt people in Mwinilunga would depend on Angolan saltpans.[293] Overall, trade served to complement individual and household production, offered people access to a wide range of goods and enabled the diversification of individual livelihood strategies. Most significantly, trade provided connections between local, regional and occasionally even global actors. The long-distance caravan trade, constituting an increase in scale and distance covered, built upon and fed into pre-existing forms of local and regional trade and exchange.

---

[286] (NAZ) HC1/2/42 BS2/251 Loc.130, G.A. MacGregor, Monthly Report Balunda District, January 1909.
[287] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 318-9.
[288] Interview with Mr Kasongu Mapulanga, Kanongesha, 17 August 2010.
[289] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*; O. Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating or migrating villagers? A study of movement from North West Zambia to Angola' (PhD thesis, University of Bath, 1999).
[290] See especially Chapter 3A&B.
[291] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*, 58-61; J. Vansina, *How societies are born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600* (Charlottesville etc., 2004)*,* 60-7.
[292] Papstein, 'The upper Zambezi'.
[293] Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej'*,* 327-356.

Although long-distance trade goods had started trickling into Mwinilunga from the Indian Ocean coast during the first half of the second millennium A.D.,[294] it was especially from the eighteenth century onwards, as a result of the expansion of trade with the Angolan coast, that a wide array of goods from overseas areas became readily available. This exchange provided access to crops (such as maize, cassava and sweet potatoes), industrially manufactured cloth, firearms, gunpowder, beads, tobacco and liquor, among other things.[295] After some faltering attempts, stable trade relations were developed between the central Lunda court and the Portuguese, who had reached the Angolan coast by the end of the fifteenth century. Initially relying on indirect trade through African intermediaries, most notably the Ovimbundu, the Portuguese sent their first direct emissaries to the Lunda court around 1800, an act which was soon reciprocated by Lunda dignitaries travelling to the Angolan port Luanda.[296] Under the umbrella of the Lunda polity, trade goods would be redirected into channels of tribute, distribution and hierarchies of power, interlinking chiefs, headmen and the village population. Recollections describe that the tribute caravan from Chief Sailunga to his superior Musokantanda, raised through levies from villagers and headmen, might carry five large calabashes of honey, six leopard skins, twenty small skins and ten man-loads of dried fish. In return, Chief Musokantanda would send Sailunga trade goods, consisting of loads of brightly coloured calico, strings of large white and small red beads, as well as a muzzle-loading gun, which could be distributed to the villages in his area.[297] Through these trade networks involving European traders, African intermediaries and local interests, individuals in the area of Mwinilunga increasingly came to participate in international exchange, both as consumers of coveted imports and as producers of exportable goods. The significance of international trade should not be downplayed, even if major caravan routes would bypass the area either to the south or to the north and would only rarely diverge into Mwinilunga.[298] Nevertheless, the effects of the long-distance trade became increasingly tangible, not only due to its sheer scope, but also because trade goods would be incorporated into existing channels of exchange and relationships of power. The long-distance trade connected the inhabitants of Mwinilunga to local, regional and even global networks.

Not only was the growth of the Lunda state dependent on increasing quantities of trade, but the state structure itself served to encourage further trade.[299] Trade fed into existing patterns of distribution and tribute, circulating goods through the polity.[300] By means of exchange, tribute and warfare the Lunda entity managed to amass large quantities of exportable goods in Musumba.[301] The concentration of population, resources and wealth in the Lunda capital made it a uniquely attractive destination for Portuguese traders and African intermediaries, rewarding the long trek to the interior through prospects of high profits.[302] The items attracting traders consisted of salt, copper, iron and a variety of tropical goods initially. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these were increasingly supplemented by slaves, rubber, ivory and beeswax, all readily exportable from coastal

[294] R.A. Oliver and J.D. Fage, *A short history of Africa* (Harmondsworth etc., 1962), 81-2.

[295] A. von Oppen, *Terms of trade and terms of trust: The history and contexts of pre-colonial market production around the upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster etc., 1994); J. Miller, *Way of death: Merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade 1730-1830* (Madison, 1988); J. Vansina, 'Long-distance trade-routes in Central Africa', J*ournal of African history* 3:3 (1962), 375-90; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'.

[296] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule.*

[297] (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, Report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936.

[298] Based on: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade;* confirmed by the map drawn in Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule,* and by my own limited reading of pre-colonial traveller reports. Examples of travellers who did pass through the area are: Livingstone (1850), Cameron (1870), Gibbons (1890) and Arnot (1890).

[299] For the first view see: Gray and Birmingham, 'Some economic and political consequences of trade', 15; whereas the second view is advanced by: Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule,* 21.

[300] Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej', 340-53; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 78-84.

[301] Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 61-166.

[302] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 215-228; Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule.*

depots.[303] Both Portuguese traders and local potentates attempted to control trajectories of trade. Chiefs and headmen played a particularly important role as intermediaries or even gatekeepers of trade, as they could attain scarce goods and distribute them among the population. In the area of Mwinilunga certain headmen and chiefs, who had managed to manipulate trade relations to their benefit and had consequently obtained a degree of wealth, acted as purveyors of trade or lenders of capital:

> Long ago I had a case & to settle this I had to find certain goods. I went to [Chief] Chibwika to borrow these goods & he lent me 1 gun, 1 cloth & 1 load of wax (...) with which to settle my case. Chibwika then came to me later wanting me to discharge my debt. I offered him 3 blankets which he refused saying he wanted a gun on top. I had not a gun so I gave him my daughter Nyatusachi instead as a hostage.[304]

Because indebtedness could result in dependency on those more successful at controlling flows of trade, access to material wealth could afford headmen or chiefs a greater degree of leverage over village affairs and could strengthen ties of personal allegiance. Trade goods could function as a store of wealth and by dispensing scarce commodities headmen and chiefs could attract a large following.[305] Control over goods and people, mediated through trade, went hand in hand.

Trade goods penetrated into the spheres of social relationships and hierarchies of power. The settlement of cases, bridewealth negotiations, death penalties and tribute could all be mediated by imported goods:

> I committed adultery with a married woman, Nyailolo; it was sometime after this her child died, and the husband (...) [said that I] had caused the death of his child (...) I paid up to settle the matter, calico & beads.[306]

In the area of Mwinilunga trade could be actively pursued, even over long distances. The goods obtained would become entangled in social relationships through the settlement of cases, some involving slavery:

> Kashali (...) gave Msangi some beads to buy salt with on the Lualaba. Msangi went away to the Lualaba River & bought 6 cakes of salt, & returned with them. Kashali received his salt. At that time he had an affair with Msaila & gave him the salt & some beads (...) He then redeemed Nyamasau with 1 gun, 16 yards [of cloth], & 3 beads.[307]

Next to social relationships, the long-distance trade profoundly influenced material expectations and patterns of consumption. Social relationships, hierarchies of power and patterns of consumption were all affected by patterns of trade and the effects of such trade reverberated well into the twentieth century.[308]

Because imported goods had to be paid for, trade influenced productive relationships as well. Rubber and beeswax would be procured from the forests and elephants would be hunted to provide supplies of ivory with which to acquire imports.[309] A brisk trade in rubber and beeswax to Angola persisted well into the colonial period, as cloth, guns and liquor could be obtained in return.[310] Food production for trade caravans, containing up to 6,000 individuals travelling for months at a time, was equally important.[311] Livingstone described how:

> Very little exertion is required to procure the staff of life, which in these parts is the manioc (…) Maize, beans, earth nuts, &c, are planted between, and here we have a supply of food for years. The climate is

[303] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule,* 1-40; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 45-99 and 211-35.
[304] (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Nyansheta of Nyachulu v. Chibwika of Chibwika, 12 February 1919.
[305] See: Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; Miller, *Way of death.*
[306] (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/1, 28 December 1909.
[307] (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Msangi v. Chingbwambu, 7 July 1912.
[308] E.A. Steel, 'Zambezi-Congo watershed', *The geographical journal* 50:3 (1917), 187.
[309] Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej'; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*.
[310] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Annual Report Mwinilunga District, 31 December 1937; (NAZ) SEC2/41, Ormeby-Gore Report, 21 May 1937.
[311] Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 139; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 91.

> so good, they are either planting or reaping the whole year round. All the different grains, roots, &c, may be seen at one time in every stage of growth. [312]

Not only does this attest that by the 1850s items from overseas, in the form of cassava, maize and groundnuts, had reached Mwinilunga and had been adopted as mainstays of agricultural production, it also evidences that food production was copious, hinting at the salience of the trade in food. Passing caravans would depend on villages en route for their supplies of food, and the ensuing demand encouraged the expansion of agricultural production.[313] Cameron, travelling through the area in the 1870s, provides an insight into the provisioning of caravans:

> being the last station in Ulûnda, we remained (…) a few days to procure corn and make flour for a reported march of five days (…) For a piece of salt I obtained one fowl; but the people would not even look at my remaining beads, being very eager for cloth, of which I had none for trading. My only stores were a few beads and seven or eight viongwa, or shell ornaments from the East Coast.[314]

By means of food, beeswax or ivory production for trade caravans, the inhabitants of Mwinilunga found an outlet for productive activities, thereby firmly linking themselves to international markets and circuits of trade. The long-distance trade with the Angolan coast constituted an increase in scope and intensity compared to previous patterns of trade, but it equally built upon the bases of local and regional exchange. Although the long-distance trade did provide access to new goods and trade networks, the trade was founded on and incorporated into existing patterns of production, consumption and social relationships in the area of Mwinilunga. Long-distance trade goods would be distributed through local and regional socio-political networks, and could thereby influence and change the make-up of the village. Looking at slavery can further illustrate how the long-distance trade built upon but also altered social relationships and hierarchies of power.

An integral component as well as a spin off to the long-distance trade was the traffic in slaves. Slavery had existed previously within the Lunda polity, as Mwantianvwa possessed large plantations worked by slave labour.[315] Nevertheless, the trade in slaves was greatly propelled by stimuli emanating from the long-distance trade. Slaves were a prized item of exchange, ensuring access to guns, cloth and beads. In addition, slaves could act as porters of ivory or beeswax, transporting supplies from the interior to the coast.[316] Although large-scale violent slave raids could have severely disruptive effects in the area of Mwinilunga, slavery could equally involve complicity or even active involvement of the local population. Elders still recount stories of slave traders visiting their villages, buying people in a peaceful and negotiated manner:

> At our home there was a girl who was enslaved, she was called Kabanda. She was enslaved by the Ayimbundu [Ovimbundu] and sold. Kadata and Chiseki, her grandfather and uncle[317] gave Kabanda a *mubulu* [bracelet]. When the Ayimbundu came, Kadata and Chiseki pointed to the girl with the *mubulu* and sold her as a slave. They told Kabanda to go and chat with the Ayimbundu, who were her relatives, and to come back later. However, when Kabanda arrived where the Ayimbundu were seated, she was taken as a slave. Her uncle and grandfather were given cloth and guns.[318]

Slavery was part of social relationships and hierarchies within the village. Slaves could be demanded as a payment to settle cases, ranging from divorce, theft and debt to murder. Or slaves might be claimed as a compensation after the death of a relative:

> Mapupu himself came to me to claim goods in compensation for his son Chindora's death, saying that since my sister [Nyachianzu] had killed him, being a witch, I her brother must pay. At first he claimed all

---

[312] I. Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's missionary correspondence 1841-1856* (London, 1961), 261-2.

[313] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 96, estimated that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century 14,000 tons of foodstuffs would have been required annually to supply the caravans passing through the Upper Zambezi area.

[314] V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (London etc., 1885), 405-8.

[315] Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 77-8.

[316] D.M. Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade and the transformation of the South-Central African interior during the nineteenth century', *The William and Mary quarterly* 66:4 (2009), 915-38; Miller, *Way of death.*

[317] Usually grandchildren or nephews/nieces (*mwizukulu* and *mwiha* respectively) would be the ones sold into slavery, see: Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

[318] Interview with Headman Kachacha, 27 July 2010, Kanongesha.

> the goods that Chindora had brought with him from Kambove & given his wife [Nyachianzu], and other goods besides. I paid him 8 yards of calico, one short flintlock gun, one blanket and one string of beads, and he accepted these (…) Mapupu reopened the accusation (…) claiming that (…) he had a right to greater compensation. In fact he claimed goods to the value of Nyachianzu herself & her 2 children, who were given as slaves.[319]

Slaves would either be resold or incorporated into the village and given tasks to do, such as cultivating, building houses or drawing water. Although it was not uncommon for slave women to marry free men, slaves remained distinguishable as a separate category up to the 1950s.[320] The motives behind slavery were manifold, and slavery itself was multifaceted, involving violent raids, judicial settlements and deliberate sale of kin. Nevertheless, the practice could and did make sense within existing social relationships and hierarchies of power. The slave trade was not an alien imposition, but was actively negotiated and could even prove beneficial to certain individuals.[321] Relationships of authority and concepts of wealth in people became intertwined, as village heads used the slave trade to amass a large following and bolster their prestige. The slave and the commodity trade reinforced and fed into each other, creating a vicious circle.[322] Slavery was connected to the global context of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, but it equally played into regional and local negotiations, involving internal African slavery and the articulation of relationships of debt, dependency and authority. Slavery illustrated the complex relationships between goods and people.[323] Selling kin into slavery might have been an 'accommodation, to the inevitable fact of slaving in the area.'[324] The sale of kin, even if it caused conflicts within the village and region, seemed preferable to being subjected to slave raids, which were unpredictable, indiscriminate and difficult to control. This proposition can be applied to the case of Mwinilunga, where slave raids caused insecurity and disruption.

Although the British formally abolished slavery in 1807 and the Portuguese outlawed the slave trade (but not slavery itself) in 1834, the practice of slavery and the trade in slaves continued unabatedly in the interior, possibly even heightening.[325] The 'legitimate trade' in ivory, beeswax and rubber spurred the internal demand for slaves as a means of 'production, exchange, and wealth'.[326] Towards the end of the nineteenth century violent slave raids occurred. In Mwinilunga these raids were most commonly attributed to Chokwe and Luvale neighbours. Later reminiscences are revealing:

> There were (…) cases of slaves being carried off by force, and the roads to the west were littered with wooden manacles and the forked neck-sticks, as well as with skulls and human bones, showing the extent of this horrible trade.[327]

Although some Lunda slaves might have been incorporated into Chokwe social relationships through the pawnship system in a relatively orderly manner, others would be sold off or exposed to harsher treatment. The Chokwe had successfully capitalised on the rising demand for beeswax, ivory, and later

---

[319] (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/2, N.C. & A.M. Court Mwinilunga Sub-District, Criminal cases, Rex vs. Mapupu, 9 January 1915.
[320] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* makes numerous references to people of slave descent. At present people of slave descent are no longer recognisable as such.
[321] L.M. Heywood, 'Slavery and forced labor in the changing political economy of central Angola, 1850-1949', in: S. Miers and R.L. Roberts (eds.), *The end of slavery in Africa* (Madison, 1988), 415-35; M.A. Klein, 'The slave trade and decentralized societies', *Journal of African history* 42 (2001), 49-65; W. MacGaffey, 'Kongo slavery remembered by themselves: Texts from 1915', *International journal of African historical studies* 41:1 (2008), 55-76; P.E. Lovejoy, 'The business of slaving: Pawnship in Western Africa, c. 1600-1810', *Journal of African history* 42 (2001), 67-89; C. Piot, 'Of slaves and the gift: Kabre sale of kin during the era of the slave trade', *Journal of African history* 37 (1996), 31-49.
[322] Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'.
[323] Miller, *Way of death*, 40-53.
[324] Piot, 'Of slaves and the gift', 45.
[325] J.C. Miller, 'Cokwe trade and conquest in the nineteenth century', in: R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.), *Pre-colonial African trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900* (London etc., 1970), 177-8; Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule,* 25.
[326] Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade', 925.
[327] (NAZ) HM6 CO3/4/1, Edward Arden Copeman Memoirs.

rubber. Displaying exceptional hunting ability, they would exchange forest produce for cloth and guns. Guns, in turn, would be used to raid for slaves. Slaves could act as porters for trade caravans or could serve to expand Chokwe lineages, creating more wealth and power. The Chokwe even managed to raid Musumba in 1885-88, and for a short period the Lunda state was overrun by chaos.[328] These events seriously disrupted the long-distance trade and the ensuing insecurity proved so severe that changes in settlement patterns resulted. Whereas slavery could be incorporated into existing Lunda social relationships and hierarchies, the slave raids at the end of the nineteenth century caused disruption and propelled profound, but not permanent, change.

The tension caused by slave raiding, still palpable early in the twentieth century, was described by a missionary, as he: 'passed several groups of the huts of these timid, wild-looking people, who have been preyed upon, probably for centuries, by all the tribes around for supplies of slaves.'[329] Some people reportedly hid in caves, such as *Kahoshanga* in Nyakaseya and *Nyawunda* in Sailunga.[330] Others dispersed into the bush and sought security through mobility by shifting around in small bands. Another common response was to build a stockade (*mpwembu*) around a concentrated settlement:

> The villages of these people are always small but are strongly stockaded. Circular earthworks are thrown up around a score of huts, and these are surmounted by a substantial palisade, at the base of which bushes and creepers are sometimes planted in order to render their fastness still more impenetrable. The entrance is through a narrow opening, which is firmly bolted by wooden logs on the inside. Usually these gateways are so low as to be passable only on hands and knees. At Kanungesa's the opening is the shape of a reversed V, only three feet six inches high at the apex.[331]

Although palisades had been built around Musumba since the eighteenth century at least, outlying villages had remained without stockades.[332] The spread of *mpwembu* during the late nineteenth century, therefore, seems linked to defence mechanisms in reaction to the threats of slave raids. Within stockades security was sought in numbers, giving rise to villages of 100 individuals or even more. In order to better withstand the looming attacks from slave raiding groups, population would amass into concentrated fortified settlements.[333] Slave raiding, thus, did not merely lead to insecurity and chaos, but arguably also to greater levels of village cohesion.[334] Within the stockade, village organisation would be cemented, as: 'all the functions of defence were laid down and (...) everybody was trained to perform a specific duty when emergency arose.'[335] Containing only a limited number of entrance doors, villages would be safely guarded by strong men, the warriors (*ayilobu*) of a village. The status of the headman or chief of such a large village would be exalted. United action upon attack could prove of vital importance and the headman was looked upon to provide such guidance. Mediated through the village head, supernatural protection or witchcraft provided security. The charm *mujiminu* might be used to make the village invisible to attackers, whereas an *ilomba*, a magic serpent, would guard the village against external attack.[336] Nevertheless, this form of village cohesion proved short-lived. Upon the arrest of violent raids at the outset of the twentieth century, colonial

---

[328] Miller, 'Cokwe trade and conquest'; Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule;* Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej'; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'; Vansina, 'Long-distance trade-routes.'

[329] (EOS), Visits to Various Stations, Kaleñe Hill – Extracts from Mr. Arnot's Journal, 36th year No. 631 Part 1 October 1907.

[330] See interview with Mr Wombeki, 27 April and 24 May 2010, Nyakaseya.

[331] Gibbons, *Africa from South to North,* 34.

[332] Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'; Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*.

[333] This view is based on various oral interviews, for example Mr Kasongu Mapulanga, 29 July 2010, Kanongesha, and a reading of archival sources (NAZ).

[334] C.M.N. White, 'Clan, chieftainship, and slavery in Luvale political organization', *Africa* 27:1 (1957), 72-3: 'The fact that slavery no longer exists as an active element in Luvale life has had the effect of reducing the size of Luvale villages, and the danger of a kinsman being handed over as a slave no longer provides a unifying force in the village.'

[335] (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, A Report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936.

[336] See interview with Mr Martin Kahangu, 30 September 2010, Ntambu.

administrators complained about village breakup into small units once more.[337] It is questionable whether the emergence of stockaded villages where centralised forms of authority prevailed propelled structural changes in social and political relationships within Mwinilunga. The leader of a stockaded village would use similar tools to assert political authority as previous headmen and chiefs had done. Success in holding people together was due to the threat of attack, and concepts of authority remained embedded in notions of wealth in people. The later reversal to small and dispersed settlements testifies that stockaded villages signalled a temporary change, rather than constituting a rupture in socio-political relationships.

The long-distance caravan trade, which built upon existing foundations of production, consumption, trade and social relationships, established remarkably enduring patterns in Mwinilunga. In spite of disruptions caused by slave raids and subsequent colonial boundary demarcations, the long-distance trade lingered on illicitly during the first half of the twentieth century.[338] Furthermore, the long-distance trade established trade networks, patterns of production, expectations of consumption and ideas about the relationship between goods, people and power which would prove influential during the colonial and post-colonial period. Trade goods provided Mwinilunga with a connection to the world at large. Even if this connection at times remained indirect, and its effects seemed challenging or threatening rather than beneficial, especially in the case of slave raids, local individuals by and large managed to make sense of trade. The familiar and the unfamiliar converged, as new trade goods were appropriated into existing social hierarchies, and settlement patterns were adjusted to ward off threats. Subsequent colonial advances were inevitably understood in the light of the contacts established by the long-distance trade.

Engaging the metropole: Colonial rule and local negotiation

Whether it was to consolidate and further explore avenues of trade, to prospect for minerals, to preach the gospel, or for other reasons yet, Europeans gradually sought to intensify and formalise their involvement with the Central African interior.[339] Building upon the basis of the long-distance trade, new claims to territorial control were advanced towards the end of the nineteenth century, the period retrospectively signifying the dawn of formal colonialism in the area. It would be teleological to claim that Europeans had always negotiated with Africans from a position of strength. Rather, it was initially the other way around, as a handful of Europeans proved heavily dependent on the knowledge, skills and produce of the African population.[340] The colonial occupation of Mwinilunga District provides a clear example hereof.

In the sphere of Lunda influence European presence had increasingly made itself felt through the long-distance trade. From the sixteenth century onwards European influence had started radiating from the Angolan coast into the hinterland. Initially, this was merely through trade goods, yet traders and other individuals followed in their wake.[341] In present-day recollections a clear association is made between trade goods and the first whites in the area of Mwinilunga, stressing the connection between goods and people. It is recounted that early European travellers carried salt and white cloth, which would be left as a rapprochement gift after unsuccessful attempts had been made to come into contact with local chiefs or headmen. This suggests that power relations were not necessarily tilted towards

[337] (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, A Report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[338] For example: (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/7, Rex vs. Chisele, 24 July 1928.
[339] See: J. Vansina, *Being colonized: The Kuba experience in rural Congo, 1880-1960* (Madison, 2010).
[340] J-B. Gewald, 'Researching and writing in the twilight of an imagined conquest: Anthropology in Northern Rhodesia 1930-1960'*, History and anthropology* 18:4 (2007), 459-87; D. Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development: A human-geographical study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia* (Amsterdam, 1981).
[341] See: J. Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world: African consumerism and the genealogies of globalization* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2008).

Europeans from the outset.[342] From the perspective of the local population, initial encounters with Europeans remained occasional and marginal to lived reality.[343]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century attitudes and relationships started to shift. Spurred by a highly competitive international setting, Europeans made attempts to establish strongholds and direct control over large parts of the African continent.[344] In the light of these developments, the establishment of colonial rule by British authorities in Northern Rhodesia has been presented as a swift thrust of a hegemonic 'civilised European power replacing uncivilised African powers.'[345] Despite differing views as to whether colonial domination was established through the deployment of brute force, or by means of relatively peaceful treaties, it has rarely been doubted that colonial hegemony was established rapidly and completely.[346] Especially the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 has been hailed as a landmark in the 'scramble for Africa' by European powers who 'carved up the African continent' between themselves.[347] These views, however, grossly overestimate European power. Likewise, they ignore local responses to colonial advances and present Africans as powerless victims falling prey to all-powerful European administrators. Contrastingly, in Mwinilunga the establishment of colonial rule was gradual rather than sudden, partial and incomplete – especially in the early stages – rather than hegemonic. Local agency, initiatives and responses should receive as much attention as colonial interests or European statesmen when examining the establishment and functioning of colonial rule.[348]

The decision to assign the area of Mwinilunga to the British sphere of influence and demarcate international boundaries, which was made at the Berlin Conference and was affirmed by the arbitration by the King of Italy in 1905, did not equal physical occupation on the ground.[349] Only in 1906-7 did reconnaissance of this 'No Man's Land' commence, when a government station was built and an official in charge was appointed.[350] During this initial period, colonial rule was in the hands of isolated 'men on the spot', who had no prior knowledge of the area or language of the districts to which they had been posted.[351] Although on paper and in theory these men held considerable power over the area and the population, in practice they lacked control over district affairs.[352] British South Africa Company (BSAC) administration of Mwinilunga[353] initially consisted of a Native Commissioner, his assistant, 25 head of Barotse Native Police and several messengers and porters, who would accompany the administrators whilst touring the area. Administrative aims remained modest, and no

[342] Interview with Mr John Kamuhuza, March and April 2010, Ikelenge.
[343] Pritchett, *Friends for life.*
[344] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule.*
[345] F. Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest: The British occupation of Zambia, 1884-1924* (Harlow, 1981), 2.
[346] Whereas Pritchett in *Lunda-Ndembu,* 33-37, and Macpherson in *Anatomy of a conquest,* argue that colonial rule was established and consolidated by displays of overwhelming force, P. Slinn, 'Commercial concessions and politics during the colonial period: The role of the British South Africa Company in Northern Rhodesia 1890-1964', *African affairs* 70:281 (1971), 365-84, argues that British rule was established by means of relatively peaceful treaties.
[347] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule,* 40.
[348] See: W.T. Kalusa, 'A history of disease, missionary medicine and African medical auxiliaries in North-Western Zambia: The case of Mwinilunga District, 1893-1964' (PhD thesis, John Hopkins University, 2003).
[349] (NAZ) KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebooks; B.C. Kakoma, 'Colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia: A case study of colonial policy in the Mwinilunga District of Zambia, 1901-1939' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1971).
[350] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.
[351] Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest,* 228.
[352] L.H. Gann, *The birth of a plural society: The development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company 1894-1914* (Manchester, 1958), 64-5; B.J. Phiri, *A political history of Zambia: From colonial rule to the Third Republic 1890-2001* (Trenton NJ etc., 2006), 10-11.
[353] Initially referred to as Balunda sub-District, administered within Kasempa District. Mwinilunga became a District in 1926.

recording of census or levying of taxes took place, to avoid antagonising the population.[354] Officials expressed despair over their lack of control over village affairs:

> The utmost secrecy is observed, and information is very difficult to obtain. Balunda communities mind their own business very surely when dealing with an official – they profess ignorance of their neighbours names or doings; are averse to lead you forward at times, and in many ways show very plainly that they also believe in the shrewd silence that is golden. Beyond the evidence of the man or woman venturing to seek aid or freedom, it is almost impossible to gain any outside information or statements.[355]

In spite of this feeble administrative hold, colonial headquarters allegedly ordered the Native Commissioner to 'subdue the wild Ba-Lunda', if necessary by using force.[356] Local non-cooperation with administrative aims could evoke harsh treatment. Records of flogging, arrest, destruction of houses, burning of fields and other displays of violence by colonial staff were not uncommon.[357] Especially in 1908-9, when the district was in charge of George Alexander MacGregor, excessive violence was displayed.[358] He raided gardens to obtain food, beat and imprisoned people at random, and even shot a person.[359] Because of this MacGregor met with deserted settlements whilst touring the district. People would abandon their villages upon his approach and only numbers of old men and women would remain in their houses.[360] Some individuals even fled into Angola or Congo, which caused agricultural disruption, as: 'no one did any cultivation – they were all running away from Mr. MacGregor and left their land to the pigs.'[361]

The introduction of taxation in 1913 caused equal, if not greater, disruption.[362] According to some accounts, the tax had propelled two-thirds of the population to flee across the border to Angola and Congo, where taxation was not yet introduced or administrative demands remained less onerous. The distress and passive resistance caused by the introduction of taxation were described in grim terms:

> All the villagers have run, i.e. a population of 8000. All that remains are a few villages in the south. The people here are a wild and primitive lot and quite naturally don't like the idea of spending 10/- on taxes (…) The running last May has caused consequent starvation and the people are getting restless because of this. For these people were not content merely to run and leave their gardens to be eaten by the wild pigs in the bush – but they must also ply the hoe in the hand too and root up even their young cassava, so that they could leave with the feeling of finality and of burnt ships behind them. Now that most of them are back they are starving, and those who did not run are suffering.[363]

Those who refused to cooperate with the policy of taxation faced the uninviting alternatives of imprisonment, the burning of their huts or relocation to Congo or Angola.[364] Violence was not shunned, and colonial official Pound proclaimed that: 'these folk need a bit of choking off, and I shall not spare the pains to give it to them.'[365] Nevertheless, such examples overstate the violent nature of the early colonial period and equally overemphasise the hold which the administration commanded over the

[354] (NAZ) HM6CO3/4/1, Edward Arden Copeman Personal Memoirs.
[355] (NAZ) BS2/199 IN2/1/3, J.M. Pound, Monthly Report Balunda District, January 1909.
[356] (NAZ) HM6CO3/4/1/, E.A. Copeman Personal Memoirs.
[357] For example: (NAZ) HM6CO3/3/1, Edward Arden Copeman Papers.
[358] See: Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest,* 124-5; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 33, 228-9; Pritchett, *Friends for life,* 48-51; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 7.
[359] (NAZ) A1/1/12 Loc.3975, Slave Trading North Western Rhodesia, 20th January 1910 Crewe to High Commissioner.
[360] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, Secretary of Native Affairs to MacGregor, 26 February 1909.
[361] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, C.H. Bellis, Monthly Report Balunda District, October 1909.
[362] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 33; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest,* 115-6; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 7.
[363] (BOD) Mss Afr. S 779, Theodore Williams Correspondences, 8 May 1913 and 16 February 1914.
[364] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.
[365] (BOD) Mss Afr. S 777, Theodore Williams Diary, 20 July 1914.

local population. Occasional displays of coercion and violence did occur, yet administrative presence did not have permanently disruptive effects on daily life.[366]

Due to the numerical weakness of the administration, the display of force was neither universal, nor inescapable. After being harassed by MacGregor or upon the introduction of taxation, people did return. Some would return within several days, and most would eventually:

> The Government (…) made certain concessions to encourage the remainder [those who had not fled from taxation] to pay, with some success (…) Favourable reports reaching the deserters, by no means happy in their retreats, slowly village after village returned, so that only a third of those who fled are still absent, and these may come in yet (…) Everything now looks brighter (…) Hundreds of acres of wood have been cut down and burnt, ready for the rains we are daily expecting [to start cultivating].[367]

Shortly after returning from exile, which was more often temporary than long-term, villagers would pick up cultivation and daily routines.[368] Moreover, many were apt to deceive officials, merely fleeing temporarily upon their approach. Because administrators travelled with a large entourage of porters and messengers, their arrival would be announced several days in advance. This gave individuals ample time to retreat into the surrounding bush, only to reappear once the touring group had long passed.[369] Consequently officials would falsely be impressed with images of 'deserted settlements'.[370] Missionaries provided a vivid description of such practices:

> At one village, near where our camp was pitched, the people entirely cleared off at first. By-and-by some little boys crept up, and then, after a time, men came with meal, etc. (…) soon two [women] came with some food for sale. I endeavoured to ensure them that we would neither catch them as slaves, nor eat them, but asked them to come and bring others (…) Quite a number of men came.[371]

These examples suggest that colonial rule could not be established by violent and repressive means. If a harsh attitude was adopted by the administration, this would cause non-compliance and even flight. Therefore, the colonial administration had to rely on collaboration with local intermediaries and had to carefully manoeuvre so as not to alienate the population through oppressive policies. Due to a lack of financial resources, the colonial administration relied on the compliance of the population in order to rule effectively. That is why generous concessions followed the introduction of taxation.[372] Through a process of negotiation the local population was able to exert considerable influence over the manner in which colonial rule would eventually be established in the area of Mwinilunga.[373]

Taxation can provide an example to understand how relationships of interdependence and hierarchies of power between the colonial administration and the local population were worked out. Especially in Mwinilunga District, an area which did not seem to hold much potential for mining or agricultural development, taxation was the centrepiece of colonial rule.[374] The dual objectives behind the introduction of taxation were to raise revenue for the cash-strained BSAC government and to create a cheap labour force.[375] Not only local labour requirements, but equally those of the mines in

---

[366] It might be argued that it was the other way around, that the colonial administration used violence because of a sense of despair and lack of control. See: Piot, *Remotely global.*

[367] (EOS) Walter Fisher, 'A Year of Changes', Echoes of service*,* 44th year No. 805 January part 1 1915.

[368] (NAZ) KSE 6/5/1, C.H. Bellis, Balunda District Monthly Report, October 1909.

[369] (NAZ) A2/1/4 Loc.3981, BSA2 Tax Evasion No 256, Acting Administrator of North Western Rhodesia, 20 December 1910.

[370] (NAZ) KSE 6/1/6, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 1928; W.S. Fisher and J. Hoyte, *Ndotolu: The life stories of Walter and Anna Fisher of Central Africa* (Rev. Ed., Ikelenge, 1992), 133.

[371] (EOS) Orpah Gertrude Sawyer, 'Visits to Fellow-Workers', Echoes of service, 42nd year No. 772 August part 2 1913.

[372] (NAZ) KSE4/1 Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

[373] Kalusa, 'A history of disease'; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[374] Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest,* 105; Slinn, 'Commercial concessions and politics', 365-8; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Crehan, *The fractured community.*

[375] Gann, *The birth of a plural society,* 76, 113; R.S. Hall, *Zambia,* (London, 1965), 87; R.P. Lander, 'The British South Africa Company: An essay on its commercial history', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* 11 (1992), 1-3; Phiri, *A political history of Zambia*, 11.

Southern Rhodesia and South Africa had to be satisfied. Contrary to encouragements to move south, however, many individuals from Mwinilunga were attracted to the mines in Congo, encouraged by proximity, favourable working conditions and the presence of kin.[376] Officials hoped that by introducing the hut tax individuals would become accustomed to the habit of working, handling money and moving out of the village to seek employment: 'The tax does good in making them work a bit, in learning how profitable work can be, and in taking them abroad to see the way the more civilised Bakaonde live and thrive.'[377] Taxation, which was ultimately connected to issues of 'civilisation', aimed to tie the population to administrative control, as well as to influence the core values of society concerning work and thrift. The height of the tax was initially set at 10/-, which coincided with the average monthly wage of a labourer.[378]

Taxation could not simply be imposed, though. For one, collection of taxes was heavily dependent on the cooperation of headmen, not only for compiling a census of village population, but also for forwarding tax money and receipts.[379] To the great frustration of the administration, headmen would frequently protect or hide tax defaulters. Headmen would perhaps claim that defaulters had moved to Congo or were away 'at work', while some had merely gone to the bush to hunt or cultivate.[380] The lack of colonial control over the population was clearly signified by the aforementioned 'exodus' which followed the introduction of taxation. This exasperated officials to such an extent that they granted numerous concessions to those who did pay taxes. These concessions included the right to import gunpowder, collect and sell rubber, move to Congo without a pass and refrain from compulsory road labour.[381] Nevertheless, levels of default remained high throughout the colonial period, lingering around 30% in the late 1930s.[382] Although taxation was a central concern of the colonial enterprise, the imposition and collection of taxes was by no means straightforward. The administration could not demand local cooperation, but rather had to entice people to pay taxes by granting concessions. Dissidence and flight proved effective means to achieve local goals and keep colonial interference at bay, at least temporarily.[383]

Administrative aims went beyond touring the district and collecting taxes. Officials were responsible for hearing legal cases, mapping the district, compiling a vocabulary of the local language, interviewing chiefs and headmen, and more.[384] The colonial administration introduced a plethora of legislation. To name a few examples, it became necessary to purchase a licence in order to own a gun, the shooting of large species of game was restricted, the cutting down of trees was subjected to limitations to preserve valuable timber species, the upkeep of inter-village paths was made obligatory and villages were encouraged to concentrate in large settlements along major lines of communication.[385] Even though such regulations could limit pre-existing livelihood strategies, such as hunting or foraging, enforcement of laws was incomplete and could be circumvented.[386] Illustrative was the attempt to regulate, or preferably exterminate, the remnants of the pre-colonial trade in rubber, ivory, slaves, guns and powder. Colonial officials condemned this trade, carried out by Mambunda, Mambari, Portuguese and 'undesirable European' traders, who robbed, plundered and ill-

[376] (NAZ) KSE 4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks; (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 1926.
[377] (BOD) Mss Afr.S777, Theodore Williams Diary, 16 July 1914.
[378] The height of the tax fluctuated throughout the years. It rose to 12/6 in 1930, but was lowered to 7/6 in 1934 and 6/- in 1938. (BOD) Mss Afr. S779, Theodore Williams Correspondences, 22 October 1913.
[379] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 March 1922.
[380] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, T.M. Lawman, Lunda District Quarterly Report, 14 October 1912.
[381] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks, Folio 29.
[382] (NAZ) SEC2/151, Provincial Commissioner Western Province, Annual Report on Native Affairs, 1937.
[383] Scott has illustrated numerous instances of such resistance. See: J.C. Scott, *The art of not being governed: An anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London, 2009).
[384] (BOD) Mss Afr. S779, Theodore Williams Correspondences, 11 February 1913.
[385] (NAZ) KSE6/3/2, Mwinilunga Sub-District Reports Indaba, August 1927.
[386] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 228-31.

treated the population, whilst illicitly straddling the boundaries between Mwinilunga, Angola and Congo.[387] Despite restrictive legislation this trade persisted well into the 1920s, as it offered the local population favourable terms of trade with which the colonial administration could not compete.[388] The establishment of colonial rule and legislation, thus, did not pose a sharp break with previous practices or patterns of livelihood. The population could circumvent colonial legislation, by exploiting its contradictions or partial enforcement. These acts, even if they might appear trivial or of limited scope, shaped the contours of colonial rule in Mwinilunga District. Colonial rule was not hegemonic or driven by European interests alone, but was negotiated among various actors, who could hold widely divergent interests. The inhabitants of Mwinilunga District sought to further their own interests, struggling to establish a form of colonial rule which would maintain a degree of continuity with past practices, ideas and modes of life.

Settlement patterns were fervently discussed by the colonial administration.[389] Officials connected living conditions in the villages to issues of hygiene, thrift, agricultural production and, most importantly, accessibility to administrative control.[390] Instead of scattered residence in the bush, where the evasion of colonial law and order would be all too easy, villagers were encouraged to gather into more concentrated settlements, containing a minimum of ten taxpaying males.[391] Such concentrated settlements should preferably be located in accessible places, along paths and roads, which would facilitate administrative control and compliance. Colonial officials described dispersed living conditions in derogatory terms, particularly condemning *nkunka* (conical grass houses):

> The Balunda are a gypsy or nomadic people, for all their old and present huts are but skeleton frameworks, with uprights for walls consisting of poles from one foot to two feet apart with a thatched roof. Plastered walls are the rare exceptions, the usual and almost universal wall being formed by suspending grass mats along the inside of the skeleton wall, forming a break wind only. Sometimes grass is lashed along the wall, so as to completely enclose it. Many communities make no attempt at building decent huts, but live in a collection of beehive shaped, or conical small shelters of about six feet in diameter, and six to eight feet to apex. It is plain that the community building to-day, have vividly before them the possibility of circumstances arising to make them decide to remove again to-morrow.[392]

Inaccessibility and a degree of independence from colonial control, more than anything else, propelled such negative valuations. In order to administer the area, record census and collect taxes, to make the population controllable and legible, the colonial administration exercised pressure to settle the population in large, stable villages.[393] Nevertheless, efforts to establish large villages were vehemently resisted and the ten taxpayer rule remained an ideal, rather than becoming the norm:

> Before the arrival of Europeans to this corner of the Territory the Lunda were accustomed to live in small family settlements of often only three or four men with their wives and families. The Government however has always encouraged larger villages but they have never been popular here: big villages would lead to factions and quarrelling.[394]

By the end of the 1920s it was recorded that the largest village in Mwinilunga District contained 105 people, yet villages with less than 40 people appeared more common.[395] Although the colonial

[387] (NAZ) HM6CO3/3/1, Edward Arden Copeman Papers.

[388] (NAZ) KSE6/3/1, Mwinilunga Sub-District Report Indaba, October 1916; (NAZ) KSE6/6/2, G. Hughes-Chamberlain, Mwinilunga Sub-District Tour Report, November 1928.

[389] S.S. Berry, 'Hegemony on a shoestring: Indirect rule and access to agricultural land', *Africa* 62:3 (1992), 327-55; G. Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping in Zambia' (University of Hull, 1967), describes colonial settlement patterns in Northern Rhodesia as the outcome of the struggle towards colonial administrative control against 'traditional' and shifting residential patterns.

[390] H.L. Moore and M. Vaughan, *Cutting down trees: Gender, nutrition, and agricultural change in the Northern Province of Zambia 1890-1990* (London etc., 1994), for the Northern Province of Zambia.

[391] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

[392] (NAZ) BS2/199 IN2/1/3, G.A. MacGregor, Monthly Report Balunda District, January 1909.

[393] Scott, *The art of not being governed.*

[394] (NAZ) SEC2/955, H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 11 October 1940.

[395] (NAZ) KSE6/3/2, Mwinilunga Sub-District Indaba, 30 August 1927.

administration attempted to make alterations in residential structures and settlement patterns, such efforts did not meet success. Changes in settlement patterns were part and parcel of the process of negotiating and appropriating colonialism. Previous settlement patterns were not simply abandoned, but were adjusted to the context of colonial rule.

Colonial rule envisaged headmen and chiefs as the leaders of villages in terms of political authority. The administration relied heavily on the mediation of village heads for implementing the policies and laws under 'indirect rule'.[396] Headmen and chiefs occupied a brokering position, being the speaking drum for the desires and grievances of the village population and shrewdly negotiating with the colonial administration. Village heads would be called upon to organise the supply of food and labour for administrative requirements, as well as to maintain village paths.[397] Because of their crucial importance, the colonial administration sought to encourage the establishment of village heads which would be loyal and cooperative. Correspondence regarding Chief Kanongesha is revealing. Due to boundary demarcations the area of Chief Kanongesha had been bisected between Angola and Northern Rhodesia. Consequently the British administration tried to tempt and attract this 'intelligent looking man' and 'important Chief' to settle on their side of the international boundary:

> [Kanongesha] has complained that this administration does so little for him (...) He is supported in every way possible by us (...) I shall endeavour to show him that the Government is willing and able to support him in any reasonable demands that he may make.[398]

Because of their own lack of resources and control, the colonial administration was dependent on the performance of headmen and chiefs for successfully administering the area.[399] Village heads could use this dependence to their advantage, by negotiating autonomy and a degree of power.[400]

In some cases, the colonial government could bolster the position of village heads by codifying their rule and assigning them various tasks and responsibilities.[401] Whereas previously village heads had ruled by means of ritual authority, during the colonial period chiefs and headmen became responsible for enacting law and order in a more formal manner.[402] Some proved particularly successful brokers with the colonial government:

> Good chiefs will always be respected and good work will make a chief important. All his good work will be considered when his subsidy is paid to him. Chiefs who merely sit down in their villages will on NO ACCOUNT EVER GET BIGGER SUBSIDIES [*sic*].[403]

Cooperation with the colonial administration could provide tangible benefits, in the form of material wealth and official recognition. The colonial state sought to organise headmen and chiefs into fixed hierarchies, quite different from the shifting, loose relationships of authority which had prevailed during the pre-colonial period.[404] Under colonial rule distinct territorial boundaries and hierarchies of authority between headmen, chiefs and senior chiefs were drawn up, reserving recognition and government subsidies to a limited number of titleholders.[405] As some titleholders purposefully refused association with the colonial government, their claims to authority could be made illegitimate. An example is ex-Chief Ntambu Sachitolu, who objected to the payment of taxation and subsequently returned his *ndondu*, a sceptre handed out as a symbol of chiefly recognition by colonial officials. Due

[396] Berry, 'Hegemony on a shoestring'; M.L. Chanock, *Law, custom and social order: The colonial experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge etc., 1985).
[397] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu;* Turner, *Schism and continuity*; (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.
[398] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Annual Report Mwinilunga Sub-District, 31 March 1922.
[399] Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development*.
[400] For a case study of a chief in colonial Malawi see: M.E. Davies, 'The locality of chieftainship: Chiefly authority in colonial Malawi, 1932-1974' (PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2014).
[401] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The invention of tradition.*
[402] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*.
[403] (NAZ) KSE1/2/1, G. Hughes Chamberlain to Provincial Commissioner Kasempa, 26 April 1930.
[404] (NAZ) H. Vaux, Sailunga Kindred and Dening Reassessment.
[405] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

to non-cooperation his chiefly title was revoked and he was degraded to the rank of headman.[406] Contrastingly, compliant leaders would be hailed and supported by the colonial administration in case disputes arose:

> Nyakaseya's Chieftainship has always seemed to me to be more important. Economically on account of better land and a large river it is capable of supporting a larger population than Mwinimilamba's. Nyakaseya has taken a Chief's course at Lusaka and the Mission states that he is far more enlightened and helpful in regard to most matters, and education, than Mwinimilamba.[407]

Association with the colonial administration could thus prove beneficial. Through negotiation different parties gradually crafted a balance of authority and power under colonialism.[408] In the process, the local population and the colonial administration became increasingly interdependent.

The colonial government could not boast a base of power and authority in Mwinilunga District from the outset. In the initial stages of colonial rule the administration appeared vulnerable, rather than strong. Its feeble hold was still regretted in 1915:

> To visit them once, or in some cases twice, during the year is almost labour in vain. One arrives at a village, collects the inhabitants, talks for an hour or so, and occasionally one thinks a slight impression has been made – that a little of what has been said has penetrated their wooden heads – only to learn in about a month's time that they have drifted back to their old life (...) Some progress has, of course, been made. For example, the great majority are now living in quite respectable huts; small family communities have been collected and built together under one headman; hoed paths are being made between villages; larger gardens are being made, and the natives now are not definitely hostile to the Administration.[409]

Due to the frail command of the colonial state individuals could default taxation, flee administrative presence and maintain trade contacts with Angola and Congo, despite boundary demarcations. Colonial policies could not be violently or unilaterally imposed, but had to be negotiated, leaving the population of Mwinilunga District considerable leverage. Officials were dependent on local assistance, collaboration and approval. Passive resistance, dissidence and flight were merely some of the tools used to ward off the negative effects of colonial encroachment.[410] Gradually, however, it became apparent that active involvement with the colonial administration could prove advantageous, most notably to headmen and chiefs whose position could be bolstered.[411] Some, therefore, sought to engage the colonial state on favourable terms, especially from the 1930s onwards. For instance by selling crops to touring officials, seeking employment at the mines, or by establishing large villages under government sanctioned headmen, the population of Mwinilunga District increased its interaction with the colonial administration.[412] The terms of this interdependence were not dictated by administrative aims alone, but were equally influenced by local interests. Colonial rule did not constitute a breach with the past, as important continuities with the pre-colonial period persisted. Nevertheless, a balance of power had to be negotiated to accommodate the presence of the colonial

---

[406] Interviews with Headman Kachacha, 27 July 2010, Kanongesha; Ex-Chief Ntambu Lukonkesha, 11 August 2010, Kanongesha; and confirmed by a reading of archival sources (NAZ).

[407] (NAZ) SEC2/222, Provincial Commissioner Kaonde-Lunda Province to Secretary for Native Affairs, 5 March 1947.

[408] See: Piot, *Remotely global*; Crehan, *The fractured community.*

[409] (NAZ) KSE6/1/3, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Annual Report Mwinilunga Sub-District, 31 March 1915.

[410] For the 'exit option' see: J.C. Scott, *The moral economy of the peasant: Rebellion and subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London, 1976); G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an uncaptured peasantry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980).

[411] An example of a Zambian chief whose authority was bolstered by colonial presence is the Lozi chief Lewanika of Barotseland: L.S. Flint, 'State building in Central Southern Africa: Citizenship and subjectivity in Barotseland and Caprivi', *The international journal of African historical studies* 36:2 (2003), 393-428.

[412] Much RLI work has interpreted labour migration, cash crop production and involvement with the state in terms of 'disruption' and negative 'social change'. See: N. Long, *Social change and the individual: A study of the social and religious responses to innovation in a Zambian rural community* (Manchester, 1968).

government. The outcome of this process of negotiation profoundly influenced social, economic and political relationships in the area.

'Cinderella gets the ball at her feet': Food, labour and roads

The area of Mwinilunga enjoyed a variety of natural resources, such as game, sylvan produce and patches of fertile land. These resources have historically been deployed to generate livelihoods, trade opportunities and to create affluence. Nevertheless, from the perspective of the colonial state Mwinilunga District appeared of only marginal importance. The area held potential for neither mining nor large-scale agricultural development. Furthermore, the area was remote from and poorly connected to colonial centres on the Copperbelt and along the line of rail. Mwinilunga District was regarded as a periphery, as a labour reserve which might be exploited through labour migration and a limited degree of agricultural production.[413] Nonetheless, starting in the 1930s and increasing in scope and intensity after 1945, colonial involvement with Mwinilunga increased.[414] As a result of metropolitan scarcity and reconstruction after the Second World War and, most importantly, because of the production boom on the Copperbelt, demands for labour and produce from remote rural areas such as Mwinilunga were raised.[415] This affected the productive sphere of society and brought about increased government involvement with the area. How did these developments impact on the socio-economic and political organisation of Mwinilunga District? According to Turner capitalism and colonial involvement would lead to village breakup, yet established patterns of production, consumption and social relationships might have proven more resilient.[416]

Influenced by the ongoing concern to make colonial rule a profitable enterprise, officials and traders made attempts to open up the district, in order to tap the potential of the area. From the 1930s onwards more staff and money was deployed, especially for road construction and schemes of 'development'. Agricultural, stock rearing and fishing schemes were initiated, schools were built and clinics staffed.[417] The population of Mwinilunga District was encouraged to broaden the base of their livelihood strategies, especially through cash crop production and labour migration, in order to secure monetary access for the payment of taxes as well as for consumer goods, such as clothing, pots and bicycles.[418] None of these developments were new as such. Many cash crops, such as cassava or beans, had long been cultivated in the area, and their sale constituted an extension of scale more than anything else. The bartering of cassava to long-distance trade caravans and the sale of meal to the touring District Commissioner had been common practices.[419] Similarly, labour migration to the Congolese mines had started in the early 1900s, preceded by the employment of porters in trade caravans heading to the Angolan coast. Likewise, development schemes built on and sought to expand a pre-existing base, rather than initiating schemes from scratch.[420]

---

[413] See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; A. Von Oppen, 'Cinderella province: Discourses of locality and nation state in a Zambian periphery (1950s to 1990s)', *Sociologus* 52 (2002), 11-46.

[414] D.A. Low and J. Lonsdale, 'Introduction', in: D.A. Low and A. Smith (eds.), *Oxford history of East Africa, Vol. 3* (Oxford, 1976), 1-63, coined the term 'second colonial occupation' for the period after 1945; J.M. Hodge, *Triumph of the expert: Agrarian doctrines of development and the legacies of British colonialism* (Ohio, 2007); E. Green, 'A lasting story: Conservation and agricultural extension services in colonial Malawi', *Journal of African history* 50:2 (2009), 247-67.

[415] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; K.P. Vickery, 'Saving settlers: Maize control in Northern Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 11:2 (1985), 212-34.

[416] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

[417] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

[418] E.L.B. Turner and V.W. Turner, 'Money economy among the Mwinilunga Ndembu: A study of some individual cash budgets', *Rhodes-Livingstone journal* 18 (1955), 19-37.

[419] See Chapter 2.

[420] These points will be elaborated in more detail throughout the following chapters.

Even if Mwinilunga District had remained rather marginal throughout the colonial period,[421] the area seemed to hold potential, for instance for cattle ranching, forestry or for the cultivation of crops such as rice and pineapples. Yet opportunities were poorly utilised. This was not only due to long transport hauls, but also due to a degree of government neglect.[422] During the 1950s, nevertheless, the intensification of cash crop production and labour migration enticed the District Commissioner to state that: 'the 'Cinderella Province' is at last beginning to get the ball at its feet.'[423] By means of agricultural productivity, marketing and increased administrative presence, the links between Mwinilunga and the national economy were strengthened.

Road construction was especially significant in this respect. One missionary described the changes she witnessed between the 1920s and the 1950s:

> There were no roads then [1920s], only narrow footpaths (…) indeed the term road was only a courtesy title for the rough track through the bush (…) Today motor roads run like great ribbons (white, red or grey, according to the changing soil) through the Central African bush in all directions, and cars can be used to get quickly from place to place.[424]

Access to economic opportunities was profoundly influenced by the transport and communications network.[425] In the area of Mwinilunga travel by foot and bicycle had been the main modes of transport, as tsetse fly and irregular water flows had limited the possibility of travel by water or animal traction.[426] In 1930 the first motor car reached Mwinilunga Boma and consequently new roads were built and existing paths expanded.[427] Previously, headmen and chiefs had been held responsible by the colonial administration for the construction and upkeep of inter-village paths. These paths had sufficed for communication purposes and in order to transport high-value, low-weight goods, such as ivory, rubber or cloth, in large caravans. However, for quick communication and for the transport and marketing of more bulky low-value commodities, including most agricultural produce, footpaths proved inadequate.[428] During the 1930s roads suitable for motorised transport were built, one from Solwezi, via the Boma in Mwinilunga to Hillwood Farm in the northwest of the district, one from Kalene Hill over the Jimbe Bridge to Caianda in Angola and one from Hillwood Farm to Mutshatsha in Congo.[429] These connections proved economically salient, as they linked the district to the Benguela railway and the Congolese railway system, as well as to the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt.[430] After 1945 expansion of the road network continued, when the Boma was linked to the various chiefly capitals in the district.

By facilitating access to markets and providing an outlet for local production, roads had the potential to 'revolutionise' agriculture: 'All road extensions and improvements in this district have so far lead to increased production.'[431] European and African traders, using bicycle carts or lorries for

---

[421] J.I. Herbst, *States and power in Africa: Comparative lessons in authority and control* (Princeton etc., 2000); C. Boone, *Political topographies of the African state: Territorial authority and institutional choice* (Cambridge, 2003); Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development;* Crehan, *The fractured community;* Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

[422] The term 'Cinderella Province' – holding vast, yet underutilised, potential – has been used to describe Mwinilunga District and the North-Western Province.

[423] (NAZ) SEC2/135, W.G. Reeves, North-Western Province Annual Report, 1952.

[424] E. Burr, *Kalene memories: Annals of an old hill* (London, 1956)*,* 8, 10, 122.

[425] E.J. Taaffe, R.L. Morrill and P.B. Gould, 'Transport expansion in underdeveloped countries: A comparative analysis', *Geographical review* 53:4 (1963), 503. See: J-B. Gewald, 'People, mines and cars: Towards a revision of Zambian history, 1890-1930', in: J-B. Gewald, S. Luning and K. van Walraven (eds.), *The speed of change: Motor vehicles and people in Africa 1890-2000* (Leiden, 2009), 21-47.

[426] (NAZ) SEC2/41, Native Affairs Development of Mwinilunga: Benguela Railway, March 1937.

[427] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

[428] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

[429] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

[430] See: Piot, *Remotely global*, on the function of the road as a connective node.

[431] (NAZ) SEC2/957, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, August 1949.

transport, would tour the district in order to buy up produce for sale at markets within the district, on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt or in Congo. In return these traders would distribute a variety of consumer goods through the district. The colonial administration welcomed such developments: 'Local people are only beginning to realise that being near a road and European traders' stores makes it possible for them to have access to a market where they had none before.'[432] The road acted as a magnetic focus towards which villages gravitated, in an attempt to take advantage of rising economic opportunities.[433]

Similarly, the expansion of mining enterprise on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt had a profound impact on the area of Mwinilunga. Although the mines on the Katangese Copperbelt had attracted labour and crops from Mwinilunga District since the 1900s and continued to do so throughout the twentieth century, international boundary demarcations and colonial legislation had attempted to limit the Congolese attraction.[434] This goal was only achieved, to an extent, with the heightened exploitation of mines within Northern Rhodesia. For the area of Mwinilunga Kansanshi mine had provided a labour and food outlet close to home for a brief period after 1908, yet activity only really took off from the 1930s onwards, when the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt was developed.[435] The number of African employees on the mines increased from 5,000 in 1925 to 30,000 in 1930 and rose to 38,000 in 1964.[436] Large numbers of migrant labourers were attracted from Mwinilunga District, and in the 1960s 50% of the taxable adult male population was reportedly away 'at work'.[437] Next to labour, the mines also needed food for workers rations. Demand came to outstrip supply, especially in the years 1939-53, and the call for food resonated as far as Mwinilunga, in spite of the distance and ensuing transport costs.[438] Consequently sale of food, not only to the Copperbelt, but also to neighbouring areas of Angola, Congo and other parts of Northern Rhodesia, skyrocketed. In 1955, for example, 610 tons of cassava, 104 tons of beans, 132 tons of rice, 66 tons of sorghum and millet, 57 tons of maize and 14 tons of groundnuts were marketed from Mwinilunga District.[439] Food sales brought about prosperity in the area and enabled individuals with cash in their pockets to buy coveted consumer goods or build brick houses with iron sheet roofs. High rates of labour migration could go hand in hand with high levels of agricultural production.[440] During this period colonial officials described the atmosphere in the area in jubilant terms. 1953 was depicted as 'a year of progress and prosperity', with 'abundant harvests and incentives to be employed.'[441] Through the interaction of

[432] (NAZ) SEC2/958, D.G. Clough, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, November 1950.

[433] Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development*.

[434] J-L. Vellut, 'Mining in the Belgian Congo', in: D. Birmingham and P.M. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa II* (London etc., 1998), 126-62.

[435] A.D. Roberts, 'Notes towards a financial history of copper mining in Northern Rhodesia', *Canadian journal of African studies* 16:2 (1982), 347-59. See: D.S. Johnson (ed.), *Handbook to the North-Western Province* (Lusaka, 1980), 191-9 for the history of Kansanshi mine.

[436] Vickery, 'Saving settlers', 215; J. Ferguson, 'Mobile workers, modernist narratives: A critique of the historiography of transition on the Zambian Copperbelt, Part one & two', *Journal of southern African studies* 16:3-4, (1990), 395, 604.

[437] (NAZ) NWP1/2/101, Loc.4919, E.L. Button, North-Western Province Annual Report on African Affairs, 1960.

[438] J. Lukanty and A.P. Wood, 'Agricultural policy in the colonial period', in: A.P. Wood et al (eds.), *The dynamics of agricultural policy and reform in Zambia* (Ames, Iowa, 1990), 3-18; Vickery, 'Saving settlers', 231.

[439] (NAZ) SEC2/137, P.L.N. Hannaford, Mwinilunga District Annual Report on African Affairs, 1955. In 1955 the total population of Mwinilunga District was 45,000.

[440] According to the RLI, labour migration would lead to 'rural decay', because of the loss of male labour force in agricultural production, which would upset village cohesion. See: S.S. Berry, 'The food crisis and agrarian change in Africa: A review essay', *African studies review* 27:2 (1984), 59-112; J.A. Hellen, *Rural economic development in Zambia, 1890-1964* (München, 1968), 94-106; Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu,* 184. Amin has argued that 'Africa of the labour reserves' would inevitably become impoverished due to exploitation from mining centres: S. Amin, 'Underdevelopment and dependence in black Africa: Origins and contemporary forms', *Journal of peace research* 9:105 (1972), 105-19.

[441] (NAZ) SEC2/136, M. Mitchell-Heggs, North-Western Province Annual Report on African Affairs, 1953.

local, regional, national and even global influences, the area of Mwinilunga experienced a bout of prosperity.

Settlement patterns equally changed. Whereas villages had previously remained spread out across the landscape, people moved towards the roadside en masse during the 1940s and 1950s.[442] This movement was incited by road construction, a desire to access markets and cash-earning opportunities, but equally by colonial prodding and legislation.[443] Villages started to form 'long almost uninterrupted ribbons' along the roadside, and officials noted 'a universal movement to the vicinity of the roads.'[444] The colonial government associated this movement with 'progress', as: 'the best villages were always to be found near a motor road, and the more remote a village the worse it becomes.'[445] Concomitantly, houses would be constructed of more permanent materials and some villages would remain settled in one place for longer periods of time. Reports mentioned cassava gardens which had been under continuous cultivation for 20 years, before moving on to new land.[446] Nevertheless, shifting remained the norm:

> The general tendency to replace pole and dagga houses with Kimberley brick structures which has been noted in the past two years, is becoming increasingly pronounced in all areas (...) It is logical to expect a greater degree of more or less permanent settlement with the advent of more permanent housing (...) [but] even the building of Kimberley brick houses has failed to compete with Lunda instability and one can see whole villages of abandoned Kimberley brick houses whose occupants have split up and moved on (...) I found no land which had been used by the same owner for more than about ten years.[447]

In spite of changes, previous patterns of settlement and residential organisation remained dominant. Individuals would move towards the roadside to take advantage of new opportunities, but this did not necessarily involve abandoning existing forms of social organisation, patterns of livelihood procurement or modes of thought. The movement towards the roadside was not necessarily a step towards government control or capitalist involvement, as colonial observers had perhaps imagined or hoped.[448]

During this period the appearance of 'farms' was first noted by officials. These small settlements, generally comprising several houses, would be built at a distance from the main village.[449] The establishment of farms evoked ambiguous responses from the colonial government. Whereas these settlements were viewed as an administrative nuisance, the underlying motives for their establishment could also be judged more positively:

> "Farms" mean that the more enterprising men will bring bits of good new ground under cultivation, bits that would not otherwise be used (…) It is much more easy for good houses to be built in these small settlements as a single family can practice shifting cultivation over a comparatively small area. Consequently the need to move to new lands is absent and the house can be built with the knowledge that it can be in use for a long time (…) Also of course, an enterprising man living by himself is not "sponged on" by his relatives to quite the same extent as would be the case if he were living among them.[450]

Officials linked the establishment of farms to capitalism, to the prosperity brought about by the sale of agricultural produce and to labour migration. Turner equally noted that:

---

[442] Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development;* M. Silberfein, *Rural settlement structure and African development* (Boulder etc., 1998).

[443] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu;* Turner, *Schism and continuity*.

[444] (NAZ) NWP1/2/40, K.J. Forder, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, September 1952.

[445] (NAZ) SEC2/963, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 31 January 1955.

[446] (NAZ) MAG 1/10/1 Loc.76, C.E. Johnson, Agricultural Programme of Work North-Western Province, 29 June 1960.

[447] (NAZ) NWP1/2/33, K.Duff-White, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 5 October 1950; (NAZ) NWP1/2/83 Loc.4914, Land Tenure Report North-Western Province, 1958.

[448] See Chapter 4 & 5.

[449] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[450] (NAZ) SEC2/957, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 10 January 1949; SEC2/959, K.J. Forder, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 5 November 1951.

> Most true farms are situated beside the motor roads, for the typical farm-head is a man who has earned money, often on the line-of-rail, and who intends to earn more locally. He may be a petty trader, a tailor with his own sewing-machine, a 'tea-room' proprietor, a 'beer-hall' owner, or a peasant producer raising cash crops. For all these purposes easy access to motor roads is necessary and propinquity to administrative and trading centres advantageous.[451]

Capitalist competition and the desire to earn money would cause a distinct individualism, as well as disrespect for the authority of headmen and chiefs. Generational tensions, between wealthy youths and elder figures holding village authority, would give rise to farms.[452] Colonial officials described an impulse: 'which seems to be felt by many of the younger generation to break away from their headmen and village discipline to establish their so-called "farms".'[453]

Concerns were voiced about fading customs and the crumbling of 'tribal authority', but such concerns appeared unwarranted.[454] The tendency towards village fissure had been long-established, and was already noted during the early years of colonial rule:

> Every man wants to be his own headman, and in defiance of instructions often builds a mile or two from his acknowledged headman or chief (…) This alone makes it very difficult to hold a headman responsible for the good behaviour of his people (…) They [chiefs and headmen] frankly admit, however, that they have but little control over the younger members of their tribe.[455]

Rather than being altogether new, the appearance of farms therefore seemed to be a variation on an established pattern. The following chapters will explore the causes for village fissure in more detail – whether farms resulted from ecological factors, kinship or indeed from interactions with markets and the state – and will examine the influence of social contestation and power struggles on hierarchies of authority in the village.[456] The locally aspired ideal continued to be a large village, headed by a leader who could boast a prestigious genealogy.[457] Nevertheless, small roadside farms might appear attractive alternatives. Through mobility, farming or by other means, individuals sought to take advantage of economic opportunities in both familiar and new ways.

The birth of a nation? Independence and beyond

Throughout the colonial period the paramount grievance of the population of Mwinilunga District had been the relative neglect of the area and the lack of government effort in domains such as education, medicine or agriculture:

> It is a sad thing to us to see that our Province (…) is entirely neglected by the Government in many things like education (…) As this Province is the only backward area in the colony, the Government should pay great attention to it in order that it may develop and be on the same measure with other Provinces in the colony.[458]

The marginality of Mwinilunga District, however, created a certain degree of independence, enabling the evasion of unfavourable policies or state influence.[459] The continuation of illicit cross-border trade with Angola and Congo, undeterred hunting in spite of restrictive game and firearm laws, as well as the cultivation of cassava instead of officially propagated maize, are but some expressions of this latitude.[460] When political expectations of independence mounted in Mwinilunga during the 1950s and

[451] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 36-7.
[452] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 10, 36, 43, 133-5.
[453] (NAZ) NWP1/2/78 Loc.4913, F.R.G. Phillips, North-Western Province Annual Report on African affairs, 1957.
[454] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 43.
[455] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, Quarterly Report Lunda Sub-District, 31 December 1913 and 31 December 1914.
[456] See: Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.
[457] Turner, *Schism and continuity;* Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Kadansonu Mukeya, 7 October 2010, Ntambu.
[458] (NAZ) SEC2/46, Kaonde-Lunda Native Authorities to the Governor, Lusaka, 3 September 1946.
[459] Herbst, *States and power;* Boone, *Political topographies;* Scott, *Moral economy;* Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*.
[460] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

1960s, the opportunity was seized to express lingering grievances and design plans for an alternative future.

Two political parties, the African National Congress (ANC) under the leadership of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula and the United National Independence Party (UNIP) under Kenneth Kaunda, contested for the vote.[461] Throughout Mwinilunga District politicians attempted to attract voters by tangible means, promising schools, hospitals, vehicles and improved transport, as well as direct material rewards.[462] Next to mundane issues, matters of ideology played a role. A balance between local, regional, national and international factors and interests had to be negotiated, as personal desires were adapted to rhyme with national policies.[463] The appeal of ANC candidate Rhodes Mangangu was attributed to his distinct ability to manoeuvre between these different levels. He was able to effectively mediate between specific local concerns and the broader setting of (inter)national politics: 'His influence is due to his powers of oratory, his Europeanised manners and dress, and especially it is due to his visit to England.'[464] Mangangu and other ANC members treated chiefs with particular respect, regarding them as the representatives of local interests. Chiefs, in turn, became enmeshed in the power play of national politics:

> Chief Kanongesha has allowed his political leanings towards ANC to influence his actions in his capacity as Senior Chief, and indeed the strength of this organisation is directly attributable to his "official" support. S. Tepa and John Njapau succeeded by "judicial flattery" of the conceited old man in gaining his ear and today ANC is his main and only source of advice.[465]

In the run up towards independence local, regional and national factors became increasingly intertwined, as individuals in Mwinilunga made sense of (inter)national political struggles through a local lens.

Rather than rally for the dominant UNIP, voters in Mwinilunga overwhelmingly chose to support the underdog ANC.[466] What contributed to this decision was that ANC enjoyed direct links to the Katangese politician Moïse Tshombe, a relative of the Lunda Paramount Chief Mwantianvwa. This connection caused plans of resurrecting the 'Lunda Empire' to surface.[467] Such ideas were not new, as the District Commissioner noted in the 1950s: 'the Lunda have long cherished a hope that Lundaland, now arbitrarily divided between three European powers, would one day be reunited.'[468] Although but few politicians or other individuals were prepared to actively pursue this goal, the fact that allegiances in Mwinilunga were more easily stirred by playing on connections with Angola and Congo, than by reference to a national Zambian state with the remote Copperbelt and line of rail areas as its centre, is significant. The lack of confidence that UNIP would be able, or willing, to alter the marginal future which awaited Mwinilunga District within the Zambian state, caused their candidate Peter Matoka to

---

[461] G. Macola, *Liberal nationalism in Central Africa: A biography of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula* (Basingstoke, 2010); M. Larmer, *Rethinking African politics: A history of opposition in Zambia* (Farnham and Burlington, 2011); A. Sardanis, *Africa, another side of the coin: Northern Rhodesia's final years and Zambia's nationhood* (London, 2003); W.D. Grant, *Zambia then and now: Colonial rulers and their African successors* (London etc., 2008); R. Short, *African sunset* (London, 1973); G. Keverne, *A man cannot cry: The towering saga of passion, violence and love* (London, 1985).

[462] (NAZ) and (UNIPA) archives.

[463] Interview with Peter Matoka, 9 January 2010, Lusaka. A. von Oppen, 'A place in the world: Markers of the local along the upper Zambezi', in: P. Probst and G. Spittler (eds.), *Between resistance and expansion: Explorations of local vitality in Africa* (Münster, 2004), 190, describes: 'how local intellectuals and political activists who fight for local self-sufficiency do so by presenting themselves as spokespeople of global ideas and norms (…) these struggles may be seen as a form of striving to take part in global modernity.'

[464] (NAZ) LGH5/4/5 Loc. 3616, Chiefs Mwinilunga, April 1961.

[465] (NAZ) LGH5/4/5 Loc. 3616, Chiefs Mwinilunga, 6 May 1961.

[466] M. Larmer and G. Macola, 'The origins, context, and political significance of the Mushala rebellion against the Zambian one-party state', *The international journal of African historical studies* 40:3 (2007), 471-96; P.M. Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion: The untold story* (Lusaka, 1987).

[467] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*, Chapter Seven.

[468] (NAZ) SEC2/961, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 21 November 1952.

be defeated by the ANC candidate Ronald John Japau by 9,379 to 6,593 votes at the 1964 elections.[469] Although UNIP booked a national victory, their defeat in Mwinilunga remained a sore spot.[470] Foreboding messages were spread, before as well as after the elections:

> It was apparent that the present aim of UNIP was to spread a feeling of despondency by pursuing the line that UNIP would shortly be assuming control of government and those who opposed or failed to support its cause would suffer reprisals thereafter.[471]

Even though violence was instigated by both ANC and UNIP, causing general feelings of insecurity, serious clashes remained isolated occurrences.[472] A climax was reached when Chief Kanongesha Ndembi, due to recurrent non-cooperation with the UNIP government and blatant ANC support, was deposed from office by government decree in 1966. His subsequent flight across the Angolan border and his mysterious death demonstrated the extent of the ANC-UNIP cleavage.[473] What proved more significant in the long run, however, was that Mwinilunga came to suffer from both latent and outright policies of retribution. Because the area had failed to support UNIP during the elections, agricultural loans, development funds and political appointments would be granted far less copiously than in other areas.[474]

Kaunda's philosophy of Humanism, executed through five-year national development plans, aimed at reaching ambitious goals such as setting up medical facilities in remote areas, providing universal primary education, developing transport networks and providing marketing services.[475] A desire was professed to close the gap between the Copperbelt and line of rail areas on the one hand, and impoverished rural areas such as Mwinilunga, on the other.[476] Various policies attempted to stimulate 'development'. These included government loan schemes, the formation of co-operatives, the set up of national marketing boards, price control and eventually the Zambianisation of enterprises.[477] National aims were defined as: 'firstly bridging the gap between urban and rural areas and secondly, trying to gradually achieve a balanced level of development between the Provinces.'[478] In Mwinilunga this development effort found expression in the rapid expansion of medical and educational facilities, as well as the construction of roads and the extension of other services. The First National Development Plan (FNDP 1966-70) devised the opening of schools, the digging of wells, the building of improved housing and the construction of fish ponds.[479] The summit was the pineapple canning factory, erected under the parastatal G.M. Rucom Industries in 1969. Although the factory processed thousands of pineapples a year, to the benefit of local cultivators, problems soon cropped up and closure followed.[480] Difficulties were equally experienced with agricultural loan schemes, as the meagre funds which were released in Mwinilunga would be distributed in a biased manner. Loans for

---

[469] Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion*, 62.

[470] All these issues will be further explored in: I. Peša, ''We have killed this animal together, may I also have a share?': Local-national political dynamics in Mwinilunga District, Zambia, 1950s-1970s', *Journal of Southern African studies* (2014), forthcoming.

[471] (NAZ) LGH5/2/2 Loc. 3611, District Commissioners Conference North-Western Province, 8 February 1962.

[472] Fights erupted in Ntambu between ANC and UNIP supporters and led to the death of one UNIP youth.

[473] Interviews in Kanongesha area, especially with Mr Jesman Sambaulu, 10 August 2010, Kanongesha. This event is also noted in passing by Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion*; Larmer and Macola, 'The origins'.

[474] This view is based on a reading of UNIP and ANC archives (UNIPA); See Macola, *Liberal nationalism*, for similar examples from Zambia's Southern Province.

[475] (NAZ) A New Strategy for Rural Development in Zambia, 1972; (UNIPA) UNIP5/9/6, Tour Report North-Western Province, 1970.

[476] A.P. Wood et al (ed.), *The dynamics of agricultural policy and reform in Zambia* (Ames, Iowa, 1990), 21-58.

[477] (NAZ) Programme for the Nation – Rural Development Seminar, 19 September 1974.

[478] (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/2/2/8, 1969 Annual Progress Report North-Western Province, 23 February 1970.

[479] (UNIPA) First National Development Plan.

[480] (NAZ) Rural Development Seminar: Programme for the Nation, 19 September 1974; For a more detailed account of the history of the canning factory, see Chapter 2.

seeds, fertiliser and tractors would be used as political baits, rewarding loyalty to UNIP, as the Credit Organisation of Zambia representative Mr Chindefu explained:

> The way we use for granting loans here is a little bit different from our friends whose districts have only one party. We use our propaganda for one party system in speaking to the people about loans. And indeed we are achieving, we do not get challenges from the people (…) we do not find people losing confidence in Government. All loans so far are given to only UNIP.[481]

Political dissent translated into the paucity of loans, grants and development effort afforded to Mwinilunga. Similarly, the area only poorly profited from marketing schemes. National marketing boards placed a primacy on maize production and marketing, privileging maize over the locally favoured cassava crop, which was not even accepted at marketing depots.[482] Compared to other parts of the territory, crop sales from Mwinilunga District remained low. Still, some producers did take advantage of marketing opportunities. In the 1969-70 season the National Agricultural Marketing Board purchased 180 tons of maize, 9.6 tons of groundnuts, 5 tons of beans, 24 tons of rice, 10 tons of vegetables and 480 tons of pineapples from Mwinilunga District. In addition, unrecorded amounts of produce found their way through individual traders to local markets or crossed the border to Congo and Angola.[483] By pursuing higher education, moving to booming urban centres or through pineapple cultivation, people in Mwinilunga sought to realise existing opportunities within the shifting (inter)national context.

In line with colonial policies, the UNIP government advocated the concentration of village settlements:[484]

> In the areas which are sparsely populated some re-grouping of the villages will be necessary with intensive development zones, i.e. areas where the natural conditions allow a rapid expansion of economic activities, e.g. good soils, availability of water, roads, etc., and where the density of population warrants the provision of services, and the establishment of non-agricultural enterprises.[485]

It was argued that concentrated settlements, preferably along the roadside, would facilitate the provision of social services, such as schools, hospitals and water supplies.[486] Permanent roadside villages became the ideal, though never a universal practice. After independence, concentrated clusters of settlement did increasingly develop in the vicinity of social amenities. Close to markets, schools or hospitals, large and increasingly permanent settlements would spring up.[487] Next to the various chiefly capitals, Mwinilunga Boma developed into a large township, where government services were centred and individuals would come to trade, access education or medical care.[488] Yet such large, permanent settlements remained the exception. Headmen and chiefs feared that labour migration, cash crop production and other developments would challenge the exercise of their authority and would question established hierarchies: 'Many chiefs feel that they have little part to play in the day to day running of their areas and that they are ignored and unwanted by their own people.'[489] Relationships of power had to be renegotiated as young wealthy men contested the authority of elder lineage heads. Nevertheless, the position of headmen and chiefs was not seriously threatened, as even at present youths aspire to become respected headmen, rather than seeking wealth in towns.[490]

---

[481] (NAZ) LGH5/2/7 Loc.3612, J. Chindefu to H. Kikombe, 23 February 1966.
[482] Wood, *The dynamics of agricultural policy and reform.*
[483] (NAZ) LGH5/5/12, Marketing of Produce North-Western Province, 23 July 1970.
[484] A. von Oppen, 'The village as territory: Enclosing locality in northwest Zambia, 1950s to 1990s', *Journal of African history* 47:1 (2006), 57-75.
[485] (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/2/2/8, 1969 Annual Progress Report North-Western Province, 23 February 1970.
[486] (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/2/2/5, Provincial Development Committee North-Western Province, 30 December 1971.
[487] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'; Silberfein, *Rural settlement structure.*
[488] Johnson, *Handbook to the North-Western Province.*
[489] (NAZ) LGH5/2/7 Loc.3612, Mwinilunga Quarterly Newsletter, May 1967.
[490] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu;* Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Headman Mwinilunga, 31 October 2010, Mwinilunga.

In spite of professed intentions and official efforts, the outlook of Mwinilunga District at the end of the 1970s did not seem to be much brighter than it had been during the colonial period:

> In terms of Agricultural development, North-western Province is one of the least developed in Zambia. This in spite of the fact that the Province has ideal climatic conditions, abundant water resources and suitable soils for all types of cash crops that can be produced such as maize, tobacco, rice and most of the area is free from tsetse fly.[491]

The potential of Mwinilunga District – its soils, rivers and forests – which had attracted the Lunda immigrants around 1750, still held sway in the 1970s. Nevertheless, obstacles and difficulties prevailed, transport and marketing being but some examples. Within this environment of opportunity and constraint, individuals sought ways to eke out their livelihoods, appropriating and domesticating change within existing patterns of thought, action and ways of life. Although Mwinilunga remained marginal from a national or global perspective, this marginality could be used to the advantage of the area.[492] When the economic crisis of the 1970s hit the national economy, Mwinilunga District proved distinctly able to cope with economic hardships. Exactly because of the limited incorporation of the area, individuals could fall back on existing coping strategies.[493] Change was continuously incorporated within a flexible framework of past ideas and practices, modifying the social, economic and political organisation of Mwinilunga District whilst leaving foundations intact. By migrating to the mines, trading with relatives in Congo or Angola, or seeking local employment through association with the ruling political party, individuals connected themselves to the world whilst remaining locally grounded.

Conclusion

The long-term developments sketched throughout this chapter have defied any easy or rigid demarcation between pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.[494] Although important shifts and changes did occur, long-term continuities have equally been salient. Continuity, nevertheless, should not be equated to changelessness.[495] Continuity was rather a creative adaptation of change – both discursive and practical – within existing practices and modes of though. The Lunda connection, originating in the sixteenth century yet remaining important to post-colonial political consciousness, is only one such example of continuity. A constant feature throughout the history of Mwinilunga was the interaction between individuals: Lunda immigrants, Mbwela, long-distance traders, the colonial administration and the UNIP government, which created a hybrid mix of people, ideas and associations. These interactions, encompassing local, regional and global levels, involved a process of negotiation within shifting constellations of power. Unfamiliar long-distance trade goods were incorporated into existing hierarchies of authority within the village, whereas during the colonial and post-colonial period familiar crops were produced for sale to engage with markets and the state. Settlement patterns were adjusted from small shifting settlements, to stockaded villages, to communities living along the roadside, as a response to changing socio-economic, political and ecological circumstances. By means of metaphor this chapter has explored various pathways through the past, assessing the long-term threads as well as the variations within the history of Mwinilunga District. The following chapters, by looking at aspects of production, consumption, mobility and social relationships, will analyse in more detail how people in Mwinilunga negotiated and made sense of social change.

---

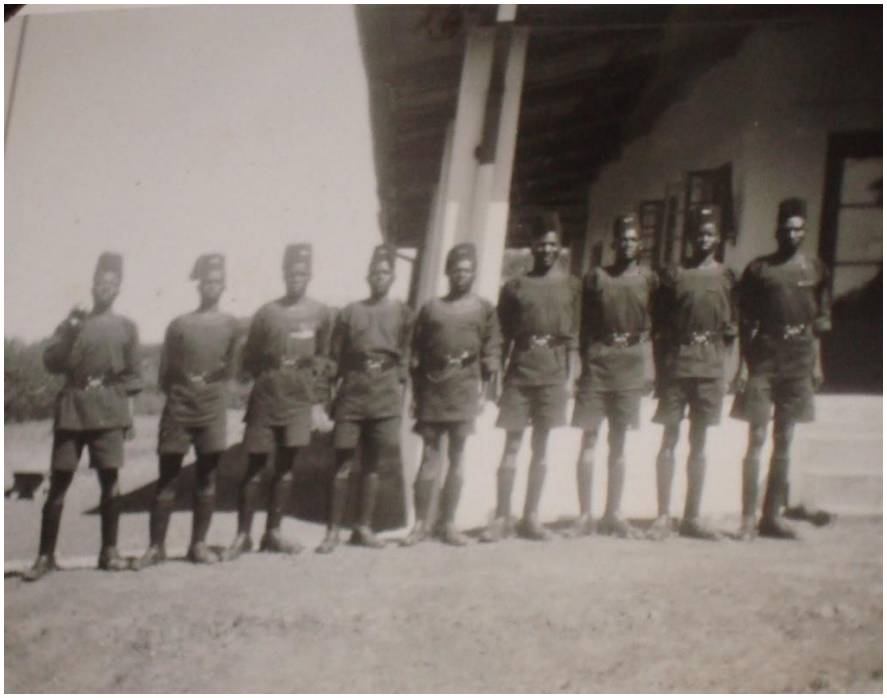
[491] (UNIPA) UNIP1/2/21, Report of the North-Western Province to the National Council, 15 December 1977.

[492] More about marginality will be said in Chapter 3A.

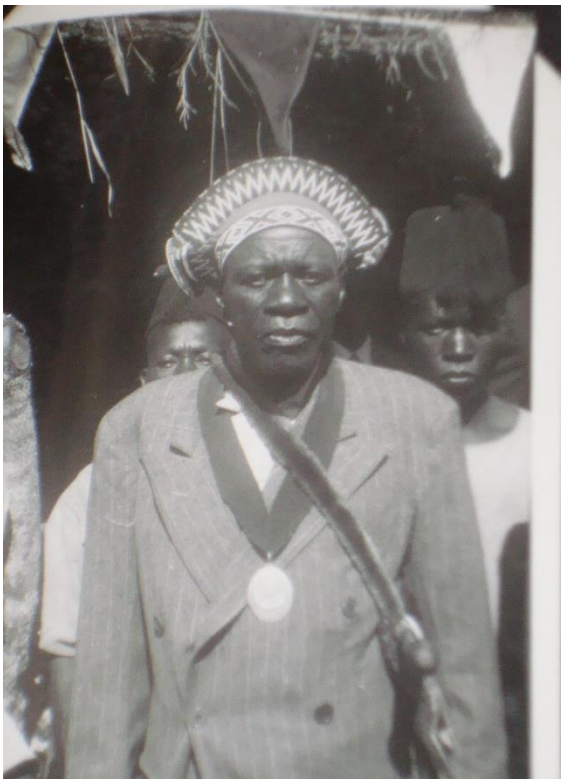
[493] See: Scott, *Moral economy;* Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa;* Based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Sokawuta, 22 & 23 April, Ikelenge.

[494] S. Ellis, 'Writing histories of contemporary Africa', *Journal of African history* 43:1 (2002), 1-26.

[495] Schoenbrun, 'Conjuring the modern'.



1.1: Messengers in front of the District Commissioner's office
Source: Betty Dening, Personal Collection



1.2: Chief Kanongesha
Source: Betty Dening, Personal Collection

2: Production
Meat, meal and markets

> Subsistence agriculture is giving way to petty commodity cultivation and hunting is almost extinct.[496]

Throughout the colonial and post-colonial period government officials, agricultural experts and traders have frequently denounced methods of production and related forms of knowledge in the area of Mwinilunga as 'primitive'.[497] Reports might label local agricultural, hunting or fishing practices as exclusively geared towards 'subsistence' or 'self-sufficiency', being averse to change and potentially detrimental to natural resources. Alternatively, officials proposed to make production the focal point of various schemes of 'development':[498]

> The Africans in this province still need educating in regard to providence. Much instruction and advice is needed to improve upon the variety as well as the quality and quantity of foodstuffs (…) Everyone thinks in terms of (costly) "progress".[499]

The requisite education would necessarily be initiated by external actors, in particular by agricultural experts summoned by the government, propagating scientific innovations.[500] The rationale behind these schemes was that established practices had to be improved and transformed, as the meagre subsistence level of agricultural production should be substituted by market production.[501]

What underlay such ideas and policies was the conviction of an inevitable transition 'from a subsistence-oriented, egalitarian, isolated natural society to a market-dependent, class-riven, peasant society that is inextricably tied to centers of wealth and power.'[502] This binary between 'subsistence' and 'market' production has continued to underpin studies of rural history in Central and Southern Africa. Such works suffer from two major shortfalls.[503] Firstly, most studies postulate assumptions about the course of history, presupposing a transition from hunting and gathering to herding and settled agriculture. Similarly, they take the transition from subsistence to market production of cash crops for granted. A second problem is the overwhelming focus on external causes of change. Particularly imperialism and colonialism, coupled with forces of global capitalism, are considered to have wrought major change in areas such as Mwinilunga. Notwithstanding whether this had resulted in positive development or negative underdevelopment, the supposition was that previously self-

---

[496] V.W. Turner and E.L.B. Turner, 'Money-economy among the Mwinilunga Ndembu: A study of some individual cash budgets', *Rhodes-Livingstone journal* 18 (1955), 36.

[497] References to Lunda being 'primitive agriculturalists', producing in a crude manner for 'subsistence' only reappear continuously throughout annual reports of the colonial and post-colonial periods (NAZ).

[498] J.M. Hodge, *Triumph of the expert: Agrarian doctrines of development and the legacies of British colonialism* (Ohio, 2007); K. Crehan and A. von Oppen (eds.), *Planners and history: Negotiating 'development' in rural Zambia* (Lusaka, 1994).

[499] (NAZ) SEC2/193, Kaonde-Lunda Province Newsletter, Second Quarter 1945.

[500] J. McCracken, 'Experts and expertise in colonial Malawi', *African affairs* 81:322 (1982), 101-16; H. Tilley, 'African environments & environmental sciences: The African research survey, ecological paradigms & British colonial development, 1920-40', in: W. Beinart and J. McGregor (eds.), *Social history & African environments* (Oxford, Athens and Cape Town, 2003), 109-30.

[501] For an alternative perspective: T. Waters, 'The persistence of subsistence and the limits to development studies: The challenge of Tanzania', *Africa* 70:4 (2000), 614-52.

[502] R.H. Bates, 'Some conventional orthodoxies in the study of agrarian change', *World politics* 36:2 (1984), 240.

[503] See: A. Isaacman, 'Peasants and rural social protest in Africa', *African studies review* 33:2 (1990), 1-120; S.S. Berry, 'The food crisis and agrarian change in Africa: A review essay', *African studies review* 27:2 (1984), 59-112; T. Ranger, 'Growing from the roots: Reflections on peasant research in Central and Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African studies* 5:1 (1978/79), 99-133; J. Tosh, 'The cash-crop revolution in tropical Africa: An agricultural reappraisal', *African affairs* 79:314 (1980), 79-94; F. Cooper, 'Africa and the world economy', *African studies review* 24:2/3 (1981), 1-86; G. Austin, 'Reciprocal comparison and African history: Tackling conceptual Eurocentrism in the study of Africa's economic past', *African studies review* 50:3 (2007), 1-28; A.G. Hopkins, 'The new economic history of Africa', *Journal of African history* 50:2 (2009), 155-77.

contained rural communities had increasingly become incorporated into the market economy and that this, more than any internal factor, constituted the root cause of changes in production.[504]

More recently, the premises of these older debates have been challenged. Environmental and local rural histories have looked at the internal dynamics of change in agriculture and productive activities.[505] Furthermore, local bases of knowledge have been valued in their own right.[506] Nevertheless, assumptions of 'development' recur and remain influential. Areas that do not engage in market production or are 'trapped in decline' are regarded as anomalies.[507] This chapter seeks to complicate narratives of 'market incorporation' and questions assumptions about the course of change in patterns of production, paying attention to internal factors of change. Several case studies will be presented, suggesting that market involvement in the area of Mwinilunga was fluctuating rather than intensifying.[508] Repertoires, values and rationales of production will be examined in order to understand the motives behind market involvement, or indeed, non-involvement.

Productive activities in Mwinilunga District are based on an internal foundation. Production builds upon a mixture of agro-ecological considerations, socio-cultural values, as well as economic and political objectives. This internal foundation has been subject to continuous adaptation and change in response to factors of marketing, climate and policy. Nevertheless, it is underpinned by a desire to create a reliable livelihood. Crucial to this view is a re-evaluation of the concept of 'subsistence', which should not be interpreted in merely negative terms as an absence of surplus.[509] Rather, the struggle to create a stable basis of subsistence, even in the face of adversity, could constitute the stepping stone for producers to participate in the market and engage the state on terms suitable to the local setting and environment. Producers were far from unresponsive to outside incentives (such as price fluctuations, state policies and markets). They would attempt to accommodate incentives in ways which might prove compatible with existing methods of production and livelihood. The desire to secure a stable basis of subsistence has generated a fundamental continuity in productive strategies and rationales towards market involvement. Instead of being mutually exclusive or conflicting, subsistence and market production fed into one another in multiple ways. Refuting the discursive transition from self-sufficiency to market incorporation, the fluctuating course of productive practices in Mwinilunga District will be portrayed.[510]

---

[504] E. Kreike, 'De-globalisation and deforestation in colonial Africa: Closed markets, the cattle complex, and environmental change in North-Central Namibia, 1890-1990', *Journal of Southern African studies* 35:1 (2009), 81, 98.

[505] For environmental history, see: W. Beinart, 'African history and environmental history', *African affairs* 99:395 (2000), 269-302; J.C. McCann, 'Agriculture and African history', *Journal of African history* 32:3 (1991), 507-13. For local rural histories, see: H.L. Moore and M. Vaughan, *Cutting down trees: Gender, nutrition, and agricultural change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990* (Portsmouth etc., 1994); T.T. Spear, *Mountain farmers: Moral economies of land and agricultural development in Arusha and Meru* (Oxford etc., 1997).

[506] P. Richards, *Indigenous agricultural revolution: Ecology and food production in West Africa* (London etc., 1985).

[507] S. Ponte, 'Trapped in decline?: Reassessing agrarian change and economic diversification on the Uluguru mountains, Tanzania', *The journal of modern African studies* 39:1 (2001), 81-100; S.D. Doyle, *Crisis and decline in Bunyoro: Population and environment in Western Uganda 1860-1955* (Oxford, Kampala and Athens, 2006).

[508] See: C.M. Chabatama, 'Peasant farming, the state, and food security in the North-Western Province of Zambia, 1902-1964' (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1999).

[509] See: W. Allan, *The African husbandman* (Edinburgh etc., 1965); E.P. Thompson, 'The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century', *Past and present* 50 (1971), 76-136; J.C. Scott, *The moral economy of the peasant: Rebellion and subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London, 1976); G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an uncaptured peasantry* (London etc., 1980).

[510] See: Spear, *Mountain farmers*; Doyle, *Crisis and decline*; J.C. McCann, *People of the plow: An agricultural history of Ethiopia, 1800-1900* (Madison, 1995); G. Carswell, *Cultivating success in Uganda: Kigezi farmers & colonial policies* (Oxford, Athens and Kampala, 2007).

The foundations of production in Mwinilunga District

Productive activities in Mwinilunga are intimately linked to the environment. Through years of cultivation, hunting and foraging – based on local knowledge rooted in past experience – ways have been sought to use the environment for productive purposes.[511] Over time methods of production have undergone continuous change, for instance as new crops have been added to the cultivating repertoire. The foundations of production have constantly been adapted to prevailing circumstances and requirements, responding to factors of environment, marketing, trade, politics and more.[512]

The natural environment is the foundation upon which productive activities have built. The environment of Mwinilunga District is varied, featuring extensive plains, dense forests, high hills, small streams and fast-flowing rivers. Even within a single plot of land micro-environments might differ. A vivid portrait is provided by a former colonial officer:

> Mwinilunga lay in the Tropics, some 11 degrees south (…) of the Equator, but it lay, too, on one of the highest parts of the Rhodesian plateau, some 1,500 metres above sea level at one of the great watersheds of the African continent (…) all rivers and streams ran southwards to join the mighty Zambezi which itself rose in our District (…) The woodlands were largely *brachistygia* woods, with generally low and flat-topped trees. The soils varied from ochre to deep red, not particularly fertile, suited mainly to the cultivation of the staple cassava (…) The trees were that peculiar mixture of evergreen and deciduous (…) one could have (…) the cultivated colours of bougainvillea, wisteria, flame tree, frangipani or canna lily around houses and gardens.[513]

The environment should not be taken as a static backdrop. Through habitation, cultivation and adaptation, the human population has sought to tailor environmental opportunities to changing needs and objectives. The environmental setting enables human action, but equally poses limits to it. Agricultural practices, hunting, foraging and fishing are particularly affected by and connected to environmental factors, as rainfall, temperature and soil characteristics influence the flora and fauna of an area. These factors have a bearing on which crops can be grown and which methods of production appear most suitable in the particular setting. On the other hand, human agency can shape and alter the environment for its own purposes. People mould the environment, for example by making use of fire, cutting down trees, fertilising the soil, hunting on game, etc.[514] The intimate connection between people and the environment has created a wealth of knowledge, which provides tools to cope with a challenging, yet potentially promising, surrounding. It is within the framework of environmental factors that people are 'capable of manipulating the natural world to their advantage.'[515]

The soils of the area (predominantly Kalahari contact soils) are generally acidic and of low productivity, but specific crops such as pineapples and cassava can thrive on them. Yet soil types vary across the area. Patches of fertile red clay soil, in addition to river floodplains or damboes, provide sites which are more suited to agricultural production, in particular of maize, rice and vegetables. The area contains rich forest vegetation with many types of trees, providing a prosperous setting for game and bees. Tree height and density of growth differ, and thick forest (*mavunda*), areas with low stunted trees (*ikuna*), extensive grass plains (*chana*) and riverside damboes exist side by side.[516] This diversity was noticed by colonial officials travelling through the area: 'We passed through seductive looking country for game – more varied – many more dambos – with more of a broken character – with anthills

---

[511] See: J.C. McCann, *Green land, brown land, black land: An environmental history of Africa, 1800-1990* (Portsmouth and Oxford, 1999); J.A. Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, change, and social transformation in South Central Africa* (Madison, 2001).

[512] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; K.P. Vickery, *Black and white in Southern Zambia: The Tonga plateau economy and British imperialism, 1890-1939* (New York etc., 1986); Spear, *Mountain farmers*.

[513] W.D. Grant, *Zambia, then and now: Colonial rulers and their African successors* (London etc., 2008), 38-40.

[514] Beinart, 'African history and environmental history'.

[515] W. Beinart and P. Coates, *Historical connections: Environment and history, The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa* (London and New York, 1995), 4.

[516] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Zabetha Nkemba, 8 May 2010, Nyakaseya; M.K. Fisher, *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary* (Rev. ed., Ikelenge, 1984).

in them (…) Again a country of changes (…) Then a forest of well-spread trees, with red trunks.'[517] Compensating for the poor soils, the area is well endowed with water resources, containing numerous streams and rivers. Meteorologically, seasonal fluctuations are significant. Temperatures average a moderate 29°C throughout the year, yet rise during the hot months of September and October before the rains set in. During the nights, especially in the cold months of June and July, temperatures drop, on occasion causing frosts which jeopardise the growth of crops. Rainfall is abundant with an average of 55 inches (1,397 mm) per year, yet it is confined to the rain season from October to April. This limits the potential growth period of crops, as during the dry season from May to September agricultural production is only feasible under irrigation in riverside gardens. Climatic considerations thus make that the main agricultural activities are carried out during the rains. The dry season is a time for hunting, travel to distant relatives, initiation ceremonies and festivities.[518]

This blend of physical, climatic and environmental features has shaped opportunities for hunting, honey collecting and the cultivation of crops such as millet or cassava. The environmental diversity of Mwinilunga has enabled the co-existence of various livelihood strategies. One individual can simultaneously cultivate maize in bush fields, catch fish in the rivers, collect mushrooms from the forest and plant beans along the streamside. The environment can provide individuals with many of the necessities of daily life. Within the vicinity food, thatching grass, and poles, or even clothing material, iron ore and other trade items can be obtained. Such an environmental setting of opportunity and constraint has encouraged a degree of fluidity, competition and struggle, which is expressed in the frequent shifting of village locations to access suitable hunting, fishing or cultivating grounds.[519]

The low population density of the area, coupled with the low productivity of the soils, has encouraged a slash-and-burn type of shifting cultivation,[520] described as:

> the felling or lopping each year of a large area of woodland, an area several times greater than that on which crops are actually grown. Felling (…) is done in the early dry season, from May to August (…) Over the area of woodland selected for new gardens the trees are cut with the axe at (…) [knee] height, all but the hardest and toughest trunks, which are left standing, and the branches are lopped from them and spread between the stumps to dry (…) the branches are collected and built into small stacks (…) The brushwood stacks are burned at the end of the dry season, when it is thought that the rains are about to break.[521]

Fields are burnt in this manner to enhance soil fertility whilst limiting the growth of weeds. After several years of cultivation, when soil fertility is largely depleted, the plot is left fallow to regenerate.[522] To spread the risk of crop failure and provide a varied diet, agricultural producers practice intercropping. This involves the growing of different crops, an array of staple and subsidiary crops, on a single plot of land. As staple crops grains (sorghum and millet), cassava and maize are mostly grown. Subsidiary crops range from pumpkins, sweet potatoes and yams, to leaf vegetables, tomatoes and cabbage. Moreover, foraging, hunting, fishing and animal husbandry add variety to the diet and complement the food supplies from agricultural production. Productive activities are generally executed individually, yet household and village co-operation (through work parties, communal hunts

[517] (BOD) MSS776, Theodore Williams Diaries, 23, 26 and 29 January 1913.

[518] This account is based on a wide reading of archival sources (NAZ) and observations from Mwinilunga District. See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; O. Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating or migrating villagers? A study of movement from North West Zambia to Angola' (PhD thesis, University of Bath, 1999); Chabatama, 'Peasant farming'; D.S. Johnson (ed.), *Handbook to the North-Western Province 1980* (Lusaka, 1980); V.W. Turner, *Schism and continuity in an African society: A study of Ndembu village life* (Manchester etc., 1957); C.G. Trapnell and J.N. Clothier, *The soils, vegetation, and agricultural systems of Northwestern Rhodesia: Report of the ecological survey* (2nd edn., Lusaka, 1957).

[519] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Two; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* Chapter One.

[520] (NAZ) The population density in Mwinilunga District was 2.9 people per square mile in 1943, but rose to 6 people per square mile in 1970.

[521] Allan, *African husbandman*, 66.

[522] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*.

or foraging expeditions) equally occur.[523] In this manner, through the diversification of livelihood strategies, the spread of risks and an adaptation of the human to the environmental setting, producers in Mwinilunga have attempted to secure their requirements and fulfil their objectives of a stable basis of subsistence. Although these strategies vary between individuals, areas and historical time periods, they constitute a basic repertoire from which people can tap, the internal foundation of production.

Production and debates on the 'moral economy'

The concept of the 'moral economy' has been coined in an attempt to counter narratives of expansive capitalism, which suggest linear transitions from subsistence to market production.[524] Although the concept has been heavily critiqued, it can provide an understanding of why non-capitalist forms of economic production, social relationships, norms and values have persisted, next to and in spite of market engagement.[525] Understanding the ideas behind the 'moral economy' might assist to place the case of Mwinilunga District in a more comprehensive framework than that offered by models of capitalist market integration.

For the case of Tanzania, in an environmental setting comparable to that of Mwinilunga, Hyden has described that 'producing the basic necessities is a cumbersome task.'[526] Moreover, 'meeting minimal human needs in a reliable manner forms the central criterion which knits together the peasants' choices of seeds, techniques, timing, rotation, etc.'[527] For rural South-East Asia, Scott refers to the 'subsistence ethic':

> Subsistence-oriented peasants typically prefer to avoid economic disaster rather than take risks to maximize their average income (…) Living close to the subsistence margin and subject to the vagaries of weather and the claims of outsiders, the peasant household has little scope for the profit maximization calculus (…) his behavior is risk-averse: he minimizes the subjective probability of the maximum loss (…) It is this "safety-first" principle which lies behind a great many of the technical, social, and moral arrangements of a precapitalist agrarian order.[528]

Rural producers aim to generate sufficient supplies for subsistence. Nevertheless, subsistence remains a precarious balance due to the constraints posed by the environment as well as by factors of production, such as labour and land.[529] Consequently, securing subsistence, rather than engaging in high-risk market production, might be a priority to rural producers. To understand market involvement, it is thus imperative to understand the subsistence basis of production.

During the colonial period and afterwards, rural producers in Mwinilunga District have all too often been presented as eking out a meagre existence from the land. Such views have portrayed agricultural producers, particularly during the pre-colonial period, as conservative and lacking in innovative potential. In colonial reports from the 1950s overtly negative valuations remained commonplace: 'To say that the Lunda (…) do no more than scratch at the earth, is no understatement (…) the overall production of crops (…) would hardly do justice to the Sahara desert.'[530] Colonial officials and agricultural experts assumed, however, that this state of agricultural production had started or would soon start to change under the influence of capitalism:

---

[523] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Chabatama, 'Peasant farming'.

[524] Thompson, 'The moral economy of the English crowd'; Scott, *Moral economy*; Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa.*

[525] For a review, see: W.J. Booth, 'On the idea of the moral economy', *The American political science review* 88:3 (1994), 653-67. For a critique, see: S.L. Popkin, *The rational peasant: The political economy of rural society in Vietnam* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1979).

[526] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 13.

[527] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa,* 14.

[528] Scott, *Moral economy,* VII, 4, 5.

[529] S.S. Berry, *No condition is permanent: The social dynamics of agrarian change in sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison, 1993); G. Austin, 'Resources, techniques and strategies south of the Sahara: Revising the factor endowments perspective on African economic development, 1500-2000', *Economic history review* 61:3 (2008), 587-624.

[530] (NAZ) SEC2/958, K. Duff-White, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, March 1950.

> profound changes came with the cash economy (…) the need of every man to possess money (…) was something altogether new and revolutionary (…) It had to be earned by wage labour where work was available, or by the sale of the surplus of subsistence food production where markets were offered, or by growing industrial cash crops where these were introduced by the new masters. These changes did not come easily and were at first resisted.[531]

The transformative encounter between African agricultural producers and pervasive external forces such as trade, markets and European presence has evoked extensive debate. Whether this encounter was to be seen in a positive light (giving rise to market production and development), or in a negative light (extracting surplus production through domination, causing environmental degradation and leading to underdevelopment), the premise was that external factors had caused change in local methods of production.[532] Countering such views, the case of Mwinilunga suggests that change was inherent to agricultural production and was not exclusively driven by external factors. Factors such as environmental variation, state policies or fluctuating terms of trade would be accommodated into crop repertoires and methods of production, into an internal foundation of values, norms, relationships and practices.[533]

According to Scott, peasants in South-East Asia negotiated change through a 'moral economy'. The moral economy is based on concepts such as the 'subsistence ethic', the 'safety-first' principle and notions of economic justice (marked by patterns of reciprocity, generosity and work-sharing within the village).[534] Hyden has translated such concepts to a Tanzanian setting, by referring to the 'economy of affection', which he defines as 'a network of support, communications and interaction among structurally defined groups connected by blood, kin, community or other affinities, for example, religion.'[535] The function of the economy of affection mainly relates to basic survival, social maintenance and development, being 'primarily concerned with the problems of reproduction rather than production.'[536] With certain modifications, such concepts can facilitate an understanding of production, market involvement and economic trajectories in the area of Mwinilunga.

Concepts associated with the moral economy can explain why rural producers made particular choices throughout history. Some of these choices seemed contrary to the economic logic of profit-maximisation and have consequently been valued negatively by external observers.[537] Despite its merits, models of the moral economy have adopted a very static stance towards economic change.[538] Hyden argues that there are 'certain normative and structural incompatibilities between the economy of affection and the requirements of a capitalist economy.'[539] Accordingly, 'the persistence and perseverance' of the economy of affection might be seen as 'the most significant factor inhibiting economic development.'[540] Rather than taking the concepts of the moral economy as archaic barriers

---

[531] Allan, *African husbandman,* 336-7.

[532] On underdevelopment, see: R.H. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.), *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London etc., 1977); G. Arrighi, 'Labour supplies in historical perspective: A study of the proletarianization of the African peasantry in Rhodesia', *Journal of development studies* 6:3 (1969/70), 197-234. On development, see: Bates, 'Some conventional orthodoxies'. RLI scholars on the one hand believed that labour migration and capitalist penetration would lead to rural decline, yet they did acknowledge tendencies towards rural 'development' due to capitalism and marketing.

[533] Chabatama, 'Peasant farming'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

[534] Scott, *Moral economy.*

[535] Hyden, *No shortcuts to progress: African development management in perspective* (London etc., 1983), 8.

[536] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 18; T. Tsuruta, 'Between moral economy and economy of affection', in: I.N. Kimambo, G. Hyden, S. Maghimbi and K. Sugimura (eds.), *Contemporary perspectives on African moral economy* (Dar es Salaam, 2008), 37.

[537] Booth, 'On the idea of the moral economy', 654.

[538] Booth, 'On the idea of the moral economy', 658.

[539] R. Lemarchand, 'African peasantries, reciprocity and the market: The economy of affection reconsidered', *Cahiers d'études africaines* 29:113 (1989), 57.

[540] T. Waters, 'A cultural analysis of the economy of affection and the uncaptured peasantry in Tanzania', *The journal of modern African studies* 30:1 (1992), 163.

impeding economic activity and market involvement, rural producers in Mwinilunga used their internal foundation of production, their moral economy, as a starting point to engage the market and the state.[541] Lemarchand has suggested that:

> one might also conceive of situations where the normative pressures of the traditional order act as major incentives for involvement in the capitalist economy (…) the rewards of the capitalist economy providing the guarantees, as it were, of continuing or increasing high social standing in traditional milieux.[542]

What Hyden sees as 'two contending modes of production', namely the pre-modern mode of production giving rise to the economy of affection versus the capitalist mode of production giving rise to the market economy, should not be interpreted in binary terms.[543] The moral economy could serve to encourage involvement in the market economy, making the two mutually conducive.

In Mwinilunga both officials and producers claim that the primary objective of production is 'food' or 'subsistence'.[544] The basic aim is to produce enough to feed a household in a dependable manner. Nevertheless, the notion of subsistence production becomes blurred once it is taken into account that production in the area has always been geared towards exchange, ritual and marketing, next to direct consumption.[545] Subsistence production has always been more encompassing than the requirements of bare necessity:

> While a minimum income has solid physiological dimensions, we must not overlook its social and cultural implications. In order to be a fully functioning member of village society, a household needs a certain level of resources to discharge its necessary ceremonial and social obligations as well as to feed itself adequately and continue to cultivate.[546]

Related to this, 'there is a long-term planning perspective within the peasant household, but it relates less to productive than to socially reproductive needs.'[547] Being about more than mere feeding, food production entails social, cultural, political and economic features.[548]

A more positive valuation of subsistence production could go a long way in explaining productive activities in Mwinilunga District in a less dichotomous – *either* subsistence-oriented *or* market-oriented – way. Subsistence might be viewed as the aim to create a stable and dependable basis of production, involving a striving for a level of surplus, as a buffer in years of adversity, in case of environmental disaster, to fulfil social obligations or for trade and sale.[549] This stable and abundant basis of production could serve as a starting point to expand levels of production and engage with markets. As Waters has argued, the moral and the market economy were not incompatible:

> the peasant can 'choose' to have one foot in the traditional moral-based economy and one in the market system (…) The fact that the market economy is of use and interest to peasants does not mean that they

---

[541] Throughout this work I have chosen to adopt 'moral economy' rather than 'economy of affection', because I would like to emphasise the concepts which Scott calls the 'subsistence ethic', the 'safety-first principle' and concepts of economic justice, instead of underlining the socially embedded connotations which Hyden attaches to the 'economy of affection'.

[542] Lemarchand, 'African peasantries, reciprocity and the market', 60.

[543] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa.*

[544] Individuals would state that they engaged in agriculture 'just for eating', '*twatemwanga yakudya hohu*'. Colonial and postcolonial reports are littered with complaints regarding the subsistence – rather than the market – orientation of production in Mwinilunga.

[545] A. von Oppen, *Terms of trade and terms of trust: The history and contexts of pre-colonial market production around the Upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster etc., 1994); J. Vansina, *How societies are born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600* (Charlottesville etc., 2004).

[546] Scott, *Moral economy*, 9.

[547] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 14.

[548] F. De Boeck, ''When hunger goes around the land': Hunger and food among the Aluund of Zaire', *Man* 29:2 (1994), 257-82.

[549] K. Crehan, 'Mukunashi: An exploration of some effects of the penetration of capital in North-Western Zambia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 8:1 (1981/82), 82-93.

> have been 'captured'. They do place high values on the goods that markets make available (…) But that is not to say that manufactured items are necessarily 'required', let alone absolutely 'needed'.[550]

By adopting concepts derived from the moral economy, the involvement or non-involvement of producers in Mwinilunga District with the market economy might be understood in a different light.[551]

Because rural producers possess the factors of production (land and labour), Hyden asserts their relative independence. This is a major asset, making rural producers 'small but powerful', especially vis-à-vis the state and external actors, who struggle to effectively influence, control or 'capture' producers. Smallholder producers retain a degree of autonomy towards the market and the state, and they can opt out of involvement when conditions or policies prove unfavourable.[552] Why, to what extent and on which terms did people in Mwinilunga become involved with the market and the state on a day to day basis through their productive activities?[553]

The internal foundation of production in Mwinilunga – or the 'moral economy' defined in a broad sense, encompassing factors of environment, methods of production, modes of co-operation, trade, market involvement as well as norms and values – continually changed and adapted itself. Production was versatile and dynamic rather than static. Change could be triggered by numerous factors, including environmental fluctuations, state policies and marketing opportunities. The internal foundation of production was flexible, accommodating new crops, techniques and knowledge, yet change was not necessarily transformative.[554] Cohesion was provided by the primacy placed on generating a stable basis of subsistence. Such a stable basis of production could enable producers to participate in the market economy by producing surplus crops in a relatively risk-free manner. Because of the primacy placed on livelihood and food security, market production primarily involved items which proved compatible with existing patterns of production. Once the market slumped, producers would withdraw from market production and could fall back on a stable basis of subsistence, which was not jeopardised unnecessarily. This livelihood basis enabled producers to step into the market by producing surplus crops, yet equally provided a buffer against being completely 'captured' by the market. When it comes to market involvement, producers in Mwinilunga sought to safeguard their autonomy and security of subsistence. Individuals sought to negotiate market involvement on their own terms, dealing with factors such as price fluctuations, marketing opportunities and transport in ingenious manners.[555] How did the internal foundation of production work out in the day to day practices of producers in Mwinilunga District? This question will be explored through several case studies, which counterpoise narratives of increasing market involvement with the internal foundations of production in Mwinilunga.

From shifting cultivation to fixed farming: Policies and practice

Looking at the discourses which colonial and post-colonial officials adopted when devising agricultural policies and interventions can illustrate the rationale behind promoting cash crop production, marketing schemes or agricultural development. Agricultural policies, and the scientific knowledge at their basis, were attempts at social engineering as much as they were geared towards agricultural 'improvement'.[556] 'The developmentalist state' had ambitions 'to reorganize agricultural production

---

[550] Waters, 'A cultural analysis of the economy of affection', 164, 171.

[551] For non-involvement, see: F. Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for?: An African historian's perspective', *African affairs* 100:399 (2001), 189-213.

[552] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*; J.C. Scott*, Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed* (New Haven and London, 1998)*;* J.C. Scott, *The art of not being governed: An anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London, 2009)*.*

[553] K. Crehan, *The fractured community: Landscapes of power and gender in rural Zambia* (Berkeley etc., 1997)*.*

[554] Chabatama, 'Peasant farming'.

[555] This will be explained below. See: Spear, *Mountain farmers,* for parallels.

[556] W. Beinart, K. Brown and D. Gilfoyle, 'Experts and expertise in colonial Africa reconsidered: Science and the interpenetration of knowledge', *African affairs* 108:432 (2009), 418.

and to hasten African society into modernity.'[557] In Mwinilunga, agricultural policies predominantly revolved around settlement patterns, as stable villages instead of shifting homesteads were considered a prerequisite of successful farming.[558] Discourses regarding settlement patterns provide a useful way in to understand agricultural policies. Official discourse did not only influence policy lines and ideologies, but local agricultural practices and responses as well – though not in a straightforward manner. The reasons behind the failure of government attempts to fix settlement patterns can reveal the logic of agricultural production in the area of Mwinilunga.[559]

Government policies have wrestled with the issue of settlement patterns throughout the twentieth century, 'both to gain administrative leverage and to prevent deforestation and improve agricultural practices.'[560] Due to the level of mobility it propelled, the practice of shifting slash-and-burn cultivation was regarded as an administrative nuisance and was labelled 'wasteful' or 'destructive'.[561] Instead, government proposals advocated forms of fixed farming and settlement, aiming to 'improve' existing agricultural practices.[562] Proposals were cloaked in the benevolent rhetoric of high yields, scientific methods and agricultural 'development'. Post-colonial government schemes went even further, by plotting Intensive Development Zones which would tie farmers to the land through fertiliser, technology and agricultural loans.[563] The envisaged transition from shifting cultivation under primitive methods to fixed farming based on scientific principles, runs as a long-term thread through agricultural policies of the twentieth century.[564]

Throughout the nineteenth century settlement patterns in the area of Mwinilunga had been dispersed, yet villages had overwhelmingly concentrated along rivers and streams, close to patches of fertile soil or hunting grounds.[565] Villages tended to shift their location in intervals of two to twenty years, for example if the soils in an area had become depleted, in search for hunting or fishing grounds, due to deaths, quarrels or other problems. Upon moving, existing village sites and fields would be abandoned, left to gain fertility and regenerate. Movement could occur over short or long distances, depending on the motives for and objectives of the move. Due to low population density and low soil fertility in the area of Mwinilunga, these settlement patterns proved environmentally sound and productive.[566] With the establishment of colonial rule, however, 'impermanence' was heavily condemned, as it led to a lifestyle 'in the bush' which was mobile and difficult to control.[567] This explains the persistent frustrations with the 'nomadic inclinations' of the Lunda:

> with few exceptions all villages were bad, many of the huts appear to be temporary, hastily constructed buildings, while at nearly all villages many residents content themselves with grass makunkas [huts] thrown upon the clearing (…) I have now instructed all headmen that they will be destroyed at once,

[557] C. Bonneuil, 'Development as experiment: Science and state building in late colonial and postcolonial Africa, 1930-1970', *Osiris* 2:15 (2000), 267.

[558] G. Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping in Zambia' (University of Hull, 1967); Crehan and von Oppen, *Planners and history*.

[559] A. Bowman, 'Ecology to technocracy: Scientists, surveys and power in the agricultural development of late-colonial Zambia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 37:1 (2011), 135-53; Bonneuil, 'Development as experiment'.

[560] S.S. Berry, 'Hegemony on a shoestring: Indirect rule and access to agricultural land', *Africa* 62:3 (1992), 331; Berry, *No condition is permanent*, 49, 89-94.

[561] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; A. Von Oppen, 'The village as territory: Enclosing locality in northwest Zambia, 1950s to 1990s', *Journal of African history* 47:1 (2006), 57-75.

[562] See: A. Von Oppen, 'Bounding villages: The enclosure of locality in Central Africa, 1890s to 1990s' (Habilitationsgeschrift, Humboldt University of Berlin, 2003).

[563] Crehan and Von Oppen, *Planners and history.*

[564] N. Cullather, 'Miracles of modernization: The green revolution and the apotheosis of technology', *Diplomatic history* 28:2 (2004), 229.

[565] See Chapter 1.

[566] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example, Mrs Alfonsina Chingangu, 15 October 2008, Ntambu; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*.

[567] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*.

> and replaced by huts properly constructed on an additional cleared space added to the present clearing (…) this country does not want people who are not prepared to build good huts, cultivate properly, and pay their tax.[568]

Fixed settlements would be beneficial to administrative aims of order and control. Not only would large stable villages facilitate the recording of census and the enforcement of legislation, but they would also aid the collection of taxes and encourage the production of crops for the market.[569] Officials stated that: '[People] should have settled homes (…) it is much better to have fair sized villages erect good huts and plant large gardens.'[570] Local patterns of agriculture and settlement were condemned as 'crude', no matter whether they were ecologically sound.[571] Colonial reports might record acute food shortages due to shifting cultivation of an 'irregular and sporadic nature',[572] which could only be remedied after 'the natives have been taught the value of crop rotation, and more scientific agricultural methods generally.'[573] As a result, scientific alternatives to local agricultural practices were presented as 'superior'.[574] The colonial administration condemned shifting cultivation and related agricultural practices out of considerations of order and control, rather than due to a well-conceived agricultural rationale.

Even if shifting cultivation was ill-understood and propaganda for fixed farming was based on government misconceptions regarding the environment and agricultural production, official policies persistently advocated settled forms of cultivation by 'progressive farmers'.[575] The following excerpt from the 1950s, the period of 'high modernism' and the apex of the technocratic developmental state,[576] reflects such views by stating the aims of agricultural policies:

> 1) to raise the level of nutrition 2) to provide a satisfactory income from the sale of suitable cash crops tailored to fit human, ecological conditions and market requirements 3) to stabilise and concentrate the population, with due regard to the protection of natural resources by the introduction of sound methods of agriculture 4) to regulate and wherever possible to rationalise and intensify traditional extensive methods of agriculture 5) to assist in protecting the vital headwater areas.[577]

Policy lines condemned existing agricultural practices and proposed an interventionist approach. Through the installation of various schemes, such as school gardens, demonstration plots, irrigation schemes, peasant farming schemes, the use of agricultural demonstrators and the issuing of improved livestock, poultry and cattle breeds, alternative or 'improved' methods of production were promoted.[578] Simultaneously, such schemes were supposed to tie farmers and households to the land, by encouraging investment in fertiliser, inputs and farming equipment. Attention was focused on crop rotation, the use of compost and manure, ploughing, anti-erosion measures and irrigation, among other things.[579]

The peasant farming scheme of the 1940s and 1950s was a particularly striking case of such trends. This scheme promoted permanent as opposed to shifting cultivation, advocated the integration of animal husbandry and agriculture (through the use of manure, draught power and fodder cultivation), suggested various cycles of rotation, propagated methods of soil conservation and

---

[568] (NAZ) KSE6/6/2, C.S. Parsons, Mwinilunga Sub-District Tour Report, 16 May 1924.
[569] Bonneuil, 'Development as experiment', 268-74. Scott, *Seeing like a state,* on 'legibility'.
[570] (NAZ) KSE6/3/1, Mwinilunga Sub-District Report Indaba, 13 October 1916.
[571] Bonneuil, 'Development as experiment', 266-8, 276.
[572] (NAZ) KSE6/6/2, H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga Sub-District Tour Report, 9 November 1929.
[573] (NAZ) KSE6/6/2, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Tour Report, 3 June 1928.
[574] 'Scientific' knowledge was also shaped by the situation encountered on the ground – local and scientific knowledge were co-constructed. See: Bowman, 'Ecology to technocracy'; Beinart, 'Experts and expertise'.
[575] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* 114-6.
[576] Beinart, 'Experts and expertise', 430; Bonneuil, 'Development as experiment'.
[577] (NAZ) NWP1/2/83 Loc.4914, Department of Agriculture North Western Province Annual Report, 1958.
[578] This view is based on a broad reading of archival sources (NAZ) and (UNIPA); Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* provide parallels.
[579] (NAZ) SEC2/258, Vol. I, Industries and Trade – Agriculture, General Development and Improvement, November 1934.

irrigation, whilst encouraging the growth of cash crops for marketing purposes.[580] Fixed and concentrated settlements were promoted, 'in order to facilitate future development plans':

> These people should be encouraged to increase the size of their gardens and to produce more crops both for the benefit of themselves and of others. It can be seen that little progress can be made with stepping up the agricultural output of this area until such time as many of the settlements are re-grouped into more compact and economic units.[581]

Next to agricultural aims, the peasant farming scheme intended to affect the lifestyle and attitudes of participants, creating 'progressive farmers' who would market their crops, build 'improved' houses, wear 'decent' clothes, plant fruit trees, educate their children and live in nuclear households, disassociating themselves from the exactions of extended kin.[582]

After independence the humanist rhetoric took rural development even further, firmly basing it in Intensive Development Zones where fixed settlements would be the norm: 'The general feeling of the Settlement Schemes is that plans should be redesigned to settle people in big groups rather than scattered families to facilitate the provision of social amenities (…) like water, schools, clinics etc.'[583] Larger, concentrated and stable villages would facilitate the provisioning of extension services, farming requisites, marketing and social services through the state and parastatals.[584] But in spite of persistent policies, fixed farming did not appear to be catching on: 'the tendency over the last few years is for more smaller villages to be set up rather than larger ones.'[585] By looking at a number of case studies, it will become apparent why policy and practice diverged.

Although discursive attempts were made to instigate changes in patterns of production through official policies, these were not always accepted, let alone welcomed. Villages continued to shift their location and production continued to be geared towards subsistence, as well as market production. Discourses of agricultural 'improvement' or 'development' tended to overlook the environmental and labour conditions of the area, giving rise to a policy mismatch and popular resistance to proposed agricultural schemes. Official policies were not so much underlain by a benevolent desire to 'improve' local agriculture, but aimed at bureaucratic control. Yet producers were not passive in adopting recommendations. Government schemes designed to 'improve' agricultural practices and stabilise settlement patterns would only be adopted in so far as they could be rhymed with existing techniques, methods of production and attitudes. Rather than seeing the colonial and post-colonial states as hegemonic, it should be examined 'how the global discourses of modernity, epitomised by attempts to introduce explicitly 'modern' husbandry practices, were given very different receptions on the ground, and highlighting the spatial differences in how modernity was experienced.'[586] Although settlements increasingly shifted towards the roadside, this did not entail a unidirectional movement towards market production or stable methods of farming. Why were schemes to promote improved methods of farming resisted? The answer lies in the dissonance between government schemes, environmental conditions and local methods of production, leading back to the internal foundations of production in Mwinilunga District.

On subsistence and market production

Policies which proposed substituting shifting by fixed forms of cultivation carried assumptions about a transition from 'subsistence' to 'market' production. In the area of Mwinilunga, however, the

[580] (NAZ) SEC2/336, J.S. Moffat, Peasant Farm Blocks, Experimental Scheme, 1947-8. Von Oppen; Pritchett.
[581] (NAZ) SEC2/963, P.L.N. Hannaford, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, July 1955.
[582] (NAZ) NWP1/2/26 Loc.4901, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 6 March 1949; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* 115.
[583] (UNIPA) UNIP8/1/107, Highlights of the Right Honourable Prime Minister's Tour of the North-Western Province from 9th to 19th July 1977.
[584] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'; Crehan and Von Oppen, *Planners and history*.
[585] (NAZ) MAG2/21/86, Brief on Rural Development, North-Western Province, July 1970.
[586] G. Carswell, 'Multiple historical geographies: Responses and resistance to colonial conservation schemes in East Africa', *Journal of historical geography* 32 (2006), 399.

repertoire of cultivated crops is highly diverse, making distinctions between subsistence and cash crops anything but clear-cut. Crops grown for 'subsistence' could be – and often were – marketed, whereas crops grown for the market might equally be consumed as food locally.[587] Producers in Mwinilunga have since long been familiar with the exchange, barter and trade of food. The food transactions between local producers and trading caravans during the nineteenth century might already be interpreted as incipient forms of market production.[588] Notwithstanding the dynamism of patterns of production and trade, European travellers, colonial officials and post-colonial agents persistently reasserted grievances about the 'subsistence level' of agricultural production in Mwinilunga District. Rural producers were blamed for general 'apathy', lack of initiative and an absence of 'market logic'. Yet subsistence production itself should be re-evaluated in a more positive manner, which provides a more fruitful approach towards agricultural production in Mwinilunga.

Especially during the opening decades of the twentieth century, when colonial rule was not yet firmly established, administrators would regularly lament the low levels of agricultural production throughout Mwinilunga District. Production was described as geared exclusively towards 'subsistence':

> Native agriculture is of the rudest, probably the most primitive to be found in NW [North Western] Rhodesia. Little indeed beyond manioc [cassava] is grown and but the minimum quantity of that is produced. Travellers find the greatest difficulty in procuring supplies even at exorbitant prices.[589]

Widespread hunger, or even starvation, would be reported on occasion. This was the case after the imposition of taxation in 1913, which caused population flight to Angola and Congo to avoid payment:

> The running last May has caused consequent starvation and the people are getting restless because of this. For these people were not content merely to run and leave their gardens to be eaten by the wild pigs in the bush – but they must also ply the hoe in the hand too and root up even their young cassava, so that they could leave with the feeling of finality and of burnt ships behind them. Now that most of them are back they are starving, and those who did not run are suffering.[590]

Although food shortages would generally be temporary, localised and overcome in the course of the next agricultural season, official complaints about meagre food supplies and subsistence production proved unremitting. As late as 1970 it was remarked that: 'Most of the people are still subsistence farmers, growing enough only for their consumption requirements, and only selling a little which enables them to purchase basic household utensils.'[591]

Officials negatively associated the concept of 'subsistence' with the production of the bare necessities for survival without reserving any 'surplus' for marketing.[592] The idea of 'normal surplus' might provide an alternative, more positive, evaluation of subsistence production:

> It would appear to be a reasonable – if not axiomatic – proposition that subsistence cultivators, dependent entirely or almost entirely on the produce of their gardens, tend to cultivate an area large enough to ensure their food supply in a season of poor yields. Otherwise the community would be exposed to frequent privation and grave risk of extermination or dispersal by famine, more especially in regions of uncertain and fluctuating rainfall. One would, therefore, expect the production of a "normal surplus" of food in the average year.[593]

Cultivators would aim to produce a surplus at all times in order to have sufficient supplies even in years of adversity. Indeed, after dramatic occurrences such as the imposition of taxation or locust attacks, individuals in Mwinilunga would still aim to secure sufficient supplies of food through a variety of

---

[587] G. Carswell, 'Food crops as cash crops: The case of colonial Kigezi, Uganda', *Journal of agrarian change* 3:4 (2003), 521-51.

[588] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*.

[589] (NAZ) KSE6/1/1, G.A. MacGregor, Balunda District Annual Report, 1909.

[590] (BOD) Mss Afr. S779, Theodore Williams Correspondences, 16 February 1914.

[591] (NAZ) MRD1/8/27 Loc.4272, North-Western Province Development Committee, 20 March 1970.

[592] Crehan, 'Mukunashi'.

[593] Allan, *African husbandman*, 38, 44-5 argues that next to storage, exchange, sale or working 'beer parties', 'normal surplus' could be used for: 'the fulfilment of social obligations, to acquire prestige by the display of hospitality and generosity, and to honour important people, while in some societies it entered into barter trade and played a part in religious ritual.'

coping strategies. These included harvesting cassava gardens all at once instead of in bits and pieces, or working for friends and relatives in return for food.[594] This implied that in a 'normal year', when no adversity occurred, a surplus would remain. The subsistence basis could provide a surplus which might be bartered, traded or used for other purposes. In this sense, subsistence production could serve to step into the market.[595] Therefore, subsistence and market production should not be interpreted as mutually exclusive. By providing a stable source of livelihood, the production of subsistence crops could facilitate market engagement through the production of cash crops.

Subsistence and market production could feed into one another. Staple crops often had a dual character, functioning as food crops which could be marketed once the opportunity arose. Issues of labour proved particularly important. Cassava could provide a stable source of food, for instance, but the low labour demands of the crop could equally free up time and energy for the production of other crops, which might include cash crops destined for marketing.[596] Market production, moreover, was not a universal attraction. Hyden has argued that it migt be 'an ambiguous process, in which the risks of loss are as great as the prospects of gain.' Market production might involve 'losses in respect of other values and, above all, it is a matter of trading social autonomy for increased dependence on other social classes', market production might not be 'a temptation to people, but a sacrifice.'[597] By looking at staple crop production in the area of Mwinilunga, concepts of subsistence and market production will be further analysed. Staple crops could simultaneously function as food and cash crops. Issues of marketing, state policies, agro-ecological and labour concerns all influenced the adoption of crops as staples, though preferences could shift over time.

Meal: Markets, state policies and values

Although official policies throughout the twentieth century mainly encouraged the cultivation of cash crops, staple food production was equally a subject of debate. Why did the main staple crops in the area change over time? Was this due to official policy and considerations of marketing, due to historical and ecological considerations or due to the values of cultivators? Official discourse presumed a transition from hunting and foraging to more settled forms of agricultural production based on grain and root crops, presupposing a trend from gathering wild fruits to cultivating sorghum, or from hunting to herding small livestock.[598] Due to factors of marketing and state control, maize was promoted as the most 'modern' staple crop over the course of the twentieth century, whilst alternatives such as sorghum, millet and cassava were denounced as 'primitive'.[599] Such discourses and policies proposed a binary between 'subsistence' and 'market' production. Looking at why foraging persisted, or why maize was not universally adopted can illustrate market dynamics, state policies and the internal foundations of production in Mwinilunga District.

The two basic components of a meal in Mwinilunga consist of *nshima* (thick porridge, made by stirring flour into boiling water) and *mafu* (relish, a side dish of vegetables and/or meat, *mbiji*). Without these two components, a meal is not considered complete. A person may have snacked on yams or sweet potatoes, but can nevertheless claim not to have eaten all day if no *nshima* (the only real food)

[594] Chabatama, 'Peasant farming'; J.A. Pritchett, *Friends for life, friends for death: Cohorts and consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu* (Charlottesville etc., 2007).
[595] Carswell, 'Food crops as cash crops'.
[596] Pritchett, *Friends for life*.
[597] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 4.
[598] K.M. de Luna, 'Collecting food, cultivating persons: Wild resource use in Central African political culture, c. 1000 B.C.E. to c. 1900 C.E.' (PhD thesis, Evanston IL, 2008).
[599] J. Pottier, *Migrants no more: Settlement and survival in Mambwe villages, Zambia* (Manchester, 1988); J.C. McCann, *Maize and grace: Africa's encounter with a new world crop, 1500-2000* (Cambridge etc., 2005).

has been served yet.[600] The types of flour used for *nshima* have changed over the years, yet shifts in preference and use have been gradual, partial and contested.[601] Today, different types of flour are used interchangeably and occasionally a composite *nshima* is created by mixing two types of flour whilst cooking. Maize and cassava meal can be combined for *nshima* and this is regarded as a true delicacy.[602] *Nshima* is intimately connected to issues of identity and group cohesion, being considered to be 'as old as the Lunda'.[603] Elders recall that, when agriculture was not yet well established or was jeopardised by natural or man-made causes, wild roots would be collected from the bush to pound into flour for *nshima*. In cases of severe food shortage this practice might still be reinvigorated, but otherwise wild roots have been replaced by cultivated grain and root crops as the main staple foods.[604] Sorghum (*masa*) and millet (*kachai*, finger millet, or *mahangu,* bulrush millet) were adopted in the course of the first millennium A.D., whereas from the seventeenth century onwards cassava and maize have increasingly been added to the cultivating repertoire.[605] A historical shift from wild roots, to sorghum and millet, to cassava and more recently maize can be discerned. Officials have presented these transitions as progressions, wild roots, sorghum and cassava allegedly being more 'primitive' than maize, which has been lauded as the hallmark of 'modernity'.[606] In spite of such views, transitions in staple crop cultivation and consumption have been ambiguous, gradual and contested, rather than straightforward. Each staple crop has specific advantages and disadvantages, in terms of yield, labour requirements and resilience to disease or drought. Over time people would express a preference for certain crops, but preferences could change and producers would overwhelmingly cultivate a variety of crops side by side in order to spread risks, to take advantage of the benefits of each crop and for dietary variation.[607] How was the production of staple foods organised and how did it change over time? Why would producers not adopt official recommendations or follow marketing opportunities, preferring to cultivate familiar crops which were poorly marketable? To answer these questions, factors of ecology, patterns of agricultural production, state policies and marketing need to be considered.

Throughout Mwinilunga District foraging has historically played an important role in food provision. Probes into past eating habits evoke responses recalling a time when 'people did not eat *nshima*', but 'subsisted on meat and honey'.[608] Although grain crops had undeniably been adopted on the South Central African plateau by the beginning of the first millennium A.D., grain cultivation did not necessarily downplay the role of hunting and gathering practices.[609] At the beginning of the twentieth century it was still remarked that: 'The Balunda as a whole seem to be quite contented for a great part of the year to eke out an existence on honey, wild fruits and the products of the bush.'[610]

---

[600] This view has been informed by participant observation and numerous oral interviews. See: J.J. Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej: Reconstructing Ruund history (the nuclear Lunda: Zaïre, Angola, Zambia)' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1978), 331-2; Pritchett, *Friends for life*, 82-3.

[601] J. Vansina, 'Histoire du manioc en Afrique centrale avant 1850', *Paideuma* 43 (1997), 255-79; A. von Oppen, '"Endogene agrarrevolution" im vorkolonialen Afrika?: Eine fallstudie', *Paideuma* 38 (1992), 269-96.

[602] Interview with Mr Justin Kambidima, 22 October 2010, Ntambu.

[603] Interview with Mr Wombeki, 11 & 24 May 2010, Nyakaseya; Interview with Mr Solomon Kanswata, 8 September 2008, Mwinilunga; Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej', 331-2.

[604] Interview with Mrs Kalota, Kanongesha, July-August 2010.

[605] Vansina, *How societies are born*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

[606] C.C. Fourshey, '"The remedy for hunger is bending the back": Maize and British agricultural policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920-1960', *The international journal of African historical studies* 41:2 (2008), 223-61.

[607] See: J. Goody, *Cooking, cuisine and class: A study in comparative sociology* (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne, 1982); J.C. McCann, *Stirring the pot: A history of African cuisine* (Ohio, 2009).

[608] Interview with Chief Kanongesha's mother, 12 August 2010, Kanongesha.

[609] W.M.J. van Binsbergen, *Tears of rain: Ethnicity and history in Central Western Zambia* (London etc., 1992); R.J. Papstein, 'The upper Zambezi: A history of the Luvale people, 1000-1900' (PhD thesis, University of California, 1978).

[610] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, A.W. Bonfield, Lunda Division Quarterly Report, 31 December 1916.

Up to now, foraging plays a role in complementing more settled agricultural practices. Mushrooms, wild fruits and caterpillars are widely acclaimed delicacies, whose seasonal appearance causes general excitement.[611] Nevertheless, restrictive forestry legislation and conservationist policies, coupled with the increasing permanence of settlement patterns, have caused foraging to become increasingly problematic over the course of the twentieth century.[612] Honey collectors have to travel long distances from their village homes into the bush, creatively circumventing conservation laws, to place their hives and collect honey. Nonetheless, the co-existence of agriculture and foraging testifies that there was no inevitable historical transition from foraging to settled agriculture. Agriculture and animal husbandry did not displace gathering and hunting, as the 'wild' and the 'domestic' could coincide.[613] Foraging activities fitted well into a mobile lifestyle pivoted around hunting, but could equally add variety to the diet of more settled agricultural communities. Within the environmental setting of Mwinilunga foraging enabled a degree of flexibility, retaining an appeal into the present.[614]

Notwithstanding the salience of foraging, traveller accounts from the nineteenth century would underline the importance of cultivated foodstuffs.[615] Initially the population of Mwinilunga relied on sorghum and millet as their staples. These crops, however, necessitated considerable labour inputs for land clearing, weeding and bird scaring.[616] Consequently, the acreage planted to sorghum and millet remained limited. For a sorghum or millet field of one acre eight to ten acres of land would have to be cleared of trees. Sorghum and millet require fertile virgin land to yield good crops, and due to the poor quality of soils in Mwinilunga ample burning material is required for fertilisation under slash-and-burn production.[617] Apart from being labour intensive, sorghum and millet can cause distinct hungry periods. Food shortages could occur before harvesting when old stocks would be depleted. Colonial officials might lament that: 'there is no doubt but that the natives, who do not cultivate much cassava and depend almost entirely on "kachai" (red millet), are now "hungry" and many are living on fruits and honey.'[618] Moreover, sorghum and millet yields fluctuate heavily from year to year. Because these grain crops are so taxing and unreliable they have largely been abandoned as staple food crops.[619] Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth century there has been a movement from the cultivation of sorghum and millet towards cassava and maize. This trend was recognised by colonial officials in 1935, who noted that cultivators 'are realising the advantages of manioc (…) the more energetic are planting manioc in addition to their old millet, kaffir corn [sorghum] and maize gardens; those less so sometimes abandon their grain crops altogether in favour of manioc.'[620] Still, there has not been a universal decline of sorghum and millet cultivation. After an initial slump, grain cultivation expanded significantly when profitable markets arose in the 1950s, incited by the demands of the beer halls on the Copperbelt.[621] Particularly for brewing purposes sorghum and millet remain popular, and

[611] As the first mushrooms were about to appear in October 2010, widespread excitement prevailed.
[612] A. Hansen and D.E. MacMillan (eds.), *Food in sub-Saharan Africa* (Boulder, 1986).
[613] See: T. Ingold, *The perception of the environment: Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill* (London, 2000), Chapter Three, for the nature-culture debate.
[614] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.
[615] For example: I. Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's African journal 1853-56* (London, 1963).
[616] Interview with Mr Muhemba, 4 October 2008, Chibwika; Interview with Headman Kazovu and Kashiku, 12 September 2008, Kanongesha; (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 1927.
[617] (NAZ) SEC2/954, C.M.N. White, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 13 July 1939; (NAZ) KSE6/6/2, H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 9 November 1929.
[618] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, N.C. Bellis, Lunda District, Report for the Month of October 1910.
[619] See: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 215; J.C. Miller, *Way of death: Merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade 1730-1830* (Madison, 1988), 19-20.
[620] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Annual Report Mwinilunga District, 31 December 1935.
[621] (NAZ) Mutende, No. 368, 30 January 1951.

at present *kachai* (finger millet) beer is still served during ceremonies as a true delicacy.[622] Sorghum and millet continue to be cultivated next to other crops, to add diversity and to spread risks. Different crops are thus not incompatible and would continue to exist side by side, as each crop possesses distinct benefits and can be cultivated for different purposes. Whereas some crops serve as hunger reserves, others are used predominantly for beer brewing or might be adopted as staple foods.

Cassava: Creating a land of plenty

As part of the 'Columbian exchange' cassava was introduced to the African continent in the sixteenth century.[623] From the Angolan coast, the crop gradually spread inland and by means of the long-distance trade cassava eventually reached the area of Mwinilunga.[624] According to traveller accounts, the crop was well-established in the area by the 1850s.[625] Especially as a foodstuff for the provisioning of trade caravans cassava proved popular and its cultivation therefore expanded rapidly in the course of the nineteenth century.[626] During the latter half of the nineteenth century passing trade caravans would make substantial demands of food on the producers of the Upper Zambezi area.[627] Caravans were big, slowly moving units, requiring food on a regular basis. These demands could not be met by regular 'subsistence' production, but evoked incipient yet deliberate 'market production'.[628] Some villages would make extensive cassava gardens specifically to feed passing trade caravans, as cultivators could obtain cloth, salt and guns in return for their food.[629] Significantly, Mwinilunga was located directly to the east of the 'hungry country', which was sombrely described by travellers:

> [It is] hilly land, known as 'the hungry country', for though there are a few villages at several points off the path, little or no food can be bought there (...) For ten days the road lay through uninhabited sandy plains (...) [and we] had to make forced marches through this in order to reach the villages beyond, where food could be purchased.[630]

After travelling through this 'hungry country' caravans would be all the more eager to obtain food once they had reached Mwinilunga, as they would need to restock after their supplies had been depleted. This geographically strategic position made Mwinilunga an important provisioning post for passing caravans. Because cassava was durable, could easily be transported and was familiar to traders, the crop was particularly sought after.[631] Mwinilunga might even have become 'the breadbasket of the caravan system'.[632] An estimated 14,000 tons of food was required annually by caravans passing through the Upper Zambezi area.[633] Nevertheless, demands were erratic. A large caravan requesting

---

[622] Interview with Mrs Alfonsina Chingangu, 15 October 2008, Ntambu. In 2010 large amounts of *kachai* beer were being brewed in anticipation of the *Chisemwa Chalunda* ceremony in Chief Kanongesha's area, although *kachai* cultivation was by then very rare.

[623] For an overview of crop introductions to Africa from overseas areas, see: J.E. Mendes Ferrão, *The adventure of plants and the Portuguese discoveries,* (n.p., 1994); A.W. Crosby Jr., *The Columbian exchange: Biological and cultural consequences of 1492,* (Westport, 1972). The Columbian exchange, following Columbus' 'discovery' of America in 1492, marked a wave of exchange between Europe, the America's, Asia, Australia and Africa and included various animals, micro-organisms (including diseases) and human population groups as well. The main focus here will be on crop exchanges.

[624] Von Oppen, 'Endogene agrarrevolution', 269-96; Vansina, 'Histoire du manioc', 255-79; W.O. Jones, *Manioc in Africa* (California, 1959).

[625] Schapera, *Livingstone's missionary correspondence,* 261-2.

[626] Miller, *Way of death*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[627] See the traveller accounts of Livingstone, Cameron, Arnot and Gibbons; Chapter 1.

[628] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 91-6; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 220-8.

[629] J-L. Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda et la frontière Luso-Africaine (1700-1900)', *Études d'histoire africaine* 3 (1972), 78-93.

[630] W.S. Fisher and J. Hoyte, *Ndotolu: The life stories of Walter and Anna Fisher of Central Africa,* (Rev. ed., Ikelenge, 1992)*,* 79, 109.

[631] Miller, *Way of death*; Jones, *Manioc in Africa*.

[632] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 30 – this is probably an overstatement.

[633] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 96.

food might pass a village one day, but afterwards an entire year might pass before the next caravan would appear. Moreover, the major caravan routes bypassed the area of Mwinilunga either to the north or to the south. Although numerous caravans did frequent the area, Mwinilunga was more often a transit point than the main destination.[634] Even if villages did increasingly adopt cassava cultivation and engaged in trade of the crop to passing caravans, unpredictable demand made it difficult to expand food production exclusively for this purpose.[635] Cassava production exceeded 'subsistence', but it is doubtful whether marketing had become the driving force behind production.

Apart from purposes of marketing, cassava was increasingly adopted as a subsidiary and even as a major staple food crop over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Cassava possessed distinct advantages over sorghum and millet.[636] The crop is resistant to droughts, pests and diseases, is not labour intensive (apart from planting and processing), provides food all year round (eliminating pre-harvest hunger periods) and, most importantly, is relatively high yielding.[637] On the acidic Kalahari soils of Mwinilunga District cassava can outperform sorghum, millet and maize yields.[638] Cassava fields can be worked continuously for up to twenty years without fertilisation, whereas sorghum and millet fields need to be cleared annually and can only be worked for three to four years before the soil becomes depleted.[639] Cassava therefore diminished the labour requirements of land clearance, but on the other hand, a fundamental re-organisation of agricultural techniques was required to accommodate cassava cultivation. Whereas sorghum and millet are planted on ridges, cassava requires the construction of mounds. Moreover, the processing of cassava can be onerous, as the roots have to be dug up, soaked in water to remove their toxic content, dried and pounded into flour. The crop thus required labour inputs and the adoption of new techniques.[640] Because cassava only fully matures after two to four years, the crop equally required a degree of residential stability.[641] The unsettled conditions and frequent shifting propelled by slave raids might have discouraged extensive cassava cultivation. Nevertheless, cassava cultivation expanded rapidly once settlements stabilised under the *Pax Britannica*.[642] Because it could provide an ample and reliable source of food, cassava gradually supplanted other crops as a widespread staple over the course of the twentieth century, despite its potential drawbacks.[643]

Cassava became so popular that it was adopted as a marker of identity by Lunda cultivators, who proudly referred to themselves as 'cassava-eaters'.[644] Nonetheless, (post-)colonial officials remained sceptical towards cassava cultivation, even discouraging production and consumption of the

[634] See the map in E. Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule: The politics of ethnicity* (Cambridge etc., 1975), 19; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* Appendix on caravan routes.
[635] Papstein, 'Upper Zambezi'.
[636] Von Oppen, 'Endogene agrarrevolution'; Vansina, 'Histoire du manioc'.
[637] See: A. von Oppen, 'Cassava, "The lazy man's food"? Indigenous agricultural innovation and dietary change in Northwestern Zambia (ca. 1650-1970)', in: C. Lentz (ed.) *Changing food habits: Case studies from Africa, South America and Europe* (New York, 1999), 51, for the advantages and disadvantages of cassava cultivation.
[638] (NAZ) MAG1/20/4, Director of Agriculture Report, 17 May 1962: In 1962 the yields on Kalahari sands were estimated as follows: Maize – 3 bags per acre, Millet – 4 bags per acre, Cassava – 6.1 bags per acre.
[639] (NAZ) MAG1/10/1 Loc.76, C.E. Johnson, Agricultural Programme of Work, North Western Province, 29 June 1960; Interview with Mr John Kamuhuza, March 2010, Ikelenge.
[640] F.I. Nweke, D.S.C. Spencer and J.K. Lynam, *The cassava transformation: Africa's best-kept secret* (East Lansing, 2002); S. Haggblade and B. Zulu, 'The recent cassava surge in Zambia and Malawi', *Successes in African agriculture*, Conference held in Pretoria, 1-3 December 2003.
[641] Von Oppen, 'Cassava, the lazy man's food'.
[642] Papstein, 'Upper Zambezi'.
[643] I. Peša. ''Cassava is our chief: Negotiating identity, markets and the state through cassava in Mwinilunga, Zambia', in: J-B. Gewald, A. Leliveld and I. Peša (eds.), *Transforming innovations in Africa: Explorative studies on appropriation in African societies* (Leiden etc., 2012).
[644] Interview with Mr Solomon Kanswata, 18 October 2008, Mwinilunga; Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej'.

crop altogether.[645] The alleged nutritional deficiencies, especially the acidity and lack of protein of the tubers, would regularly be underlined. The Lunda were described as a 'weakly tribe' and 'physically inferior' due to their cassava-based diet.[646] Only once locust invasions or droughts had wrought ravages would the colonial administration temporarily resort to promoting the crop: 'The cultivation of cassava is encouraged in the native areas throughout the Territory as a famine reserve crop (…) the crop came into its own during this difficult drought year.'[647] The attitude towards cassava was ambiguous at best, as only two years later negative valuations prevailed once more: 'Methods of production of this crop are wasteful and it is preferable that it should be regarded as a subsistence rather than a cash crop.'[648] Indeed, officials regarded cassava more as a subsistence than as a cash crop. As a result, the crop was afforded only minimal marketing opportunities, scientific support or official encouragement. Whereas rice, beans and maize were propagated by the government through the distribution of improved seeds, technical support and favourable marketing conditions, cassava was largely neglected.[649] Peculiarly, this official discouragement did not foreclose the local popularity of cassava cultivation, which continued unabatedly and even heightened. After outlining the history of maize cultivation in Mwinilunga, the popularity of cassava will be reassessed.

Maize: Faltering towards modernity?

Over the course of the twentieth century, government officials promoted maize as a 'superior' alternative to cassava.[650] 'An image of maize as a model of modernity' was advanced,[651] and in particular the high-yielding hybrid varieties were acclaimed as 'magic' or a 'technological wonder' that would 'feed the nation' and bring about general prosperity.[652] Maize, like cassava, was introduced from the New World and disseminated through the long-distance trade.[653] Already during the colonial period, but especially after independence, maize was afforded prime official importance: 'As the staple food of the people of Zambia, maize is central in the Zambian agricultural economy.'[654] Various inputs, loans and subsidies were made available to support maize cultivators. In addition, highly favourable marketing conditions for the crop were arranged through government-controlled marketing boards, which provided secure and profitable outlets.[655] This approach differed markedly from the attitude towards cassava, which was granted minimal attention and could only be marketed through official channels in exceptional circumstances. Such differential marketing opportunities, coupled with government propaganda, might have discouraged cassava cultivation in favour of maize.[656] Nevertheless, maize cultivation did not succeed in displacing the popularity of cassava.

Maize cultivation was only hesitantly adopted in Mwinilunga. By the end of the 1950s it was still remarked that: 'People are not at present interested in eating maize themselves unless cassava is scarce, they claim indeed it makes them sick.'[657] Despite protracted propaganda it was noted in 1964 that: 'any surplus [of maize] marketed was merely a fortuitous surplus from subsistence cultivators

[645] Jones, *Manioc in Africa*; Nweke, *The cassava transformation*.
[646] (NAZ) KSE6/1/1, G.A. MacGregor, Annual Report for the Balunda District, 1909.
[647] (NAZ) Department of Agriculture, Annual report, 1951.
[648] (NAZ) Department of Agriculture, Annual report, 1953.
[649] See: A.P. Wood et al (ed.), *The dynamics of agricultural policy and reform in Zambia* (Ames, Iowa, 1990); McCann, *Maize and grace*.
[650] K. Crehan and A. von Oppen, 'Understandings of 'development': An arena of struggle: The story of a development project in Zambia', *Sociologia ruralis* 28:2 (1988), 120.
[651] Fourshey, 'The remedy for hunger is bending the back', 246.
[652] Pottier, *Migrants no more*, 20.
[653] McCann, *Maize and grace.*
[654] (NAZ) Review of the Operations of the Agricultural Marketing Committee, 30 June 1965.
[655] See: Wood, *The dynamics of agricultural policy*; McCann, *Maize and grace*.
[656] See: Fourshey, 'The remedy for hunger is bending the back', 223-61.
[657] (NAZ) SEC2/967, W.D. Grant, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, No. 5, 1959.

and did not constitute an appreciable amount.'[658] Although in the 1969-70 season 180 tons of maize was marketed from Mwinilunga District, this figure compared unfavourably to other parts of the country.[659] Maize does not grow well in the climate and soils of the area, the quality of the harvested crop is generally poor and there is a recurrent threat of failed harvests. In the 1950s maize marketed from Mwinilunga would invariably arrive on the Copperbelt severely affected by weevils. The quality of the crop would consequently be classified as inferior, which problematized marketing.[660]

Moreover, expensive inputs such as fertiliser, pesticides and improved seeds are imperative to obtain maize yields which can compete on the (inter)national market. Such inputs can make individuals dependent on the market and the state for provisioning, distribution, credit and crop sales.[661] Government-controlled marketing boards provided inputs on a loan basis throughout the twentieth century. Upon selling the maize harvest a producer would first have to think of repaying the debt:

> If a farmer sells two bags to Agriculture Rural Marketing Board (ARMB then the very farmer should be made to repay his loans out of what he has just got from those two bags (...) but how can a farmer live since all his living is taken away from him/her? Now we have a lot of groaning the farmers are murmuring perhaps in future they will stop doing farming because all the money they are getting from their produce is being taken away from them without leaving them some Ngwees to enable them buy clothing, soap, salt, and paying their friends who helped them to do the job [*sic*].[662]

Although maize might have been a commercially viable option, and was increasingly adopted as a cash crop in the course of the 1960s and 1970s, it left individuals vulnerable to the whims of the climate, state subsidies and marketing boards, creating a dependency on volatile external factors. Because of numerous drawbacks, maize rarely became the preferred crop for producers in Mwinilunga. Although official discourse propagated maize as a symbol of 'progress', and although numerous producers in the district did grow some maize for purposes of marketing or household consumption, individuals did not take to maize production en masse and continued to prefer cassava.[663]

The foundations of production: Staples, markets and the state

The driving forces behind crop preferences and producer deliberations are rooted in the internal foundation of production in Mwinilunga. Whereas maize cultivation created a degree of vulnerability to climatic and market fluctuations, as well as dependence on the state for inputs and subsidies, cassava could enable a degree of flexibility, autonomy and security.[664] Cassava can provide a dependable source of food and can generate abundant harvests without requiring expensive inputs. As a result, producers today proudly proclaim that: 'With cassava, we never go hungry!'[665] Cassava enables an 'exit option', meaning that producers can more easily opt out of, or even evade, involvement with the market and the state.[666] That small rural producers control their own means of production and livelihood can prove a source of strength:

> Much of the power of the small peasants in Africa stems from their control of the means of subsistence. The production of the basic necessities is still controlled by peasants who are difficult to get at, not only

[658] (NAZ) Annual Report, Ministry of Agriculture, 1964.
[659] (NAZ) LGH5/5/12, Marketing of Produce North-Western Province, 23 July 1970.
[660] (NAZ) NWP1/2/37 Loc.4903, D. Clough, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1950.
[661] Crehan and Von Oppen, 'Understandings of development', 129.
[662] (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/1/48, J. Chikotola to Administrative Secretary, 1 October 1973.
[663] Fourshey, 'The remedy for hunger is bending the back'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[664] See: Peša, 'Cassava is our chief'; Scott, *The art of not being governed*, 73-4, argues that root crops are relatively more 'illegible' to the state and consequently more difficult to appropriate, control and tax than grain crops. Cassava cultivators would be considerably better placed to assert autonomy vis-à-vis the state than millet and sorghum cultivators, since these annual crops are much easier to identify, tax and control than cassava which grows underground and matures slowly.
[665] Interview with Justin Kambidima, 22 October 2010, Ntambu.
[666] See also: Scott, *The art of not being governed.*

> because of their numbers but also because they are capable of securing their own subsistence and reproduction without the assistance of other social classes.[667]

Because producers can rely on a stable source of livelihood, they are less vulnerable to state sanctions and, as a result, they can afford to be more independent in their interactions with officials. In Mwinilunga the relative independence of producers did occasionally result in administrative defiance. This caused exasperation among colonial officials:

> Little or no food is at present being brought to the Boma for sale (…) [This] is the more annoying when it is remembered how large are the gardens and plentiful the supply of cassava (…) the present position is altogether attributable to the perverseness of a people endowed with so peculiar and erratic a temperament.[668]

Officials even claimed that: 'There may be a determination not to come under our rule (…) to escape from obligations which they fear will be demanded from them.'[669] Although the independence of producers could be seen as a source of strength, according to Hyden it could also block 'development': 'the principal structural constraint to development are the barriers raised against state action by the peasant mode of production.'[670] Examples from Mwinilunga, however, suggest otherwise. Subsistence production did not necessarily pose a barrier to 'development', the production of 'cash crops' or 'market integration'.[671] To the contrary, the strong and stable basis of subsistence which cassava production provided could be a source of strength and autonomy to producers. This subsistence basis enabled producers to negotiate with the state and markets on favourable terms, terms suitable to local requirements. The subsistence basis of staple crop production, of cassava in particular, did not preclude market involvement, but rather provided a stepping stone to expand production – of both subsistence and cash crops – whilst maintaining livelihood security.[672]

The production of an array of subsistence crops served as a basis which facilitated the production of cash crops. Subsistence crops provide food and can free up labour for other productive tasks, within or outside agriculture. Arguably, the production of food crops for sale is less disruptive of established agricultural practices than the production of non-food cash crops, such as cotton or tobacco.[673] Because labour is a scarce resource, its use has to be planned carefully: 'if (...) the staple food crop could be marketed, then the tricky problem of how to distribute labour at times of peak demand was greatly eased.'[674] During periods of peak demand, such as planting or harvesting, the marketing of staple food crops alleviated the problem of labour allocation. If surplus staple food crops could be marketed, output could be expanded by intensifying existing cultivation methods and investing additional labour into one crop, instead of dividing attention between numerous crops or applying unfamiliar cultivation methods to cash crops such as maize, rice or groundnuts.[675] In Mwinilunga food crops (such as beans, pineapples, rice, but also cassava) have mainly been marketed, blurring the line between subsistence and cash crop production. Subsistence production could function as the basis for market production, as existing methods and levels of production could be expanded to step into the market. Another advantage of marketing 'subsistence' food crops is that staple food crops provide a source of livelihood security, being held back as a famine reserve in case

---

[667] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa,* 29.
[668] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, J.M. Pound, Monthly Report Balunda District, June 1909.
[669] (NAZ) BSA2 A2/1/4 Loc.3981, Acting Administrator North-West Rhodesia to G.A. MacGregor, 20 December 1910.
[670] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 31.
[671] Carswell, 'Food crops as cash crops'.
[672] Peša, 'Cassava is our chief'; See: Spear, *Mountain farmers,* who argues that the high and dependable yields of bananas enabled individuals to diversify into cash crop production of coffee.
[673] J. Tosh, 'The cash-crop revolution in tropical Africa: An agricultural reappraisal', *African affairs* 79:314 (1980), 79-94; Austin, 'Resources, techniques and strategies'.
[674] Tosh, 'The cash-crop revolution', 89-91.
[675] Von Oppen, 'Endogene agrarrevolution', 277.

harvests prove disappointing, or being consumed in case markets slump.[676] Because staple crops provide a stable basis of subsistence, the cultivation and sale of food crops alleviates the impact of market fluctuations and facilitates market involvement. In case the staple food crop could be marketed, existing production could be expanded as land was generally abundant. When marketing slumps occurred, however, the surplus which remained and could not be marketed could be held back for household consumption. In the following year the cultivated acreage would be decreased again. In this context, cassava proved to be particularly convenient, as the crop can remain stored in the ground for several years until marketing opportunities arise and prices become favourable.[677] This enabled producers to react to marketing fluctuations rapidly, as they might expand or reduce the size of their fields in reaction to the demand which exists for their crops.[678] In more than one way, therefore, subsistence and market production could feed into one another. As the case of cassava in Mwinilunga further illustrates, small-scale producers were by no means averse to market incentives.

Far from being a 'subsistence' crop, cassava simultaneously functioned as a food and as a cash crop. During the 1950s as much as 600 tons of cassava flour was marketed in Mwinilunga District.[679] These high sales figures coincided with labour migration ratios of up to 50%, suggesting that cassava production could not have been too taxing on scarce labour resources.[680] The relatively low labour demands of cassava enabled an expansion of production, either of additional cassava or of other cash crops. Cassava could free up labour, for instance for labour migration or for the cultivation of pineapples, which became a major cash crop in Mwinilunga in the 1960s and 1970s.[681] Market involvement posed less of a risk if producers could fall back on a stable source of livelihood, in the form of cassava. If the marketing of pineapples proved problematic, producers could rely on cassava gardens for consumption.[682] As a result, exclusive specialisation in pineapple production was rare, as producers preferred to spread their risks by maintaining large cassava gardens. This was the 'safety-first' principle, geared towards risk minimisation rather than profit maximisation:

> The distinctive economic behavior of the subsistence-oriented peasant family results from the fact that, unlike a capitalist enterprise, it is a unit of consumption as well as a unit of production. The family begins with a more or less irreducible subsistence consumer demand, based on its size, which it must meet in order to continue as a unit. Meeting those minimal human needs in a reliable and stable way is the central criterion which knits together choices of seed, technique, timing, rotation, and so forth. The cost of failure for those near the subsistence margin is such that safety and reliability take precedence over long-run profit.[683]

Securing a sufficient and dependable source of food and livelihood underlay the basic choices of crops, cultivation techniques and marketing for producers in Mwinilunga District.

Cassava enabled such a dependable source of food. The specific agro-ecological characteristics of cassava provided great advantages over other crops, which officials hesitantly recognised: 'The principle crop in this area is cassava which grows exceptionally well and in great abundance (…) In areas where cassava is the main crop famine seems to be almost unknown.'[684] Cassava yields are higher, more dependable and less affected by the vagaries of the climate, whilst the crop necessitates less

[676] Tosh, 'The cash-crop revolution', 89.
[677] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Grace Mulusa, 10 December 2008, Kanyama.
[678] Correspondence with Mr Raymond Ngambi, Kanyama, December 2008.
[679] (NAZ) NWP1/2/68 Loc.4911, North-Western Province Annual Report for Agriculture, 1955.
[680] (NAZ) NWP1/2/102 Loc.4919, E.L. Button, North Western Province Annual Report, 1960.
[681] I. Peša, 'Buying pineapples, selling cloth: Traders and trading stores in Mwinilunga District, 1940-1970', in: R. Ross, M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša (eds.), *The objects of life in Central Africa: The history of consumption and social change, 1840-1980* (Leiden etc., 2013).
[682] It is all the more significant that pineapple farmers invested their profits into work parties, attracting labour in order to cultivate larger cassava gardens. See interview with Mr Saipilinga Kahongo, 22 March 2010, Ikelenge.
[683] Scott, *Moral economy,* 13.
[684] (NAZ) SEC2/955, C.M.N. White, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 10 February 1940 and H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 14 December 1940.

labour inputs when compared to alternatives. In an area where land is abundant, yet labour is scarce, cassava is a particularly suitable crop. Relatively low labour inputs could yield high returns, enabling producers to diversify into other crops and step into the market.[685] The foundation provided by cassava did not prevent, but rather enabled market involvement, by facilitating the investment of time and energy into market production. This explains the persistence of cassava cultivation in the face of favourable marketing opportunities and official propaganda for maize, and equally sheds light on the ability of labour intensive and volatile crops such as pineapples or rice to flourish. Market involvement could be a feasible and relatively low-risk endeavour, as producers in Mwinilunga could build on a dependable source of food in the form of cassava. The taking of risks was justified, as long as food provision could be secured.[686] Even if cassava was denounced as a mere subsistence crop by officials, the crop enabled a degree of enterprise, largely cancelling out the shocks of market and price fluctuations and the vagaries of the environment. Therefore, cassava has become and remained the favoured food in the area throughout the twentieth century.

Shifts in preference for staple crops did not lead from 'subsistence' to 'market' production or from food crops to cash crops.[687] Foraging strategies, sorghum, millet, cassava and maize cultivation exist side by side in Mwinilunga today. These provide agricultural producers with a wide palette of choices, generating a reliable supply of food, enabling diversity and facilitating risk-aversion. Values attached to food crops have shifted over the years, in connection to the environment, markets and state policies.[688] Although maize has been promoted through marketing and official policies, it has not become the dominant staple food in Mwinilunga. The resilience of cassava cultivation evidences that crop choices are underlain by considerations of safety and are aimed at securing dependable food supplies. Principles of safety were not necessarily conservative, though, and did not clash with market involvement. The stable basis of cassava production enabled producers to incorporate change by adopting cash crops – either familiar or new – for marketing purposes, whilst retaining a reliable source of food. Although cassava was originally a foreign introduction to the area, today the crop is described as part of the 'tradition' of the Lunda, which illustrates the ability of producers in Mwinilunga to incorporate change, in the form of an external innovation, within long-established practices, modes of thought and historical consciousness.[689] Apparently the crop fitted local strategies, goals and outlooks so well that it was incorporated into existing patterns of production and society almost seamlessly. At the same time, cassava enabled producers in Mwinilunga to unleash an inherent potential for agricultural production and so the area could become a land of plenty.[690] What colonial officials and post-colonial development experts presented as historical transitions, from subsistence to cash crops, from foraging to sorghum and cassava to hybrid maize, or from subsistence to market integration, appear far more complicated. Denunciations of 'subsistence' or 'primitive' patterns of production in Mwinilunga District will be further problematized by looking at examples of hunting and herding.

Meat: Hunting, herding and distribution

At each meal the staple *nshima* is accompanied by *mafu*, relish. The two are indissolubly linked. In the area of Mwinilunga a variety of vegetable crops is grown, most commonly intercropped with millet, cassava or maize plantings. Notwithstanding the variety of vegetables, meat is the most valued form of relish.[691] Meat has historically been obtained through hunting and herding. In a manner similar to that of staple crops, various discourses have been attached to patterns of meat acquisition and consumption. Officials assumed that nomadic hunting would give way to settled forms of animal

[685] Jones, *Manioc in Africa*; Von Oppen, 'Cassava, lazy man's food'.
[686] Spear, *Mountain farmers*; Berry, *No condition is permanent*.
[687] Carswell, 'Food crops as cash crops'.
[688] Fourshey, 'The remedy for hunger is bending the back'.
[689] Peša, 'Cassava is our chief'.
[690] Today individuals might remark that '*makamba mwanta wetu*', cassava is our chief.
[691] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej'.

husbandry, which would be based on scientific knowledge and would be geared towards marketing rather than self-sufficiency.[692] Nevertheless, hunting has remained of paramount importance throughout the twentieth century. Even if hunting has been curtailed by legislation and the scarcity of game, its ideological importance in shaping notions of masculinity and group identity remains unparalleled.

Hunting: Meat, merit and masculinity

Hunting has figured prominently throughout the history of the Lunda polity, both in a practical manner as a source of nourishment and ideologically in origin stories, historical narratives or as a source of pride and power to men.[693] *Chibinda Ilunga*, the Luba potentate who married the Lunda Chieftainess *Lueji* and thereby propelled the migration of Lunda emissaries to the Upper Zambezi area, is remembered as an illustrious hunter.[694] Ever since, hunting has remained central to Lunda identity, particularly male identity. A diversity of techniques, such as snaring, trapping, the use of bows, arrows, spears and firearms, can be adopted in the hunt. Despite the co-existence of various techniques, over time hunting with guns has developed as the most prestigious and ritualised form of hunting among Lunda males, the praise name of a gun hunter being *chiyanga*. The Lunda were not slow to obtain firearms,[695] and during the opening years of colonial rule it was even remarked that: 'the inhabitants of the Kasempa and Lunda Districts have beyond question far more guns than they ought to.'[696]

Hunting has commonly been placed in a framework of linear change, which suggests a historical transition from hunting and gathering to more settled forms of agriculture and animal husbandry.[697] Hunting has been interpreted as 'a survival mechanism, a subsistence fall-back in times of great stress', or even more negatively as 'an inferior form of economic activity.'[698] Throughout the twentieth century official discourse denounced 'nomadic' hunting in favour of more easily controllable and settled forms of animal husbandry, which would enable the marketing of meat. Nevertheless, the case of Mwinilunga demonstrates that hunting was by no means a mere historical phase. In spite of restrictive legislation and the decimation of game populations, hunting has retained its significance and continues to be practiced, side by side with more settled forms of agriculture and animal

[692] J.C. Kaufmann, 'The sediment of nomadism', *History in Africa* 36 (2009), 235-64; J. Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine: "Development", depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho* (Cambridge etc., 1990).

[693] V.W. Turner, 'Themes in the symbolism of Ndembu hunting ritual', in: *The forest of symbols: Aspects of Ndembu ritual* (Ithaca etc., 1970), 38, claims ancient origins for the two hunting cults in the area: '*Wubinda* [a cult for hunters using any technique for killing animals and birds – firearms, bows and arrows, spears, snares, traps, pitfalls, nets, the use of bird-lime, etc.] is the older cult and is said to have come with the forebears of the Ndembu when they migrated from the kingdom of Mwantiyanvwa, the great Lunda chief in Katanga, more than two centuries ago. *Wuyang'a* [a cult for skilled hunters using guns] is believed to have been introduced, along with the first muzzle-loading guns, by Ovimbundu traders who came regularly from Kasanji and Bihe in Western Angola to purchase slaves and beeswax in the mid-nineteenth century. But it shares many features of its symbolism with *Wubinda* on which it must have been speedily grafted.'

[694] T.Q. Reefe, 'Traditions of genesis and the Luba diaspora', *History in Africa* 4 (1977), 183-206; R.E. Schecter, 'A propos the drunken king: Cosmology and history', in: J.C. Miller (ed.), *The African past speaks: Essays on oral tradition and history* (Dawson etc., 1980), 108-25; L. de Heusch, 'What shall we do with the drunken king?', *Africa* 45:4 (1975), 363-72.

[695] See: G. Macola, 'Reassessing the significance of firearms in Central Africa: The case of North-Western Zambia to the 1920s', *Journal of African history* 51:3 (2010), 301-21.

[696] Macola, 'Reassessing the significance of firearms', 318-20; (NAZ) LGH5/1/3 Loc.3604, Lunda-Ndembo Native Authority meeting, 13 April 1961, 'The District Commissioner pointed out that there were 1610 muzzle loading guns in the district and 153 short guns or one gun to approximately 6 resident males, a very high average number.'

[697] C. Gabel, 'Terminal food-collectors and agricultural initiative in East and Southern Africa', *The international journal of African historical studies* 7:1 (1974), 56-68.

[698] J.M. MacKenzie, *The empire of nature: Hunting, conservation and British imperialism* (Manchester etc., 1988), 55; Allan, *African husbandman,* XI.

husbandry.[699] Hunting has remained a prominent feature of self-identification for the (male) community and its importance is reflected in numerous rituals and ceremonies. If purely assessing the meat supplies provided by hunters, it appears as though the status of hunting is unduly exalted above its contribution to livelihood.[700] How can this discrepancy, the persistent importance of hunting in Mwinilunga, be explained?

The paramount importance of the hunter as a social category within the village is captured by the Lunda saying: 'Whoever kills a hunter has killed the whole village.'[701] Underscoring the prominence of hunting, colonial administrators referred to Lunda men as 'inveterate hunters', decimating game with muzzle-loading guns of Portuguese provenance.[702] Turner eloquently depicted the role of hunting in Mwinilunga in the 1950s:

> It may almost be said that the Ndembu social system is pivoted on the importance of hunting. This importance does not derive from the objective contribution to the food supply made by the chase. Hunting owes its high valuation, on the one hand, to an association consistently made among many Central and Western Bantu between hunting and high social status, and on the other, to an identification made among these peoples of hunting with masculinity.[703]

Although hunting indeed held ideological importance, it equally had a material underpinning. The popularity and high regard of hunting might be attributed to 'its high productivity in terms of the relative effort involved', as 'success rates were fairly high and yields good, though the time devoted to hunting, in comparison to other economic activities, was relatively low.'[704] Whereas agricultural production required involvement throughout the year, hunting was more flexible, as a hunter could go into the bush with any frequency and for any length of time. Even so, hunting was tied to seasonal fluctuations and success depended on the skill of the hunter as well as on the availability of game. Skilful hunters would enjoy high success rates. According to recollections, hunters would return from the bush with up to five animals per trip.[705] Hunting, however, was a sporadic pastime, rather than a fulltime or regular occupation. Because hunting trips were irregular, perhaps occurring once a month, meat supplies would remain scarce, yet highly coveted.[706] Overall, the flexibility of hunting, its high returns for the amount of invested labour as well as the association of hunting with social status and masculinity, endorsed the persistent popularity of this productive activity in the area of Mwinilunga.

Whereas game had once been plentiful, game populations drastically declined over the course of the twentieth century, inciting the promulgation of official regulations to restrict hunting.[707] Although this precluded game meat as a daily item of diet, the value attached to hunting did not diminish. Through hunting individuals could attain status, or even fame, within the village and beyond. One of the few means for young men to climb the meritocratic ladder was by becoming a distinguished hunter. This has been argued for the analogous case of Eastern Zambia: 'Hunting by professionals is more than a subsistence technique. It is a chosen route to manhood involving commitments and goals. It is a social strategy by which hunters compete with other males for positions of leadership among their matrikin.'[708] In the area of Mwinilunga the high esteem of the hunter even enabled some to challenge the position of the village headman. Nonetheless, Turner saw the personality of hunter and headman as diametrically opposed:

---

[699] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Goldwel Mushindi, 3 May 2010, Nyakaseya.
[700] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 20.
[701] Interview with Harrison Zimba, 10 October 2008, Ntambu.
[702] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, J.M. Pound, Balunda District Monthly Report, July 1909.
[703] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 25.
[704] MacKenzie, *The empire of nature,* 73.
[705] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Windson Mbimbi, 14 August 2010, Kanongesha.
[706] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Two.
[707] This view is based on a wide reading of archival sources, (NAZ).
[708] S.A. Marks, *Large mammals and a brave people: Subsistence hunters in Zambia* (New Brunswick etc., 2005), 126.

> Successful gun-hunters are regarded as sorcerers, who acquire their power in hunting from killing people by means of their familiars. That is why great hunters seldom become successful headmen, in the opinion of Ndembu. Their nomadic inclination, their tendency to favour primary rather than classificatory kin in their own villages, and their association with sorcery, disqualify them from performing a role which requires tact, generosity to classificatory kin and strangers, and constant participation in the group life, for its successful functioning.[709]

Turner depicted the hunter as an individual with nomadic inclinations, who uses witchcraft to increase his power and kills, whilst disregarding communal obligations towards kin. Whereas a hunter leaned towards self-centred individualism, a village headman was supposed to keep the needs and desires of the community in mind.

The antagonism between the individual and the collective in hunting should not be overstated, though. Hunters might indeed be wandering, somewhat nomadic individuals. Nevertheless, even if hunting could be a path towards masculinity and power, it was not a purely individual pursuit.[710] A hunter would only rarely go into the bush alone. Commonly, he would be accompanied at least by a junior apprentice, but hunting in larger groups equally occurred. On occasion, communal hunts involving the entire village would be organised.[711] Hunting thus transcended the individual sphere and could have far-reaching consequences, encompassing the village community. Game meat was the main source of protein in the area, as tsetse fly ruled out the possibility of keeping livestock in large parts of the district. Because game meat was not available universally or throughout the year, it was considered a special treat, to be indulged in only occasionally.[712] Consequently, its distribution became a bone of contention which brought the tensions between the individual and the collective to the forefront. Women, children and men who could not hunt would depend on the meat supplies brought home by the hunter.[713] The negative connotations of the term c*hibodi*, a man who is not a hunter and is therefore considered an unsuccessful person, clearly illustrate this relationship of dependency and subordination.[714] Even if access to meat was unequal, as distribution was linked to hierarchies of power, gender and age, meat would generally be shared within a group of kin. The tension between an individual hunter and the community of kin is aptly captured in the proverb '*Mwisanga nayanga nkawami, ilanga kudya twadyanga amavulu'* – I [the hunter] go into the forest alone, but we eat with many people.[715] The distribution of meat after the hunt was an intricate affair, potentially giving rise to fierce disputes. Selected parts of the kill would be reserved for specific individuals. The hunter would retain the intestines and the head for himself, the chest would go to the headman or chief, the saddle would be distributed among the wives of the hunter, and so on. If a hunter failed to distribute meat fairly, according to the expectations of his kin, grumbling and even accusations of witchcraft would follow.[716] By providing the village with meat, the most valued form of food, a hunter could become a local hero.[717] But this fame would only be upheld for so long as the hunter proved successful in his pursuits and generous with the provision and distribution of meat. Individual status inevitably entailed relationships with, obligations towards and responsibility for a wider community of kin. Although hunting might have been practiced as an individual pursuit, it had collective ramifications, influencing the livelihood of the village and the broader area.

---

[709] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 32, 202.

[710] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[711] W.S. Fisher, 'Burning the bush for game, *African studies* 7:1 (1948), 36-8.

[712] Turner and Turner, 'Money economy among the Mwinilunga Ndembu', 21.

[713] Turner, 'Themes in the symbolism of Ndembu hunting ritual'; Turner, *Schism and continuity*.

[714] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Jonathan Chiyezhi, 2010, Mwinilunga; *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary.*

[715] Interview with Mr Mischek Alfons Maseka, 11 May 2010, Nyakaseya.

[716] See Chapter 5.

[717] F. De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia: The mutant hero in the historical imagination of a Central-African diamond frontier', *Journal of colonialism and colonial history* 1:2 (2000); Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

In spite of the continued ideological significance of this productive activity, opportunities for hunting were increasingly curtailed by the diminution of game and consequent protective legislation. Prior to the 1930s game could still be found in abundance throughout Mwinilunga, especially in the south of the district, on the river plains and in the stunted bush. Large herds of various species of game were reported at the beginning of the twentieth century:

> Two small troops of zebra and about a score of buffalo, as well as the elegant little oribi which rose from time to time from the long grass and bounded lightly away, gave evidence that this open grass veldt was a favourite resort of game.[718]

In the northern part of the district, however, game had started to become more scattered and smaller species would mainly be encountered.[719] By the 1950s, this poor game situation spread throughout the district. Officials reported a 'ruthless destruction of game (…) [and] meat hunger', claiming that there was hardly any game left in the district.[720] A complex interplay of factors underlay the diminution of game. Diseases such as rinderpest and sleeping sickness, access to firearms, the disruption of game habitat, local hunting practices and the presence of European hunters all brought down numbers of game.[721] Colonial officials blamed the Lunda for all trouble, claiming that ever since they had obtained access to muzzle-loading guns they had killed game indiscriminately.[722] The presence of European hunters, hunters from Barotseland and poachers from neighbouring areas, who answered the mounting demand for ivory, hides and skins, equally played a role in diminishing game populations.[723] Local hunters purported to be selective when choosing their prey, enabling the game population to procreate by hunting only the older specimens of a herd.[724] Human presence, creating an environment with stunted trees and ample undergrowth, might even have encouraged game proliferation.[725] Nevertheless, human presence was most often viewed as problematic and harmful to game.

Throughout the twentieth century various orders and decrees were put in place to restrict the freedom of the hunter, in an attempt to arrest the disappearance of game. A licence became obligatory to hunt larger species of game or to own a gun, the trapping of game was restricted and the sale of game meat was progressively curtailed. Furthermore, Game Reserves and Controlled Hunting Areas were demarcated in an attempt to limit the indiscriminate shooting of game.[726] These measures were not merely benevolent government attempts to protect game. Hunting legislation was closely linked to the control of human movement and settlement. Hunting was associated with 'nomadism', with wandering individuals who could easily evade administrative control. These nomadic traits and the notorious autonomy of hunters, in turn, underpinned administrative critiques on hunting. The discursive connection between hunting and nomadism, asserted by officials in the twentieth century, had to do more with issues of control than with the productive activity of hunting itself.[727] Hunting was not more rudimentary than settled animal husbandry, and neither was it necessarily geared towards subsistence or averse to market logic. Similar to the preference for fixed farming over shifting cultivation, officials preferred settled forms of animal husbandry over hunting due to issues of human

---

[718] A.H. St Gibbons, *Africa from south to north through Marotseland Vol. 2* (London and New York, 1904), 61.

[719] In 1906 a mission station was established in the northwestern part of the district. The mission station attracted a concentration of population, which might have driven away game more rapidly, Fisher and Hoyte, *Ndotolu.*

[720] (NAZ) SEC2/135, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1952.

[721] MacKenzie, *Empire of nature*; Marks, *Large mammals*.

[722] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, J.M. Pound, Balunda District Monthly Report, July 1909.

[723] (NAZ) NWP1/2/101 Loc.4919, E.L. Button, North Western Province Annual Report, 1961; (NAZ) SEC2/959, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1951; (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 1926.

[724] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Harrison Zimba, 10 October 2008, Ntambu.

[725] Marks, *Large mammals*.

[726] (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 1926; (NAZ) NWP1/2/105 Loc.4920, H.T. Bayldon, North Western Province Annual Report, 1963.

[727] Kaufmann, 'Sediment of nomadism'; Scott, *Seeing like a state*.

and administrative control. Officials presented animal husbandry as superior to hunting, even if hunting retained ideological, popular and practical importance throughout the twentieth century.[728]

Due to the autonomy enjoyed by hunters and the importance of hunting for livelihood, it is not surprising that legislation to restrict hunting met considerable local resistance. Measures of control were fervently debated during meetings between colonial officials and chiefs, reflecting the importance of hunting as an activity.[729] Nevertheless, legislation was never fully enforced and there remained many ways in which to circumvent decrees. Chiefs, on whom the understaffed government relied to enforce game legislation, were more than willing to turn a blind eye to the 'illegal poaching' of their subjects as long as they received a portion of the kill themselves. In addition, cross-border movement and trade enabled hunting in neighbouring Angola, where legislation was more lenient.[730] Ingenious methods were devised to bypass restrictive laws:

> With regard to the licencing of muzzle loading guns, many owners are acquiring numerous licences from different offices and courts: this enables them to buy extra ammunition permits, normally granting 2 lbs. of gunpowder per half year per licence, and then resell the gunpowder at a handsome profit in the Congo. The traffic is not inconsiderable and must be checked. Insufficient control is exercised in the issue of arms licences by local authority clerks.[731]

Illustrating the inventiveness of hunters, in the 1970s an 'increasing level of poaching in Zambia' was noted, 'even by more responsible people'.[732] The autonomy of hunters frustrated attempts at administrative control. Far from decreasing, hunting appeared to be on the increase. Instead of being a 'subsistence' activity, hunting was responsive to market incentives:

> The exorbitant prices paid for meat in the Congo have encouraged illegal methods of hunting in this area and there is a considerable traffic in dried game meat across the border. Long series of trap lines abound on the plains and snares of great variety and ingenuity were found in the bush.[733]

Nevertheless, hunting did become more difficult and prone to risks due to legislation and measures of control. Hunting had always involved major risks, though. Gardens would regularly be disturbed by wild animals, as wild pigs might uproot cassava and elephants could jeopardise standing crops, but even people might be attacked by game.[734] Because of the risks of dealing with wild animals, supernatural powers were assigned to successful hunters, further underscoring their ideological importance. Elephant hunters could use the charm *mujiminu* to become invisible, enabling them to more easily approach their targets.[735] Over the course of the twentieth century, as access to game became problematic, the prestige and power of successful hunters heightened. Due to widespread meat hunger (*dikwilu*) the value of meat was elevated. Financial resources might facilitate hunting or access to meat, as money enabled the purchase of gun or game licences and could secure access to scarce supplies of meat. Yet personal skills and charisma were at least as important in hunting success.[736] Rather than being replaced by settled forms of animal husbandry, the importance of hunting persisted throughout the twentieth century as individuals, among them notable chiefs, could obtain power as successful hunters.

---

[728] See: J. Ferguson, 'The bovine mystique: Power, property and livestock in rural Lesotho', *Man* 20:4 (1985), 647-74.

[729] (NAZ) KSE6/3/2, Mwinilunga Sub-District Report Indaba, 30 August 1927.

[730] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Amon Sawila, 7 September 2010, Kanongesha; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[731] (NAZ) LGH5/2/8 Loc.3613, Mwinilunga, 30 December 1964.

[732] (NAZ) LGH5/1/10 Loc.3608, February 1970.

[733] (NAZ) SEC2/968, J.T. Michie, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1960.

[734] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Kasonda, 1 October 2010, Ntambu, and a wide reading of archival sources (NAZ).

[735] Turner, 'Themes in the symbolism of Ndembu hunting ritual'; Fisher, 'Burning the bush'.

[736] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Paul Maseka, 18 May 2010, Nyakaseya; *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary*.

Hunting had initially gained popularity and prominence because it enabled a degree of mobility, flexibility and personal success. Hunting could provide meat in a manner compatible with the shifting patterns of settlement prevalent in the area of Mwinilunga.[737] Hunting could facilitate the defiance of administrative control and subvert expectations of settled residence. The quest for good hunting grounds was a common reason for villages to shift their location, so that mobility and hunting reinforced each other.[738] As a productive activity, hunting could provide a stable source of livelihood. Without meat supplies, quarrels in a village would be inevitable. Hunting was more than a means of subsistence, as it was loaded with symbolic meaning, providing individuals access to wealth, power and fame within the village and beyond.[739] Meat from the hunt could be marketed once opportunities arose, although legislation restricted commercialisation and markets had to be sought across the border in Angola and Congo. During the twentieth century hunting was challenged by legislation, game decimation and sedentarisation.[740] Official policies opposed hunting because the activity was difficult to control. Alternatively, government discourse proposed settled forms of animal husbandry as 'superior' alternative to hunting.[741] That hunting retained its popularity in spite of this, is evidence of the resilience of conceptual frameworks, the foundations of production. The ideological framework of hunting affected how animal husbandry was viewed and adopted in the area of Mwinilunga.

Herding: A source of meat, a source of money

Even if herding livestock was presented as a 'superior' and more 'market-oriented' alternative to hunting in official discourse and policies,[742] it failed to gain widespread popularity in the area of Mwinilunga. Colonial officials voiced complaints that: 'as a tribe the Lunda are not cattle minded',[743] and furthermore 'what stock did exist was of poor grade, due in the main to the people's absolute lack of stock-keeping knowledge and tradition.'[744] The possibility of keeping livestock was restricted by the presence of tsetse fly in the area, especially south of the 12th parallel. Still, most villages would possess a small number of livestock, occasionally as much as one hundred head. Throughout the colonial period, and especially after independence, numbers of livestock increased.[745] Censuses were erratic and of doubtful reliability: 'figures for small stock in the villages are very inaccurate, on account of the commonly held belief that stock, once recorded, become in a sense the property of Government and are liable to be requisitioned',[746] but nevertheless reflected a rise in numbers. Livestock figures ranged from 960 sheep, 1,523 goats and 4 pigs in 1928; to 3,562 sheep, 3,168 goats, 72 pigs and 503 cattle in 1961; mounting to 4,000 head of cattle in 1973.[747]

Although local producers did not take to animal husbandry as enthusiastically as government officials had anticipated, a number of expatriate farmers did maintain sizeable herds and appeared to

[737] Turner, *Schism and continuity*.
[738] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[739] Turner, *Schism and continuity;* Turner, 'Themes in the symbolism of Ndembu hunting ritual'.
[740] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[741] Kaufmann, 'Sediment of nomadism'.
[742] See: Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine.*
[743] (NAZ) LGH5/2/1, Mwinilunga District Development Plan, 10 September 1956.
[744] (NAZ) NWP1/2/78 Loc.4913, F.R.G. Phillips, North Western Province Annual Report, 1956.
[745] This view is based on a wide reading of archival sources (NAZ); Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Two.
[746] (NAZ) NWP1/2/40, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1952.
[747] These figures exclude livestock owned by the European population of the area. (NAZ) KSE6/1/6, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 1928; (NAZ) NWP1/2/101 Loc.4919, North Western Province Annual Report, 1961; (NAZ) Tenth Anniversary Yearbook of the Ministry of Rural Development, December 1975. For the post-colonial period figures are mostly aggregates on a provincial level. These depict a rapid increase: (NAZ) Quarterly Agricultural Statistical Bulletin, September 1975; Annual census of livestock in the traditional sector North Western Province: 1964 10,945 cattle, 2,296 pigs, 7,995 sheep and goats; 1970 23,508 cattle, 4,547 pigs, 13,956 sheep and goats; 1974 30,362 cattle, 7,587 pigs, 21,975 sheep and goats.

have success with cattle ranching.[748] Even in their case, however, the viability of livestock enterprises remained doubtful, both out of environmental considerations and due to the remoteness of Mwinilunga from major markets:[749]

> [Mwinilunga's] great distance from the Copperbelt will, for a long time to come, deter farming people from seeking land within it (…) the drawbacks (…) are the sour veldt, parasites and fly (…) Great damboes, which to look at seem wonderful grazing yet to walk on prove watery death traps to cattle venturing on them, or else the green grass proves so hard and sharp that you cut your fingers if you pull it. Fluke and other internal worms, and ticks galore, flourish and strange cattle must struggle to survive until acclimatised.[750]

Contrary to local individuals, European farmers were able to operate even in the face of adversity. This was due to the large scale of their ranches, good managerial and organisational skills, but mostly because of profits from side activities such as trade or agriculture.[751] Whilst animal husbandry did provide opportunities for market involvement, it proved problematic from the outset.

In spite of drawbacks, government officials saw potential in local livestock keeping and assigned it prime importance, especially after 1945. Livestock was designated as 'one of the most encouraging avenues of development', whereas a bright 'future for cattle' was claimed.[752] Government promoted livestock ownership by distributing cattle or poultry to chiefs and other 'promising individuals'.[753] Schemes would operate on a loan or repayment basis, an example being the National Beef Scheme initiated in 1967. Officials believed that stock ownership would facilitate 'improved' agricultural methods, by providing manure and enabling ox-drawn ploughing, and would diversify the local diet, through provision of milk, butter, eggs and meat.[754] Livestock was ideologically linked to the 'progressive farmer':

> Where possible it is obvious that cattle should be part and parcel of mixed farming schemes in order to increase the productivity of the soil, and in any project for the distribution of cattle priority should be given to persons who are engaged in growing cash crops.[755]

A crucial motive behind the promotion of livestock was that it would 'tend to stabilise the movement of the owners.'[756] Sedenterisation would be effected as a result of capital investment in stock and land, but also because livestock manure would enhance soil fertility and enable the protracted cultivation of a single plot of land. Animal husbandry would thus encourage fixed as opposed to shifting settlement patterns, by tying producers to the land.[757] In a stark opposition to 'nomadic', 'wasteful' or 'primitive' methods of hunting, official discourse linked animal husbandry to settled farming, market production and administrative control.

What precluded the local popularity and ownership of livestock, despite official propaganda? Could this be blamed on a lack of market logic or a 'primitive' outlook of producers, as some officials

---

[748] Interview with Mr Paul Fisher, 27 September 2008, Hillwood Farm; A. Sardanis, *Africa, another side of the coin: Northern Rhodesia's final years and Zambia's nationhood* (London, 2003).

[749] These included W.F. Fisher of Hillwood farm, Robinson of Caenby farm and Paterson of Matonchi farm. Fisher, at the height of his career had a herd of 1,500 cattle: (NAZ) LGH5/2/1, Provincial Four Year Development Plan, 1956; (NAZ) NWP1/2/26 Loc.4901, Veterinary Department to Provincial Commissioner, Ndola, 12 September 1949.

[750] (NAZ) NWP1/2/26 Loc.4901, Veterinary Department to Provincial Commissioner, Ndola, 12 September 1949; (NAZ) SEC5/136, Murray, Mwinilunga Crown Land Block, 23 December 1958.

[751] Interview with Mr Paul Fisher, 27 September 2008, Hillwood Farm; Interview with Mr Andrew Sardanis, 14 December 2009, Lusaka.

[752] (NAZ) LGH5/2/1, Provincial Four Year Development Plan, 1956; (NAZ) NWP1/2/78 Loc.4913, E.L. Button, North Western Province Annual Report, 1959.

[753] (NAZ) SEC2/185, Kaonde-Lunda Province District Commissioners' Conference, 1956.

[754] This view is based on a wide reading of archival sources (NAZ); Crehan and Von Oppen, *Planners and history*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

[755] (NAZ) LGH5/5/8, Mwinilunga District Development Plan, 10 September 1956.

[756] (NAZ) SEC2/962, P.L.N. Hannaford, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 28 June 1954.

[757] Scott, *Seeing like a state*; Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine.*

purported, or were there other reasons? For one, although there was 'a desire on the part of local people to own cattle', stock was in short supply.[758] But furthermore, not all stock was equally popular:

> [Sheep, goats and pigs] do not seem to be greatly prised, they are not herded but are left to the mercy of accident and wild animals, and in a Province where there is a chronic meat shortage surprisingly little attention is paid to them (…) Poultry on the other hand are highly esteemed and in great demand everywhere, and there is an insatiable demand for improved cockerels (…) This is partly because the results are quickly visible and partly because the market for poultry on the Copperbelt, in the Congo and locally is an extremely good one.[759]

Preferences for livestock could be shaped by ecological, agricultural, economic, cultural or ritual factors.[760] As the high demand for poultry suggests, producers were responsive to marketing opportunities, when these proved favourable. Marketing considerations, however, were not the only factor behind animal husbandry. Sheep and goats were not popular because they could protrude into unfenced gardens and evoke quarrels with neighbours, causing strain within the village.[761] Chickens, on the other hand, were valued because of their ritual significance. They could be offered to honoured visitors, they would figure in witchcraft ordeals (the 'fowl test') and they were part of ceremonies.[762] The rationale behind animal husbandry and the choice of livestock were informed by multiple considerations.

Amongst these considerations economic factors proved of paramount importance. Far from being unresponsive to market logic, one District Commissioner remarked how 'the natives regard small stock as a ten shilling note on four legs rather than as a source of meat or milk supply.'[763] In the 1950s a buoyant livestock trade developed with neighbouring areas of Congo, and 'many people in the District depended on selling chickens, sheep and goats in the Congo for money with which to pay tax and buy clothes.'[764] Although administrative propaganda tried to encourage marketing within Zambia, for example on the Copperbelt, producers could obtain higher prices by moving across the borders. Even if these nearby international markets might be considered illegal, and officials denounced the trade as smuggling, the trade evidences the inventiveness and commercial orientation of producers in Mwinilunga.[765] Instead of bringing about sedentarisation and bureaucratic control, livestock producers would defy administrative control and maximise profit through mobility in an attempt to obtain a good price for their meat.

The commercial rearing of livestock contrasted sharply with the domestic uses of stock: 'In the villages stock are rarely, if ever slaughtered to provide meat, except on important festive occasions such as funerals, weddings, maturity ceremonies, etc.'[766] Livestock would be reserved for consumption on special occasions, rather than being slaughtered for meat on a regular basis. Scarcity of supplies contributed to the special ideological status of stock, precluding overt commercial exploitation.[767] Livestock numbers were further kept down because stock was frequently subject to disease and because it could cause quarrels with neighbours, especially if animals strayed into fields unannounced.

---

[758] (NAZ) MAG2/5/91 Loc.144, Minister of Agriculture, North Western Province Tour, 6 January 1968.

[759] (NAZ) NWP1/2/78 Loc.4913, F.R.G. Phillips, North Western Province Annual Report, 1956.

[760] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Group interview Kampemba, 30 March 2010, Mwinilunga; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Two.

[761] This view is based on a wide reading of archival sources (NAZ); Turner, *Schism and continuity*.

[762] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Mandamu Sapotu, 10 March 2010, Ikelenge; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

[763] (NAZ) SEC2/151, Provincial Commissioner Western Province Annual Report, 1937.

[764] (NAZ) LGH5/1/3 Loc.3604, Lunda-Ndembo Native Authority Meeting, 5 November 1960; (NAZ) SEC2/965, P.L.N. Hannaford, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, December 1955.

[765] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; See Chapter 3A; J. MacGaffey, *The real economy of Zaire: The contribution of smuggling and other unofficial activities to national wealth* (London etc., 1991).

[766] (NAZ) MAG2/9/11 Loc.171, Department of Agriculture Nutrition Trends, 4 August 1959.

[767] This has been referred to as the 'cattle complex' or the 'bovine mystique' throughout Southern and Eastern Africa. Ferguson, 'The bovine mystique'.

Still, once commercial opportunities arose a select number of individuals did capitalise on the trade and sale of livestock. To satisfy the demand for meat in the district, inventive solutions were sought. Mr Kahangu, for example, started transporting cattle form Zambezi District to the Boma in Mwinilunga after independence. This trade enabled him to open the first butchery in the district in 1968, which answered the increasing demand for meat among administrative employees and residents of the fledgling town.[768] In spite of the willingness of producers to respond to market incentives, livestock retained more of a domestic, limited, use within Mwinilunga District. Because markets were confined and competition at existing markets was high, the commercial rearing of stock failed to take off.

Ideological frameworks, marketing and administrative control: The co-existence of hunting and herding

Another reason for the relative lack of enthusiasm towards livestock was the persistently high valuation of game meat and hunting. Rather than a 'cattle complex' or 'bovine mystique' so well described for other areas, in Mwinilunga a distinct 'hunting ethos' prevailed.[769] This ideological framework, based on environmentally and economically sound principles which had developed and adapted over time, shaped responses to bureaucratic interventions and commercial opportunities. In spite of the active propagation of animal husbandry and commercial agriculture, hunting retained paramount importance.[770] Hunting made a real contribution to livelihood security and was by no means economically irrational, yet the attachment to hunting was driven by factors which went beyond economic rationale. Hunting formed one of the pillars of the internal foundation of production in Mwinilunga District.

Colonial officials identified hunting as 'the traditional occupation' of the Lunda and claimed that 'the poverty of their gardens showed where their real interests lay'.[771] Officers lamented that the popularity of hunting prevented a more active interest in agriculture and animal husbandry. This strong attachment to hunting needs to be explained. Even though the ownership of livestock had become feasible once the spread of tsetse fly had been arrested and pushed back, breeding stock remained in desperately short supply throughout the twentieth century. On top of this, disease regulations and the high price of stock limited the purchase of cattle.[772] Due to relative scarcity, consequently, livestock continued to be regarded as an inferior alternative to game by the population. Officials remarked that livestock was only considered attractive in case game was difficult to access:

> The Chiefs in this District depend on game meat (…) There is virtually no game in the area and there are very few guns to take advantage of the few remaining animals. As a result, large numbers of sheep, goats and chickens are kept for local consumption.[773]

The ideological framework of hunting remains pertinent. When consuming a meal it might be remarked that chicken (*kasumbi*) or goat (*mpembi*) is nice, yet it cannot pass for real meat (*mbiji*). Even if it has become a rare delight, game continues to be regarded as the only 'real' meat.[774] Through the ideological framework of hunting individuals could obtain meat in a manner which facilitated flexibility, mobility and autonomy. Hunting could easily be rhymed with a shifting pattern of settlement, administrative defiance and illicit marketing across the international boundaries where prices were high.[775] Hunting enabled defiance of administrative control and subverted expectations of fixed settlement. Animal husbandry, on the other hand, was associated with sedentarisation, bureaucratic

[768] Interview with Mr Martin Kahangu, 30 September 2010, Ntambu.
[769] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Ferguson, 'The bovine mystique'; A. Kuper, *Wives for cattle: Bridewealth and marriage in Southern Africa* (London, 1982).
[770] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Friends for life*.
[771] (NAZ) SEC2/966, R.J. Short, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1958.
[772] (NAZ) NWP1/2/26 Loc.4901, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, January 1949.
[773] (NAZ) LGH5/2/8 Loc.3613, A.M. Mubita, District Secretary Mwinilunga, 30 August 1967; (NAZ) SEC2/968, J.T. Michie, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, March 1960.
[774] This view is based on numerous oral interviews. See: Mr Jonathan Chiyezhi, November 2010, Mwinilunga.
[775] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

control and commercial marketing. Herding failed to gain widespread popularity because markets were lacking, far away or unprofitable.[776] There was an aversion to the fixed settlements which herding propagated. Even with the adoption of animal manure, the soil would easily become depleted. Shifting cultivation continued to be an environmentally sound solution, which enabled high yields whilst population density remained low.[777] Herding, however, could defy sedentarisation, as the examples of marketing small livestock in Congo and Angola attest.[778] Even if official discourse prescribed otherwise, producers remained mobile individuals.[779] Still, hunting fitted more easily within the preferred lifestyle of the area, enabling flexibility and autonomy. Hunting adapted over time, rather than being a remnant from the past, averse to market logic.[780] It was a flexible means of livelihood procurement which answered to marketing opportunities. Furthermore, hunting held ideological benefits over animal husbandry. Whereas hunting provided individuals a means to obtain power and respect, livestock failed to fulfil this role. Factors of ideology, marketing and state control all explain the persistent importance of hunting, even as game populations have decreased.

The attitude of chiefs towards hunting and herding can further illustrate these issues. Chiefs are regarded as the owners of the land and consequently they are considered to be the ultimate guardians of the game which roams the land.[781] A successful hunter is always expected to provide part of his kill, usually the chest, to the chief.[782] Government officials noticed an overwhelming focus on hunting, instead of herding, among chiefs: 'the Chiefs in this District depend on game meat, as they have no wealth of cattle.'[783] A bureaucratic attempt was made to correct this situation and effect a change in attitude:

> Efforts are being made by the Veterinary Department to interest more progressive Africans in the art of cattle management (…) at Mwinilunga the Ndembo Tribal Herd has been formed which is composed of high grade cattle purchased from a local rancher (…) part of this herd was distributed to four local Chiefs [20 head of cattle to each chief].[784]

Nevertheless, in the eyes of the chiefs and the population livestock rearing never attained the same degree of prestige as hunting. Livestock could be kept as a subsidiary source of meat or a potential commercial asset, but game was consistently valued more than livestock. Hunting could cause individual prestige and fame, whereas the ecological conditions prevailing in Mwinilunga District did not enable the build-up of extensive herds of livestock. Hunters could become 'Big Men', whilst herders had to invest labour and capital into animal husbandry without having prospects or guarantees of obtaining good results.[785] The lack of enthusiasm for livestock herding, which government officials interpreted as the absence of commercial initiative or business sense, might equally be explained otherwise. Hunting enabled high returns for relatively low labour inputs, making it a popular basis of livelihood even once game became scarce. On the other hand, livestock herding was labour intensive, required the availability of good grazing lands and could potentially cause quarrels with neighbours. Furthermore, animal husbandry was not necessarily economically lucrative. Individuals were not ignorant to market logic.[786] Once commercial opportunities opened up in Congo, producers eagerly stepped in, engaging in livestock trade and sale for high profits. Game meat, however, could equally

[776] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.
[777] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Two.
[778] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[779] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[780] Kaufmann, 'Sediment of nomadism'.
[781] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Mulumbi Datuuma II, 'Customs of the Lunda Ndembu, Volume I: The Kanongesha chieftainship succession in Zambia' (Unpublished manuscript, 2010).
[782] (NAZ) NWP1/2/12 Loc.4899, H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, October 1940.
[783] (NAZ) LGH5/2/8 Loc.3613, A.M. Mubita, District Secretary Mwinilunga, 30 August 1967.
[784] (NAZ) SEC2/155, Annual Report Western Province 1948.
[785] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Paul Fisher, 27 September 2008, Hillwood Farm.
[786] See parallels in Ferguson, *The anti-politics machine*.

be commercially viable and dried game meat continues to be sold in Angola or on the Zambian Copperbelt.[787] The preference for hunting over herding was thus based on a host of economic, political, ideological and environmental considerations, grounded in the specific but shifting conditions prevailing in Mwinilunga District.

Even as official discourse prescribed a historical transition from subsistence hunting techniques to commercial herding practices, this proved far from straightforward.[788] Throughout the twentieth century an ideological framework of game meat valuation predominated, which was left unchallenged by official propaganda for commercial livestock rearing. Turner aptly described this 'hunting ethos' in combination with cassava cultivation as the foundation of production in Mwinilunga in the 1950s.[789] And even after the 1950s, the foundations of production continued to pivot around hunting and cassava cultivation. Such attitudes, which in turn influenced productive practices, should not be seen as unchanging relics of the past, but rather as features constantly adapting to a complex environmental, economic, social and political setting. Cassava and hunting were both geared towards output maximisation, requiring relatively low labour inputs, yet providing a stable source of livelihood. Productive activities constantly adapted to existing opportunities, even if this did not directly lead to commercialisation or market integration as officials might have envisaged. Far from being irrational, producers sought to maximise output from labour returns in a reliable manner without jeopardising subsistence security.[790] Two examples of market participation, beeswax and pineapple production, will now be considered in order to illustrate the conditions of and reactions to marketing opportunities in the area of Mwinilunga.

Beeswax

Mwinilunga has been described as an area where 'beekeepers find their land of milk and honey.'[791] Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century beeswax and honey production has been consistently high. Although subject to fluctuations, the district could produce more 'than the remainder of the Territory combined.'[792] Beeswax in particular proved a lucrative commodity, firmly embedded in networks of trade, as its local use-value was practically non-existent. The case of beeswax can reveal the dynamics of market production over time, simultaneously highlighting the limitations posed by transport, price fluctuations and marketing opportunities.[793] Contrary to depictions of a static pre-colonial period, the case of beeswax illustrates that production was highly dynamic and market-oriented long before the establishment of colonial rule.[794] This case demonstrates that market production did not clash with the production of food crops for 'subsistence', as the two might go hand in hand and could even stimulate one another.

Apiculture has been a long-established activity within Mwinilunga District. The environmental setting is particularly suitable to honey production and producer agency has stimulated a vibrant trade in beeswax.[795] Aspects of beeswax production and trade are captured in an excerpt from the 1930s:

---

[787] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Mamfwela Moris, 28 July 2010, Kanongesha; Pritchett, *Friends for life*.

[788] Kaufmann, 'Sediment of nomadism'; D. Turkon, 'Modernity, tradition and the demystification of cattle in Lesotho', *African studies* 62:2 (2003), 147-69.

[789] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 32.

[790] Turkon, 'Modernity, tradition and the demystification', 152.

[791] (NAZ) ML1/16/6 Loc.4575, Times of Zambia, 17 April 1967.

[792] (NAZ) SEC2/258 Vol.2, Provincial Commissioner Ndola to Chief Secretary Lusaka, 17 September 1935.

[793] See: M.W. Tuck, 'Woodland commodities, global trade, and local struggles: the beeswax trade in British Tanzania', *Journal of Eastern African studies* 3:2 (2009), 259-74; J-L. Vellut, 'Diversification de l'économie de cueillette: miel et cire dans les sociétés de la forêt Claire d'Afrique centrale (c. 1750-1950)', *African economic history* 7 (1979), 93-112.

[794] See: R. Reid, 'Past and presentism: The 'precolonial' and the foreshortening of African history', *Journal of African history* 52:2 (2011), 135-55, especially 142-4.

[795] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*.

> Beeswax has long been traded by the (…) Lunda, formerly to Angola, and now to traders in Balovale and Mwinilunga. In Mwinilunga the successive flowering of species of Isoberlinia, Marquesia and Brachystegia from early winter to early rains, provides a sequence of supplies in normal years. Bark hives are employed, and methods of preparation of the wax appear usually to be adequate. It is purchased by the trader in 2 ½ or 3 lb. balls at 2 ½ to 3 d. per lb., and finds a ready market either in London or Johannesburg. The current price c.i.f. London is 83 s. to 90 s. per cwt.[796]

A variety of techniques could be applied to gather honey and produce beeswax. In order to collect wild honey trees could be cut down, or alternatively bark hives, mostly cylindrical in form, could be constructed. Due to the unique flowering of trees in Mwinilunga the area attracts numerous bees and enjoys a copious honey flow. In the north of the district the honey season is confined to the months between October and January, whilst in the south of the district a second honey season occurs during May and June. Locally, honey is either processed into a sweet beer (*kasolu*) or used as a dietary supplement, to accompany the consumption of cassava roots or meat.[797] Although beeswax is not used locally, it does enjoy an international market. It can be used for making candles, seals, or for producing lipstick in the cosmetics industry, among other things.[798]

Consequently, from the eighteenth century onwards beeswax became an export product shipped from the Angolan coast.[799] Initially, beeswax supplemented exports of ivory and slaves, in return for which scarce consumer goods could be obtained.[800] In the 1850s this trade was vividly described:

> The native traders generally carry salt and a few pieces of cloth, a few beads, and cartouches with iron balls (…) The great article of search is beeswax, and from their eagerness to obtain it I suspect it fetches a high price in the market.[801]

The salience of this trade was underlined by travellers at the end of the nineteenth century: 'The Malunda cultivate honey more than any other tribe I have met. In addition to wild honey, they procure a very plentiful supply from bark hives, which they attach to the branches of trees.'[802] The beeswax trade ran well into the colonial period and beyond. Beeswax would be shipped from Angolan ports, Benguela in particular, and this trade perpetuated the strong links between Mwinilunga and Angola.[803]

Local traders presented economic incentives, such as profit margins and price differentials, as motivating factors to engage in the beeswax trade. Pricing could even prompt traders to circumvent prohibitive colonial legislation: 'We decided to take the risk as the traders in Angola give us a lot of money for any beeswax we take to them.'[804] Expatriate traders, most notably Ffolliott Fisher, started buying beeswax from Mwinilunga in 1926. The end product, transported by the Benguela railway to Angola, was destined for export to either Johannesburg or London, where it fetched prices of up to £170 per landed ton.[805] Local traders were able to effectively compete with expatriates, although colonial legislation denounced the local trade as illicit smuggling. In a manner which demonstrated knowledge of markets, local traders took advantage of price differentials across the international boundaries and cut transport costs by relying on established networks of trade:

> A considerable quantity of wax is taken across the border either by Mwinilunga natives desiring higher prices at Angola or Congo or by natives from Angola or Congo who have journeyed here to buy the wax with English currency in the hope of reselling at a profit across the Border (…) high transport charges

[796] (NAZ) Trapnell and Clothier, Report of the Ecological Survey for 1934.
[797] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Bigwan Masondi, 13 October 2010, Ntambu.
[798] Tuck, 'Woodland commodities'.
[799] Vellut, 'Diversification de l'économie de cueilette', 106.
[800] Miller, *Way of death;* Von Oppen*, Terms of trade.*
[801] Schapera, *Livingstone's African journal*, 121.
[802] Gibbons, *Africa from south to north*, 44-5.
[803] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[804] (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/7, Rex vs. Chisele, 24 July 1928.
[805] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 December 1935.

> and export duties make it impossible for traders in this Territory to pay as much for the commodity as the Portuguese traders [in Angola] can offer.[806]

Favourable marketing opportunities enticed individuals to step up beeswax production. In the 1930s it was estimated that the average producer owned 20 hives, whereas some possessed up to 100 hives.[807] With prices fluctuating up to a high of 6d. per lb., beeswax production reached levels of 30-40 tons per annum.[808] Honey collecting became so popular that it was described in terms of a 'seasonal exodus', even drawing 'the people away from their gardens!'[809] Far from lacking commercial initiative, producers in Mwinilunga proved receptive towards market production under favourable conditions.

Rather than obstructing agricultural production, it was exactly the compatibility between apiculture and agricultural production that caused beeswax to become such a popular commodity. Being a forest product, beeswax production is spatially segregated from the main agricultural fields. The placing of hives occurs during the dry season, a period of relative agricultural inactivity. The collection of honey from the hives coincides with the planting period of crops, when labour demands are at a peak. Nevertheless, honey collection, which can be completed within several days of concerted effort, does not seem to seriously impair agricultural production. Instead, producers regard apiculture as a lucrative, low-risk side activity, which can complement agricultural production without conflicting with it.[810] The sale of beeswax provided distinct benefits and in the 1930s it was reported that: 'whole villages sometimes find their tax money by sale of beeswax alone.'[811] Access to scarce commodities, such as clothing, pots and even bicycles, could be provided by means of the beeswax trade.[812] As a result, producers preferred beeswax over other produce: 'Rubber is not coming in anywhere as well as expected, and this is partly due to the good beeswax harvest, money being easier to get for wax and the work for collecting not so hard.'[813] The popularity of apiculture was virtually unsurpassed, as it was an activity which required low labour inputs but could provide high monetary returns. Factors such as profitability, marketability and labour input enticed beeswax production and trade.[814]

Due to its 'great potentials', apiculture was afforded prime importance by various government development schemes. During the 1930s schemes mainly focused on instruction and demonstration, promoting methods of wax making in saucers instead of balls and encouraging the construction of hives, instead of honey hunting.[815] In the 1960s emphasis was placed on marketing, through the formation of honey and beekeeping co-operative societies. Bureaucratic proposals could be highly elaborate and ambitious:

> There should be a possibility of having one Honey marketing co-operative based initially at Mwinilunga under which a number of producer groups would be formed. Each group would consist of 10 to 20 members who would produce about two to three tons of honey per year and the mother co-operative would provide a honey press, strainers and suitable containers for the honey crop to each group.[816]

Discursively, official schemes sought to 'improve' and 'develop' existing apicultural practices. Producers only adopted suggestions, however, if these did not involve extra labour or capital inputs. Methods of producing wax in saucers instead of balls caught on following official propaganda, because: 'saucers can be made with little extra trouble and require no apparatus that cannot be found in most

---

[806] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 December 1937; (NAZ) SEC2/41, Ormeby-Gore Report, 21 May 1937.
[807] (NAZ) Allan to Director of Agriculture, 11 February 1938.
[808] (NAZ) NWP1/2/101 Loc.4919, H.T. Bayldon, North Western Province Annual Report, 1961.
[809] (NAZ) SEC2/963, P.L.N. Hannaford, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, September 1955.
[810] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Maladi, 16 May 2010, Nyakaseya.
[811] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 December 1935.
[812] (NAZ) SEC2/41, Note on Resources of Mwinilunga District, February 1937.
[813] (NAZ) SEC2/193, Kaonde-Lunda Newsletter, First Quarter 1943.
[814] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Two.
[815] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 December 1937.
[816] (NAZ) Ministry of Agriculture, Monthly Economic Bulletin, June 1966.

Native households.'[817] Furthermore: 'It is axiomatic that the success of any scheme to improve the quality of a product depends on securing to the producer a premium for his extra trouble [in the form of good prices].'[818] The success of a scheme was premised not on scientifically defined principles advocated by government officials, but rather on labour and capital inputs and returns. Producers considered whether the requisite extra labour and capital inputs would pay off, but also took into account whether market involvement would not jeopardise foundations of production and livelihood security.[819]

The main problems facing beeswax production and trade lay in the spheres of marketing and transport. Market instability and price fluctuations, in particular, could deter producers. Existing obstacles were aptly summarised in the 1960s:

> Lack of buying stations for wax: Beekeepers have to carry their crops 50 miles to the market and some have to carry over 100 miles and even with the good value/weight ratio this long cartage is discouraging. Irregular prices and buying: There have been violent price fluctuations, and stores often stop buying. Fraud by store capitaos: Producers usually know when they are being cheated, but cannot read, so can do little about it except cease production.[820]

Market instability and long transport hauls could indeed discourage producers and cause sales fluctuations.[821] Throughout the colonial period prices for beeswax fluctuated between 1/6d. and 6d. per lb. and concomitantly production figures ranged from 10 to 40 tons per annum. Price incentives could encourage producers. When Fisher raised the buying price in 1937 to 4d. per lb. in the villages and 5 ½ d. per lb. at his store, officials 'met many boys taking wax for sale at his store and also two native hawkers with carriers laden with wax.'[822] Nevertheless, even in times of slump ways to sell supplies and overcome transport or marketing difficulties were creatively sought and found: 'with wax valued 2/- a producer can easily carry £5 worth on a cycle.'[823] Producers seemed 'glad to earn their living by collecting beeswax',[824] and government officials equally noted that: 'if it only helped a hundred elderly men, who are physically unfit to travel a long distance to find work, to get a few shillings each year – then something would have been accomplished.'[825] By adopting flexible strategies of production, trade and marketing, beeswax producers sought to stabilise their means of livelihood, even in the face of adversity.

The case of beeswax production in Mwinilunga provides an example of long-term, yet fluctuating, market involvement. It does not fit the transition from 'subsistence' to 'market' production.[826] Beeswax production was long-established in the area of Mwinilunga and was geared towards marketing from the outset, yet over time the activity continuously adapted to changing incentives and circumstances. Beeswax production exemplified modern market involvement. Even so, the activity built on internal foundations of production, based on the agricultural basis of livelihood procurement and premised on values such as security, whilst aiming to maximise profit from limited labour supplies. Individuals were eager to engage in beeswax production because this was a relatively risk-free and flexible form of market participation, compatible with other sources of livelihood procurement.[827] Rather than conflicting with the production of food crops, beeswax production contributed to overall welfare, by generating money to buy consumer goods or pay taxes. In case a slump in the beeswax market occurred, and alternative sales outlets equally failed, producers could

[817] (NAZ) Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1937.
[818] (NAZ) Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1937.
[819] See: Carswell, 'Food crops as cash crops'.
[820] (NAZ) ML1/16/6 Loc.4575, Honey and Wax Marketing Policy, 13 May 1966.
[821] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Two.
[822] (NAZ) NWP1/2/2 Loc.4897, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 3 February 1937.
[823] (NAZ) ML1/16/6 Loc.4575, Beekeeping Industry Coordinating Committee, 30 April 1966.
[824] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, K.S. Kinross, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1925.
[825] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1922.
[826] Vellut, 'Diversification de l'économie de cueilette'; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[827] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr John Kamuhuza, March 2010, Ikelenge.

refrain from selling and consume the excess honey locally. Apiculture produced not only cash crops which might prove unmarketable and ultimately useless, but contributed to food security as well. Yet when marketing did prove profitable, producers could step up beeswax production fairly easily and rapidly, resulting in a high degree of flexibility.[828] Producers were sensitive to factors such as price incentives, market fluctuations and transport. Nevertheless, producers remained flexible in their marketing strategies, rather than being dependent on the market. Although beeswax could be lucrative, it never became central to the livelihood of producers. The priority of producers remained agricultural production and the stable subsistence foundation which this provided enabled men to engage in beeswax production and trade as a subsidiary activity, which could complement but would not jeopardise food security. Subsistence and market production did not clash, but could stimulate one another. When price fluctuations, unstable markets or transport problems made beeswax an unattractive proposition, there was always an 'exit option', in the form of the agricultural foundations of production which provided a stable basis of subsistence.[829] This is what made producers flexible, as they could easily engage or disengage from the market. Producers retained a degree of agency, without becoming completely dependent on the market.[830] This autonomy and flexibility eased the effects of market fluctuations and economic slumps on producers and beeswax thus remained a decidedly attractive commodity. The rationale behind market engagement in the area of Mwinilunga will be further illustrated through the case of pineapple production.

Pineapples

Pineapples are so intimately associated with Mwinilunga District that the area is referred to as 'pineapple country' in the remainder of Zambia.[831] Contrary to the pre-colonial roots of the beeswax trade, pineapples only developed as a major cash crop in the course of the 1960s and 1970s.[832] The introduction of this fruit to the area dates much further back, though. Pineapples are of American origin and have spread through the long-distance trade from the Angolan coast into the interior.[833] By the 1850s the crop was established in Mwinilunga, although the exact provenance remained a mystery to travellers, such as Livingstone: 'pineapples are reported as existing in the woods in the Lunda country, and are not eaten by the people. Who introduced them?'[834] Locally, the introduction of the pineapple is attributed to either missionary activity or acts of entrepreneurship from Congo (rather than Angola) early in the twentieth century.[835] In the course of the twentieth century, the cultivation of pineapples spread throughout Mwinilunga District. As a result of colonial and missionary propaganda, as well as local initiative, approximately 30% of all villages cultivated the crop by the 1940s.[836] Nevertheless, pineapples did not become a staple in the diet and producers initially did not afford pineapples much importance, or even attention. Officials lamented this indifference:

> Unfortunately, vegetables, fruit and coffee are not thought of as serious cultivation but to be tried as a side-line, or in the case of fruit, to be planted around the village and trust to Providence. Providence does not co-operate well with pineapples I found when trying to buy some.[837]

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, pineapples served mainly to diversify the marketing and dietary repertoires of producers in Mwinilunga. They were grown as a subsidiary crop, but were not assigned agricultural priority.

---

[828] Pritchett, *Friends for life.*

[829] Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*; Scott, *Moral economy.*

[830] Hyden might argue that producers are 'uncaptured' by the market, *Beyond Ujamaa*.

[831] In Lusaka and on the Copperbelt, Mwinilunga was immediately associated with pineapples.

[832] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 60-1.

[833] Mendes Ferrão, *The adventure of plants*.

[834] Schapera, *Livingstone's African journal*, 228.

[835] Interview with Headman Larson Samahina, 17 March 2010, Ikelenge; Interview with Mr Paul Fisher, 22 September 2008, Hillwood Farm.

[836] (BOD) Richard Cranmer Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1947.

[837] (NAZ) SEC2/967, C.J. Fryer, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 27 May 1959.

Once it became evident that pineapples held commercial potential, producers eagerly seized the opportunity to market the crop. At first, commercial pineapple production was confined to the village of Samahina, inhabited by a group of Ovimbundu immigrants from Angola who had settled in Chief Ikelenge's area.[838] Officials described that pineapple production was: 'confined to comparatively few people who came from Angola where they had been trained in the art of fruit husbandry and have been practicing it fairly successfully for a number of years.'[839] More important than pre-existing knowledge of cultivation, however, was the ready market for pineapples provided by the European population of the nearby mission station. Because the demand for pineapples proved persistently high, propaganda by missionaries and officials aimed at stimulating production in Samahina by providing funds, technical and marketing assistance, which gave the Ovimbundu a major advantage over other producers. Once it became apparent that pineapple production and marketing could be lucrative, others started planting pineapples throughout the district in the 1950s and 1960s.[840] Initially, the pineapple trade was confined to the local market, but occasional surpluses would be sold in Solwezi, at Kansanshi. Officials heralded bright prospects from the outset: 'there is no doubt that with a little organisation and initiative the production of this fruit could be worked up into a valuable cash crop.'[841] Marketing of this 'luxury fruit', which had a good value/weight ratio and could withstand high transport costs, gradually stepped up, as traders started: 'buying up the pineapples to fill up back load capacity to the Copperbelt.'[842] The ready market for the crop among the urban population of the Copperbelt spurred production. Environmentally, due to the acidity of the soils Mwinilunga proved more suited to pineapple cultivation than any other area in the country.[843]

It was only after independence, however, that the production and sale of pineapples really took off. Whereas in 1965 43 tons of pineapples had been marketed, by the 1969-70 agricultural season this figure had risen to 480 tons, sold at a price of 3 ngwee per lb.[844] The potential for production enticed the UNIP government to erect a pineapple canning factory in 1969, under the direction of the parastatal G.M. Rucom Industries. Calculations pointed out that at prevailing rates of production the plant could only be kept running for 29.2 hours per annum, which meant that the factory would be unprofitable from the outset.[845] Even if large amounts of pineapples were purchased and processed, the viability of the factory further deteriorated in the course of the 1970s:

> The actual growing conditions, the quality of fruit for canning, the high cost of transport, road conditions and high production costs of the cannery alone, have an extremely negative influence on the profitability of the cannery. According to the calculations of Rucom, the loss per case in 1971-72 was K9.45 (…) By increasing production, the average production cost per case may slightly go down, but the total loss will be higher.[846]

Temporary closures of the factory first occurred in 1974, and as a result 'farmers preferred to sell their pineapples to the Copperbelt where they received high prices rather than at the factory.'[847] The final closure of the canning factory resulted in the disappearance of a major market for pineapples. Although some traders did continue transporting small amounts of pineapples to urban markets, the bright prospects for the future of pineapple production had been dashed. Whereas some producers maintained small fields of pineapples, most were discouraged and simply abandoned the crop.[848]

---

[838] Interview with Headman Larson Samahina, 17 March 2010, Ikelenge.
[839] (NAZ) NWP1/2/101 Loc.4919, H.T. Bayldon, North-Western Province Annual Report, 1961.
[840] Interview with Mr Aaron Chikewa, 27 April 2010, Nyakaseya.
[841] (NAZ) SEC2/963, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 26 April 1955.
[842] Sardanis, *Africa.*
[843] Johnson, *Handbook to the North-Western Province*.
[844] (NAZ) LGH5/2/2 Loc. 3611, Marketing of Produce North-Western Province, 23 July 1970; (NAZ) MAG2/17/86 Loc. 199, Pineapples, July 1970.
[845] (NAZ) MAG2/5/91 Loc.144, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 14 May 1969.
[846] (NAZ) MAG2/17/86 Loc.199, Pineapples, 24 July 1972.
[847] (NAZ) Rural Development Seminar: Programme for the Nation, 19 September 1974.
[848] This view is based on numerous oral interviews.

The remarkably rapid increase of pineapple production in the 1960s cannot be attributed to price incentives and favourable marketing opportunities alone, although these factors did play an irrefutable role. Pineapples generated large amounts of money, as in February 1968 the sale of 66,443 lbs. of pineapples raised K1, 328.66.[849] Pineapples were referred to as 'yellow gold' and cash incentives enticed individuals to expand production. Pineapple profits were not only ploughed back into agricultural production, but equally stimulated the purchase of consumer goods. The period when the canning factory was still in operation is remembered as a time when people 'started building good houses and wearing nice clothes.'[850] One woman who cultivated a large pineapple field together with her husband proudly recalled that she 'had cloth of which other women were jealous' and 'could eat lots of meat every day while others were just eating vegetables.'[851] Production and consumption were intricately linked, as the prospect of buying consumer goods with the profits from pineapple sales stimulated agricultural production.

Next to and perhaps more than price incentives, labour requirements and environmental factors informed the popularity of pineapple production. Pineapples are mainly harvested between mid-October and the end of February, and to a lesser extent between mid-April and mid-July. Even if the planting, weeding and harvesting of pineapple plants takes place during the rain season, when labour requirements for other crops are highest, pineapples still proved compatible with other crops and existing methods of agricultural production in the area.[852] This is due to the relatively low labour demands of pineapples, as: 'little attention is paid to the pineapple plots during the rains when more labour is needed in the cassava and maize gardens.'[853] The labour requirements for land clearing are minimal with pineapple cultivation, as one field can be tilled for up to seven consecutive years. Moreover, the most labour intensive tasks of planting and weeding are commonly completed through the collective effort of work parties. In this case, the owner of a pineapple field asks kin, friends or other interested individuals to assist with a predefined task. Assistance is remunerated with gifts in cash or kind (beer, meat and fish in particular). When work parties are resorted to labour demands fall less heavily on a single individual, tasks can be completed rapidly and goods or cash are distributed among the group. Work parties thus enable the maintenance of larger fields than an individual could tend alone.[854] Furthermore, because pineapples are cultivated in separate fields, usually at some distance from the main agricultural fields, their production does not conflict with that of other crops.[855] It is this compatibility with other crops that lends pineapples their distinct appeal. Pineapples are a lucrative side-line, which might be desirable but is not essential in terms of livelihood. Complementing – instead of jeopardising – food production, pineapples have become a popular crop.

Notwithstanding the attractions, pineapple production faced a number of problems which were difficult to overcome. Although the crop can grow throughout Mwinilunga District, the soils in the north-west are most suited to pineapple cultivation. Production is therefore concentrated in the areas of Chiefs Ikelenge and Nyakaseya, which are 70 to 100 kilometres removed from Mwinilunga Boma.[856] Because of the decision to establish the canning factory in the administrative centre of the district, so that it might attract produce from all over the district, transport difficulties proved a serious obstacle. Particularly during the rain season complications would spring up. Trucks could get stuck in the muddy roads for days at a time and such delays would cause loads of pineapples to rot. Because pineapples are a highly fragile and perishable crop, any complications would result in heavy losses for

[849] (NAZ) MAG2/5/91 Loc.144, Minister of Agriculture Tour North-Western Province, March 1968.
[850] Interview with Mr Saipilinga Kahongo, 22 March 2010, Ikelenge.
[851] Interview with Mrs Nanci Kamafumbu, 19 April 2010, Ikelenge.
[852] Interview with Mr John Kamuhuza, March 2010, Ikelenge.
[853] (NAZ) MAG2/17/86 Loc.199, Pineapples, 24 July 1972.
[854] P. Geschiere 'Working groups or wage labour? Cash-crops, reciprocity and money among the Maka of Southeastern Cameroon', *Development and change* 26:3 (1995), 503-23; See Chapter 5.
[855] This view is based on numerous oral interviews.
[856] Interview with the Agricultural Officer Mr Ambrose Musanda, 1 October 2008, Mwinilunga.

producers and the cannery.[857] Pineapples are not only perishable once harvested, but they also require delicate handling during transport so as not to bruise the fruit. Packaging and transport remained problematic throughout the period of the cannery's operation, whereas marketing difficulties and price fluctuations further contributed to the demise of pineapple production over the course of the 1970s and 1980s.[858]

In spite of difficulties, pineapple cultivation proved popular among producers. A survey conducted in 1969 counted 251 pineapple producers in Mwinilunga District, who cultivated a total of 288 acres, with individual field sizes ranging from 0.11 to 8.25 acres. The average yield per acre was 1.5 tons, and although this figure does not come close to the optimum yield of 18 tons per acre under irrigation and close supervision, yields and profits nevertheless proved satisfactory to the cultivator. If cultivated on fertile red soils, irrigated and properly managed, a pineapple field could yield between K26.30 and K700 per acre.[859] Pineapple cultivation thus varied in intensity among producers. Whereas some cultivated pineapples as a mere side activity, others took to pineapple cultivation as a business enterprise, maintaining large fields, engaging pieceworkers and making arrangements for transport and marketing. A handful of producers purchased motor vehicles with the profits from pineapple sales, and these vehicles enabled them to independently transport harvests to the canning factory or to urban markets. This, in turn, allowed producers to realise high profits and invest in the expansion of their enterprises.[860]

Within a general environment of constraint throughout Mwinilunga District, pineapple cultivation provided an opportunity. Throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, pineapple production proved profitable, yet problems of transport and marketing predominated and led to the demise of the canning factory.[861] Although after the closure of the factory some producers continued to market pineapples at urban markets, this trade at best provided a volatile and limited market outlet for the crop. Pineapple cultivation did cause a degree of material wealth in the area, yet it did not amount to the emergence of a distinct class of rural entrepreneurs. Pineapple cultivation often involved communal effort in the form of work parties, as well as the concerted organisation of transport and marketing. The earnings of successful pineapple producers would circulate through the wider community, whereas individuals would be socially penalised if pursuing profit too blatantly. Individuals who failed to consider the wellbeing of kin and friends risked being ostracised or would become the target of witchcraft accusations.[862] Pineapple cultivation was attractive to producers because it did not require a reorganisation of existing agricultural practices. It could be practiced as a supplementary activity without jeopardising food security. This compatibility meant that pineapple production built on the existing foundations of production in Mwinilunga.[863] Nevertheless, pineapple production faced existing constraints of transport and marketing, highlighting the marginal position of Mwinilunga District within Zambia as a whole.

The rationale of market production

Why did producers choose to engage in the marketing of crops, agricultural commodities or meat? And why did some producers actively refrain from market participation? These questions have to do with agricultural repertoires, values and rationales of production. The cases of beeswax and pineapple production have outlined some of the opportunities of market production in the area of Mwinilunga,

[857] This view is based on numerous oral interviews in Mwinilunga, especially Mr and Mrs Ntanga, 4 March and 27 October 2010.
[858] Pritchett, *Friends for life*.
[859] (NAZ) MAG2/17/86 Loc.199, Pineapples, 24 July 1972.
[860] Interview with Mr Saipilinga Kahongo, 22 March 2010, Ikelenge.
[861] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Two.
[862] The man who claims to have introduced the first pineapple to Mwinilunga District has been attacked by an *ilomba*, which explains his short stature. Interview with Mr Aaron Chikewa, 27 April 2010, Nyakaseya.
[863] Interview with Mr John Kamuhuza, March 2010, Ikelenge.

but have equally pointed towards obstacles. Transport, marketing and price fluctuations posed major and persistent difficulties, which to a certain extent could be overcome by producing high-value, low-weight commodities in large quantities.[864] Producers expressed a preference for crops and commodities that could be produced and marketed, whilst only minimally upsetting food security and existing methods of agricultural production. Food security could be provided by relying on the foundations of production, based on cassava and hunting. Cash crops which proved compatible with these foundations of production were more likely to catch on than those that conflicted with established practices.[865] Examining the boom period of agricultural production and marketing in the 1950s can illustrate the rationale behind market production.

The late 1940s and 1950s might well be viewed as the heyday of marketing of agricultural produce in Mwinilunga District. High demand from the Congolese and Northern Rhodesian Copperbelts, coupled with internal demand from missions and government, drove up prices and levels of agricultural production.[866] As late as 1949 the District Commissioner had still regretted that: 'the distance from Mwinilunga to the Copperbelt markets would appear to rule out all hope of transporting agricultural surpluses to the labour centres. This may be discouraging, but the economics of the matter cannot be entirely ignored.'[867] Distance, and ensuing transport difficulties, seemed to preclude the marketing of all but high-value low-weight cash crops. Nevertheless, the high levels of demand during the 1950s made even the marketing of crops such as beans, maize and cassava possible, at least temporarily. Various types of produce were marketed during the 1940s and 1950s, both high-value labour-intensive cash crops, such as rice and groundnuts, and staple food crops, such as cassava.[868] Subsistence and cash crop production were closely interwoven. Without the basis provided by cassava production, market participation would not have been possible to the same extent.

By the late 1940s the District Commissioner stated that: 'the most remarkable feature of the agriculture of the district is the tremendous surplus of cassava meal, which becomes greater year by year.'[869] The overall market production of crops was based on and pivoted around cassava. Although cassava was denounced by officials as a subsistence crop, it was marketed in large quantities of up to 600 tons per year.[870] Furthermore, cassava production enabled the market production of other crops by freeing up labour and providing a stable basis of livelihood. Cassava did not necessitate expensive inputs, such as fertiliser or pesticides. The major requirement of the crop was labour input. Although the vent-for-surplus model – which posits that land and labour in rural Africa had remained underutilised prior to capitalist penetration and market production – does not hold, there were possibilities to deploy labour more efficiently.[871] Cassava production was one such methods, evidenced by the fact that large surpluses of cassava could be marketed whilst 50% of males were absent due to labour migration.[872] Because cassava production provided a stable basis of food, the crop could function as a foundation for market production. Producers aspiring to step into the market could opt to deploy labour to cassava production and market the surplus, or they could invest their time and energy in other (cash) crops. Cultivators could either expand existing cassava holdings, or keep their cassava fields as a stable source of food and deploy labour to cash crops, such as rice or groundnuts. A survey conducted in the 1940s pointed out that all residents of Mwinilunga District maintained a cassava field, and thus possessed a stable source of food.[873] By relying on cassava, producers could

[864] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[865] Carswell, 'Food crops as cash crops'.
[866] Chabatama, 'Peasant farming'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter One.
[867] (NAZ) SEC2/957, A. Stockwell-Jones, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, January 1949.
[868] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Two.
[869] (NAZ) SEC2/156, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Annual Report on African Affairs, 1949.
[870] Peša, 'Cassava is our chief'.
[871] Tosh, 'The cash-crop revolution'; Austin, 'Resources, techniques and strategies'.
[872] Peša, 'Cassava is our chief'.
[873] (NAZ) SEC2/149, A. Stockwell Jones, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1942.

avoid jeopardising food security. Moreover, when engaging in the market cassava was a favourable crop because its labour demands were low relative to other crops, and because labour saving techniques (such as infrequent weeding, harvesting in bits and pieces instead of all at once and cultivating on the same plot of land for multiple years) could be adopted.[874] Further, cassava could minimise the effects of market fluctuations. If markets collapsed, producers could step out of the market by scaling down the size of their fields, increasing them once more if circumstances proved profitable again. Cassava could be left in the ground for several years before harvesting, providing a store of food as well as an invisible resource for marketing.[875]

Through cassava the risks of market production were minimised. Demanding crops, such as groundnuts or rice, never gained widespread popularity in the district, because they required large investments of labour and the adoption of new techniques. Even if such crops could generate high profits, their adoption would only be hesitant. Groundnuts, for instance, were promoted by the colonial government due to their high calorie and protein content, and because they could be marketed as cash crops in the emerging mining centres.[876] For groundnuts to prosper, they need to be planted in separate fields, preferably of freshly burnt virgin forest or fertile red clay soils. Fields, furthermore, would have to be shifted every year, because the groundnut crop depletes soil nutrients rapidly. This proved a strain on limited labour resources. Despite official propaganda for groundnut cultivation – by means of seed distribution, agricultural demonstration and price incentives offered by traders – groundnut cultivation did not develop on a large scale within Mwinilunga District.[877] Rather than attributing this to a lack of producer initiative or market sense, labour concerns played a more decisive role. Groundnut cultivation required a cumbersome reorganisation of labour patterns for the clearing of fields, whereas the prices offered did not seem to legitimate these additional labour inputs.[878] Towards the end of the 1950s groundnut production slumped completely. The trader Sardanis acknowledged that: 'at the proposed price and the prevailing yields farmers could no longer make a living out of groundnuts.'[879] Labour, price, marketing and environmental factors all played a role in producer preferences towards crops. Even if groundnuts never gained widespread popularity, their production was enabled due to the stable basis of food provided by cassava. Cash crop production, of groundnuts or pineapples for example, posed less of a risk if producers could fall back on cassava as a source of food and as a laboursaving crop.[880] Labour was a major determinant of market production. This resource could be negotiated within the household, some members devoting time to cash crops whilst others produced a reliable source of food. A household wishing to engage in market production could make a conscious decision to engage labour in the production of cash crops, or in waged employment, so long as a subsistence basis in the form of cassava was secured.[881] Food crops thus enabled and premised market engagement. Subsistence production was not averse to market logic, but to the contrary, enabled producers to deploy time and energy in market production. Cassava therefore constituted the internal foundation of production in Mwinilunga District.

By the end of the 1950s, once demand slumped again, it became evident that transport costs, marketing difficulties and levels of production indeed precluded the sale of low-value high-weight crops from Mwinilunga to distant urban centres.[882] After a period of intense market involvement and sale of cash crops, producers in Mwinilunga focused on cassava once again. Even if cassava could no

[874] Von Oppen, 'Cassava, the lazy man's food'.
[875] Pritchett, *Friends for life.*
[876] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees;* See J.S. Hogendoorn and K.M. Scott, 'The East African groundnut scheme: Lessons of a large-scale agricultural failure', *African economic history* 10 (1981), 81-115.
[877] This view is based on a wide reading of archival sources (NAZ) and on numerous oral interviews.
[878] See: Tosh, 'The cash-crop revolution'.
[879] Sardanis, *Africa*, 139.
[880] Carswell, 'Food crops as cash crops'.
[881] Berry, *No condition is permanent;* Austin, 'Resources, techniques and strategies'.
[882] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

longer be marketed, it could provide a stable source of food in abundant quantities, making the area a land of plenty and affording producers a degree of autonomy. Cassava and hunting thus developed as the internal foundations of production in Mwinilunga District, adapting to changing circumstances and retaining their importance over time. These methods of livelihood production gained such prominence because they enabled flexibility, autonomy and mobility, whilst ensuring a stable source of food. Rather than being averse to change, cassava and hunting adjusted over time.[883] The internal foundations of production 'are not residues from a traditional past but products of a contemporary social process.'[884] Cassava and hunting enabled a flexible engagement with government and markets, but equally permitted a degree of autonomy and non-involvement. Productive practices 'are adjusted, rather than maladjusted, to modernity.'[885] What officials discursively labelled agricultural 'conservatism' might equally represent an adaptation or even be an expression of change.[886] The internal foundation of production in Mwinilunga has an ideological, as well as a material and practical basis, changing over time and adapting to factors such as marketing, government policies and producer preference. Market involvement was premised on the internal foundation of production. Rather than a linear transition from subsistence production to market incorporation, 'subsistence' and 'market' production could and did feed into each other.

Conclusion

Productive activities in Mwinilunga District cannot be understood in terms of increasing involvement with the market, as many colonial and post-colonial observers discursively proposed. Market production oscillated, rather than being a linear process. Producers involved in marketing cassava or beans in the 1950s, or producing pineapples during the heyday of the cannery, might have disengaged from market production several years later. Neither was market involvement a new phenomenon introduced by colonialism or capitalism. Already during the pre-colonial period producers engaged in extensive trade of beeswax and cassava with long-distance caravans. To the contrary, the introduction of colonial rule coincided with the demise of the caravan trade. The marketing of agricultural produce decreased initially, only to pick up again in the 1940s and 1950s. The situation which early colonial officials denounced as 'primitive' was a misguided snapshot, rather than an expression of inertia. Depending on factors such as pricing, markets, environmental considerations and labour, market involvement fluctuated throughout the twentieth century. Producers were not merely induced to market their crops by official propaganda or price incentives, but relied on an internal foundation of production, which reflected norms, values and attitudes, next to economic logic and environmental concerns.

Market involvement in Mwinilunga was premised on an internal foundation of production. This internal foundation proved flexible and adapted over time, though not necessarily in the linear course proposed by officials or agricultural experts. Preferences for staple crops shifted from sorghum and millet to cassava, whereas maize failed to gain widespread popularity. Hunting retained practical and ideological importance, despite decreasing game herds, prohibitive legislation and propaganda for animal husbandry. Although productive practices might discursively be denounced as 'primitive' or 'traditional', they are 'rooted in real economic interests.'[887] Cassava cultivation facilitated and enabled market production and therefore retained popularity into the present. The internal foundations of production are 'not a 'traditional' relic, gradually melting away in the face of the modern cash economy', they are a 'contemporary institution, finding its points of support in diverse places and drawing on a range of power relations which transcends dichotomies such as 'traditional/modern' and

[883] Kaufmann, 'The sediment of nomadism', 235.
[884] Ferguson, 'The bovine mystique', 647.
[885] Kaufmann, 'The sediment of nomadism', 261.
[886] Turkon, 'Modernity, tradition and the demystification', 152.
[887] Ferguson, 'The bovine mystique', 667.

'pre-capitalist/capitalist'.'[888] As one perceptive colonial officer remarked in the 1930s: 'Agricultural practice is, of course, largely determined by tradition, but tradition itself reflects past environment, and when a tribe has been long settled in its country its tradition complies with its requirements.'[889] Methods of production in Mwinilunga are based on an internal foundation, which favours values such as food security, but is not averse to change. If the internal foundation of production persists, it is actively made to persist: 'continuity as much as change must be created and fought for.'[890] Cassava cultivation and hunting continually adapted. Far from being a barrier to 'market integration' or 'development', the internal foundations of production enabled change.

The local rationale behind patterns of production has been explored. The internal foundation of production in Mwinilunga District enabled flexibility, autonomy and mobility whilst ensuring a stable source of food. Securing adequate means of 'subsistence' indeed appeared to be one of the main goals of agricultural production. But rather than seeing subsistence production as 'traditional' or as a barrier to 'development', relying on a strong basis of subsistence could serve to step into the market. The internal foundation of production did not prevent, but enabled market production. This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that discourses about production did not match agricultural practices in Mwinilunga. Analytical concepts should therefore be reassessed. Discursive binaries of subsistence and market production do not hold good, as subsistence and market production could prove compatible. Producers sought to partake in the market on terms favourable to and compatible with existing patterns of production, social relationships and ideological frameworks. Rather than focusing on linear change and market involvement, concepts such as the internal foundation of production and a positive evaluation of subsistence might advance an understanding of producer choices and agency. Crop repertoires, agricultural implements and patterns of production have undergone continual change and these changes have been adapted to suit existing practices and ideological frameworks. Change has been incorporated into an internal foundation of production in Mwinilunga District. Next to discursive attempts to fix settlements and promote sedentarisation, production and mobility could feed into one another in multiple ways.[891] These will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

[888] Ferguson, 'The bovine mystique', 669.
[889] (NAZ) MAG2/9/3 Loc.170, Ecological Methods in the Study of Native Agriculture in Northern Rhodesia, 27 July 1935.
[890] Ferguson, 'The bovine mystique', 668.
[891] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping', 80-3.

2.1: A field of cassava (note the round mounds)
Source: Iva Peša, 2010

2.2: A hunter with his hunting attributes
Source: (NAZ) SEC2/964, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, Accompanying Photographs

3A: Mobility
Borders, trade and identity

Kwenda kumona nzovu – To travel is to see an elephant, Lunda proverb[892]

Mobility is central to the socio-economic and political strategies of the population in Mwinilunga District and it can even function as a marker of identity.[893] Movement can enable the grasping of opportunities, in hunting, trade or on the labour market.[894] Contrastingly, people who just 'sit around' the village (*kushakama hohu*) are denounced and are not likely to attain wealth, status or power.[895] Colonial officials have all too often described the Lunda as 'naturally migratory'.[896] Even so, Mwinilunga District has simultaneously been portrayed as a quintessentially rural area, remote, isolated and by implication immobile.[897] How have various discourses of mobility been shaped over the course of the twentieth century, and have practices of mobility corresponded to or diverged from such discourses?

Throughout the colonial and post-colonial period official attitudes towards mobility have been ambiguous.[898] On the one hand, policies have been underlain by a sedentary bias and a desire to regulate mobility.[899] Movement has been curtailed through the demarcation of international borders, by means of pass laws and by encouraging fixed settlements.[900] Mobility posed a threat to governmentality, because a mobile population is prone to autonomous behaviour and might undermine administrative control.[901] On the other hand, mobility has been actively encouraged. The *Pax Britannica*, for instance, facilitated long-distance movement and spurred labour migration to thriving mining towns.[902] Mobility has been positively associated with 'development' and even

[892] Proverb recorded by Gibby Kamuhuza, Ikelenge, April 2010.

[893] O. Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating or migrating villagers? A study of movement from North West Zambia to Angola' (PhD thesis, University of Bath, 1999); V.W. Turner, *Schism and continuity in an African society: A study of Ndembu village life* (Manchester etc., 1957).

[894] F. De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia: The mutant hero in the historical imagination of a Central-African diamond frontier', *Journal of colonialism and colonial history* 1:2 (2000).

[895] Interview with Justin Kambidima, Ntambu, 22 October 2010.

[896] (NAZ) KSE6/2/2, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Half Yearly Report, 30 September 1923. Stereotypes of Africans as 'naturally migratory' or even 'nomadic' have been pervasive among European observers, see: M. Adas, *Machines as the measure of men: Science, technology, and ideologies of Western dominance* (Ithaca and London, 1989); I. Kopytoff, 'The internal African frontier: The making of African political culture', in: I. Kopytoff (ed.), *The African frontier: The reproduction of traditional African societies* (Bloomington etc., 1987), 7.

[897] W.M.J. van Binsbergen, 'Globalization and virtuality: Analytical problems posed by the contemporary transformation of African societies', *Development and change* 29:4 (1998), 873-903; J.A. Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge and state control in colonial Zimbabwe: The invention of the rural-urban divide in Buhera District, 1912-80', *Journal of African history* 43:1 (2002), 119-143.

[898] See general overview works: M.E. de Bruijn, R.A. van Dijk and D. Foeken (eds.), *Mobile Africa: Changing patterns of movement in Africa and beyond* (Leiden etc., 2001); F. Cooper (ed.), *Struggle for the city: Migrant labor, capital, and the state in urban Africa* (Beverly Hills, London and New Delhi, 1983); A.M. Howard, 'Nodes, networks, landscapes, and regions: Reading the social history of tropical Africa 1700s-1920', in: A.M. Howard and R.M. Shain (eds.), *The spatial factor in African history: The relationship of the social, material, and perceptual* (Leiden etc., 2005), 103-130; J. Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge and Malden, 2007). Also: H. Heisler, *Urbanisation and the government of migration: The inter-relation of urban and rural life in Zambia* (London, 1974), 1-12.

[899] O. Bakewell, ''Keeping them in their place': The ambivalent relationship between development and migration in Africa', *Third world quarterly* 29:7 (2008), 1341-58, 1345; Urry, *Mobilities*, 31.

[900] See: H.L. Moore and M. Vaughan, *Cutting down trees: Gender, nutrition, and agricultural change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990* (Portsmouth etc., 1994).

[901] Urry, *Mobilities*, 49-50, discusses the problem of 'governmentality' over mobile populations.

[902] A.D. Roberts, *A history of Zambia* (New York, 1976).

'modernity'.[903] In this connection, labour migration has been linked to social change and described in terms of a 'modernist narrative', depicting a transition from migrant labourers to permanent urbanites.[904] Local practices of mobility, nevertheless, oftentimes disregarded, or rather creatively circumvented, government policies, subverting official discourses and administrative intentions.[905] Mobility proved difficult to bound and provided room for manoeuvre for those who sought to exploit opportunities to their own advantage. Largely because of this, mobility has been designated as problematic.[906] The difficulty to adequately police borders and check illicit cross-border trade constituted an administrative nuisance, posing an outright threat to state power and sovereignty.[907] Similarly, although labour migration could provide access to waged employment and material gain, it has been connected to processes of proletarianisation, detribalisation and rural impoverishment.[908] Oftentimes mobility has been described in polarising dichotomies of urban and rural, development and underdevelopment, or even modernity and tradition.[909]

Practices of mobility challenge such binaries. Mobility has been long-established as a strategy in Mwinilunga District.[910] The dynamics of movement might be explained through an internal and historically constructed 'culture of mobility', which encompasses economic, political and socio-cultural spheres.[911] This culture of mobility has shaped reactions to and appropriations of (post-)colonial discourses and policies, and is therefore key to studying mobility in its own right.[912] Within such an

[903] J. Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity: Myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley etc., 1999); J. Lucassen and L. Lucassen, 'The mobility transition revisited, 1500-1900: What the case of Europe can offer to global history', *Journal of global history* 4:3 (2009), 347-77; A. de Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty: The role of migration – a critical review of the migration literature', *The journal of development studies* 36:2 (1999), 1-47.

[904] J. Ferguson, 'Mobile workers, modernist narratives: A critique of the historiography of transition on the Zambian Copperbelt', *Journal of Southern African studies* 16:3 (1990), 385-412 and 16:4 (1990), 603-21; See also the works by RLI scholars.

[905] S.J. Rockel, *Carriers of culture: Labor on the road in nineteenth-century East Africa* (Portsmouth etc., 2006); P. Harries, *Work, culture, and identity: Migrant laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860-1910* (Portsmouth etc., 1994); P. Nugent and A.I. Asiwaju (eds.), *African boundaries: Barriers, conduits and opportunities* (London etc., 1996).

[906] Urry, *Mobilities*, 8: Connects mobility to the unruly 'mob'; See also: Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place'.

[907] Nugent and Asiwaju, *African boundaries*; E. Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and the contours of colonial rule: African labor in Manica District, Mozambique, c. 1904-1908', *International journal of African historical studies* 36:1 (2003), 59-82.

[908] G. Arrighi, 'Labour supplies in historical perspective: A study of proletarianization of the African peasantry in Rhodesia', *The journal of development studies* 6:3 (1969/70), 197-234; N. Plange, ''Opportunity cost' and labour migration: A misinterpretation of proletarianisation in Northern Ghana', *The journal of modern African studies* 17:4 (1979), 655-76; S. Amin, 'Underdevelopment and dependence in black Africa: Historical origin', *Journal of peace research* 9 (1972), 105-119; B. O'Laughlin, 'Proletarianisation, agency and changing rural livelihoods: Forced labour and resistance in colonial Mozambique', *Journal of Southern African studies* 28:3 (2002), 511-30; See also RLI work: A.I. Richards, *Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia: An economic study of the Bemba tribe* (London, 1939).

[909] See: De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'; Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place'.

[910] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*; J.A. Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, change, and social transformation in South Central Africa* (Madison, 2001).

[911] Z. Ngwane, ''Christmas time' and the struggles for the household in the countryside: Rethinking the cultural geography of migrant labour in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African studies* 29:3 (2003), 683; H.P. Hahn and G. Klute (eds.), *Cultures of migration: African perspectives* (Münster, 2007).

[912] The term 'culture of mobility' refers to a socio-cultural outlook, shaped by social, economic and political experiences of movement throughout history. This outlook shapes future movements. It encompasses the internal logic of whether a person should migrate, and if so, when and to which destination. Mobility has to do with local valuations, lifecycles and strategies. This approach places emphasis on the internal (rather than the external) logics of mobility, and focuses on relations between the migrant and society. See: J.H. Cohen and I. Sirkeci, *Cultures of migration: The global nature of contemporary mobility* (Austin, 2011), ix: A culture of

understanding, mobility is not necessarily transformative of society. Physical movement does not constitute a break in social relationships, but can serve to create new ties or enhance existing ones. If mobility is viewed as a social (rather than a purely geographical) practice, connections and long-term continuities come to light.[913] Mobility can then be seen as a strategy towards self-realisation, because 'mobility and migration may have been about recruitment of skills.'[914] Through mobility a person could become valued within the community, attaining status, wealth and respect among peers.[915] Mobility could be one of 'the varied struggles of people to value themselves in some publicly demonstrable way.'[916] Self-realisation through mobility is closely connected to other strategies, such as agricultural production, hunting and trade. Rather than conflicting, these various strategies could feed into one another.[917] Thus mobility could serve to diversify and secure livelihoods, maximise opportunities, build personhood and give shape to the locality.[918] Rather than understanding mobility as an economic strategy aimed at profit maximisation or a political strategy for evading government control, this approach probes into the socio-cultural predispositions behind mobility.[919] For the case of Mwinilunga it will be argued that a 'culture of mobility' has motivated, negotiated and guided movement throughout history.

Two aspects of mobility, namely cross-border interactions with Angola and Congo (Chapter 3A) and labour migration to urban areas (Chapter 3B), will be explored. Official discourse has attached dichotomous judgements to these patterns of mobility. Cross-border trade has either been described as an illegal dodging of the authority of the nation-state, or has been understood in terms of a profit-maximising logic.[920] Labour migration has been hailed as introducing rural tribesmen to urban industry and civilisation, or has been denounced as leading to rural decay and impoverishment.[921] By placing mobility within the socio-economic, political and cultural context of Mwinilunga District, such binaries can be avoided. Rather than disruptive or transformative, mobility might have been constitutive of society.[922] The rural should not necessarily be seen as opposed to the urban, whereas trade with Angola and Congo was only part of the full repertoire of trade in the area. Patterns of mobility changed

---

migration 'acknowledges the various ways in which migration decisions are made and (…) demonstrates how individual decisions are rooted in the social practices and cultural beliefs of a population (...) Culture – in other words, the social practice, meaning, and symbolic logic of mobility – must be understood along with economics if we are to understand patterns of migration.'

[913] Kopytoff, 'The internal African frontier', 22; J.A. Andersson, 'Informal moves, informal markets: International migrants and traders from Mzimba, Malawi', *African affairs* 105:420 (2006), 375-97.

[914] J.I. Guyer and S.M. Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge: Accumulation and composition in Equatorial Africa', *Journal of African history* 36:1 (1995), 115.

[915] J.I. Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization in Equatorial Africa', *Man* 28:2 (1993), 243-65; K. Barber, 'Money, self-realization and the person in Yoruba texts', in: J.I. Guyer (ed.), *Money matters: Instability, values and social payments in the modern history of West African communities* (Portsmouth etc., 1995), 205-24; F. de Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars: Identity, expenditure and sharing in Southwestern Zaire (1984-1997)', *Development and change* 29 (1998), 777-810.

[916] Guyer, 'Wealth in people', 256.

[917] De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.

[918] Ngwane, 'Christmas time'.

[919] This approach has been inspired by: H. Englund, 'The village in the city, the city in the village: Migrants in Lilongwe', *Journal of Southern African studies* 28:1 (2002), 137-54; J.A. Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection: Migration practices and socio-cultural dispositions of Buhera workers in Harare', *Africa* 71:1 (2001), 82-112.

[920] See especially: J.L. Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets in sub-Saharan Africa', *The journal of modern African studies* 28:4 (1990), 671-96; J. MacGaffey, *The real economy of Zaire: The contribution of smuggling and other unofficial activities to national wealth* (London etc., 1991).

[921] A.L. Epstein, 'Urbanization and social change in Africa', *Current anthropology* 8:4 (1967), 275-95; J.C. Mitchell, 'The causes of labour migration', *Inter-African labour institute bulletin* 6:1 (1959), 12-47.

[922] This argument was made early on by: W. Watson, *Tribal cohesion in a money economy: A study of the Mambwe people of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester, 1964).

constantly, adjusting to shifting geo-political and socio-economic settings, building on established trajectories of movement.[923] In order to understand the rationale behind mobility, the local as well as the regional and (inter)national context have to be explored.[924] Offsetting the limited opportunities within Mwinilunga District, mobility could enable access to lucrative markets for agricultural produce or coveted consumer goods. Furthermore, mobility could provide material gain, strengthen kinship ties or enhance social status. Mobility equally entailed risk, though. Wild animals, custom patrols and the troubles of settling into another community all added to the difficulty of travel.[925] In this regard, the persistent attractions of mobility, which are related to issues of livelihood, power and identity, should be explored.

Historical roots of mobility

Movement has been a constantly recurring, integral part of social, economic and political life in the area of Mwinilunga, 'an intrinsic part of Lunda society and culture.'[926] Mobility, for example, played a fundamental role in the establishment of Lunda settlements. Flows of migration from the core Lunda polity, situated further north in Congo, allegedly caused the formation of Kanongesha and other Upper Zambezi chiefdoms.[927] Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, furthermore, movement enabled traders to establish ties with the Angolan coast in order to obtain goods which were scarce locally, such as cloth and guns.[928] This long-distance trade has been described in terms of globalisation, or at least proto-globalisation, discharging the myth that pre-colonial African societies were ever immobile, isolated or self-contained.[929] Trade was crucial from early on, for instance because blacksmiths were few and far between, so that some villages had to depend on distant experts for essential provisions of knives, hoes and axes.[930] Such trade links, in turn, could foster socio-cultural ties, cement political allegiances and shape aspects of identity.[931] Individuals and localities constantly sought connections to wider regional and even (inter)national entities through mobility. Movement facilitated the exchange of marriage partners between neighbouring or more distant villages, thereby solidifying socio-political ties and creating an interlinked vicinage.[932] The environmental setting of the area equally propelled movement, as individuals attempted to find a place which would secure a dependable livelihood. Villages commonly shifted their location at intervals of 1-20 years, to seek good hunting, fishing or cultivating grounds once their former sites had become depleted.[933] But villages could equally shift as a consequence of political quarrels or deaths.[934] Apart from entire villages,

[923] See: Howard and Shain, *The spatial factor.*
[924] A. Mbembe, 'At the edge of the world: Boundaries, territoriality and sovereignty in Africa', *Public culture* 12:1 (2000), 259-84.
[925] See: Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[926] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating', 94.
[927] R.E. Schecter, 'History and historiography on a frontier of Lunda expansion: The origins and early development of the Kanongesha' (PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin Madison, 1976).
[928] J.C. Miller, *Way of death: Merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade 1730-1830* (Madison, 1988); A. von Oppen, *Terms of trade and terms of trust: The history and contexts of pre-colonial market production around the upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster etc., 1994).
[929] J. Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world: African consumerism and the genealogies of globalization* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2008); Van Binsbergen, 'Globalization and virtuality', 875.
[930] C.E. Kriger, *Pride of men: Ironworking in 19th century West Central Africa* (Portsmouth, Oxford and Cape Town, 1999).
[931] Kopytoff, 'The internal African frontier'.
[932] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 47: 'Villages are rarely built in complete isolation from neighbours (…) villages tend to be grouped in discrete clusters, of varying numbers and formation. Each cluster is called (…) a 'vicinage' (…) The vicinage has certain jural, economic and ritual functions.'
[933] This pattern has been described by J. Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests: Toward a history of political tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, 1990).
[934] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 44-8.

individuals moved across the landscape and this movement allowed some to establish a name for themselves, perhaps as good hunters or widely renowned experts in medicine or healing.[935] Mobility could be a means towards self-realisation, involving both 'the realization of one's individual self-identity, autonomy and responsibility, implying volition, intentionality, individual ambition and self-consciousness' and a 'gradual body-centred insertion (…) into the lives of other individuals'.[936] Individuals sought to advance socio-economic and political goals through mobility. Far from being unique, 'everyone has the potential of self-realization, self-creation.'[937] Mobility could be a resource or a strategy, to fulfil both material needs and immaterial aspirations.[938] Mobility equally played a role in social connectivity, as movement could confirm and at times expand inter-personal links. The unity of the chiefdom and even the Lunda entity as a whole was continuously redefined, either strengthened or questioned, through contact and movement.[939] Furthermore, ceremonies such as initiation rites for boys were organised on a regional rather than on a local level, which gave rise to coherent age sets whose members were spread out over the area.[940] Of course there were limits to individual mobility, as travel involved potential hazards and required preparation, capital and skills, but nevertheless mobility always remained an opportunity, as formal boundaries were lacking or could be transgressed.[941] These historical roots have given shape to an internal 'culture of mobility', an outlook which mediates the attitudes and responses towards movement.[942] Over time mobility has been deployed as a socio-economic, political and environmental strategy to make use of opportunities, enhance livelihoods and shape identities, to connect the local to the regional and global.

Official discourses did not necessarily acknowledge or comprehend these indigenous patterns of mobility, but rather sought to promote their own understandings, underlain by aims of administrative control and economic development.[943] This resulted in ambiguous views towards mobility. Under colonial rule the population of Mwinilunga District was denounced as leading a 'nomadic existence'.[944] Paradoxically, discourses portraying a remote, isolated and immobile population simultaneously gained acceptance.[945] Whereas on the one hand mobility was associated with a lack of control and hence 'primitivity', on the other hand mobility was seen as a route towards and accompaniment of 'modernity'.[946] Colonialism and capitalism would allegedly mark a 'mobility transition', lifting the barriers to movement from stable and self-sufficient societies and thereby spurring unprecedented 'development'.[947] Official attitudes towards mobility remained contradictory throughout the twentieth century. By insisting on large, fixed settlements rather than small shifting homesteads, by demarcating borders, both between chiefdoms and international territories, as well as through census, passes and other regulations, movement was restrained. Mobility was encouraged in other respects, though. Travelling became easier due to the cessation of slave raids, whereas government policies promoted labour migration, trade and the marketing of produce, all of which

[935] De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.
[936] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 794.
[937] Barber, 'Money, self-realization and the person', 213.
[938] M. Barrett, 'The social significance of crossing state borders: Home, mobility and life paths in the Angolan-Zambian borderland', in: S. Jansen and S. Löfving (eds.), *Struggles for home: Violence, hope and the movement of people* (Oxford, 2009), 85-107.
[939] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; J.J. Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej: Reconstructing Ruund history (The nuclear Lunda: Zaïre, Angola, Zambia)' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1978).
[940] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 187.
[941] Rockel, *Carriers of culture*; Kopytoff, 'The internal African frontier'.
[942] See: Hahn and Klute, *Cultures of migration*; Ngwane, 'Christmas time'.
[943] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries'.
[944] (NAZ) KSE6/1/2, J.M.C. Pound, Lunda Sub-District Annual Report, 1912-13.
[945] Van Binsbergen, 'Globalization and virtuality'.
[946] De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'.
[947] Lucassen and Lucassen, 'The mobility transition revisited'.

incited forms of long-distance mobility.[948] Over time, discourses of mobility were scrutinised, contested and altered. To what extent could discourses influence practices of mobility, or could individuals subvert policies through mobility? These questions will first be tackled by examining the case of boundary demarcation between Mwinilunga, Angola and Congo. Even as the boundary was firmly established on the ground, movement, contact and trade across the border persisted. This highlights the discrepancy between policy and practice and underlines the significance of historical roots of mobility.[949]

Drawing and crossing borders: An 'imaginary line' on the map

Despite attempts at administrative control through the demarcation of international boundaries, historical contacts, a culture of mobility, as well as new socio-economic and political circumstances propelled movement across borders.[950] This continued cross-border movement, which defied official intentions, should be further explored.[951] Colonial boundary demarcations went against existing forms of mobility, contact and identity in the region of Mwinilunga.[952] At least from the seventeenth century onwards, the Lunda entity had forged social, economic, political and cultural ties across the South Central African plateau.[953] These ties had not been territorially bounded, but were rather embodied through connections between people.[954] Social connectivity, in turn, spurred mobility through the exchange of marriage partners and the establishment of long-distance trade links. Although certain rivers might be referred to as the boundaries of the power base of Chief Kanongesha, his influence was not confined to a clearly delineated area.[955] Instead, power was expressed by the following which one could effectively muster.[956] Largely unhindered by prohibitive boundaries, the population connected the area through mobility. The pre-colonial period was thus marked by fluidity and movement, rather than by isolated or bounded units.[957] The colonial state, however, came equipped with different concepts of territorial rule and attempted to fix the boundaries of areas over which it sought to exert hegemony and control.[958] Not only were individuals tied to bounded and static villages through census and tax registrars, but mobility was further curtailed by the demarcation of international boundaries which directed movement away from regional historical routes towards new administrative centres.[959]

Based on ideas of sedentarisation, attempts were made to replace practices of social connectivity and mobility with forms of rigid territorial rule.[960] In 1905, by arbitration of the King of

---

[948] Such policy ambiguity has been described by Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place'.

[949] A similar argument has been made by: Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*.

[950] See: Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

[951] For parallel cases see: Nugent and Asiwaju, *African boundaries*.

[952] 'The Barotse boundary award', *The geographical journal* 26:2 (1905), 201-4.

[953] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej'.

[954] For an explanation of this principle, see R.D. Sack, *Human territoriality: Its theory and history* (Cambridge etc., 1986).

[955] (NAZ) KSE4/1, District Notebooks, 26, 53-55: The Lunga River is regarded as the rough boundary between the areas of Chief Kanongesha and Chief Sailunga. However, (NAZ) NWP1/12/23, R.C. Dening Comments on Vaux Report, 31 May 1954: 'There is no proper geographical basis for divisions between Chieftainships in native custom (…) The lack of geographical boundaries between Chiefs in the traditional organisation presents administrative difficulties, and this has been recognised and boundaries have been discussed and agreed to in recent years.'

[956] Rather than control over land, 'wealth in people' was sought. See: Miller, *Way of death*; Guyer, 'Wealth in people'. This point is equally made by Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating', 94.

[957] Kopytoff, 'The internal African frontier'.

[958] T. Raeymakers, 'The silent encroachment of the frontier: A politics of transborder trade in the Semliki Valley (Congo-Uganda)', *Political geography* 28 (2009), 55-65; De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and the contours of colonial rule'.

[959] G. Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping in Zambia' (University of Hull, 1967).

[960] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place', 1350.

Italy, cartography delineated colonial presence in Mwinilunga, even before physical rule was initiated on the ground in 1907.[961] As the twentieth century progressed international boundaries, with increasing precision and force, came to separate Mwinilunga District, under British rule in Northern Rhodesia, from neighbouring areas of Portuguese West Africa (Angola) and Belgian Congo (Congo).[962] To satisfy static territorial concepts and for purposes of administrative ease, boundary markers such as 'the ideal Congo-Zambezi watershed' or 'the 24th meridian east' were decided on and etched into the landscape.[963] These artificial markers did not correspond with existing allegiances or patterns of mobility. When international boundaries were just being demarcated their unsound nature was already recognised. Administrators stated that 'from a purely native point of view this decision was extremely unwise', but 'boundaries tho' are usually fixed up by our "arm-chair" politicians at home.'[964] Although at times ineffectually, the colonial administration sought to fix and control borders and movement.[965] In order to settle population groups and exert control, colonial officials 'strongly recommended that villages within 6 miles of the Border be moved outside a 10 mile area, or the practice of this-side-today-and-over-tomorrow will continue.'[966] In connection to this, village heads 'were nearly all told by the District Commissioner that they were to move before next harvesting either nearer the station or else right out of the Territory.'[967] Borders came to separate kindred population groups, formerly connected by the Lunda entity, affecting ties of tribute, trade, friendship, marriage and political alliance.[968] Efforts to establish territorial control through boundary demarcation thus influenced existing patterns of social connectivity and mobility.

In spite of the demarcation and policing of boundaries on the ground, cross-border mobility was not checked and neither were social ties cut up. People in Mwinilunga even at present continue to say that: 'We and the people in Angola and Congo, we are the same people!'[969] Initially, boundaries were more like 'imaginary lines' as people failed to physically distinguish them.[970] Borders appeared arbitrary and until the 1920s it remained unclear whether certain villages were located in Northern Rhodesian, Angolan or Congolese territory.[971] Under the auspices of various boundary commissions borders continued to be specified and altered until the 1930s.[972] Nevertheless, borders soon gained 'real material significance', even if only because population groups on either side of the border could exploit differences of policy and practice in the respective territories.[973] This resulted in population movements back and forth across colonial borders, aiming to settle under the administration whose demands were least onerous or whose rule appeared most favourable.[974] Borders never became

[961] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

[962] See: G. Abraham, '"Lines upon maps": Africa and the sanctity of African boundaries', *African journal of international and comparative law* 15:1 (2007), 61-84; J.W. Donaldson, 'Pillars and perspective: Demarcation of the Belgian Congo-Northern Rhodesia boundary', *Journal of historical geography* 34 (2008), 471-93; J-L. Vellut, 'Angola-Congo. L'invention de la frontière du Lunda (1889-1893)', *Africana studia* 9 (2006), 159-84.

[963] Abraham, 'Lines upon maps'; Donaldson, 'Pillars and perspective'.

[964] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks, F.V. Bruce Miller entry.

[965] Nugent and Asiwaju, *African boundaries.*

[966] (NAZ) KSE6/1/2, J.M.C. Pound, Lunda Sub-District Annual Report, 1912-13.

[967] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, T.M. Lawman, Lunda Sub-District Quarterly Report, 14 October 1912.

[968] Bakewell, 'Repatriating refugees'; 'The Barotse boundary award', 202: 'geographers must certainly regret that the old unfortunate system of bounding political spheres by arbitrary lines, without any reference to physical, political, or ethnological facts, has in this case received a new lease of life.'

[969] Interview with John J. Chiyuka, Kanongesha, 10 September 2008.

[970] Abrahams, 'Lines upon maps'.

[971] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, Balunda District Correspondence, C.S. Bellis to W. Hazell, 8 August 1910.

[972] The various Boundary Commissions active in the area were as follows: The Anglo-Portuguese Boundary Commission (APBC) in 1915 and 1925, the Anglo-Belgian Boundary Commission (ABBC) in 1911-14 and 1926-33.

[973] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and the contours of colonial rule', 67.

[974] Whereas the occasionally violent nature of Portuguese rule and forced labour in Angola, or the Belgian policies of forced cultivation of crops such as groundnuts and cotton in Congo induced many to settle in Northern

absolute barriers, but remained 'social, political and discursive constructs', gaining significance in the way they are crossed.[975] Apart from being merely restrictive, 'the border is also a place that gives room to considerable creativity and innovation.'[976] Cross-border mobility built upon historical ties established by the Lunda entity, recreating social connectivity in new ways under changing economic and political circumstances.[977] Throughout the twentieth century movement continued unabatedly, questioning the hegemony of the state:

> Considerable numbers of natives are crossing from Angola and Congo [into Mwinilunga District] and are making unauthorised settlements, some in inaccessible places (…) In this area there is a phenomenal amount of coming and going between the villages: people are constantly moving their abodes and taking their children with them over the border when they go to work.[978]

Individuals 'built upon long-established historical patterns of independent migration', shaping the border from below.[979] Through mobility the population could subvert colonial power, challenge official discourse and create alternative opportunities through socio-cultural and historical ties.[980]

Even as border posts were erected, customs regulations were enforced and passes or National Registration Cards were insisted on, borders remained permeable. Rather than being formal barriers, borders were regarded as conduits or corridors of opportunity.[981] Indeed, 'interstices are full of power, and (…) border residents are fully aware how they can use their interstitial power – their borderland advantage – to benefit themselves.'[982] In 1963 it could still be stated that 'the territorial boundary in this district is merely a line on a map as far as Africans are concerned; they come and go across borders the whole time.'[983] What were the practical implications of this statement? What motivated people to move from one territory to the other and to what extent was border control ever effectively enforced? By looking at the practice of cross-border trade it can be explained why the border failed to gain acceptance as a symbol of territorial hegemony. The inhabitants of Mwinilunga built on historical connections and patterns of mobility, yet equally responded to new circumstances by crossing borders.

Cross-border trade: Calico, cigarettes and cassava

Regional and long-distance trade, as well as other economic contacts, have been of paramount importance throughout the pre-colonial period.[984] Links of tribute connected Mwinilunga to the wider Lunda polity, circulating goods such as ivory, cloth, slaves and salt through the region.[985] Building upon these ties of tribute, long-distance trade contacts with the Angolan coast gained significance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Portuguese traders and African middlemen, such as the Ovimbundu, carried guns, cloth and liquor, which they exchanged locally for cassava, game meat, but

---

Rhodesia, the introduction of taxation by the British propelled others to leave. (NAZ) KDD4/1/1, Mwinilunga Sub-District Indaba Chiefs, 5 September 1925. See also: M.C. Musambachime, 'Escape from tyranny: Flights across the Rhodesia-Congo boundary', *Transafrican journal of history* 18 (1989), 147-59.

[975] D. Newman and A. Paasi, 'Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: Boundary narratives in political geography', *Progress in human geography* 22:2 (1998), 187; De Boeck, 'Borderland Breccia'.

[976] Raeymakers, 'The silent encroachment', 63.

[977] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[978] (NAZ) SEC2/953, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 7 November 1938.

[979] Andersson, 'Informal moves', 382; M. Doevenspeck, 'Constructing the border from below: Narratives from the Congolese-Rwandan state boundary', *Political geography* 30 (2011), 129-42.

[980] J.A. Pritchett, *Friends for life, friends for death: Cohorts and consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu* (Charlottesville etc., 2007), especially Chapter Six.

[981] Nugent and Asiwaju, *African boundaries.*

[982] D.K. Flynn, '"We are the border": Identity, exchange, and the state along the Benin-Nigeria border', *American ethnologist* 24:2 (1997), 312.

[983] (NAZ) LGH5/4/2 Loc.3615, Mwinilunga District Security Scheme, 1963.

[984] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*; Miller, *Way of death*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

[985] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; E. Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule: The politics of ethnicity* (Cambridge etc., 1975).

also ivory, rubber and slaves.[986] The colonial administration attempted to check these contacts through the demarcation of international boundaries and restrictive legislation, redirecting trade towards new administrative centres within the territory. Nevertheless, regional trade continued to clandestinely traverse borders.[987] Historical trade routes influenced colonial and post-colonial forms of cross-border contact, by adapting to changing circumstances.[988] How can the ongoing attractions of cross-border trade be explained? How did the culture of mobility in the area shape responses to various markets? These questions address identity and politics, as well as economic issues.

Borderland areas, such as Mwinilunga, are even at present regarded as marginal, fluid and therefore threatening to the hegemony of the state.[989] Until far into the colonial period border areas remained loosely administered and difficult to control.[990] During the opening decades of the twentieth century, for example, villages located directly along the border formed a refuge for various 'undesirables', smuggling ivory, rubber, guns and slaves.[991] Although 'control over people's movements (…) was crucial to and even constitutive of the colonial state in southern Africa',[992] individuals could subvert state power through mobility and cross-border trade. Trade could have economic motivations as 'differences in national economic policies, regional resources, and monetary currencies make borders lucrative zones of exchange and trade, often illicit and clandestine.'[993] Nevertheless, the rationale for trade went beyond economics, encompassing struggles over power and identity.[994] The example of the rubber trade during the first half of the twentieth century illustrates ways in which borders could be defied and administrative control could be questioned, pointing towards parallels and continuities between pre-colonial and colonial patterns of trade. Cross-border trade and mobility enabled economic entrepreneurship as well as a degree of political autonomy.

Trading rubber: Crossing borders, making profit and asserting autonomy

The rubber trade, to a large extent, built upon the precedent of the pre-colonial long-distance trade, making use of established inter-personal networks and following the same routes into Angola.[995] Ancient trade routes and networks were relied on yet transformed to bypass official controls and maximise profit.[996] Personal networks facilitated the lucrative rubber trade:

> The prices offered for rubber in Angolaland are very high indeed, and in the face of the law parties are constantly taking rubber where they can (…) The collection of rubber is a particularly easy way of attaining wealth, and natives return with immense loads of calico, powder and guns.[997]

Economic motives were important as trade goods obtained from the Portuguese were cheaper and more readily available than those at stores within Mwinilunga. Due to price differentials and the availability of markets, crossing the border to Angola remained a constant attraction.[998] In spite of boundary demarcations and official measures of control, such as tariffs and customs, 'devious routes

---

[986] Miller, *Way of death*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade;* D.M. Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade and the transformation of the South Central African interior', *William and Mary quarterly* 66:4 (2009), 915-38.
[987] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[988] MacGaffey, *The real economy*, 21.
[989] De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'; Doevenspeck, 'Constructing the border', 140; See also: J.C. Scott, *The art of not being governed: An anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London, 2009).
[990] See examples in: F. Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest: The British occupation of Zambia, 1884-1924* (Essex, 1981).
[991] See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.
[992] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 61; Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place', 1343-4.
[993] Flynn, 'We are the border', 313.
[994] MacGaffey, *The real economy*, 2.
[995] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*.
[996] MacGaffey, *The real economy*, 21; Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 693.
[997] (NAZ) KSE6/1/2, J.M.C. Pound, Lunda Sub-District Annual Report, 1912-13.
[998] For a much more recent example, see: De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.

for crossing frontiers came into being and facilitated the development of unrecorded transborder trade.'[999] Due to their marginality, border areas proved difficult to control:

> [People] seem to think how by going to the lower Luizabo [Angola] they are entering no man's land, where they will be left alone by the whiteman (…) Their position between the two borders as well as the rubber trade with all the wealth it begins is the cause of the difficulties they make and their independent ways (…) So long as these border people are so rich in powder and guns, and calico can be obtained so easily for rubber the Wandembo villages within close reach of the border will remain independent in their actions.[1000]

Cross-border trade could be a means of asserting political autonomy, or even expressing resistance to the state.[1001] The rubber trade, involving unregulated cross-border movements and providing access to guns and gunpowder, was thus cause for great administrative concern. Colonial officials made attempts to limit cross-border contacts, but trade could not simply be checked:

> The areas where most of the indigenous rubber grows are principally situated on the Congo and Portuguese borders, where, on account of the uncertainty of the border line, the country was the last to be occupied, and where the natives are least amenable to control. On the British side of the border they are still rather wild and intractable and the presence of traders not all of whom are scrupulous, tends to keep them so. The fact that such traders used to buy in the Congo and Portuguese West Africa and to smuggle the rubber into British Territory (and encouraged the natives to do the same) tended to create friction and to keep the border in unrest.[1002]

Rather than being formal barriers or beacons of government hegemony, borders continued to be corridors of opportunity, enabling trade, profit and autonomy.[1003] Portuguese traders offered high prices for rubber and supplied ample trade goods in return. This enticed numerous individuals to go rubber collecting in Congo, carry the rubber to Angola for sale and return to Mwinilunga 'staggering under the weight' of trade goods.[1004] Trade was not only economically profitable but could be a social and political strategy as well, to evade administrative control and establish, transform or strengthen cross-border networks of kinship, ethnicity and trust.[1005] Borders provided the Lunda with distinct opportunities, as 'in them [borders] they see ramparts beyond which we [government officials] may not at present operate, and behind which they are safe and secure.'[1006] The rubber trade built on historical precedents of trade, was underpinned by a strong economic rationale and responded to the new political setting of colonial rule, by attempting to evade restrictive policies and assert autonomy. In spite of its attractions, the rubber trade gradually died out towards the end of the 1920s. This was due to a combination of factors, including the disruption of the caravan trade, changes in international terms of trade, the establishment of colonial rule, as well as boundary demarcations.[1007] Nevertheless, the rubber trade was only one example of the varied and complex cross-border contacts throughout the twentieth century. Old patterns of long-distance trade were replaced by other forms of triangular trade relations, connecting Mwinilunga, Congo and Angola.

Circuits of trade: Legality, entrepreneurship and the state

Cross-border trade is the product 'of historical networks of trade and accumulation which stagnate, thrive, and mutate as new resources are accessed, and as national and global economic factors change.'[1008] Indeed, through constant mutation and reconfiguration trade with Angola and Congo

[999] MacGaffey, *The real economy*, 21.
[1000] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1. J.M.C. Pound, Lunda Sub-District Quarterly Report, 14 April 1913.
[1001] MacGaffey, *The real economy,* 10.
[1002] (NAZ) A3/28/2 Loc.3996, L.A. Wallace Report, 4 September 1909.
[1003] Flynn, 'We are the border'.
[1004] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, J.M.C. Pound, Lunda Sub-District Quarterly Report, 14 April 1913.
[1005] Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 675.
[1006] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, G.A. McGregor, Balunda District Monthly Report, March 1909.
[1007] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[1008] Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 693.

remained important, if not essential, to Mwinilunga District throughout the colonial and post-colonial period.[1009] The terms of trade fluctuated continuously, depending on prevailing political and socio-economic dynamics.[1010] It is exactly this constant fluctuation which could be exploited to the benefit of traders and enterprising agents. Traders crossed and creatively circumvented borders in order to take advantage of higher prices, lower tax rates or better access to trade goods and resources in other areas. Markets in Angola and Congo competed with, but also stood in relation to, national markets and 'the resulting plurality of markets entails the constituents of a multitude of power bases who are constantly defending and appropriating channels of accumulation.'[1011] The extent and variety of trade in the 1950s was notable:

> The markets of the Congo are by far the closest and most profitable for the pedicle area [north-western part of Mwinilunga District], and I [D.C.] am quite prepared to see livestock sold over the border, bringing good prices (…) Angolans (Europeans and Africans alike) come across generally with loads of fish and return with general provisions and cloth (+gunpowder and ammunitions trade). Vehicles from the Congo bring cigarettes (Belga) and other small goods (penknives and the like), and return with either meat or poultry, which fetch a good price on the Congo line of rail only 50 miles away.[1012]

The term 'straddling' might capture the multiplicity of cross-border trade, as it 'involves dispersing risk by balancing alternative types of resources', it is a strategy for 'survival and the struggle for opportunities for accumulation'.[1013] The significance of cross-border trade has to be seen in relation to other forms of trade, but also livelihood strategies such as agriculture, hunting and waged employment.

Trade could be driven to cross borders due to economic opportunities, state policies and more generally by aspirations of material gain or the desire to secure livelihoods.[1014] In case marketing opportunities for certain crops or commodities proved more favourable in Angola, producers in Mwinilunga would take advantage of this discrepancy. The beeswax trade, described in the previous chapter, exemplifies this.[1015] Throughout the post-colonial period trade was upheld, even during the civil war in Angola when consumer goods and food supplies were transported from Mwinilunga across the border, realising high profits in spite of the risks involved.[1016] In a similar manner, traders from Mwinilunga ingeniously exploited price differentials and the ready availability of consumer goods in Congo. It was noted that hawkers 'do a flourishing trade, more especially in the sale of second-hand clothing of excellent quality, which is imported from the Congo in very substantial quantities and retailed at moderate prices.'[1017] From the 1930s onwards livestock made up a large proportion of cross-border trade. Chickens, goats, sheep and to a lesser extent cattle, were traded from Mwinilunga to the Congolese urban centres, where a fowl could catch up to 25/- a piece in 1960.[1018] The local drop in animal figures was blamed directly on 'extravagant selling in the mining areas of the Independent Katanga Province (…) The traffic of fowls to the Congo mining townships had increased and no doubt the developing food shortages will sharpen an already keen market.'[1019] Being flexible and multifaceted, cross-border trade interacted with local livelihoods in numerous ways. Mobility and cross-border trade could be resources, opportunities for material gain and means to exploit disparities

[1009] Pritchett, *Friends for life*; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.
[1010] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[1011] Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 694.
[1012] (NAZ) SEC2/966, M.A. Hinds, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 22 September 1958.
[1013] Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 678, 685.
[1014] MacGaffey, *The real economy,* 16.
[1015] See Chapter 2.
[1016] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; A. Hansen, 'Once the running stops: The social and economic incorporation of Angolan refugees into Zambian border villages' (PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1977); Pritchett, *Friends for life.*
[1017] (NAZ) SEC2/155, Western Province Annual Report, 1948.
[1018] (NAZ) MAG2/18/3, North Western Province, Stocktaking Programme of Work, 1960-1.
[1019] (NAZ) NWP1/2/102 Loc.4919, E.L. Button, North Western Province Annual Report, 1960.

in national policies.[1020] Methods of trade varied and traversed the boundaries between legal and illegal, regulated and unregulated, European and African, Mwinilunga, Angola and Congo.

Cross-border trade has been designated as illegal, to varying extents, because its activities so frequently evade taxation, tariffs and customs, depriving the state of revenue.[1021] In so far as it sought to circumvent border patrols and cumbersome government regulations, trade was problematic from an administrative point of view. Measures of control, attempting to regulate trade, never proved completely effective.[1022] Clandestine trade and smuggling across the border, only rarely intercepted by customs control, flourished and found a lucrative, high-risk, niche, despite restrictive legislation.[1023] The extent of transactions and their level of organisation could be considerable, but small-scale tactics were equally common:

> There is a large amount of cloth smuggling going on between Belgian Congo and this district. One man was found to have as much as 19 blankets, 174 yards of calico and several coats, trousers, singlets, pullovers, shawls – He was not a hawker but had received practically the whole of two years pay in cloth. The customs amounted to £2.[1024]

The oppositions between legal and illegal, formal and informal, national and cross-border trade, should not be viewed as absolute. It is only in relation to formal channels of trade that cross-border trade gained significance.[1025] 'Informal spheres are *defined* by the state', whilst binary categories of 'formal' and 'informal' are in fact symbiotic.[1026] Formal and informal categories were intertwined, as trade profits made illicitly through livestock trade with Congo, could be deployed to pay government taxes:

> It was well known that many people in the District depended on selling chickens, sheep and goats in the Congo for money with which to pay tax and buy clothes. In view of this the council had last year imposed a levy of 2/6 a head on a person trading with stock across the border, but now many innocent people had been arrested.[1027]

Levies and fines imposed to punish traders failed to effect the desired outcome, leaving culprits unaffected whilst punishing travellers. Distinctions between 'legal' and 'illegal' trade proved difficult to make and impossible to enforce, not only for traders and the local population, but even for government officials. Not only could policies be highly ambiguous, but various circuits of trade were thoroughly intertwined.

Cross-border trade was oftentimes tolerated, if not always endorsed. Officials would turn a blind eye to the trade in more than one instance.[1028] As the example of trade with and through Congo in the 1950s evidences, cross-border trade could assume regulated forms, even being sanctioned by the government. The profitability of Congolese markets was recognised by the administration, although reservations applied: 'The nearest market for agricultural produce is the Belgian Congo, which is a foreign country and cannot therefore be regarded as an assured market as import controls can, and probably would apply.'[1029] Even low-value high-weight crops such as cassava could find a lucrative market in Congo, especially during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Because the market for cassava within Mwinilunga District remained limited, Congolese markets were so eagerly supplied that officials even lamented that 'cassava was fetching such a high price in the Congo markets that growers pulled out mature and immature plants alike and carried them off to the Congo to make the easy

[1020] See: Andersson, 'Informal moves'.
[1021] MacGaffey, *The real economy,* 12, 19, 31.
[1022] See: Raeymakers, 'The silent encroachment'; Flynn, 'We are the border'.
[1023] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[1024] (NAZ) SEC2/953, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District tour report, 21 May 1939.
[1025] MacGaffey, *The real economy,* 2.
[1026] Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 679, 683.
[1027] (NAZ) LGH5/1/3 Loc.3604, Lunda-Ndembo Native Authority Council, 5 November 1960.
[1028] For illustrative examples, see: J. Pottier, *Migrants no more: Settlement and survival in Mambwe villages, Zambia* (Manchester, 1988).
[1029] (NAZ) SEC5/214, Murray, Mwinilunga Crown Land Block, 23 December 1958.

money that was going there.'[1030] Furthermore, transport through the Congolese railway system gained official approval, proving attractive to producers, traders and the government alike. When demand for foodstuffs on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt peaked, especially during the 1947-51 period, cassava and maize were transported from Mwinilunga via Mutshatsha in Congo by rail back into Northern Rhodesia to Ndola.[1031] Congolese traders would buy up surpluses left in Mwinilunga:

> Approximately 1,000 bags of surplus cassava were available, and Mr. Raftopoulos a trader in Belgian Congo, was permitted by the Director of Civil Supplies to buy this surplus (for export to the Congo) in the Mwinilunga District. The cassava was bought for cash at 9/10th of a penny.[1032]

This trade linked African and European traders from Mwinilunga and Congo together in an intricate network. The District Commissioner Mwinilunga noted how he:

> met three prosperous Africans whose main source of income accrues from buying meal and selling it to a Greek trader at Mutshatsha in the Congo at a landed price of 3 ½ d per lb. Transport of the meal is carried out by W.F. Fisher and Company Limited and paid for by the African traders.[1033]

Although it proved possible to export foodstuffs from Mwinilunga to Congo in the 1940s and 1950s, trade could not be sustained at such high levels once demand in urban centres slumped.[1034] Transport costs, customs regulations and currency problems all militated against trade. In the early 1960s political upheaval in the Congolese province of Katanga further disrupted trade relations. In spite of being officially sanctioned during the 1940s and 1950s, cross-border trade reverted to its illicit status afterwards.[1035] Nevertheless, this example illustrates that cross-border trade was not necessarily opposed to government interests, but could in some cases be propelled by official directives.

Cross-border trade was subject to numerous rules and regulations, although these did not always have the desired outcome. The different currencies prevailing in Angola, Congo and Zambia, for instance, could cause difficulties. At the time of Congolese independence and the secession of Katanga 'the devaluation of the Katanga franc had rendered trade with Katanga hazardous.'[1036] Political upheaval threatened formal and established circuits of trade, which connected Mwinilunga to Congo: 'Hitherto, the district had relied on the traditional trade with Katanga for its wealth. This was now dead. The Congo franc was now worthless and the district must look to other sources of wealth.'[1037] Furthermore it was stated that:

> Tax collection had been retarded as a result of the serious decline of trading with the Congo which used to be the main occupation and source of income for the people (…) Many locals who normally trade and shop in the Congo have ceased to do so and, in doing so, have found themselves burdened with considerable amounts of francs which can now no longer be exchanged at the stores in Mwinilunga nor with passing traders heading for the Congo markets.

Nevertheless, trade was flexible and the severity of the Congolese crisis even proved beneficial in some respects. Deflation of the franc could cause temporary advantages:

> Export trade across the Border with the people in the Congo has been reduced, but due to deflation of the Congo currency quite a lot of purchases have been made by people on our side as even after customs duty has been paid material is generally much cheaper.[1038]

This evidences the interrelated nature of regulated and unregulated trade, legislation, currency, taxation, entrepreneurship and personal initiative. Legitimate and illegitimate trade could not be separated, as they stood in relationship to one another.

[1030] (NAZ) NWP1/2/78 Loc.4913, F.R.G. Phillips, Western Province Annual Report, 1957.
[1031] See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1032] (NAZ) SEC2/958, K. Duff-White, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 19 June 1951.
[1033] (NAZ) SEC2/963, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 26 April 1955.
[1034] See: K.P. Vickery, 'Saving settlers: Maize control in Northern Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 11:2 (1984/85), 212-34; A. Sardanis, *Africa, another side of the coin: Northern Rhodesia's final years and Zambia's nationhood* (London, 2003).
[1035] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1036] (NAZ) MCD1/3/29, North Western Province, Provincial Team Meeting, February 1964.
[1037] (NAZ) LGH5/1/3 Loc.3604, Lunda-Ndembo Native Authority Council, 17 September 1963.
[1038] (NAZ) NWP1/2/105 Loc.4920, H.T. Bayldon, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1963.

In spite of official restrictions and political strife, trade with Congo and Angola continued after independence. Zambian relationships with neighbouring countries were profoundly influenced by political upheaval, civil disruption and war in both Congo and Angola.[1039] The position of Zambia as a 'frontline state' raised issues of security and border control.[1040] The prolonged Angolan civil war influenced economic relationships with Mwinilunga District. Regular trade was disrupted, the Benguela railway was shut in 1975, but nevertheless game meat, foodstuffs and guns continued to be exchanged clandestinely across the border, and some traders even managed to prosper due to such transactions.[1041] Trade with Congo was particularly significant during the pineapple boom in Mwinilunga District, when large amounts of pineapples were sold in Congolese towns.[1042] Even at present trade continues, as dried fish and game meat are illicitly imported from Angola to Mwinilunga.[1043] Trade across the border remained attractive, complementing or serving as an alternative to trade networks within Mwinilunga and Zambia.[1044] The enduring nature of cross-border trade raises questions as to why the relationships between Mwinilunga, Angola and Congo retained pertinence even in the context of socio-economic and political change.

Because the state defines legitimate economic activity, 'illegitimate' cross-border trade has predominantly been understood as an act of opposition to the state, an attempt to avoid its authority and control.[1045] Previous examples, however, have shown that legitimate and illegitimate trade cannot be clearly distinguished, as there are many points of intersection. Cross-border trade does not necessarily challenge the state, but rather finds its significance in relation to the state.[1046] Crossing the border might be 'the people's spontaneous and creative response to the state's incapacity to satisfy the basic needs of the impoverished masses.'[1047] Indeed, cross-border trade might generate higher returns than 'formal' channels of trade could, and this might explain its dynamics. Nevertheless, cross-border trade cannot simply 'disengage' from the state: 'one can hardly disengage from something without engaging in something else – this involves the cultivation of relationships to access resources, and hence confrontation with bases of power and authority which control these assets.'[1048] In order to pose an alternative to formal or national trajectories of trade, cross-border trade had to build upon social relationships, bonds of kinship, ethnicity and trust, which could have historical roots but were recreated and reinvigorated to respond to new circumstances.

Ties of kinship and Lunda ethnicity, as well as historical commercial linkages and trade routes, served to enable, encourage and uphold cross-border trade.[1049] The interrelationships between Mwinilunga, Angola and Congo proved multiple, complex and enduring:

[1039] In the case of Congo events following Congolese independence and the secession of Katanga in 1960-61, after the installation of Mobutu in 1965-67 and again in 1977-78 after Katangese gendarme attacks influenced security and international trade relationships and caused population movements into Mwinilunga District. In the case of Angola there was a prolonged civil war, starting with the struggle for national liberation and continuing with UNITA-MPLA strife throughout the 1960s-1990s. Population flows from Angola into Mwinilunga District increased after 1966 and again in 1976, peaking during the 1980s.

[1040] See: M. Larmer, *Rethinking African politics: A history of opposition in Zambia* (Farnham and Burlington, 2011); S. Onslow (ed.), *Cold war in Southern Africa: White power, black liberation* (London etc., 2009).

[1041] For overviews of the Angolan civil war see: D. Birmingham, *Frontline nationalism in Angola and Mozambique* (London etc., 1992); W. Minter, *Apartheid's contras: An inquiry into the roots of war in Angola and Mozambique* (Johannesburg etc., 1994).

[1042] See Chapter 2.

[1043] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Friends for life.*

[1044] Pritchett, *Friends for life,* Chapters Six and Eight.

[1045] MacGaffey, *The real economy,* 10; Raeymakers, 'The silent encroachment', 55.

[1046] See: Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets'; MacGaffey, *The real economy.*

[1047] MacGaffey, *The real economy,* 12.

[1048] Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 691.

[1049] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule.*

> The contact maintained by both branches of the Lunda here (Ndembo and Lunda) with their fellow tribesmen in Portuguese and Belgian Territory continues as strong as ever (…) Expanding industries in the Congo attract an increasing number of people from this District, but there is still an appreciable flow of population in the opposite direction (…) The natural areas for trade of this District are Angola and the Congo. Trade with the Congo is two way, consumer goods being brought here from Mutshatsha and other places on the railway line, and native produce being taken there from this district. There appears to be practically no export from here to Angola (…) There is however a good deal of hawking of fish and trinkets from Angola over here.[1050]

Ties of kinship, ethnicity and historical contact could function as social assets, in order to access wealth and power.[1051] Due to social connectivity to Angola and Congo, cross-border trade could function as an alternative to official national channels of trade:

> The common cultural background and loyalties of those from the same ethnic group, and the mutual obligations and emotional bonds of family and kinship, all operate to promote the trust, accountability and sense of moral responsibility that is lacking in the official economy and that contributes to its irrationality and unpredictability.[1052]

Even within the context of (post-)colonial rule historical ties of trade and kinship could be functional. In the setting of the Zambian nation-state, Mwinilunga District remained remote or marginal vis-à-vis the Copperbelt, line-of-rail and Lusaka.[1053] The area is far removed from major markets and poorly connected by transport networks, and therefore alternative avenues of cross-border trade became attractive. The historical roots of mobility, connecting the area to Angola and Congo, enabled inhabitants of Mwinilunga District to grasp opportunities for trade within a constantly changing setting. In the process, ties of identity and affiliation were recreated and given new meaning: 'capitalist penetration has led to new sources of wealth and power which are accessed through established channels (i.e. kin- or community-based relationships) and, in turn, utilised in ways which restructure (but not eliminate) old institutions and social relations.'[1054] Similarly to what MacGaffey has contended for the 'second economy' of Zaire (Congo), for Mwinilunga District it might be argued that due to national marginalisation, 'people are taking matters into their own hands and organizing an unofficial system; compensating for the inability of the state to supply the [necessary] infrastructure, services, and protection.'[1055] What did this 'unofficial system' consist of and how did it build upon a culture of mobility, recreating notions of identity, belonging and power?

Moving along the border: Migration, identity and the state

Due to its geographically remote location, Mwinilunga District appears marginal to the state.[1056] The area shares international boundaries with Angola and Congo, whilst being removed from the economic and political heartland of the Zambian nation by long transport hauls. The district does not enjoy favourable resource endowments, possessing neither minerals nor particularly fertile land, and consequently has never been central to government or capital interests.[1057] An early colonial official deplored Mwinilunga as 'the most elementary place in this elementary country.'[1058] Other officials did argue that the area held potential, for example having soils suitable for the cultivation of pineapples or being apt for prospective cattle ranching, but this potential remained largely unrealised.[1059] The

[1050] (NAZ) SEC2/155, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1948.
[1051] MacGaffey, *The real economy,* 32-3; Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 689.
[1052] MacGaffey, *The real economy,* 32.
[1053] See especially: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1054] Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 686.
[1055] MacGaffey, *The real economy,* 39.
[1056] Pritchett, *Friends for life*; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[1057] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; B.C. Kakoma, 'Colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia: A case study of administration in Mwinilunga District, 1900-1939' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1971).
[1058] (BOD) MSS Afr S 779, Theodore Williams letters, My dear mother, Mwinilunga, 21 May 1913.
[1059] This view is based on a wide reading of archival sources (NAZ).

North-Western Province as a whole has been labelled the 'Cinderella Province', holding vast but underutilised potential for development.[1060] The marginality of the area, however, did not have to be merely negative. The interstices created by loose state control and economic opportunity are full of power, which could and has been used to the benefit of the residents of the area.[1061] In this sense, mobility could challenge and redefine the marginal position of Mwinilunga District.[1062] Marginality could be 'both the constraining, oppressive quality of cultural exclusion and the creative potential of rearticulating, enlivening, and rearranging the very social categories that peripheralize a group's existence.'[1063] In the area of Mwinilunga mobility constituted a means to cope with marginality, renegotiate its terms and engage the state and markets on favourable terms.[1064] Through mobility the local was recreated and given new vitality.[1065] Mobility could be a resource, enabling access to a wide range of opportunities and allowing strategies towards self-realisation.[1066] Exactly because of the location of Mwinilunga on the border with Angola and Congo, mobility and trade could provide favourable and lucrative prospects, enabling the alleviation of national marginality by seeking and strengthening regional or international ties. Aspects of identity were deployed and redefined through mobility in order to access resources. Issues of identity, mobility and power interacted.

Over the course of the twentieth century regional allegiances, some dating to the foundation of the Lunda polity, have been reinvigorated, given new meaning and importance through mobility.[1067] Ethnic affiliation and notions of Lunda identity did not remain static.[1068] Rather, 'tradition and historic symbolic régimes are reinvented in a new setting. New opportunities are appropriated by a system which is itself transformed by the changing context.'[1069] Identity appeared to be situational, rather than absolute, fixed or well-defined.[1070] This is illustrated by the observations of a colonial officer, dealing with economic ties, political allegiance and population movement in the area of Mwinilunga:

> The paramount Chief of the Lunda people lives in the Congo and is a cousin of Mr. Tshombe. Ethnographically the tribal centre is Katanga; economically it is Katanga and the Copperbelt of N. Rhodesia and politically, whatever the future has to offer. The territorial boundary in this district is merely a line on a map as far as Africans are concerned; they come and go across the borders the whole time. Therefore there will be no such thing as "African refugees" from ANGOLA or CONGO. It will merely be a case of living with one lot of relatives instead of another, and it is going on all the time.[1071]

Patterns of mobility and aspects of identity could become thoroughly intertwined. The border was given meaning through practice, and the movement of people, goods and ideas continued to go back

[1060] A. von Oppen, 'Cinderella province: Discourses of locality and nation state in a Zambian periphery, 1950s-1990s', *Sociologus* 52:1 (2002), 11-46.
[1061] For a parallel see: Flynn, 'We are the border'.
[1062] See the case studies in: De Bruijn, Van Dijk and Foeken, *Mobile Africa.*
[1063] A.L. Tsing, 'From the margins', *Cultural anthropology*, 9:3 (1994), 279.
[1064] A similar argument has been made by Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1065] A. Appadurai, *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization* (Minneapolis, 2003).
[1066] These ideas will be elaborated later on.
[1067] See especially: Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*; Pritchett, *Friends for life.*
[1068] Ethnicity is understood here as a flexible form of allegiance and identity, in accordance with J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Ethnography and the historical imagination* (Boulder, San Francisco and Oxford, 1992), 50: 'Contrary to the tendency, in the Weberian tradition, to view it as a function of primordial ties, ethnicity always has its genesis in specific historical forces, forces which are simultaneously structural and cultural.' 52: 'Not only may its character change over time (…) but the way in which it is experienced and expressed may vary among social groupings according to their positions in a prevailing structure of power relations.' 60: 'While ethnicity is the product of specific historical processes, it tends to take on the "natural" appearance of an autonomous force, a "principle" capable of determining the course of social life.'
[1069] Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 687.
[1070] See the discussion in: B.J. Berman and J.M. Lonsdale, *Unhappy valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London, Nairobi and Athens, 1992).
[1071] (NAZ) LGH5/4/2 Loc.3615, Mwinilunga Security Scheme, 1963.

and forth.[1072] Through mobility individuals could take advantage of favourable conditions and policies on either side of the border. Thereby, the marginality of Mwinilunga and the lack of government control in the border area could be turned into distinct assets. By moving across the border individuals could navigate beyond the control of the state, take advantage of economic opportunities and access markets, whilst redefining notions of identity.[1073] Mobility was reinforced by opportunities towards self-realisation and material gain.[1074] In the area of Mwinilunga mobility could be a profitable strategy, expressed by incessant migratory flows, long-distance trade and flexible ties of identity and belonging.[1075] This gave shape to a historical and adaptive 'culture of mobility' in the area. Moreover, strategies of mobility could question the legitimacy of the national state in favour of alternative regional alliances.[1076]

Population movement, refugees and identity

Ties of Lunda identity played an important role in this process.[1077] Historical ties between Mwinilunga and neighbouring areas of Angola and Congo remained strong throughout the twentieth century, expressed through population movements: 'the fundamental reason is the tribal and blood relationships and so long as the boundary cuts across the tribal pattern so long the people will come and go.'[1078] This constant movement gave rise to administrative concerns, as: 'stabilisation of population in a border area has particular difficulties. But underlying all is the lack of desire to stabilise where people are undecided which side of the border is their true home.'[1079] Throughout the colonial and post-colonial period ties of Lunda identity continued to be deployed, as an accompaniment of mobility, trade and population movement: 'the ambiguities of identities in borderlands can also be strategically played upon to forge, reformulate, and even mobilize ethnic identity to advantage.'[1080] When taxation was first introduced in Mwinilunga at the beginning of the twentieth century, for example, numerous individuals, families and even entire villages changed their place of residence, based on judgements of which territory would offer more favourable terms of settlement:[1081]

> It is plain that the community building to-day, have vividly before them the possibility of circumstances arising to make them decide to again remove to-morrow (…) into Portuguese Territory where, only across the border and within a few miles of this place a Tom Tiddlers ground exists, as yet unvisited by the nearest official (…) Miles and miles of country are available across the border where there is positive immunity from the visits of interfering officials (…) There slave trading prospers; guns, caps and powder are to be had (…) the worrying tax gatherer is unknown, and work, work, work is not the national war cry.[1082]

Through mobility individuals could evade onerous administrative demands, taking advantage of differential policies in other territories.[1083] Especially to those seeking waged employment, Congo

[1072] De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[1073] See: Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Raeymakers, 'The silent encroachment'.

[1074] Guyer, 'Wealth in people'.

[1075] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[1076] See especially: M. Larmer and G. Macola, 'The origins, context and political significance of the Mushala rebellion against the Zambian one-party state', *The international journal of African historical studies* 40:3 (2007), 471-96.

[1077] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*; Pritchett, *Friends for life*; P.M. Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion* (Lusaka, 1987).

[1078] (NAZ) SEC2/966, W.D. Grant, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 24 October 1958.

[1079] (NAZ) SEC2/956, J.S. Jones, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 28 August 1948.

[1080] R.R. Alvarez and G.A. Collier, 'The long haul in Mexican trucking: Traversing the borderlands of the north and south', *American ethnologist* 21 (1994), 607, quoted in: Flynn, 'We are the border', 314.

[1081] This process has been described in: Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

[1082] (NAZ) BS2/199 IN2/1/3, G.A. McGregor, Balunda District Monthly Report, January 1909.

[1083] See: Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Musambachime, 'Escape from tyranny'.

provided attractions.[1084] Congolese towns became known as 'a bourne from where no traveller returns', not only because of the favourable rates of pay and conditions of work in urban areas such as Kolwezi or Elisabethville (Lubumbashi), but moreover because 'Africans are not barred by race or creed from advancing to well paid posts, mostly in the technical and artisan grade.'[1085] Depending on prevailing opportunities, government policies, personal preferences and assessment of risks, crossing the border could be an attractive alternative to residence within Mwinilunga District.[1086] On the other hand, there were numerous 'push' factors, driving migration from Congo and Angola into Mwinilunga:

> The chief reason is the unpopular compulsory cotton growing in the Congo Belge which although now abandoned has given place to equally unpopular compulsory cultivation of groundnuts; the second reason is the alleged unpopular administration in Angola and the third and least important reason is the reduction of tax in this area to 6/-.[1087]

Population movement was facilitated by ties of Lunda identity, which were reinvigorated in the process. Ties of Lunda identity not only facilitated mobility, but enabled individuals to challenge national policies and prevailing marginality in powerful ways.

Building on historical precedents and a culture of mobility, population movements could foster and bolster ties of Lunda identity. Large-scale population movements were set in motion as a result of political upheaval and civil war in Angola and Congo, especially from the 1960s to the 1990s.[1088] Although the international community labelled this as a movement of 'refugees', the flow of population might more usefully be interpreted in the context of long-established practices of cross-border mobility, ties of kinship and Lunda identity.[1089] In 1962, for example, it was noted that: 'events in Katanga resulted in an upheaval on our border and an influx of refugees, Cabinet ministers and fleeing elements of the Katangese military forces, including mercenaries (…) The steady flow of immigrants mainly from Angola continues.'[1090] This mobility and the resultant influx of population into Mwinilunga District were seen as problematic by officials. Shelter, food and other necessities had to be provided, causing administrative and logistical difficulties, straining limited resources.[1091] Population movement could equally have more positive consequences, though. Headmen and chiefs welcomed the additional population to their villages as this boasted their prestige and made their villages eligible for government services, since the allocation of schools, hospitals and other social facilities depended on the number of inhabitants in an area.[1092] Furthermore, migrants and refugee camps could form a market for the sale of foodstuffs.[1093] Bartering or selling food for cash, goods or in

---

[1084] An overview of mining development in Congo is provided by: J. Higginson, *A working class in the making: Belgian colonial labour policy, private enterprise, and the African mineworker, 1907-1951* (Madison etc., 1989).

[1085] (NAZ) SEC2/962, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 16 September 1954.

[1086] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[1087] (NAZ) NWP1/2/10 Loc.4898, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1 March 1939.

[1088] See especially: A. Hansen, 'Once the running stops: Assimilation of Angolan refugees into Zambian border villages', *Disasters* 3:4 (1979), 369-74; A. Hansen, 'Refugee dynamics: Angolans in Zambia 1966 to 1972', *International migration review* 15:1/2 (1981), 175-94; P.J. Freund and K. Kalumba, 'Spontaneously settled refugees in Northwestern Province, Zambia', *International migration review* 20:2 (1986), 299-312; O. Bakewell, 'Repatriation and self-settled refugees in Zambia: Bringing solutions to the wrong problems', *Journal of refugee studies* 13:4 (2000), 356-73; O. Bakewell, 'Repatriation: Angolan refugees or migrating villagers?', in: P. Essed, G. Frerks and J. Shrivers (eds.), *Refugees and the transformation of society: Agency, policies, ethics and politics* (New York and Oxford, 2004); O. Bakewell, 'The meaning and use of identity papers: Handheld and heartfelt nationality in the borderlands of North-West Zambia', *IMI working paper,* 5, University of Oxford, International Migration Institute (2007), http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/wp-5-use-of-papers.pdf.

[1089] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[1090] (NAZ) NWP1/2/102 Loc.4919, H.T. Bayldon, North Western Province Annual Summary, 1962.

[1091] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place', explains policy views which depict migration as problematic.

[1092] Pritchett, *Friends for life,* Chapter Eight; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[1093] Hansen, 'Once the running stops'.

exchange for labour services, to visitors, travellers and migrants, had been a long-established practice.[1094] At the beginning of the twentieth century it was remarked that:

> any surplus [of food] they may have is eagerly bought (and usually paid for by labour only) by the continual stream of immigrants from Angola and the Congo. These new arrivals are usually quite content to work for their food or until such time as they can get their own gardens established.[1095]

All through the post-colonial period food – predominantly maize – was sold to refugee camps throughout the North-Western Province, in Zambezi and Solwezi Districts and especially to Meheba refugee camp which was opened in 1971.[1096] On a smaller scale and more informally, migrants who settled outside of refugee camps could buy up the standing crop of cassava or perform work in established gardens throughout Mwinilunga District.[1097] In a labour and cash strapped environment this additional income and productive force could prove particularly advantageous. A further potential benefit to the economic wellbeing of the area accrued from the immigrant population. International donor aid could be redistributed, or even commercially resold, by those dispensing these resources. Consequently, food aid, blankets and cooking utensils proved lucrative items of trade, rather than being relief for the deprived.[1098] Although refugees were thus regarded as problematic by officials, there could also be beneficial consequences to their presence in Mwinilunga, especially from the perspective of the local population. Issues of identity and belonging of migrants proved important as well. Through ties of Lunda identity migrants legitimated their right of settlement and claims to land in the area of Mwinilunga. Numerous migrants, labelled 'self-settled refugees', settled outside of refugee camps, merged in with the local population and refrained from returning to their country of origin upon cessation of the conflicts. One might therefore question whether identity is 'handheld' (the nationality noted on a national registration card) or 'heartfelt' and to what extent the two correspond.[1099] Due to incessant mobility issues of identity and belonging remained fluid and uncertain. This flexibility was already acknowledged by the District Commissioner in the 1920s:

> A large proportion of the new people were not born in this territory, so when Angola is blessed with a more efficient administration it is possible that a number will return to the home of their ancestors: although, if questioned now, one and all would aver that they had shaken the dust of Angola off their feet for ever.[1100]

Mobility strengthened ties of common Lunda identity between the inhabitants of Congo, Angola and Mwinilunga District. The option of movement and the 'return' of migrants was always open, as ties of identity and belonging remained negotiable. In the 1950s it was remarked that: 'Immigrants from the two neighbouring territories [Angola and Congo] pass through the District on their way to the urban labour markets and sometimes return to settle here [Mwinilunga] but, in many cases, they retain ties and allegiances in their old home areas, which results in protracted visits or removals.'[1101] In the 1990s ties of kinship, allegiance and ethnicity still appeared to be situational and permeable, rather than fixed or bounded. How did issues of identity and mobility interact? How could ties of Lunda identity serve to question the authority of the Zambian nation-state?

The politics of belonging: Crafting and challenging the nation-state

In the area of Mwinilunga the flow of population in various directions created an uncertainty of identity and belonging. This ultimately complicated the issue of national identity, which gained heightened significance after independence.[1102] The support which voters in Mwinilunga lent to ANC, the relative

[1094] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[1095] (NAZ) KSE6/2/2, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Lunda Sub-District Quarterly Report, 30 June 1922.
[1096] Hansen, 'Once the running stops'; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[1097] Pritchett, *Friends for life.*
[1098] Pritchett, *Friends for life*, Chapter Eight.
[1099] Bakewell, 'The meaning and use of identity papers'.
[1100] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1921.
[1101] (NAZ) NWP1/2/37 Loc.4903, D. Clough, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1950.
[1102] See: Larmer, *Rethinking African politics.*

underdog party, during the run-up towards independence in the 1950s and 1960s, was motivated by resistance to the dominant and exclusionary nationalist discourse of UNIP.[1103] Whereas UNIP was seen as a party of 'foreigners' defending a distant national interest, support for ANC was locally justified in ethnic terms, referring to the historical Lunda entity and geopolitical linkages fostered through mobility.[1104] In this connection chiefs in Mwinilunga deplored that:

> they are very sorry and ashamed they are hated by other Chiefs, Government and UNIP because that they are the Chiefs who have made A.N.C. to be strong. Even so they said they can not stop it because they are the people of Mwantiyamvwa not from Nyasaland (…) We dislike Mr. Kaunda. Kaunda is a Nyasalander.[1105]

At independence individuals in Mwinilunga did not envision a change in their economically and politically marginal position through UNIP's nationalism.[1106] On a national level Lundas were demographically, economically and politically in an inferior position vis-à-vis Bemba, Nyanja and Tonga speakers.[1107] Consequently, grievances concerning development were mixed with ethnic grudges: 'up to now there are any roads, any buses running your subjects? Any Hospitals? For your information, we your sons here cannot get promoted unless you are Bemba speaking worker [*sic*].'[1108] Poverty and lack of development, which had been the main political rallying points before independence, appeared to change only slightly under the UNIP government.[1109] The Credit and Marketing Supervisor in 1964 protested that 'as loans were concerned the district had been forgotten for about ten years.'[1110] After independence, high hopes were shattered as development funds lagged behind, planned projects were not completed or loans were not released: 'The result is that the public is dissatisfied and get the feeling that the government is inefficient.'[1111] Local grudges were powerful as well as persistent, and people even wondered:

> why the Colonial Government had hated this Province (…) [and why] this hangover continues today (…) this Province has suffered too long and we expect tremendous changes in this Government (…) The important thing is to fashion the machinery which will respond to the aspirations of the people quickly, otherwise we are running the risk of having Government overthrown because people will not be satisfied with merely having discussions and nothing coming out from it. The effort of building our beloved young nation should in no way fall short of expectations, and so that the livelihood and standard of living of the common man should be improved as fast as possible.[1112]

Rather than looking towards the national centre, fortune was sought in regionalism, by strengthening ties to Angola and Congo.[1113]

Some politicians even expressed the desire to 'reunite' the 'Lunda Empire': 'The Lunda have long cherished a hope that Lundaland, now arbitrarily divided between three European powers, would

---

[1103] See: Larmer and Macola, 'The origins'; Larmer, *Rethinking African politics*; D.C. Mulford, *Zambia: The politics of independence, 1957-1964* (London etc., 1967); G. Macola, *Liberal nationalism in Central Africa: A biography of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula* (Basingstoke, 2010); Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion.*

[1104] Larmer and Macola, 'The origins'; Pritchett, *Friends for life*; Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule.*

[1105] (UNIPA) ANC2/7, Bernard Mashata, Report of ANC Mwinilunga to National President ANC, 28 June 1962.

[1106] Pritchett, *Friends for life*; Larmer and Macola, 'The origins'; Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion.*

[1107] See: Macola, *Liberal nationalism*; Larmer, *Rethinking African politics*; Compare to: D.N. Posner, 'The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi', *American Political Science Review* 98, 4 (2004), 529-45.

[1108] (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/1/57, Sons on the Copperbelt to all Chiefs North-Western Province, Prior to 1969 Referendum.

[1109] This opinion has been expressed in numerous oral interviews, for example Mr John Kapayipi, 17 March 2010, Ikelenge.

[1110] (NAZ) LGH5/1/3 Loc.3604, Mwinilunga Rural Council, 9 July 1964.

[1111] (NAZ) LGH5/2/8 Loc.3613, North-Western Province, District Secretaries Conference, 9 September 1965.

[1112] (NAZ) CO4/1/3, Development Committee Minutes, North-Western Province, 9 October 1967.

[1113] This has been described by: Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Friends for life*; Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion.*

one day be reunited.'[1114] By imagining a broader Lunda entity and enhancing geopolitical linkages to Angola and Congo, the locality of Mwinilunga could express hopes of future power in the face of national marginalisation. Whereas UNIP denounced cross-border ties to Congo and Angola, ANC politicians actively fostered links, particularly to Katangese counterparts.[1115] Geopolitical linkages fed into local affairs through mobility, as ANC politicians from Mwinilunga travelled to Katanga to raise funds for their campaigns: 'Mr. John Njapau has been delayed by the Katanga President for some valuable goods to help ANC activities.'[1116] Although the formal resurrection of the Lunda Empire remained but a vague possibility for most, and was not necessarily actively pursued or aspired, the linkages between ANC and Katanga enhanced the popularity of the party locally.[1117] Apparently, allegiances in Mwinilunga were more easily stirred by events in Katanga, than by the remote national cause which revolved around the Copperbelt and line-of-rail areas, where UNIP had its strongholds.[1118] Ties to neighbouring areas, formerly united through the Lunda entity, seemed to offer more favourable prospects, economically, socially and politically, than connections to the Copperbelt or Lusaka. Through regional and international linkages, the population of Mwinilunga was able to propose an alternative view which offered the prospect of a less marginal future.[1119] The demographically, economically and politically weak position of Lundas on a national level strengthened feelings of non-incorporation throughout Mwinilunga District, which in turn triggered political opposition, cross-border affiliations and hopes of a 'Lunda Empire'. Through mobility, as well as ties of identity and belonging, inhabitants of Mwinilunga challenged the exclusionary nationalism of UNIP, by means of oppositional affiliation to ANC.[1120] Social, economic and political dynamics thus interacted with patterns of mobility, feeding into issues of identity, belonging and ideas of the nation.

This pattern of looking across the international borders for support, rather than towards the national government, continued even after Zambia obtained independence. In Mwinilunga District connections to Angola and Congo remained alive in political thought, but also in population movement and trade.[1121] During the Angolan civil war nationalist leaders crossed the border to Mwinilunga, whilst MPLA soldiers had regular contact with chiefs in the area.[1122] Cross-border ties could threaten the hegemony of the Zambian nation-state, causing concerns, expressed by a UNIP official in 1975:

> The behaviour of the freedom fighters in Angola (M.P.L.A.) was discussed as it was revealed that quite many of them come to visit certain chiefs and that one chief has been given a landrover. This behaviour was found dangerous in that it could easily bring division in that area of our country which in the long run would encourage disloyalty towards the state.[1123]

The 'Mushala rebellion' during the late 1970s formed a further threat, especially as Mushala proposed plans to resurrect the 'Lunda Empire' in defiance of the Zambian nation-state.[1124] Although the government made attempts to forcefully subdue this movement and solidify support for the ruling party, this was only partially effective:

[1114] (NAZ) SEC2/961, R.C. Dening Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 21 November 1952.

[1115] Macola, *Liberal nationalism*; Larmer, *Rethinking African politics*; Larmer and Macola, 'The origins'; M. Hughes, 'Fighting for white rule in Africa: The Central African federation, Katanga, and the Congo crisis, 1958-1965', *The international history review* 25:3 (2003), 592-615.

[1116] (UNIPA) ANC2/7, Bernard Mashata, ANC Mwinilunga to National Secretary, 1 August 1961.

[1117] John Japau, 'New Plan for North-Western Rhodesia to Join Lunda with Angola': 'We, of the Lunda Empire, have decided to do away with this government. We are to join together with the people of Angola and Katanga to form up a great force but we don't want fighting we want peace'. Quoted in P.M. Wele, *Zambia's most famous dissidents: From Mushala to Luchembe* (Solwezi, 1995), 157.

[1118] See: Larmer, *Rethinking African politics*; Macola, *Liberal nationalism.*

[1119] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Friends for life.*

[1120] Larmer and Macola, 'The origins'.

[1121] Hansen, 'Once the running stops'; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[1122] (UNIPA) UNIP1/2/13 Loc.011, UNIP Tour of North-Western Province, Addendum, 27 May 1975.

[1123] (UNIPA) UNIP1/2/35, UNIP National Council Reports, 1975.

[1124] Larmer and Macola, 'The origins'; Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion*; Pritchett, *Friends for life.*

> The Province has enjoyed peace and calm during the period under review [1977], in spite of the Mushala terrorist gang which has been terrorising the people (…) for the last two years now. However, our fighters from the Zambian National Defence Forces have done the best they can to contain the situation (…) the Party in the Province is enjoying the support of the masses though not very many have joined the Party but appreciating the efforts of the Party in forging ahead in development.[1125]

Mwinilunga District was only marginally integrated into the national framework, and consequently, opposition to the nation-state was expressed through cross-border movement and ties of Lunda identity. Through mobility identity could be instrumentalised, as historical ties and patterns of movement were reinvented and given new meaning in a changed context. Being Angolan, Zambian or Congolese depended on the setting and the accruing benefits, and consequently issues of identity and political allegiance remained fluid and negotiable. Social connectivity, bolstered through mobility, could give substance to issues of identity and political allegiance.

Mobility could be motivated by social relationships, but also by an assessment of economic and political opportunities. Through marriage, trade and migration individuals established ties beyond their homestead and village. These ties, at various moments, might serve to strengthen or question socio-economic and political relationships, but the socio-economic and political context in turn equally influenced mobility and interpersonal ties.[1126] Patterns of social connectivity could be called upon as a safety net in times of difficulty or could be a resource to take advantage of opportunities. As the examples of cross-border trade, refugee movements and nationalism have shown, 'one can hardly disengage from something without engaging in something else.'[1127] Through mobility the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District could question the authority of the national state and avert prevailing marginality, by taking advantage of opportunities across the border. They could merely do so, however, by fostering ties of Lunda identity which served as alternative channels of opportunity through cross-border movement.

Conclusion

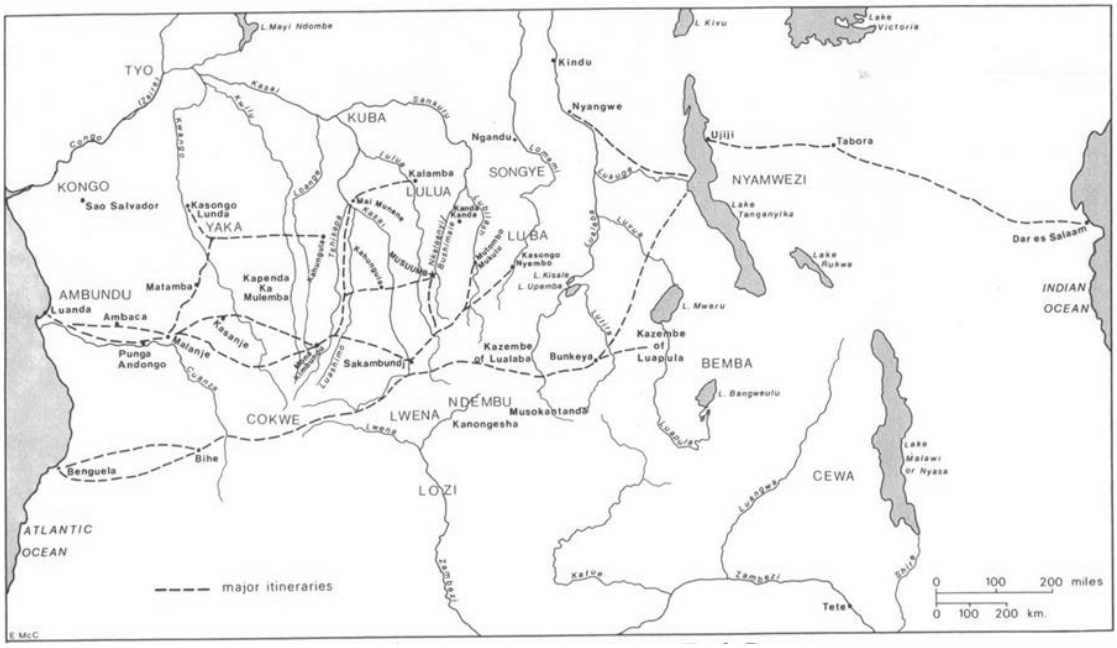
Mobility has hitherto been interpreted as a means by which rural communities have gained access to the wider world, a route towards 'development' or even 'modernity'. Such assumptions foreground both the transformative effects of mobility and its economic nature.[1128] Mobility, however, has been 'an intrinsic part of Lunda society and culture', expressed through a 'culture of mobility'.[1129] Through mobility the population of Mwinilunga District could subvert state power, challenge official discourse and create alternative opportunities through socio-cultural and historical ties. Rather than being underlain by a purely economic rationale, mobility can be about social connectivity and self-realisation: 'migrants are social actors making decisions about their futures that are framed by traditional beliefs, cultural expectations, and social practices and embedded in their immediate and broader environment.'[1130] Mobility did not necessarily transform society, but could serve to constitute it. Individuals and entire villages might 'move while retaining their structure.'[1131]

Mobility has contributed to the identity of Mwinilunga District, for example by proposing an alternative association to the Zambian nation-state through cross-border movement. Marginality might be subverted through mobility, in an attempt to access power and to shape the course of local lives. Through mobility the local could be recreated and given new vitality. In this sense, mobility has been deployed as a strategic resource, as an integral part of individual strategies and to access a wide range of opportunities. Mobility has historical roots and builds on continuities in socio-cultural

[1125] (UNIPA) UNIP1/2/21, Annual Report for the North-Western Province, 31 December 1977.
[1126] Howard, *The spatial factor.*
[1127] Roitman, 'The politics of informal markets', 691.
[1128] Andersson, 'Informal moves'.
[1129] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating', 94.
[1130] Cohen and Sirkeci, *Cultures of migration*, 14.
[1131] De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.

organisation, rather than being induced by the state or capital.[1132] Through a historical culture of mobility, the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District could seek to negotiate forces such as capitalism, colonialism and the nation-state. In the area of Mwinilunga, cross-border movement and contacts with Angola and Congo built on existing Lunda affiliations and historical roots of mobility. Consequently, when the colonial state sought to demarcate borders, movement proved difficult to curb. Through cross-border trade and mobility opportunities and avenues towards wealth could be opened up, posing an alternative to markets within Zambia, despite the risks involved. Mobility, cross-border trade and issues of identity are thus thoroughly intertwined. Next to cross-border movement and trade, mobility and social connectivity have been exercised through labour migration. Labour migration equally built upon the historical 'culture of mobility' in the area, utilising and enhancing existing opportunities.

[1132] Andersson, 'Informal moves'; De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.



Map 2: Long-distance trade routes between Mwinilunga and the Angolan Coast
Source: Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian Rule*, 19

3A.1: Early roads and transport
Source: (NAZ) SEC2/964, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, Accompanying Photographs

3B: Labour Migration
Work, mobility and self-realisation

Labour migration built upon and interacted with other forms of mobility in Mwinilunga District. Due to its scope, labour migration has been attributed transformative capacities in the historiographical debate.[1133] Whether the practice would lead to development and modernity, or to underdevelopment and rural decay, it was bound to influence the rural area of Mwinilunga profoundly. This transformative paradigm emphasises ruptures and dichotomies, between rural and urban, development and underdevelopment, or even modernity and tradition. Such dichotomies should be questioned and reassessed.[1134] By focusing on how labour migration emerged from the historical culture of mobility in the area, enhancing opportunities towards self-realisation, such binaries can be challenged. The effects of labour migration in Mwinilunga District will be examined, by highlighting the long-term continuities and socio-cultural dispositions behind the practice.

One of the major concerns of colonialism 'was to gain control over the movement of people', and consequently, 'the functioning (and profitability) of the colonial state relied on the migration of labour.'[1135] Throughout the colonial and post-colonial period control over labour and labour mobility have remained central aspects of government power and rule.[1136] Not only did the state need financial resources from taxation, but there were political and ideological aspects to promoting labour migration as well.[1137] Allegedly, Africans had a 'moral obligation' to seek paid work, which would introduce them to the 'modernising' influence of wage labour under state auspices.[1138] Since within Mwinilunga District money-earning opportunities remained limited, labour migration was promoted from early on.[1139] From the outset labour migration has been associated with issues of 'social change', either positively leading to 'development' and 'modernisation', or negatively causing 'detribalisation', 'proletarianisation' and 'rural decay'.[1140] Labour migration has been interpreted within 'a metanarrative of transition, in which tribal rural Africans were swiftly becoming modern, urban members of an industrial society.'[1141] Such views propose a stark contrast between rural and urban, and thus movement between the two spheres becomes a transformative act.[1142] Alternatively, can rural and urban spheres be viewed as connected or symbiotic? Could labour migration and urban residence serve to constitute and strengthen rural society?[1143] The rural-urban divide might have been a 'colonial invention of tradition.'[1144] Recent studies have shown that close ties continue to exist between rural and the urban spheres. Migrants maintain connections to their rural 'homelands', send

[1133] See: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity.*
[1134] See: Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.
[1135] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place', 1343-4.
[1136] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 60.
[1137] See: A. Burton, ''The eye of authority': 'Native' taxation, colonial governance and resistance in inter-war Tanganyika', *Journal of Eastern African studies* 2:1 (2008), 74-94; Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, 3-5; F. Cooper (ed.), *Struggle for the city: Migrant labor, capital, and the state in urban Africa* (Beverly Hills, London and New Delhi, 1983), 12.
[1138] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 72.
[1139] See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest.*
[1140] RLI work, in particular, associated labour migration with social change. For an influential later debate see: Ferguson, 'Mobile workers'; H. Macmillan, 'The historiography of transition on the Zambian Copperbelt: Another view', *Journal of Southern African studies* 19:4 (1993), 681-712; D. Potts, 'Counter-urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt? Interpretations and implications', *Urban studies* 42:2 (2005), 583-609.
[1141] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, 33.
[1142] For a critique of such views see: Englund, 'The village in the city'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.
[1143] Watson, *Tribal cohesion*; J. van Velsen, 'Labour migration as a positive factor in the continuity of Tonga tribal society', in: A. Southall (ed.), *Social change in modern Africa* (London etc., 1961), 230-41.
[1144] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge', 122.

remittances and move back and forth.[1145] If the emphasis is placed not so much on economic and political factors behind labour migration, but rather on socio-cultural dispositions the 'urban and rural worlds are, from the actors' perspective, not separable.'[1146]

'State and capital did not determine migratory movements', but rather 'migrants' own initiative' shaped practices of labour migration.[1147] In the area of Mwinilunga, social connectivity has underpinned mobility and movement to town has been guided by aspirations towards self-realisation. Individuals sought 'the acknowledgement, regard, and attention of other people – which was the basis of reputation and influence, and thus constitutive of social being.'[1148] In this connection, 'it was not only the great figures but everyone who seems to have had the possibility of authorship of something, however small', and labour migration could be a means of achieving 'reality', 'value' and 'self-realisation'.[1149] 'The construction of the person, the accumulation of wealth and rank, and the protection of an autonomous identity were indivisible aspects of social practice', expressed through labour migration.[1150] Within the context of much older aspirations towards self-realisation, workers sought to 'conquer the city and shape their own moral and social economies in this urban space', and in order to do so they tapped 'into (pre-)colonial sources and routes of rural identity-formation, thereby negotiating and reinventing the content and architecture of the (…) world in which they find themselves.'[1151] Movement to town was rooted in distinctly rural realities, as 'the desire to improve the conditions of life in villages frequently leads to periods of residence in town.'[1152] Indeed, 'the rural and the urban constitute a single social universe encompassing both rural and urban geographical spheres.'[1153] Labour migration from Mwinilunga District built upon and fed into a historical 'culture of mobility', which shaped responses to employment opportunities and urban residence. Through social aspirations of 'self-realisation' rural and urban areas have been linked in multiple and complex ways.[1154] In order to understand the origins of and the rationale behind labour migration, colonial conceptions about work, labour and discipline will first be explored.

From 'lazy natives' to 'able-bodied men': Constructing the idea of work

At the inception of colonial rule in the area, European and African concepts of 'work' and 'labour' did not correspond.[1155] Colonial discourse, propounded by the state and employers, misrepresented local practices of work in an attempt to control labour, wrest hegemony and impose alternative ideological concepts.[1156] Yet, as has been argued for the case of Zimbabwe: 'Africans' participation in the labour market was probably neither new, nor much controlled by the small, newly-established administration.'[1157] Throughout the pre-colonial period people in the area of Mwinilunga had been engaged in various forms of labour, employment and long-distance migration in search of economic

[1145] See: P. Geschiere and J. Gugler, 'The urban-rural connection: Changing issues of belonging and identification', *Africa* 68:3 (1998), 309-19; For practical examples from Zambia, see: Crehan, *The fractured community*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Pottier, *Migrants no more.*

[1146] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 83.

[1147] Andersson, 'Informal moves', 386-7.

[1148] Barber, 'Money, self-realization and the person', 216.

[1149] Guyer, 'Wealth in people', 255.

[1150] J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, 'The madman and the migrant: Work and labor in the historical consciousness of a South African people', *American ethnologist* 14:2 (1987), 198.

[1151] De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.

[1152] Englund, 'The village in the city', 137.

[1153] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 84.

[1154] Englund, 'The village in the city'; De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.

[1155] Comaroff, 'The madman and the migrant'.

[1156] Cooper, *Struggle for the city*; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'.

[1157] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge', 123.

opportunities. The village population could be called upon by the chief to perform communal labour in his garden, hunters might go afar in search of wildlife, or individuals would engage themselves as porters with long-distance trade caravans.[1158] Essentially, all these might be seen as examples of 'an indigenous form of labor organization representing a fully fledged *African* response to the world economic system.'[1159] Nevertheless, colonial administrators misunderstood, or rather chose to disregard, such indigenous forms of work. Local patterns of work adhered to the rhythms of the sun and the seasons, alternating spurts of intense activity with spells of leisure. Consequently, European missionaries and administrators, who came equipped with different notions of time and work, generally denounced established habits as 'idle'.[1160] The Lunda were designated as 'lazy', undisciplined and generally antagonistic to work:[1161]

> No demand has ever been made upon them by Europeans to work and, as they have managed to exist so long without having to do so, they are naturally adverse to commencing now (…) They will desert from work apparently almost involuntary, for they can never give a reason except that "their hearts became afraid".[1162]

How did such discourses become established, and how did they build upon established patterns of work and mobility?

The idea of labour was redefined under colonial rule in an attempt to gain authority and control over the population. The administration sought to regulate existing notions of time, rules of discipline, ideas of contract and rates of pay. Preferably, however, officials sought to impose a wholly new concept of labour, one that was attuned to the European work ethic and the system of capitalism which they wished to promote.[1163] Officials and employers sought 'not merely the mobilization of labor power, but the control of human beings, of people living in societies and immersed in cultures.'[1164] And exactly these social and cultural organisations enabled individuals to challenge and subvert colonial intentions. Individuals continued to shape their lives according to their own insights, based on historical precedents and concepts of work.[1165] An insight into this process of negotiation can be gained by looking at the introduction of taxation. Taxation and labour, both of which were central to colonial interests, were closely interrelated.[1166] The example of taxation can illustrate how the idea of labour was constructed, contested and locally adapted in such a way that existing and accepted forms of work and discipline retained prominence. The outcome of negotiations between the colonial state and local society was not a simple imposition of European ideas, but rather the fusion of local customs, aspirations and morals into a hybrid work ethic.[1167] By choosing their own place of employment, through desertion or tax evasion, individuals could retain considerable leverage vis-à-vis employers

---

[1158] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[1159] S.J. Rockel, *Carriers of culture: Labor on the road in nineteenth-century East Africa* (Portsmouth, 2006), 7.

[1160] C. Luchembe, 'Ethnic stereotypes, violence and labour in early colonial Zambia, 1889-1924', in: S.N. Chipungu (ed.), *Guardians in their time: Experiences of Zambians under colonial rule 1890-1964* (London etc., 1992), 30-49.

[1161] See also: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest;* J.C. Mitchell and A.L. Epstein, 'Occupational prestige and social status among urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia', *Africa* 29:1 (1959), 22-40.

[1162] (NAZ) KSE6/1/1, C.S. Bellis, Annual Report Balunda District, 1910.

[1163] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity,* 38-40; K.E. Atkins, ''Kafir time': Preindustrial temporal concepts and labour discipline in nineteenth-century colonial Natal', *Journal of African history* 29:2 (1988), 229-44; J. Higginson, 'Disputing the machines: Scientific management and the transformation of the work routine at the Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga, 1918-1930', *African economic history* 17 (1988), 1-21; Rockel, *Carriers of culture*; Cooper, *Struggle for the city*, 18-23.

[1164] Cooper, *Struggle for the city*, 8.

[1165] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Andersson, 'Informal moves'.

[1166] See especially: Burton, 'The eye of authority'; B. Bush and J. Maltby, 'Taxation in West Africa: Transforming the colonial subject into the "governable person"', *Critical perspectives on accounting* 15 (2004), 5-34; M.W. Tuck, '"The rupee disease": Taxation, authority, and social conditions in early colonial Uganda', *International journal of African historical studies* 39:2 (2006), 221-45.

[1167] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity,* 42-3; Rockel, *Carriers of culture*; But also: E.P. Thompson, 'The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century', *Past and present* 50 (1971), 76-136.

and the colonial state.[1168] This resulted in a pattern of work which was different from, yet ultimately compatible with, existing strategies of livelihood procurement. Local custom and a flexible tradition negotiated responses to taxation and regimes of labour. Such historical precedents shaped patterns of labour migration, which 'emerged from within the context of local custom and practice.'[1169]

Taxation, tax evasion and the control of labour

Colonial attempts at labour control and revenue creation were effected through taxation. One of the driving forces behind British imperialism was a quest for material gain and profit, especially through the exploitation of mineral resources and cash crop farming.[1170] Northern Rhodesia, before the development of the copper mines in the late 1920s, seemed to hold little promise for either of these, and consequently came to be regarded primarily as a 'labour reserve'.[1171] The chief asset of the territory, so administrators argued, was human labour. This labour might be profitably exported to the farms and mines in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa or Congo, which had started operations towards the end of the nineteenth century.[1172] Mwinilunga District seemed particularly remote and unattractive, as the area held promise of neither mining nor large-scale agricultural development, and was connected to the rest of the territory by long and poor transport hauls.[1173] Although labour was central to colonial aims, it did not prove readily forthcoming. Prospects of creating a reliable and profitable labour force appeared gloomy, resulting in negative stereotypes:

> The Balunda will not work. Porterage is the only work they have yet been called upon to perform, and as carriers they are most unwilling and dangerous, as no Kalunda will hesitate to drop his load, and abandon it to fate while he moves off to safety with distant friends.[1174]

The dearth of voluntary labour, irregular work habits, high levels of desertion and protest greatly hampered colonial attempts to impose authority and control, jeopardising the profitability of administrative presence in the area.[1175] Individuals maintained a degree of independence in their participation in the labour market, as 'colonial state policy was unable to channel the movement of local African labourers',[1176] whilst 'control over African labor remained firmly in African hands.'[1177]

The system of taxation was introduced by the colonial state in an attempt to stimulate the provision of labour. Taxation served the dual purpose of raising administrative revenue and creating governable, disciplined African subjects.[1178] Allegedly, the necessity to pay taxes would propel

[1168] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'; Burton, 'The eye of authority'.
[1169] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*, 17.
[1170] L.H. Gann, *The birth of a plural society: The development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1894-1914* (Manchester, 1958), 76, 113; R.S. Hall, *Zambia* (London, 1965), 87; R.P. Lander, 'The British South Africa Company: An essay on its commercial history', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* 11 (1992), 1-3; B.J. Phiri, *A political history of Zambia: From colonial rule to the Third Republic, 1890-2001* (Trenton etc., 2006), 11; P. Slinn, 'Commcercial concessions and politics during the colonial period: The role of the British South Africa Company in Northern Rhodesia 1890-1964', *African affairs* 70:281 (1971), 365-84.
[1171] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; H. Heisler, *Urbanisation and the government of migration: The inter-relation of urban and rural life in Zambia* (London, 1974); Amin, 'Underdevelopment and dependence'.
[1172] For examples see: Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*; C. von Onselen, *Chibaro: African mine labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933* (London, 1976); J-L. Vellut, 'Mining in the Belgian Congo', in: D. Birmingham and P.M. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa* (London, 1983), 126-62.
[1173] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Slinn, 'Commercial concessions and politics', 366.
[1174] (NAZ) KSE6/1/1, G.A. McGregor, Annual Report Balunda District, 1908-09.
[1175] See: Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'.
[1176] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge', 127.
[1177] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 65.
[1178] Burton, 'The eye of authority'; Bush and Maltby, 'Taxation in West Africa'; Tuck, 'The rupee disease'.

individuals to engage in the capitalist monetary economy, either by selling cash crops or by engaging in waged labour. Taxation, thus, was meant to encourage 'industry' over 'indolence':[1179]

> The main object of the tax originally, was to raise revenue for the purpose of covering at least a proportion of the expenses connected with native administration. It may have had other objects, such as providing a method whereby some control could be exercised over the natives and it may also have had the object of providing an incentive which would encourage or force a naturally indolent native population to turn out to work.[1180]

Nevertheless, indigenous patterns of work were asserted in opposition to colonial concepts of waged labour and the capitalist work ethic.[1181] Subverting colonial intentions, the population of Mwinilunga District vehemently resisted the introduction of the hut tax in 1913:[1182]

> We will not have the TAX, and if the TAX comes then we will all go to Portuguese Territory. If you take our names [census] then the TAX will follow. We cannot pay the TAX until we have money, and we have no money.[1183]

Taxation was resisted through mobility. Administrative insistence on the payment of taxes caused dissent and widespread flight across international borders.[1184] This even made officials question the rationale behind their policies:

> The great idea of the tax was that it would make them work for at least one month of the year and bring them into contact with civilisation and money – and so through an oppressive means, would produce a good end. Well, all the tax has done is simply to frighten the people of us, make it harder to make them work for us (for they will work for the Portuguese and others, traders etc. in moderation, and a good many make their money out of expedition for rubber to the Congo – which they sell to the Portuguese), and depopulate the district (…) If getting people to stay and work was the object, the tax was a failure. If driving the people out was the object, then the tax was barbaric – cruel morally and materially a damned foolish thing, for now we have no villages about to bring in food [i.e. all have fled] (…) The policy here now is to be pretty easy going to regain confidence from the people. Hence the reduced police force, for one thing. People are not being pressed to pay, but are following each other and are paying fairly well.[1185]

The population could not be compelled to work through taxation. Mobility and established patterns of work shaped reactions to taxation and attempts to control labour.[1186] The movement of entire villages into Angola and Congo upon the imposition of taxation, even if only temporary, caused such panic that the administration granted notable concessions. In subsequent years, taxation on plural wives was abolished, road labour was no longer requested and pressure to build large concentrated settlements was relaxed.[1187] Existing patterns of work and mobility provided a negotiating tool of considerable leverage, frustrating the realisation of colonial objectives. Resistance and tax evasion were part of 'a complex range of strategies of resistance, survival and complicity', preventing the simple imposition of colonial power.[1188] 'To be successful imperial hegemony had to come to terms with, incorporate and transform the values of the colonised.'[1189]

[1179] Bush and Maltby, 'Taxation in West Africa'.
[1180] (NAZ) SEC2/346, Native Tax Amendment Ordinance, 1938.
[1181] See: Harries, *Work, culture, and identity.*
[1182] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest.*
[1183] (NAZ) KSE6/1/1, J.M. Pound, Balunda District Tour Report, 30 September 1910.
[1184] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Musambachime, 'Escape from tyranny'.
[1185] (BOD) MSS Afr S779, Theodore Williams, 23 September 1913, My Dear Father.
[1186] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Burton, 'The eye of authority'.
[1187] (NAZ) KSE4/1 Mwinilunga District Notebooks, 29: F.H. Melland's concessions in 1913 were as follows: 1. Taxpayers could import gunpowder for their own use. 2. Taxpayers could visit friends in Congo without pass. 3. Taxpayers could collect and sell rubber. 4. Road works not to be compulsory. 5. Big villages would not be insisted on. 6. Boma would give 10/- for a full load of grain. 7. Second wives would not be taxed.
[1188] Bush and Maltby, 'Taxation in West Africa', 7.
[1189] Bush and Maltby, 'Taxation in West Africa', 8.

In order to evade the payment of taxes people would flee on approach of the tax collector. Individuals, family groups or less commonly entire villages, might move into neighbouring areas of Congo or Angola where administrative demands appeared less onerous.[1190] Movement could be on a temporary or on a more long-term basis and continued well into the colonial period: 'A large number of natives who object to the payment of tax betake themselves to one or the other of the foreign territories on our border – thereby avoiding both payment and punishment for neglect thereof.'[1191] Through mobility individuals could negotiate the imposition of taxation, disputing its terms and consequences. Sophisticated forms of tax evasion suggest the impossibility of effectively administering default.[1192] Such 'evasion of payment (…) represented a fundamental challenge to governmental authority and influence', whilst it 'thwarted the disciplinary functions of tax.'[1193]

The significance and impact of taxation could not be reduced to a binary of payment or default. Rather, the payment of taxation might be seen as reflecting the outcome of an intricate process of negotiation, involving deeply entrenched ideological and cultural assumptions about work and power.[1194] From an administrative perspective taxation was about the control of labour and hegemony.[1195] Therefore, colonial officials blamed default on either idleness or purposeful noncompliance with administrative demands. Because taxation was used as a tool to introduce a capitalist culture of labour, the ideas behind taxation were not simply accepted by the local population. Underlying ideas were subject to contestation, adaptation and appropriation, evidenced by the high levels of default whilst the process of negotiation was still underway.[1196]

Initially, people did not pay the tax out of an internalised sense of duty, but rather regarded payment as a symbolic ticking of the administrative box.[1197] A process of ideological contestation, between local and colonial concepts of work, preceded the gradual acceptance of taxation:

> A native is only looked on as a man who has paid his tax or not. Reports mention nothing but tax (…) The people are all keen on paying – will work for a month and go off quite happy with nothing but a scrap of paper. But they show the feeling of "Thank God that's over – now I can go back and live as I want to!"[1198]

Taxation was zealously debated by chiefs, some of whom wilfully rejected the payment of taxes and discouraged the population to pay. Some chiefs moved to Angola or Congo, or even abdicated rather than concurring with administrative requirements.[1199] Throughout the colonial period numbers of defaulters remained high. The administrative impossibility of enforcing regular payment of taxes evidenced the feeble nature of colonial control on the ground.[1200] Local resistance proved so powerful that the tax rate was lowered from 10 shillings to 7/6 in 1935.[1201] The introduction of taxation was negotiated between colonial officials and the local population, rather than being imposed in a top-

---

[1190] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest.*

[1191] (NAZ) KSE6/1/6, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1928.

[1192] See: Burton, 'The eye of authority'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* 11-12, 15-16.

[1193] Burton, 'The eye of authority', 85.

[1194] Bush and Maltby, 'Taxation in West Africa'; Burton, 'The eye of authority'.

[1195] S.S. Berry, 'Hegemony on a shoestring: Indirect rule and access to agricultural land', *Africa* 62:3 (1992), 327-55.

[1196] Bush and Maltby, 'Taxation in West Africa'; Burton, 'The eye of authority'.

[1197] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries and contours'.

[1198] (BOD) MSS Afr S779, Theodore Williams, 26 November 1913, My Dear Father. Also: (BOD) MSS Afr S779, Theodore Williams, 11 January 1914, My Dear Father.

[1199] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, 11-12, 15-16; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries and contours', 79. Chief Ntambu Sachitolu abdicated upon the imposition of taxation, returning his government staff of office, *ndondu.* Upon this act, a large part of his population was imprisoned for tax default.

[1200] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'; Burton, 'The eye of authority'.

[1201] This reduction did lead to a higher collection rate of 87%, (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1935. Throughout the colonial period the tax was changed from hut tax to poll tax and tax rates were adjusted to match prevailing economic circumstances.

down manner. Taxation was intended as an aid in the colonial 'civilising mission', 'supposedly inculcating more productive and progressive forms of economic and political behaviour.'[1202] Nevertheless, it 'failed to instil a "self-disciplinary culture" into African subjects.'[1203]

Although payment of taxes in kind (in grain, flour, livestock or agricultural implements such as hoes and axes) was allowed initially, the practice was discouraged from the outset and remained confined to exceptional circumstances.[1204] Payment in cash was encouraged and soon became a universal requirement, even if the use and circulation of British currency was still limited in Mwinilunga District at the start of the twentieth century.[1205] To earn tax money, a number of options were available locally. Individuals could sell crops to the mission or the administration, trade beeswax or rubber, engage in road construction work or carry loads.[1206] Local employment was preferred to travelling long distances or engaging in long contracts, and remained significant throughout the (post-)colonial period.[1207] Still, opportunities to earn money within the district were limited and failed to secure tax money for all.[1208] Consequently, mobility proved necessary:

> The natives were told that the tax must be paid, and as there was no work in the District they must go farther afield. In the District proper there is practically no opening for employment by which the natives can earn money.[1209]

As in the case of Mozambique: 'A tradition of migration was ingrained in the pattern of everyday life long before opportunities emerged for men to sell their labour (…) to migrate [for work] was a common-sense decision that rendered life more secure and predictable, like other economic activities involving travel.'[1210] Due to a lack of opportunities to earn money locally, numerous individuals were propelled to migrate to seek employment in areas where wages were high and conditions of employment appeared favourable.[1211] Men, and to a lesser extent women, embarked on journeys from Mwinilunga to the mines in Congo, to the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt and in exceptional cases to Southern Rhodesia or South Africa.[1212] These movements should be interpreted within the context of pre-colonial mobility.[1213] Even if labour migration, due to its sheer scope, signified a departure from pre-colonial patterns of mobility,[1214] the existing culture of mobility could still be deployed and restructured to earn tax money and engage in migrant labour.[1215] Labour and taxation were not only at the heart of colonial politics and power, but affected local livelihood strategies in a profound manner.[1216]

[1202] Burton, 'The eye of authority', 88.

[1203] Burton, 'The eye of authority', 75; Bush and Maltby, 'Taxation in West Africa'.

[1204] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest*; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'.

[1205] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

[1206] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; E.L.B. Turner and V.W. Turner, 'Money economy among the Mwinilunga Ndembu: A study of some individual cash budgets', *Rhodes-Livingstone journal* 18 (1955), 19-37.

[1207] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; See: Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'; Harries, *Work, culture, and identity.*

[1208] W.S. Fisher and J. Hoyte, *Ndotolu: The life stories of Walter and Anna Fisher of Central Africa* (Revised edn., Ikelenge, 1992).

[1209] (NAZ) KSE6/1/3, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Lunda Division Annual Report, 1915-16. Also: (NAZ) NWP1/2/90 Loc.4916, Reports and Returns, Labour in Mwinilunga District, 1961.

[1210] Harries, *Work, culture and identity*, 17.

[1211] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[1212] Pritchett, *Friends for life*; Turner, 'Money economy'.

[1213] Rockel, *Carriers of culture*; De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'; Andersson, 'Informal moves', 382; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

[1214] O'Laughlin, 'Proletarianisation, agency and changing rural livelihoods'.

[1215] Ngwane, 'Christmas time'.

[1216] O'Laughlin, 'Proletarianisation, agency and changing rural livelihoods'; De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'.

Despite the difficulty of earning money and initial acts of resistance, taxes were increasingly paid, as a result of administrative urging and more effective measures of control.[1217] Tax evasion became more difficult as the colonial period progressed and it was soon noted that: 'There is now a considerable sprinkling of tax-payers everywhere, and they all look upon the tax as a much easier thing than they thought, and this favourable opinion is sowing good seed elsewhere.'[1218] To encourage payment, defaulters would be provided with tax relief labour within the district, such as construction work or infrastructural maintenance, road work in particular.[1219] This proved an attractive alternative to employment outside of the district:

> The tax relief scheme has been in force on a large scale for two years and hundreds of natives have received work for years in default. The natives while disliking the road work recognised its convenience in that they worked off their tax without having to proceed long distances from their homes.[1220]

Mobility, though enabling access to lucrative means of employment, could prove disruptive of local livelihoods.[1221] Agricultural production did not allow long absences if yields were to be high. Preferably, taxpayers sought to fulfil administrative requirements in ways which would be compatible with agricultural production and would not disrupt existing livelihoods.[1222] At the end of the dry season, when men were preparing their fields, labour would therefore be difficult to contract. Officials would complain that: 'Very few of the taxable population were at work – They have duties to perform at home at this time – garden cutting, building and thatching huts, etc.'[1223] The imposition of taxation did not turn existing patterns of work, labour organisation or hierarchies of priority upside down. Rather, pre-existing practices and ideologies proved remarkably resilient, guiding workers' entrance into the labour market.[1224] Kinship ties and social relationships filtered through in the payment of taxes. Individuals who had gone to work might earn sufficient money to pay taxes for kin and friends, as officials noticed: '[Migrant labourers] will not only earn money for their own tax but also for some of their less robust (or more tired!) friends.'[1225] Taxation was not imposed on a clean slate, but was appropriated within existing social relationships, patterns of work and ideas about labour. Therefore, 'the contours of colonial rule depended as much on factors internal to African communities as on the capacities of the colonial administrations.'[1226]

Even if the introduction of taxation was geared towards creating a readily available and profitable labour force, this did not prove straightforward. Resistance, flight and non-compliance remained powerful tools throughout the colonial period, and could serve to drive through local aims, demands and priorities, concerning the payment of tax and the nature of work.[1227] Taxation and colonial concepts of labour did not transform local ideas about work or social relationships. Forms of everyday resistance and patterns of livelihood procurement succeeded in lowering tax rates, shaping labour contracts and powerfully influencing or altering colonial demands.[1228] Throughout the twentieth century individuals remained distinctly able to choose their place of employment and

---

[1217] See: Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Burton, 'The eye of authority'.
[1218] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, J.M. Pound, Lunda District Quarterly Report, July 1913.
[1219] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Harries, *Work, culture, and identity.*
[1220] (NAZ) NWP1/2/7 Loc.4898, Mwinilunga District Travelling Report, 1937.
[1221] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, 141-56; De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'.
[1222] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 70; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[1223] (NAZ) KSE6/6/2, G. Hughes-Chamberlain, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 8 May 1929.
[1224] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*; Andersson, 'Informal moves'.
[1225] (NAZ) KSE6/1/3, F.V. Bruce Miller, Lunda Division Kasempa District Annual Report, 1915/16.
[1226] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 82.
[1227] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'.
[1228] See: J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance* (New Haven and London, 1985).

negotiate favourable terms, laying the basis for their engagement in the labour market through mobility.[1229]

Going to work: Stereotypes, recruitment and the origins of labour migration

Taxation failed to wrest a compliant labour force. An indigenous work ethic filtered through in work contracts and incipient labour migration. Contrary to colonial discourse and subsequent historiography, 'state and capital did not determine migratory movements from the district (…) recruitment and taxation (…) gave strength to an existing movement rather than creating it from scratch.'[1230] Individuals made attempts to negotiate negative stereotypes, recruitment and labour migration to their own advantage. In examining the rise of labour migration, socio-cultural dispositions should be considered next to official intentions and employers' policies.[1231]

Colonial officials, in association with employers, recruiters and missionaries, formulated potent and persistent stereotypes regarding work, labour and culture.[1232] 'Tribal', 'ethnic' and 'racial' stereotypes were developed regarding the 'work ethic' of various population groups, such as the Lunda of Mwinilunga District.[1233] Examining these stereotypes can reveal intricate negotiations about labour, labour control and power. By officials and employers alike, the Lunda were mostly assigned negative valuations. They were deemed suitable only for lower paid, menial types of labour, in particular woodcutting, household work or farm employment.[1234] Frequent complaints concerning the 'lazy' nature of the Lunda, their 'disinclination' to work and the difficulty to discipline or control workers were voiced: 'Up to now the Andembo and Alunda have been very much "stay-at-homes" and it will be some time before they will take long journeys far from home for new work to do.'[1235] Lunda messengers were described as 'not amenable to discipline', prone to desertion, and 'thoroughly antagonistic to work.'[1236] This colonial stereotyping was rooted in an attempt to classify and control population groups, in order to more easily tax and extract labour from them.[1237] Nonetheless, Lunda employees subverted colonial intentions by negotiating favourable contracts and work conditions exactly due to negative stereotypes.[1238]

Colonial administrators viewed the initial rejection of work and irregular work habits among the Lunda with despair.[1239] Officials complained about a lack of 'desire to work', stating that 'references to the "dignity of labour" leave them quite cold.'[1240] Paradoxically, it was this defiant attitude which enabled workers to push through their preferences and exert influence as to length of service, rate of

[1229] See: Rockel, *Carriers of culture*; Harries, *Work, culture and identity*; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'.

[1230] Andersson, 'Informal moves', 386.

[1231] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.

[1232] See: Luchembe, 'Ethnic stereotypes'; Crehan, *The fractured community*; Harries, *Work, culture, and identity;* B. Siegel, 'The "wild" and "lazy" Lamba as ethnic stereotype on the Central African Copperbelt', in: L. Vail (ed.), *The creation of tribalism in Southern Africa* (London etc., 1989); R. Papstein, 'Ethnic identity and tribalism in the Upper Zambezi region of Zambia, 1830-1981', in: Vail, *The creation of tribalism;* L. White, *Speaking with vampires: Rumor and history in colonial Africa* (Berkeley etc., 2000).

[1233] K. Crehan, ''Tribes' and the people who read books: Managing history in colonial Zambia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 23:2 (1997), 203-18.

[1234] Luchembe, 'Ethnic stereotypes', 31; Mitchell and Epstein, 'Occupational prestige'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest.*

[1235] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, A.W. Bonfield, Lunda Sub-District Quarterly Report, 30 September 1916.

[1236] (NAZ) A5/2/1 Loc.4003, G.A. McGregor, Balunda District Annual Report, 1908-09.

[1237] Crehan, 'Tribes and the people who read books'.

[1238] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Harries, *Work, culture, and identity.*

[1239] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest.*

[1240] (NAZ) KSE6/2/2, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Lunda Sub-District Quarterly Report, 30 September 1928.

pay and type of work.[1241] Both capitalism and colonial governmentality were negotiated through an internal work ethic, which individuals sought to uphold:[1242]

> A curious system of labour is in vogue with the Balunda of this part. They are willing, apparently, to go to the forest and return at intervals to suit their own tastes with building poles, bundles of thatching grass, etc., for sale on delivery and to engage at other work provided that, when the humour takes a man he be permitted to demand and receive payment for whatever he may have performed – half a day's work, a day's work, or more, or less as the case may be.[1243]

Although this attitude, which was denounced as 'essentially unsound, disorganised, and unsystematic', greatly frustrated colonial attempts to promote the regular provision of labour or familiarise workers with fixed contracts, local resistance proved resilient and remarkably difficult to break.[1244] In spite of administrative efforts to promote labour migration to farms and mines, volunteers were not readily forthcoming.[1245] Contracts and terms of service proposed by officials and recruiters appeared unattractive to local workers, who preferred to choose their own place of employment:[1246]

> The aLunda do not take kindly to work of any kind (…) I am of the opinion that it is premature to allow a recruiter to operate in this division (…) To send the aLunda away from their homes for a lengthy period would be impolitic until they have thoroughly settled down, made good gardens and villages (…) Mine work is not suited to the local natives; they have not the physique (…) Very few of them have gone down to the farmers (…) Even if the farmers sent a recruiter here the results would be disappointing for years: the local native does not know the work, and also is most averse to binding himself down for more than two months. The work that he knows is wood cutting and he is most sought after by Congo contractors.[1247]

As a consequence of the low esteem of Lunda workers among employers and the state, long-term contracts were not insisted on, coercive labour recruiters were barred from the district and consequently individuals managed to exert influence over the contracts and terms of service under which they would be employed.[1248]

During the 1930s, when the Copperbelt mines were attracting increasing numbers of employees, Lunda capacity to work was judged negatively: 'The general poor physique of local natives preclude them from being employed, whether at the mines or elsewhere, at normal wages.'[1249] Nevertheless, such negative stereotypes created a space for manoeuvre and enabled the rejection of arduous or undesirable patterns of work.[1250] Lunda labourers were able to voice preferences as to place of work and terms of service:

> Agriculture and surface work are most popular with the Natives of this District. Until recently they were somewhat despised as employees owing to difficulties with their language and debility due mainly to hookworm. But the shortage of labour has given them the chance to enter the labour markets and they are proving that they are not quite so inferior as was imagined.[1251]

Stereotypes proved remarkably enduring and could form the basis for 'ethnic' identities.[1252] Even today Bemba workers on the Copperbelt continue to regard the Lunda as 'weak' and suitable for low-rank positions only, referring to them as 'scavengers' and quarrelling with them fiercely in beer-halls.[1253]

[1241] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'.
[1242] Andersson, 'Informal moves'; Harries, *Work, culture, and identity.*
[1243] (NAZ) HC1/2/43 BS2/251 Loc.130, G.A. McGregor, Balunda District Monthly Report, May 1909.
[1244] (NAZ) HC1/2/43 BS2/251 Loc.130, G.A. McGregor, Balunda District Monthly Report, May 1909.
[1245] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'.
[1246] For more on labour recruitment, see: Von Onselen, *Chibaro*; Harries, *Work, culture, and identity.*
[1247] (NAZ) KSE6/1/3, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 March 1915; (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, K.S. Kinross, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1925.
[1248] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest.*
[1249] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 December 1935.
[1250] See: Siegel, 'The wild and lazy Lamba'.
[1251] (NAZ) SEC2/151, Annual Report Western Province, 1937.
[1252] Crehan, 'Tribes and the people who read books'; Harries, *Work, culture, and identity.*
[1253] Interview with William Ngangu, 26 February 2010, Ndola.

Yet such negative valuations could be used to the advantage of workers, enabling them to negotiate their own work, type of contract and rate of pay.

Especially during the early period of colonial rule, when labour did not yet prove readily forthcoming, recruitment was resorted to.[1254] Both government and employers would send recruiters out to the villages in an attempt to engage workers for fixed contracts, usually for six or twelve months of service.[1255] Although labour contracted through recruitment might not have been strictly coerced, a strong element of pressure could and often had to be applied to engage adequate numbers of workers.[1256] Colonial officials acknowledged this:

> It is (…) useless to pretend that the recruitment of large numbers of natives by Government uniformed messengers is popular amongst the people. Forced Labour is perhaps too strong a term to use in this connexion; nevertheless, the Native Commissioner would have to wait many months for say two hundred volunteers for the Boundary Commission or any other unknown employer of labour.[1257]

Yet recruiters could not direct the labour force.[1258] In the area of Mwinilunga labour was generally not obtained by brute coercion, but was rather induced by persuasion.[1259] Officials attempted to induce labour by offering high wages and favourable terms of contract. Existing work habits, preferences and outlooks towards work powerfully shaped reactions to colonial labour contracts.[1260] The culture of mobility influenced the attitude towards labour migration and facilitated resistance to unfavourable contracts: 'By moving from area to area, migrants exhibited a quick appreciation of wage differences and used their mobility as a bargaining tool.'[1261]

By what means did recruiters, employers and the state attempt to contract labour? First of all, recruiters proved heavily reliant on the assistance of conductors, headmen and chiefs.[1262] These intermediaries would assist recruiters and persuade individuals to engage. Intermediaries were not mere pawns of recruiters, but could exert power over the process of recruitment, for example by advising individuals to refrain from engaging.[1263] Especially headmen and chiefs 'created a space – both discursive and physical – between Company and local action, and inserted themselves into it.'[1264] Secondly, recruiters would frequently resort to material incentives to engage individuals in contracts. Blankets and similar gifts would be dispensed to seduce prospective workers.[1265] By refusing long-term contracts or by weighing employers against one another, workers could exert influence over demands made by recruiters.[1266] Local resistance proved resilient and individuals could assert their preferences, for example by using mobility as a tool:

[1254] See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest*; M. Barrett, ''Walking home majestically': Consumption and the enactment of social status among labour migrants from Barotseland, 1935-1965', in: R. Ross, M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša (eds.), *The objects of life in Central Africa: The history of consumption and social change, 1840-1980* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), 93-113.

[1255] T.R.M. Mvusi, 'The 'politics of trypanosomiasis' revisited: Labour mobilization and labour migration in colonial Zambia: The Robert Williams Company in Lubemba, 1901-1911', *Transafrican journal of history* 23 (1994), 43-68.

[1256] O'Laughlin, 'Proletarianisation, agency and changing rural livelihoods'; E.P. Makambe, 'The mobilisation of African labour across the Zambezi for the Zimbabwean colonial market before the Chibaro era, 1898-1903', *African studies* 51:2 (1992), 277-94.

[1257] (NAZ) KSE6/2/2, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Quarterly Report, 30 June 1928.

[1258] Andersson, 'Informal moves', 386.

[1259] This observation is based on a reading of archival sources and numerous oral interviews – it goes against the views proposed by Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest.*

[1260] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'.

[1261] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*, 42-3; Rockel, *Carriers of culture*.

[1262] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, 141-56; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 79.

[1263] See: S.S. Berry, *No condition is permanent: The social dynamics of agrarian change in sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison, 1993); P.J.J. Konings, 'Chieftaincy, labour control and capitalist development in Cameroon', *Journal of legal pluralism and unofficial law* 37/8 (1996), 329-46.

[1264] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 79.

[1265] Barrett, 'Walking home majestically'.

[1266] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'.

> The average Kalunda will not willingly bind himself to serve a six months contract with any one. He much prefers to engage himself to some unknown contractor for a month or two at wood cutting in the Congo, and take the risk as to whether he is ever paid.[1267]

Established work ethic thwarted the plans of recruiters and employers. Resistance to engage in long-term contracts proved difficult to break. Collective non-compliance left employers with little choice but to seek labour elsewhere:

> [Lunda recruits] all agreed to proceed to Lubumbashi for six months work. Robert Williams & Co., will not accept natives for less than six months work. It takes about a month before raw natives get into the way of work, so a three months man would only have two useful months of work (…) If sufficient labour cannot be got from this district it means bringing up labour from Portuguese East Africa and herein lies a chance of Kasempa labour being eventually shut out from a means of earning their tax money.[1268]

Negative stereotypes of Lunda labourers, who were described as unwilling to complete long contracts or perform dangerous tasks, could serve to avoid unattractive terms of employment and obtain shorter or less hazardous contracts.[1269] Workers 'had a certain degree of freedom and flexibility, choosing for themselves their employer, type of work, and length of service.'[1270] Ultimately, recruitment and colonial state policy could not coercively direct labour movement, as 'migrants were active participants in the labour market, giving shape to different migration trajectories – differentiated according to wages obtainable, distance from home and length of absence.'[1271]

Prospective workers would weigh conditions of service, seeking the terms most favourable to existing livelihoods. They sought 'to control how, when, for whom, and at what price they would sell their labor. Their aim was (…) to maintain their freedom to enter the labor market on their own terms.'[1272] Work preferences were far from uniform, differing according to personal aspirations. Whereas some workers valued cash payment, others preferred easy access to consumer goods.[1273] Flexible contracts were generally favoured, whereas fixed long-term contracts and long hazardous journeys on foot were avoided as much as possible:

> The average Alunda is not anxious to give his confidence to any white man that may come along, especially when they are told that if they accept employment it will mean they will be away from their homes for over twelve months (…) The majority of the people just walk over the border to the Congo – work for a contractor for a month or two then return to their villages when they have enough money for their tax.[1274]

Where possible, workers sought terms of employment which would be compatible with their personal aspirations, going to work of their own accord and using mobility as a negotiating tool, rather than acceding to the wishes of recruiters.[1275]

Comparing the Copperbelts: Work and mobility

Although official records from Mwinilunga District mainly dealt with recruited labour, independently employed workers entered the labour market in increasing numbers over the course of the twentieth century.[1276] At first, knowledge of urban employment or terms of service within the confines of the village remained limited. Communication between Mwinilunga District and urban centres was difficult

[1267] (NAZ) KSE6/2/2, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Quarterly Report, 31 March 1926.
[1268] (NAZ) KSE1/1/1, R.W. Yule, 13 October 1915; Mwinilunga was part of Kasempa District.
[1269] Siegel, 'The wild and lazy Lamba'.
[1270] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 70.
[1271] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge', 127.
[1272] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 72.
[1273] (NAZ) KSE6/2/2, C.H. Anley, Mwinilunga Sub-District Quarterly Report, 31 December 1921.
[1274] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1922.
[1275] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[1276] Arguably, the occurrence of recruited labour was overrepresented in the colonial archives because the colonial state played an important role in facilitating recruitment. This point has been raised by: Andersson, 'Informal moves'; T. Sunseri, 'Labour migration in colonial Tanzania and the hegemony of South African historiography', *African affairs* 95:381 (1996), 581-98.

to establish, whereas the journey to the mines was long and arduous.[1277] Although recruiters might provide transport to the workplace, men most commonly sought security in numbers and travelled in large groups. Friends, kin and individuals from neighbouring villages might gather to decide on a date to embark on the journey to their place of employment. In all, the journey might take several weeks to complete. Migrants would prepare themselves by gathering food, blankets, tools and trade items to carry on the road.[1278] Charms, such as *ndakala*, which could drive away wild animals, snakes and other threats, would equally be taken along. Once the preparations had been completed, travellers would embark in groups of up to twenty people, usually consisting of kin or members of neighbouring villages. Passing through the Boma first, workers would start dispersing upon arrival in the labour centres, some stopping in Ndola, others continuing to Broken Hill or even Johannesburg.[1279] Not only on the road, but even more so upon arrival, support among kin proved essential. Networks established by previous migrants could facilitate access to shelter, food and employment, spread news on the latest work openings or gossip from the home front.[1280] Through movement individuals forged new ties of identity, whilst reinforcing, expanding or questioning existing ones. A culture of mobility, as well as existing social relationships and ideas about work, shaped workers' engagement in the labour market. By the 1930s it was stated that 'the people are keen to earn money and are willing to work.'[1281]

Numerous individuals from Mwinilunga District sought employment in mining and railway hubs in Congo. Building on patterns of cross-border mobility and ties of Lunda identity, mines such as Kambove, Musonoi and Ruwe, as well as towns such as Elisabethville, Kolwezi and Mutshatsha, proved popular destinations.[1282] Employment in Congo was particularly attractive prior to the full development of the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt in the 1930s, but Congolese towns continued to draw migrants throughout the twentieth century.[1283] Workers in Congo engaged in a plethora of jobs, ranging from wood cutting and household work, to trade and mining. Urban centres in Congo were located close to Mwinilunga District and could be reached with less travel than alternatives within Zambia.[1284] The ease and speed of travel enabled workers to engage in short-term contracts in Congo. This minimised the disruption of village life, caused by the absence of male labour force, as workers could still engage in agricultural production upon completing their contracts.[1285] Workers 'could choose when to work, which allowed them to choose periods that would conflict the least with household agricultural labor needs.'[1286] Labour migration and agricultural production did not have to conflict, but could be combined.[1287] Due to proximity: 'those who work close by in the Congo seem to come home more often, and to bring more with them, than those employed in the towns of this Territory.'[1288]

[1277] Descriptions of travel are provided in: Fisher and Hoyte, *Ndotolu*; R.J. Short, *African sunset* (London, 1973).
[1278] This account is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Tepson Kandungu, 11 October 2010, Ntambu, but compare: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Harries, *Work, culture, and identity.*
[1279] Compare to: Barrett, 'Walking home majestically'.
[1280] Cooper, *Struggle for the city,* 38-44; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'; J.C. Mitchell (ed.), *Social networks in urban situations: Analyses of personal relationships in Central African towns* (Manchester, 1969).
[1281] (NAZ) SEC2/952, K.S. Kinross, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 20 January 1933.
[1282] See: Vellut, 'Mining in the Belgian Congo'; Higginson, *A working class in the making.*
[1283] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule.*
[1284] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[1285] This view is based on a wide reading of archival sources and numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Jackson Samakai, 16 April 2010, Ikelenge.
[1286] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 70.
[1287] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge', 127.
[1288] (NAZ) SEC2/957, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 6 March 1949.

Others opted to work in Congo in an attempt to retain autonomy of contract, avoid the governmentality of the state, or for purposes of tax evasion.[1289] Movement to Congo might circumvent official channels:

> most natives earn their taxes in the Congo (…) Many leave the district without passes, and obtain them at Solwezi, or proceed with friends who have passes already (…) the local native (…) is most averse to binding himself down for more than two months. The work that he knows is woodcutting, and he is most sought after by Congo contractors (…) there have been several attempts at illegal recruiting by capitaos sent by these Congo contractors.[1290]

Although these labour movements could cause administrative headaches, they provided workers with the opportunity to weigh conditions of work on both sides of the border, choosing those which seemed most favourable.[1291] Congolese employment challenged the popularity of the Zambian Copperbelt:

> The Congo labour market has always been very popular with these people as it is handy and also, for the main part, they are working with kindred tribes. Whenever the Congo market shrinks, the movement of labour towards the Copperbelt increases greatly in volume, but as soon as new mines are started inside the Congo Belge the popularity switches back again to the Congo market.[1292]

Social connectivity played a role, as in Congolese towns Lunda relatives might be encountered, whereas on the Zambian Copperbelt Bemba speaking workers predominated.[1293] As a consequence, within Mwinilunga District 'the influence of the Congo is everywhere felt', and 'so long as the boundary cuts across the tribal pattern so long the people will come and go.'[1294] An added benefit was that 'the Belgians give assistance to labourers families and most of these men had taken their families with them to work', whereas in colonial Northern Rhodesia a policy of encouraging lone male migrants instead of families predominated, particularly before the 1950s.[1295] Overall, it was noted that 'labourers and their families go there where the prospects of employment appear most inviting', and in Congo 'well paid employment and good living conditions are to be found without difficulty.'[1296]

In spite of Congolese attractions, by the late 1920s it was remarked that 'as each year passes the sub-district natives go of their own accord in ever increasing numbers to seek congenial employment at N'changa, Kansanshi, Kipushi and other labour centres.'[1297] From the 1930s onwards work within the territory, particularly on the Copperbelt, gained acceptance due to the availability of employment which matched indigenous work patterns and preferences:[1298]

> Nchanga and Kipushi continue to be popular labour centres. The present generation has watched them grow up and the kind of work available so far – building, thatching, timber cutting, road making etc. – appeals to them; moreover they go there voluntarily and independently.[1299]

It was hoped that positive messages spread by returning migrants would attract more workers in future: 'if they return with good reports of their treatment, pay, etc., more of their friends will follow their example and offer their services during the coming year to employers domiciled in this

---

[1289] Musambachime, 'Escape from tyranny'.

[1290] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, K.S. Kinross, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 March 1925.

[1291] See: L. White, 'Class struggle and cannibalism: Storytelling and history writing on the Copperbelts of colonial Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo', in: *Speaking with vampires.*

[1292] (NAZ) SEC2/956, F.M.N. Heath, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 21 January 1948.

[1293] See: Larmer and Macola, 'The origins'; Larmer, *Rethinking African politics.*

[1294] (NAZ) SEC2/966, W.D. Grant, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 24 October 1958.

[1295] (NAZ) NWP1/2/17, F.M.N. Heath, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 21 January 1948; See: J.L. Parpart, '"Where is your mother?": Gender, urban marriage, and colonial discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945', *The international journal of African historical studies* 27:2 (1994), 241-71; G. Chauncey, 'The locus of reproduction: Women's labour in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1927-1953', *Journal of Southern African studies* 7:2 (1980-81), 135-64.

[1296] (NAZ) SEC2/963, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 26 April 1955.

[1297] (NAZ) KSE6/2/2, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Quarterly Report, 31 March 1929.

[1298] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[1299] (NAZ) KSE6/1/6, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 December 1928.

country.'[1300] Within certain limits, workers could negotiate or even choose employers, conditions of service and rates of pay, according to their own preference.[1301] Even after years of experience with labour contracts it was noted that: 'the Mwinilunga native prefers choosing his own type of work and does not relish long term contracts.'[1302] What motivated individuals to engage in migrant labour and how were ties between the city and the country, between Mwinilunga District and urban centres, forged and upheld?

Of modernist narratives and social connectivity: Motives for labour migration

A variety of factors propelled individuals to seek waged employment. Examining the rise of labour migration from Mwinilunga District (where people went to work, which jobs they performed, how they were contracted, under what conditions and how this changed over time) can shed light on the motives behind migration.[1303] Special attention will be paid to the interconnections between rural and urban strategies and ways of life. How did economic, social, political and cultural factors contribute to labour migration, mobility and self-realisation?

Labour migration ratios from Mwinilunga District increased steadily throughout the colonial period and remained high after independence. Whereas in 1935 7.5% of the taxable male population was reported to be at work outside the district, figures rose to 21% in 1947, 33% in 1952 and even 56% in 1960.[1304] After independence labour migration ratios were no longer measured as such, but it can be postulated that migration from Mwinilunga District to urban areas continued in large numbers.[1305] Post-colonial government policies, lifting colonial restrictions on mobility and relaxing regulations on urban residence, caused Zambia to 'reap the whirlwind'. Rural population flocked to the towns, because 'everyone wanted to come to urban areas in search of work, pleasure or even schooling.'[1306] Only after 1980 were there signs of diminishing rural outmigration, or even counter-urbanisation, as the national economic downturn caused a glut in urban employment and redirected migration flows away from the Copperbelt to the capital city Lusaka, district centres such as Mwinilunga Township or

[1300] (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1926.

[1301] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'.

[1302] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 December 1937.

[1303] See: Mitchell, 'The causes of labour migration'; Epstein, 'Urbanization and social change'.

[1304] (NAZ) SEC2/133, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1935; (NAZ) SEC2/154, F.M.N Heath, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1947; (NAZ) SEC2/135, W.G. Reeves, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1952; (NAZ) NWP1/2/102 Loc.4919, E.L. Button, North Western Province Annual Report, 1960.

[1305] For the post-independence period: 'the relatively large population increase for North-Western Province can be partly attributed to the relatively small rate of out-migration in the Province. Whereas the other rural provinces all experienced high rates of net out-migration (…) the position in North-Western Province appears to have been rather more stable, though all districts except Solwezi do show some losses due to out-migration, mainly towards the Copperbelt (…) The loss of population, however, consists almost entirely of males of active working age who are either temporary or semi-permanent/permanent emigrants. What matters is that the Province is losing the most vigorous sector of its population, which cannot but retard the development of the Province.' D.S. Johnson (ed.), *Handbook to the North-Western Province 1980* (Lusaka, 1980), 74; The population of Mwinilunga District increased from 45,991 in 1963, to 51,398 in 1969, to 68,845 in 1980, to 81,496 in 1990 – this gives annual growth rates of 2.7% over the period 1969-1980 and 1.7% over the period 1980-1990. P.O. Ohadike, *Demographic perspectives in Zambia: Rural-urban growth and social change* (Lusaka, 1981); M.E. Jackman, *Recent population movements in Zambia: Some aspects of the 1969 census* (Manchester, 1973). Based on the 1969 census Ohadike and Jackman both calculated 'expected growth rates', concluding that -2.6% and -3.8% respectively were due to out-migration from Mwinilunga District. Compared to other areas, the North-Western Province is an area of relatively low out-migration, Jackman, 56: 'The general picture of this area between the two censuses was one of slight out-migration (…) By far the most important migration link during 1968-69 was with the Copperbelt, but the area is losing population very slowly compared to the other areas with major Copperbelt links, the rate of out-migration being only slightly higher than that of the western area.'

[1306] (NAZ) HM77/PP/2, P.W. Matoka, A Contribution to the Media Resource Center Freedom Forum, 8 November 1997 – Review of Zambia's 33 Years of Independence.

to rural areas.[1307] The length of service showed an increase over time, but could fluctuate considerably according to individual cases. Whereas in 1935 a taxable man on average worked 0.75 months a year, in the 1950s labour migrants stayed away at their place of employment for an average of four year.[1308] Even then, some would work for several months only, whereas others would remain in town their entire life.[1309] How can this persistent trend of labour migration from Mwinilunga District be explained?

The history of labour migration in Zambia has predominantly been understood in terms of a 'modernist narrative'.[1310] (Post-)colonial officials and scholars have described labour migration as 'the progressive, stage-wise emergence of a stable, settled urban working class.'[1311] Allegedly, labour migration developed through a number of 'stages', whereby an initial phase of short-term circulatory migration was replaced by partial stabilisation of labour and finally by permanent urbanisation.[1312] This view proposes that lone male migrants were increasingly supplanted by migrating families, including women and children.[1313] Furthermore, this 'modernist narrative' suggests that ties between rural and urban areas were increasingly severed, as migrants settled in town for longer periods of time.[1314] Such views present the urban and the rural as two opposing spheres, 'the urban as the site of modernisation, individualisation and change, as opposed to the rural as the locus of tradition, communality and continuity.'[1315] In this sense, movement away from rural areas towards urban stabilisation becomes a movement towards modernity, entailing social change and rupture.[1316] This stage-like progression has been fundamentally contested recently.[1317] Critics have suggested the co-existence of various patterns of migration, thereby questioning the idea of the 'typical migrant'.[1318] Furthermore, the enduring ties between rural and urban areas, as well as recent counter-urbanisation, seem to disprove ideas of linear change.[1319] Migration patterns from Mwinilunga can challenge the 'modernist narrative' on several points. First of all, migration appeared to follow a wide range of patterns rather than a single linear course from temporary migrant labourer to permanent urbanite. Secondly, ties between rural and urban areas have not been severed. Rather, labour migration might be seen in terms of social connectivity, establishing links between rural and urban localities. Thirdly, the modernist narrative places undue emphasis on economic motives for migration. Instead, life histories from Mwinilunga suggest the importance of socio-cultural dispositions and aspirations towards self-realisation.[1320] Labour migration might be viewed in terms of social connectivity and continuity, instead of emphasising rupture and change.[1321]

[1307] Potts, 'Counter-urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt?'; D. Potts, 'Shall we go home? Increasing urban poverty in African cities and migration processes', *The geographical journal* 161:3 (1995), 245-64; Pottier, *Migrants no more*; V. Jamal and J. Weeks, 'The vanishing rural-urban gap in sub-Saharan Africa', *International labour review* 127:3 (1988), 271-92.

[1308] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 December 1935; (NAZ) SEC2/960, K.J. Forder, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 28 September 1952.

[1309] This view is based on numerous oral interviews.

[1310] See: Ferguson, 'Mobile workers'; Macmillan, 'The historiography of transition'; Also: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, 141-56; Crehan, *The fractured community*. See: Epstein and Mitchell.

[1311] Ferguson, 'Mobile workers', 385.

[1312] Ferguson, 'Mobile workers'.

[1313] Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'; Chauncey, 'The locus of reproduction'.

[1314] Geschiere and Gugler, 'The urban-rural connection'; Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity.*

[1315] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 89; See: J. Ferguson, 'The Country and the City on the Copperbelt', *Cultural anthropology* 7:1 (1992), 80-92.

[1316] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; Cooper, *Struggle for the city,* 12.

[1317] Macmillan, 'The historiography of transition'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Potts, 'Counter-urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt?'.

[1318] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; But also: Englund, 'The village in the city'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.

[1319] Van Binsbergen, 'Globalization and virtuality'; Potts, 'Counter-urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt?'.

[1320] Inspiration for this approach has been taken from: Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.

[1321] See: De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'; De Bruijn, Van Dijk and Foeken, *Mobile Africa,* 2.

From the outset, labour migration from Mwinilunga District followed a variety of patterns. Mobility in general, and labour migration in particular, have hitherto been interpreted as means of broadening the local horizon, establishing links between rural and urban areas, between Mwinilunga District and the world at large.[1322] Labour migration can be viewed within the 'culture of mobility'. It was not necessarily a transformative act, but could be constitutive of rural society in Mwinilunga District.[1323] Labour migration could be a strategy to enhance the security and predictability of life.[1324] It formed part of a diversity of livelihood options, existing next to, and potentially contributing to, agricultural production, animal husbandry or waged labour within the district.[1325] Labour migration was a strategy, involving an assessment of broader socio-economic options, which could change over time.[1326] Some individuals might migrate to town, marry there and never move back to Mwinilunga, whereas others would undertake only one trip to work for several months, thereafter investing their earnings in agriculture or trade.[1327] These diverse possibilities cannot be reduced to fixed stages. Even a single individual could combine various patterns of movement within the course of a lifetime.[1328] Nyambanza Kaisala, for example, was born in Sailunga Chiefdom in 1905. After having worked for four years as a cook in Elisabethville, Congo, he started working as a *capitao* in the same city for eight years. Thereafter, he continued his employment as a *capitao*, but moved to Kolwezi, Congo, where he was employed for ten years. Subsequently he worked at Nkana mine, Zambia, for six years, after which he returned to Mwinilunga to work as a government *kapasu* for six months. This employment history of 28.5 years straddles the boundaries between short-term migration and stabilised urbanisation. Leaving as a single migrant, Nyambanza married after his return from Congo and took his wife with him to subsequent places of employment. In the course of his career he visited his home village, though not at regular intervals. Moreover, although he did return to Mwinilunga District after his retirement from the Copperbelt, he settled in the Boma rather than in his village of birth.[1329] Through such life histories, the enduring and complex connections between rural and urban spheres become apparent.

Money, consumption and building wealth

The causes and motives for labour migration are manifold. The factors stressed most frequently and forcefully, however, pertain to the economic sphere.[1330] Labour migration has been seen as the outcome of 'push' and 'pull' factors, driven by the relative poverty and lack of opportunity in rural areas (push factors), and attracted by a growing demand for labour in industrialised urban areas (pull factors).[1331] Economic explanations for migration have been provided at individual and structural levels.[1332] Labour migrants are either seen as acting individually, according to the rationality of economic self-interest and profit maximisation.[1333] Or labour migration is seen as the structural outcome of global capitalism.[1334] In this latter view, individuals and entire rural communities have been 'gradually divorced from their means of production and subsistence', propelling the need for labour migration to urban areas where the process of 'primitive capitalist accumulation', deliberately

[1322] See: Van Binsbergen, 'Globalization and virtuality'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1323] See: Englund, 'The village in the city'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.
[1324] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*, 17.
[1325] De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1326] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, 141-2.
[1327] This view is based on numerous oral interviews.
[1328] These points are equally made by Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity;* Macmillan, 'The historiography of transition'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*.
[1329] (BOD) Richard Cranmer Dening Papers, 15 boxes, Uncatalogued, Notes from 1948.
[1330] See: Potts, 'Counter-urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt?'; Andersson, 'Informal moves'.
[1331] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place', 1345; De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'.
[1332] See: Urry, *Mobilities*.
[1333] O'Laughlin, 'Proletarianisation, agency and changing rural livelihoods' critiques agency and livelihoods.
[1334] Amin, 'Underdevelopment and dependence'.

undertaken by the state through taxation and coercion, was already underway.[1335] This process would result in the formation of rural 'labour reserves', a 'rural-urban divide', 'proletarianisation', but also potential 'development'.[1336] Economic factors are indeed important in explaining patterns of labour migration. Colonial officials proposed the need to earn a monetary income, especially for purposes of taxation, as the driving force behind migration from Mwinilunga District.[1337] Some officials judged the Lunda as not very ambitious in monetary terms or consumptive aspirations, asserting that 'sufficient money to pay their tax, and obtain a few clothes is all they desire.'[1338] Others, however, complained about 'the exodus of the younger generation to gain what may be termed "easy money" by work on the mines', stating that 'the earning capacity of the native has increased enormously and must continue to grow – more money creating fresh wants.'[1339] Opportunities in urban areas were viewed in relation to those in rural areas: 'The cost of living is rising rapidly and we find that many educated men (…) will seek employment in the Copperbelt where more money can be earned [than within Mwinilunga].'[1340] Nevertheless, labour migration was not so much a 'last resort' of impoverished rural producers who sought to generate tax money, but could be 'a deliberate strategy to accumulate wealth.'[1341] The economic rationale behind labour migration was underpinned by consumptive aspirations, a hitherto largely overlooked factor in explanations of mobility.[1342]

Consumption could constitute a powerful incentive to earn money and engage in labour migration.[1343] One labour migrant explained his trip to Johannesburg, largely on foot, as driven by a desire to purchase clothing, to obtain a nice suit contributing to good apparel.[1344] Consumptive desires explain why recruiters offered blankets to prospective workers, and why these could be effective inducements to engage in labour contracts.[1345] Consumption, however, was not a purely economic act, but was connected to social status and relationships.[1346] These links become apparent in the bridewealth negotiations in a local court at the beginning of the twentieth century. Labour migration provided access to consumer goods, and thereby penetrated social relationships such as marriage negotiations, influencing demands, stakes and expectations of marriage partners.[1347] In 1917 a migrant labourer engaged a girl and gave her uncle a string of beads as initial bridewealth. When he returned from work in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) demands were raised and the man provided two coats to the girl's uncle and a handkerchief to the girl. After an additional trip to Lubumbashi (Congo) the girl's mother was given a blanket, whereas the girl received a four yard piece of calico and a dress.[1348] Because money earning opportunities and access to consumer goods remained limited within Mwinilunga District, labour migration became an attractive avenue of consumption.[1349] Labour migration and the increased wealth this generated could raise expectations of consumption and thereby stimulate the need to earn money and migrate. Migrants' markers of economic success, in the form of clothing, a bicycle or sewing machine, might entice others to pursue a migrant career as well.[1350] Consumption

[1335] Plange, 'Opportunity cost and labour migration', 661.
[1336] See: Arrighi, 'Labour supplies in historical perspective'.
[1337] This view is based on a wide reading of archival sources (NAZ).
[1338] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1924.
[1339] (NAZ) SEC2/131 Vol.1, D.C. Hughes-Chamberlain, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 December 1929.
[1340] (NAZ) North-Western Province African Provincial Council, April 1958.
[1341] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge', 128.
[1342] See: Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life*, 2-3.
[1343] Barrett, 'Walking home majestically'.
[1344] Interview with Mr Makajina Kahilu, 8 March 2010, Ikelenge.
[1345] (NAZ) KSE1/1/1, R.W. Yule, 13 October 1915.
[1346] See the discussion on 'wealth in people' in Chapter 4. See: G. Wilson, *An essay on the economics of detribalization in Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester, 1942).
[1347] See: Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'
[1348] (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Mwaweshya v. Mulambila of Keshi Village, 2 August 1917.
[1349] See: Turner, 'Money economy'; Sardanis, *Africa*.
[1350] Andersson, 'Informal moves', 393; Barrett, 'Walking home majestically'.

could act as a self-propelling force behind labour migration, but this was only due to the linkages between consumption and social relationships.[1351] Economic factors were not the sole determinants of labour migration: 'Population movements are not economistic reactions to push and pull, but patterns of migration are determined by social and cultural institutions, embedded in local customs and ideologies.'[1352]

Paradoxically, people continued to move to urban areas even in times of economic slump, in the 1930s and 1970s, when employment was difficult to find.[1353] This evidences that economic factors are not the only driving forces behind urban residence. Mobility has commonly been attributed to rural-urban income disparity, suggesting that urban residence holds certain relative attractions vis-à-vis rural areas.[1354] Urban attractions are not absolute, but are rather judged in the light of rural realities:

> During the six years since Independence (…) we were not able to close the gap between urban and rural incomes. In fact, it is even wider today than it was when we started off on our own. This development does not encourage our young people to remain in the rural areas and take up farming as a career. The trend to go to the towns is increasing even if the people know that the chances of finding a job are very remote indeed.[1355]

Although employment could be difficult to obtain in town, especially from the late 1970s onwards, urban areas continued to hold relative attractions vis-à-vis rural areas.[1356] National income disparities were substantial in 1968. Whereas Zambian mineworkers earned K1300 a year and other wage earners K640, peasant farmer incomes were K145.[1357] In connection to this, it was stated that 'rapidly increasing prices for consumer goods and cost of production, on the one hand, and stagnant or even declining producer prices, on the other, make farming not a very attractive proposition.'[1358] The contrasts between rural and urban areas were posed in stark terms, of 'stagnation' as opposed to 'dynamism' or even 'tradition' versus 'modernity'.[1359] Although this 'dualism' might be lamented on occasion, it persists up to the present day in discourse and popular consciousness:

> The most distressing aspect of Zambian society is its dual structure giving rise to the affluent and less well-to-do segments. This dualism cuts across the very fabric of our existence. On one side we have the monetised side of our economy with all the characteristics of dynamic temporal change based on modern technology. On the other side we have the so-called rural sector characterised by a low level of technology, economic performance and in fact painful poverty, ignorance and disease. The result of the yawning gap between the urban and rural areas in the standards of living is the exodus of able-bodied people from the rural countryside to the line-of-rail urban areas. This has led to further deterioration in the form of decreased output in rural areas and over-crowded shanty townships in urban areas.[1360]

Neither viewing rural and urban spheres as dichotomous, nor looking at economic dynamics alone can explain patterns of labour migration satisfactorily.

Social connectivity and self-realisation: The socio-cultural dynamics of labour migration

Far from being detached, rural and urban areas stand in relation to one another. Residence in urban areas is driven by rural realities and underpinned by a 'desire to improve the conditions of life in villages.'[1361] This is not merely an economic goal, but encompasses socio-cultural aspirations. Instead

[1351] Guyer, 'Wealth in people'.
[1352] De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty', 9.
[1353] Potts, 'Shall we go home?'; Jamal and Weeks, 'The vanishing rural-urban gap' deal with the 1980s and 1990s; Ferguson, 'Mobile workers' deals with the 1930s.
[1354] Heisler, *Urbanisation and the government of migration*; Jamal and Weeks, 'The vanishing rural-urban gap'.
[1355] (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/1/52, A New Strategy for Rural Development in Zambia, 1970.
[1356] Potts, 'Counter-urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt?'
[1357] (NAZ) Report of the Second National Convention on Rural Development: Incomes, Wages and Prices in Zambia, 12 December 1969.
[1358] (NAZ) A New Strategy for Rural Development in Zambia, 23 March 1970.
[1359] Ferguson, 'The country and the city', 80-92.
[1360] (UNIPA) UNIP1/2/12, Chairman of the Rural Development Committee, 22 September 1973.
[1361] Englund, 'The village in the city', 137.

of a transformative act involving geographical mobility and the breaking of bonds with a rural home, labour migration might more usefully be interpreted in terms of social connectivity.[1362] Rural and urban areas form a single network, as 'rural connections are presupposed in *starting* an urban career.'[1363] Social connectivity plays a role in enabling movement to town, establishing a career and attaining both rural and urban wealth and security.[1364] Social connectivity might be expressed through bonds of kinship and ethnicity, but equally through aspirations of self-realisation, all of which straddle the rural-urban divide.[1365] Labour migration is a 'lifestyle (…) inspired by aspirations that do not simply envisage material accumulation', but are premised on socio-cultural dispositions.[1366] Social connectivity plays a role in facilitating migration and securing its success, connecting rural and urban spheres.

Labour migration could be an integral part of building one's career.[1367] Work might be 'a positive aspect of human activity, and is expressed in the making of self and others in the course of everyday life.'[1368] Not wealth per se, but social standing is sought through labour migration. Self-realisation through labour migration 'involved a process, a succession of ordeals and achievements, a husbanding and protection of personal power and repeated manifestation of it.'[1369] Labour migration, however, is only one among many strategies towards self-realisation, including agricultural production, hunting and trade. As a result, there is a 'positive appreciation of diversity in life-style and personality type.'[1370] Far from being an individual pursuit, self-realisation is a thoroughly social undertaking.[1371] One could only make a name for oneself in relation to others, as Turner explains:

> a man can acquire wealth by working in the White economy as a wage labourer (…) It seems often (…) to be the aim of returned labour-migrants (…) to obtain influence, and subsequently office, in traditional villages. Many of them see the village as their ultimate home, and regard their wage-labour as a means of acquiring the wealth that will give them prestige in the village sphere.[1372]

Even if labour migration involved physical mobility and (temporary) movement away from the village, it could be a means to acquire wealth and influence within the village, by becoming a 'Big Man' and building wealth in people.[1373]

Labour migration is not rooted in absolute rural poverty, but is driven by a desire to prosper in rural areas. In this sense, it becomes a strategy towards self-realisation.[1374] Colonial officials noted that: 'those at work are the younger, more energetic and more educated members of the population.'[1375] Indeed, 'it is not the poorest of the poor who migrate – they cannot afford it – but it is those with lower-middle incomes. Mobility is a privilege of the relatively wealthy.'[1376] Resources are required to migrate. Not only knowledge, skills and material wealth, but social capital and personality have to be cultivated.[1377] From application letters to the mines on the Copperbelt it becomes evident that workers

---

[1362] See: De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'; Englund, 'The village in the city'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'; Van Binsbergen, 'Globalization and virtuality'.

[1363] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 99.

[1364] Social connectivity has been acknowledged by numerous RLI scholars: H. Powdermaker, *Copper town: Changing Africa: The human situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt* (New York etc., 1962); J.C. Mitchell, *The Kalela dance: Aspects of social relationships among urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester, 1956).

[1365] Especially: De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.

[1366] Englund, 'The village in the city', 152; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.

[1367] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge', 128.

[1368] Comaroff, 'The madman and the migrant', 197.

[1369] Guyer, 'Wealth in people', 255.

[1370] Guyer and Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge', 105.

[1371] De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.

[1372] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 135.

[1373] See: Guyer, 'Wealth in people'; Miller, *Way of death.*

[1374] Englund, 'The village in the city', 151; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'; De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'.

[1375] (NAZ) SEC2/966, C.J. Fryer, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 9 September 1958.

[1376] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place', 1350; De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty', 16-22.

[1377] See: Guyer and Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge'.

from Mwinilunga District had aspirations towards self-realisation, viewed as an inherently social achievement, involving family, kin and ideas of the nation:

> I would like to develop myself and to be able to look after my family (…) I have learned that in the mines, there is security (…) it is one of the largest industries in Zambia which serves both the nation and neighbouring countries.[1378]

Another applicant wanted to become 'successful', wishing his 'career to grow into something which will make me support myself and the relatives who wants support. Also my studies to be continued so as to strengthen my career [*sic*].'[1379] A third applicant, who referred to himself as an 'unskilled person', stated that he wanted to be trained to help the company and the country. He continued: 'I like working very much because I can feed myself. I dislike to stay without working because I can't feed myself [*sic*].'[1380] Urban employment was not motivated by purely economic incentives, but was driven by aspirations of personal and social advancement. Such aspirations resulted in a diversity of strategies. Value could be composed from a multiplicity of sources: 'Adepts were many and varied, each pushing up against the outside limits of their own frontier of the known world, inventing new ways of configuring, storing and using what must have been an ever shifting spectrum of possibility.'[1381] Whereas some labour migrants sought short contracts so that they could return to their village to cultivate crops, others might stay in town for long periods of time to accumulate monetary wealth with which to set up a trading enterprise.[1382] Strategies towards self-realisation could be various, straddling the boundaries between rural and urban spheres. For the case of Mwinilunga, labour migration could be a strategy to build wealth and personhood, just as pineapple cultivation and hunting could be. Labour migration was 'shaped by local rural modes, conceptions and categories of wealth, accumulation, expenditure, physical and social reproduction and well-being which originate in (pre)colonial moral matrixes, attitudes, practices and beliefs.'[1383] Viewing labour migration through the prism of self-realisation might enhance an understanding of its underlying motives.

First of all, connecting labour migration to self-realisation places this form of mobility within its full societal context. Labour migration is not just propelled by an economic rationale, but builds upon socio-cultural dispositions, which are crucial to a proper understanding of the dynamics of mobility.[1384] Secondly, a focus on self-realisation enables the bridging of the discursive rural-urban divide.[1385] Even if some migrants might eventually sever ties with rural areas, urban residence is fundamentally driven by rural realities. Therefore it becomes crucial to look at rural-urban interconnections.[1386] Thirdly, this approach allows an understanding of the relative attractions of urban versus rural areas. Rather than resulting from rural poverty, labour migration is part of aspirations towards 'the good life', which might be located in either rural or urban areas.[1387] Most importantly, this approach does not stress the transformative aspects of labour migration, but suggests that the practice might have been constitutive of society in Mwinilunga District. In this sense, a focus on self-realisation can challenge the 'modernist narrative' of migration, which proposes linear historical trends

[1378] (ZCCM) Rabby Sameta, Mine No. 76934, Loc. Y4.9A, Born 29.8.1952, Entered Service 21.8.1972, Left Service 1.12.1972.

[1379] (ZCCM) Moses Kanjanja, Mine No. 82803, Loc. 18.1.5F, Born 18.08.1959, Entered Service 15.05.1979, Left Service 31.10.1992.

[1380] (ZCCM) G. Sameta, Mine No. 80106, Loc. 16.4.2A, Born 15.2.1956, Entered Service 30.6.1975, Left Service 31.8.1994.

[1381] Guyer and Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge', 93.

[1382] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Turner, 'Money economy'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[1383] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 779-80.

[1384] See: Englund, 'The village in the city'; Andersson, 'Informal moves'.

[1385] See: Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'; Geschiere and Gugler, 'The urban-rural connection'.

[1386] Englund, 'The village in the city'; Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity.*

[1387] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place'.

and ruptures.[1388] Instead of stressing geographical mobility or radical change, labour migration should be placed within the broader context of social connectivity.

Straddling the boundary between rural and urban spheres, 'social security has to be situated in migrants' networks.'[1389] Ultimately, 'urban-based social relations do not replace migrants' rural-based social relations but, rather, the former are 'added to' migrants' social relations that span both urban and rural spaces.'[1390] Social contacts play an important role in creating networks of employment. Kin or people from a particular chiefdom might work for the same employer in town, and could sometimes arrange jobs for their relatives and friends back home.[1391] Migrant workers 'were obliged to construct their own system of social assistance' in an unfamiliar environment. This could be done by the expansion of ties of kinship into notions of ethnicity:

> a society that accepted fictive kinship could easily extend this belief into a putative ethnicity built on the use of familial terms, such as "brother" or "uncle", to describe the relations between workers. Ethnicity, like kinship, was based on myths of origin, ascriptive and putative belonging, as well as relations of reciprocity.[1392]

Lunda workers did not develop a rigid or exclusive notion of ethnicity, but might use ethnic ties as resources in urban areas:[1393]

> Migrants predominantly use kinship terminology when talking about their – multi-stranded – mutual social relations (...) However, it would be a mistake to label kinship as a determinant of the social organisation of migrant networks in town (...) Kinship (...) should be understood primarily as an idiom.[1394]

Real or imagined common origin could serve as a safety net in case of sickness, debt or other problems and in a more positive sense could help to gain access to favourable work postings or set up trading enterprises. Especially during the first visit to town a migrant would need a contact from the home area, irrespective of whether this was close or distant kin, real or fictive. Travellers would otherwise risk getting lost, but they also needed a place to stay and a contact to obtain a job.[1395] Kinship, identity and ethnicity could be instrumentalised as a resource which crossed the boundaries between rural and urban spheres.[1396] Socio-cultural dispositions thus played a role in enabling migration, by facilitating access to economic opportunities.

In spite of continued connections, colonial administrators expressed worries about 'detribalisation', as ties of kinship might be severed as a result of prolonged residence in urban areas and a lack of contact with the village 'home'.[1397] Officials feared that 'detribalisation' might lead to a loosening of morals due to lack of chiefly authority, or to rising costs of urban living if workers could no longer rely on rural areas for demographic and social reproduction.[1398] Indeed, some migrants moved to urban areas, married 'outsiders' and severed ties of Lunda identity:

> The time comes, whether you like it or not, when there is a difference between town dwellers and country dwellers (…) It happens that men stay in towns all their lives; marry their wives there and have their children there and never return to their father's home (…) The expatriates [labour migrants] leave their dependants at home, and do not help their families by paying levy (…) Many of these people have families there [in Mwinilunga] or send their children to village schools for education, and use the dispensaries and hospitals there (…) They do not help their own areas and leave dependants behind in the care of the Native Authorities (…) as a consequence of the diminishing contact between Africans

[1388] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity.*
[1389] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 99.
[1390] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection, 104.
[1391] Cooper, *Struggle for the city*, 38-44.
[1392] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity,* 64.
[1393] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Pritchett, *Friends for life.*
[1394] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 103.
[1395] See: Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*; Englund, 'The village in the city'.
[1396] Andersson, 'Informal moves', 388.
[1397] See: Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'; Chauncey, 'The locus of reproduction';
[1398] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place', 1344-5.

> living in urban areas and their traditional authorities in rural areas, this must lead to a weakening of the bond between the two.[1399]

'Detribalisation' however, was a discursive construct. In practice, ties between rural and urban areas persisted, although their form could and did change over time. As this excerpt points out, labour migrants might send their children to schools or hospitals in Mwinilunga District, evidencing the enduring and complex ties between rural and urban areas.[1400] Even after years of living in town, rural links, social connectivity and group identity could be distinct resources:

> There is an inevitable mingling of tribes on the Copperbelt. Urbanisation and tribal intermarriage combine to flatten out distinctive tribal organisations in a probably increasing number of individuals. But the great mass of population still retains its tribal connections and even in trade it is possible to associate the selling or trade in certain commodities with members of tribes to whom the commodity may be a familiar article at home, either by traditional or developed association.[1401]

The colonial state actively fostered rural identification in towns, for example through 'tribal representatives'. This form of late-colonial control originated from an alliance between chiefs and the administration. Tribal representatives would adjudicate in urban court cases on behalf of rural chiefs, in an attempt to counteract cultural, moral and ethnic disintegration in the urban environment.[1402] Furthermore, the current existence of Lunda cultural associations on the Copperbelt evidences that ethnic ties, far from fading in an urban environment, could be (re)imagined in a new setting.[1403] Social linkages could serve to make sense of opportunities and shape economic pathways, connecting rural and urban areas.[1404] Mobility, identity and economic opportunity proved interrelated:

> The urban-rural connection in Africa is not a matter of 'either ... or'; it is not a connection which is either maintained or broken (...) It is clear that the connection is resilient, highly variable, with dynamics of its own, and not just dependent on personal choice. On the contrary, there seem to be structural reasons why it remains crucial in the struggle over access to resources and, increasingly, over the definition of citizenship.[1405]

Urban areas become attractive when seen in relation to rural realities. Within Mwinlunga District money-earning and employment options remained limited.[1406] Consequently, the disparity between rural and urban income levels propelled some to seek opportunities outside of their villages:

> Money is very easy to earn and to spend in populated areas and few now think it worth while to labour on their own for small wages or benefit. These areas should be the granaries of settled areas. Instead they are becoming backwaters and depopulated areas. The native farmer, with the cost of transport, cannot possibly compete with wages which are given on the line [of rail], and the wives of natives now only judge their husbands by what they can provide for them in the way of clothes and a soft time.[1407]

Due to the lack of opportunities to sell crops locally and a general 'discontent with the prices paid for produce grown at home' some decided 'to give up agriculture and look for a job' in urban areas where employment appeared more lucrative or easier to obtain.[1408] In connection to this, 'the overwhelming majority of males now look to industry for an assured wage, and will not consider the alternative of improved farming with its heavy toil and uncertain returns and markets.'[1409] Nevertheless, agricultural

---

[1399] (NAZ) North Western Province African Provincial Council, April 1955.

[1400] Geschiere and Gugler, 'The urban-rural connection'; Van Binsbergen, 'Globalization and virtuality'; Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity.*

[1401] (NAZ) W.V. Brelsford, Copperbelt Markets – A Social and Economic Study, 1947.

[1402] W.T. Kalusa, 'Death, Christianity, and African miners: Contesting indirect rule in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1935-1962', *International journal of African historical studies* 44:1 (2011), 99.

[1403] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*; Pritchett, *Friends for life.*

[1404] Englund, 'The village in the city'; Andersson, 'Informal moves'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.

[1405] Geschiere and Gugler, 'The urban-rural connection', 315.

[1406] Turner, 'Money economy'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[1407] (NAZ) SEC2/955 H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 11 October 1940.

[1408] (NAZ) SEC2/137, F.R.G Phillips, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1954.

[1409] (NAZ) NWP1/2/102 Loc.4919, E.L. Button, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1960.

production was preferred to labour migration under certain conditions.[1410] In the area of Ntambu, where the soils are fertile and there is plenty of fish in the rivers, 'relatively few Mwinilunga natives go to work', because of the viable income-earning opportunities locally.[1411] Although 'household-level agricultural production' remained important, 'new demands – such as the need for cash to pay taxes and purchase newly available consumer goods – meant that such production was a necessary but no longer sufficient condition for material existence' and in this context labour migration became attractive.[1412] Building on older forms of mobility, labour migration was negotiated as a situational strategy to take advantage of and enhance existing opportunities.[1413]

The relative attractions of urban areas could be reinforced by aspirations towards self-realisation. Educated and skilled individuals who failed to find lucrative employment locally, would move to urban areas where opportunities were more readily available.[1414] Not all mission-educated individuals could obtain employment as teachers or orderlies within Mwinilunga District, and consequently large numbers would seek their luck on the Copperbelt or in the capital city Lusaka.[1415] Labour migration could be a strategy to build wealth and influence, a path towards self-realisation. Those most favourably positioned for this were not the least skilled or poorest individuals, but rather those who possessed skills and capital already.[1416] Individuals from the north-western part of the district, where there are relatively abundant income-earning opportunities due to the presence of a large mission, migrate more often and stay away for longer periods of time than individuals from other, more remote, parts of the district.[1417] Going against sedentary assumptions, 'development in areas of origin has usually been accompanied by increased migration', because 'as people get more opportunities to move, they take them up in ever larger numbers.'[1418]

Aspirations towards a 'good life' encompassed not only economic objectives, but ideology and culture as well. Next to income disparities, differences in the provision of services (health care, education and leisure) between town and country could be pronounced.[1419] The style of life in towns ('town life') attracted migrants. The 'bright lights' of the city acted as a magnet, and colonial officials concurred that 'it is only too easy to understand why the young and energetic want to leave the monotony of village life and see the excitements and wealth of the Copperbelt.'[1420] The 'beerhalls, tea rooms, and facilities for purchasing European food – all of which appeal to the village African', attracted workers from Mwinilunga District to the Copperbelt.[1421] Individuals consciously weighed terms of employment, conditions of service and other factors, before taking up urban residence, temporarily or for good.[1422] Individuals viewed urban and rural areas relationally, not as detached from one another. Relatively speaking in urban areas, when compared to the situation prevailing within Mwinilunga, wages were higher and employment opportunities more readily available. This opened avenues towards self-realisation and motivated numerous individuals to migrate. In this manner a mobile

[1410] See: Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'.
[1411] (NAZ) NWP1/2/12 Loc.4899, H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 11 October 1940.
[1412] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 70.
[1413] Andersson, 'Informal moves', 382.
[1414] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; W.H.M.L. Hoppers, *Education in a rural society: Primary pupils and school leavers in Mwinilunga, Zambia* (The Hague, 1981).
[1415] Fisher and Hoyte, *Ndotolu*; W.T. Kalusa, 'A history of disease, missionary medicine and African medical auxiliaries in North-Western Zambia: The case of Mwinilunga District, 1893-1964' (PhD thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 2003).
[1416] Guyer and Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge'.
[1417] See: Fisher and Hoyte, *Ndotolu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1418] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place', 1345, 1350.
[1419] Powdermaker, *Copper town*; Wilson, *An essay on the economics of detribalization*; Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'
[1420] (NAZ) SEC2/966, C.J. Fryer, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 14 November 1958.
[1421] (NAZ) SEC2/957, A. Stockwell-Jones, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 30 January 1949.
[1422] Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'.

labour force was created, which sought to maximise existing opportunities and match these to personal preferences, whether these opportunities were in urban or rural areas.[1423] The strategy of labour migration was driven by rural realities and livelihoods, influencing these in turn. Labour migration has been connected to trends of rural development as well as underdevelopment.[1424] It is, therefore, pertinent to ask how labour migration influenced not only the livelihoods of migrants but also society within Mwinilunga.

Decay or boom? Labour migration and local livelihoods

How has labour migration influenced the locality, livelihoods and sociality of Mwinilunga District? The impact of labour migration on the village setting has predominantly been analysed from an economic perspective. It has been suggested that labour migration would lead either to 'development' or to 'underdevelopment' and rural decay.[1425] If viewed within a 'modernist narrative', urbanisation, linked to industrialisation and modernisation, would release individuals from the strictures of village life, generating monetary income, wealth and 'development'.[1426] This positive association was acknowledged by officials from early on: 'Activities have increased in the industrial centres and the prosperity in these areas is reflected in the villages which supply the men who are employed in them.'[1427] Labour migration could be a strategy for people who are 'looking to improve their lives and move out of poverty'.[1428] Migration might generate remittances and an increase in human capital, ultimately benefitting the area of origin by raising standards of living.[1429] Nevertheless, the effect of migration on the development of areas of origin remains ambiguous.[1430] In a more negative way, labour migration has been connected to issues of proletarianisation.[1431] Whereas widespread rural poverty propelled individuals to earn money through labour migration, migration and waged employment could equally divorce workers from an independent means of production in the form of land, leading to proletarianisation. This process made workers increasingly dependent on the capitalist sector and aggravated the impoverishment of rural 'labour reserves', which had been depleted of the workforce needed to till the land, resulting in 'underdevelopment'.[1432] Scepticism about the effects of labour migration on village societies has been voiced not only by colonial and post-colonial officials, but by RLI scholars as well.[1433] Turner noted that 'changes brought about by the growing participation of Ndembu in the Rhodesian cash economy and an increased rate of labour migration, have in some areas (…) drastically reshaped some institutions and destroyed others.'[1434] Discourses of development and underdevelopment, stability and disruption, boom and decay all shared basic assumptions about the transformative effects of labour migration on rural societies.

Even though official policy encouraged labour migration as a means to earn tax money and engage in the capitalist economy,[1435] concerns were voiced against the practice. During the colonial period it was argued that 'the mines can't "have it both ways", that is have cheap labour and at the same time expect and abundance of cheap food from the villages which they have depopulated.'[1436] It

[1423] Englund, 'The village in the city'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.
[1424] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place'; De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'.
[1425] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place'; De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'; Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity.*
[1426] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*, 33; Cooper, *Struggle for the city*, 12.
[1427] (NAZ) SEC2/153, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1939.
[1428] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place', 1354.
[1429] De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty', 21.
[1430] De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty', 20.
[1431] See: Amin, 'Underdevelopment and dependence'; Arrighi, 'Labour supplies in historical perspective'.
[1432] Amin, 'Underdevelopment and dependence'.
[1433] See Richards, *Land, labour and diet,* for 'rural decay'.
[1434] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 17.
[1435] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place'; Ferguson, 'Mobile workers'.
[1436] (NAZ) SEC2/131 Vol.2, E. Sharpe, Kasempa Province Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1930.

was feared that, under prevailing labour bottlenecks, urban and rural wealth could not coincide, because wage employment would jeopardise agricultural production. The male absenteeism due to outmigration and the supposedly deleterious effects this had on agricultural production and village make-up were cause for serious distress.[1437] Officials lamented that: 'there is a lack of men [who left for the mines] which seriously impairs the village labour force. I frequently met old men and hungry women and children in the same community as possessed miles of good but uncultivated land.'[1438] Labour migration could have negative effects on agricultural production:

> It is becoming more and more evident that the exodus of youths and men from the villages, consequent upon the greatly increased demands for labour, is having a serious effect upon native agriculture (…) It has been reported, from certain districts, that the number of able-bodied men remaining in the villages is so small that the women have been compelled to cultivate old gardens in which the soil had become impoverished. The crops reaped have, naturally, been poor.[1439]

This might provoke a 'vicious circle', as 'it is not possible to develop an area if there are no able-bodied people there to do the work, and the people will not stay at home unless there is a means of obtaining a remunerative return for their labours.'[1440] It was observed that 'in the worst affected villages life just stagnates', and that 'there is a great tendency for the houses occupied by their [labour migrants'] wives to be allowed to fall into a very dilapidated condition.'[1441] Officials regarded the effects of labour migration on village life and agricultural production as potentially detrimental:

> The greatest limiting factor is the progressive impoverishment of the villages with the drift to the Towns. It is idle to talk about social welfare and development here unless and until some bold and constructive means can be found and enforced to stop this drift. Over-industrialisation of the Territory, if at the cost of the rural districts, must in the long run prove extremely costly, if not disastrous (…) [Migrants] send no money, no clothes home, and the state of the village is most pitiable.[1442]

Policies of urban bias were blamed for rural decay, as high wages would attract disproportionate labour force from rural to urban areas.[1443] In order to lessen rural-urban income disparities official policy after independence aimed 'to raise productivity on as wide a front as is practical in order to (…) make rural life more attractive and thus curb the drift towards urban employment.'[1444]

Nevertheless, these views of rural decay, disruption or even breakdown do not seem to be in congruence with the increase in agricultural production and the boom in marketing throughout Mwinilunga District in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.[1445] In spite of the drain on village labour force due to high levels of outmigration, agricultural production flourished and rural life seemed to prosper. In recent years more cautious voices have suggested that migration to towns did not necessarily result in rural decay.[1446] In exceptional cases, rather, labour migration might have been compatible with high levels of agricultural production and rural prosperity, as the case of Mwinilunga District suggests.[1447] Whilst some officials complained about the lack of 'able bodied men' in the villages, others noted that notwithstanding high levels of absenteeism there were relatively few outward signs of disorganisation

---

[1437] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, 140-77; D. Potts, 'Worker-peasants and farmer-housewives in Africa: The debate about 'committed' farmers, access to land and agricultural production', *Journal of Southern African studies* 26:4 (2000), 807-32.

[1438] (NAZ) SEC2/959, K.J. Forder, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, November 1951.

[1439] (NAZ) Northern Rhodesia Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1929.

[1440] (NAZ) SEC2/962, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 16 September 1954.

[1441] (NAZ) SEC2/967, W.D. Grant, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 21 April 1959; (NAZ) NWP1/2/2 Loc.4897, C.M.N. White, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 7 December 1938.

[1442] (NAZ) SEC2/155, Western Province Annual Report, 1948.

[1443] Potts, 'Counter-urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt?'; Jamal and Weeks, 'The vanishing rural-urban gap'.

[1444] (NAZ) Annual Report of the Ministry of Agriculture for the Year 1965.

[1445] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*.

[1446] See: W. Beinart, *The political economy of Pondoland, 1860-1930* (Cambridge etc., 1982); Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Pottier, *Migrants no more.*

[1447] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, 155.

in the villages.[1448] How can such radically opposing views, of labour migration leading to rural disruption, yet co-existing with prosperity and boom, be reconciled? Could labour migration, seen as a strategy towards self-realisation, be constitutive rather than transformative of rural life?

Viewing labour migration as a strategy towards self-realisation can bridge the rural-urban dichotomy at the basis of theories of both development and underdevelopment.[1449] If labour migration is interpreted as a social strategy for attaining wealth and power the focus lies not so much on the disruptive act of geographical mobility, but rather on the links which migrants create through a complex network of cultural, economic, social and political relations.[1450] Labour migration might lead to (permanent) urban residence, but is underpinned by rural realities, resulting in the 'simultaneous and overlapping presence of urban and rural spaces in migrants' lives.'[1451] Migrants 'often see their stay in town through the prism of their rural aspirations.'[1452] In an attempt to build one's career and establish personhood, avenues to enrichment might be sought in either rural or urban localities.[1453] Urban and rural opportunities have to be viewed relationally, as a variety of livelihood strategies might contribute to self-realisation. Because within Mwinilunga District opportunities to sell crops or engage in waged employment remained limited, individuals attempted to combine and complement existing livelihood strategies with labour migration. Thus, labour migration could function as a strategy to diversify and secure rural livelihoods.[1454]

Agricultural production and labour migration are often seen as conflicting or even mutually exclusive livelihood strategies, especially in terms of labour inputs.[1455] The case of Mwinilunga suggests, however, that it was not necessary to choose between agricultural production and labour migration. Rather, the two strategies could and often have been combined. Moreover, various livelihood patterns could positively feed into each other.[1456] Urban and rural strategies are often profoundly interlinked, and where possible workers would choose urban employment which would prove compatible with rural livelihood patterns.[1457] Labour migrants sought 'to sustain the viability of subsistence agricultural production and to maintain the freedom to enter the labor market on their own terms.'[1458] Insofar as possible, workers refused to engage in long labour contracts which would jeopardise the planting or harvesting of crops. Preferably, they engaged in shorter contracts which enabled a combination of agricultural production and waged employment.[1459] Even if more money could be earned farther afield, workers preferred to engage close to home so that they could combine cultivation and wage labour:

> The Alunda is still fond of home life, and is usually unwilling to agree to work anywhere that will separate him from his family for a long period. He much prefers to earn 10/- a month at work near to his home; than 20/- a month amongst strangers.[1460]

Government commissioned road construction work within the district provided opportunities for such short-term contracts throughout the colonial period. Workers would be engaged per 'ticket' of four to six weeks, and they could terminate their employment upon the completion of any number of tickets. Road construction work proved popular for its flexibility. It enabled workers to return to their village

[1448] (NAZ) SEC2/959, K.J. Forder, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, November 1951.
[1449] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.
[1450] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place', 1347.
[1451] Englund, 'The village in the city', 142; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 84.
[1452] Englund, 'The village in the city', 153.
[1453] Englund, 'The village in the city'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.
[1454] De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'; O'Laughlin, 'Proletarianisation, agency and changing rural livelihoods'.
[1455] See: Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge', 122; Potts, 'Worker-peasants and farmer-housewives'.
[1456] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[1457] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'.
[1458] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours', 72.
[1459] See: Harries, *Work, culture, and identity*; Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries and contours.'
[1460] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1921.

with cash in their pockets, but equally to engage in key agricultural tasks, such as tree-felling.[1461] In spite of labour commitments elsewhere, some individuals were able to go home and resume cultivation. In this manner, waged employment and agricultural production could go hand in hand.[1462]

Labour migration and agricultural production could also be combined as strategies due to the increasing adoption of cassava as a staple crop.[1463] Whereas sorghum and millet required the annual clearing of bush fields, which is a labour-intensive and typically male task, cassava could be cultivated on the same plot of land for up to twenty consecutive years. Through cassava cultivation the demand for male labour for field preparation was substantially reduced, enabling women to engage in agricultural production relatively independently.[1464] The adoption of cassava curbed the negative effects of 'male absenteeism', which colonial officials portrayed as deleterious to village life and agricultural production.[1465] Cassava, thus, facilitated male labour migration:

> In areas such as Mwinilunga (…) where a form of "Chitemeni" agricultural is practiced an absence of more than two years on the part of the man has a serious effect upon the food supply of his family since it is the man's work to fell the trees and gather the branches, in the ashes of which the finger millet or kaffir corn is planted (…) where cassava is the staple crop and agriculture is largely stabilised, the presence of the man is unnecessary for the preparation of the gardens.[1466]

Due to cassava cultivation male labour migration could be combined with agricultural production by women within the village.[1467] Within the 'modernist narrative' labour migration is presented as an affair of lone men who leave their wives and children behind in the village, at least in the initial phases of circular migration.[1468] Such a scenario might indeed jeopardise agricultural production, but it does not appear warranted for the case of Mwinilunga District.

The young male migrant going to the mines by himself, whilst leaving his wife and children behind in the village, has been portrayed as the 'typical' pattern of early labour migration.[1469] If, however, labour migration is seen as a strategy towards self-realisation and as an inherently social form of mobility, this paradigm can be questioned. Self-realisation, rather than being an individual act, occurs in relation to others.[1470] Value and wealth are located in people and relationships, 'the self lived only in its interaction with others.'[1471] Consequently, self-realisation through labour migration could not be an individual pursuit, but would necessarily involve the household and the village. Men would not decide to go to work on their own, but their choices would be made relationally, in the context of social connectivity.[1472] Although some men did go to work alone, many took their families with them.[1473] Even though female migration remains poorly documented, women and children did move to towns. From the outset of the colonial period and increasingly after independence, women would

---

[1461] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* 149-53; Harries, *Work, culture, and identity.*

[1462] See: Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'; Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'.

[1463] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* 155-6; Berry, *No condition is permanent*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[1464] I. Peša, ''Cassava is our chief': Negotiating identity, markets and the state through cassava in Mwinilunga, Zambia', in: J-B. Gewald, A. Leliveld and I. Peša (eds.), *Transforming innovations in Africa: Explorative studies on appropriation in African societies* (Leiden etc., 2012), 169-90; C.M. Chabatama, 'Peasant farming, the state, and food security in the North-Western Province of Zambia, 1902-1964' (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1999).

[1465] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[1466] (NAZ) SEC2/154, F.M.N. Heath, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1947.

[1467] A. Spring and A. Hansen, *Women's agricultural work in rural Zambia: From valuation to subordination*, (Waltham, 1979).

[1468] Ferguson, 'Mobile workers'; Potts, 'Worker-peasants and farmer-housewives'.

[1469] Ferguson, 'Mobile workers'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'

[1470] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.

[1471] Comaroff, 'The madman and the migrant', 198.

[1472] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Macmillan, 'The historiography of transition'.

[1473] Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'; Chauncey, 'The locus of reproduction'; Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity.*

either accompany their husbands and relatives or move to urban areas of their own accord.[1474] Women found ingenious ways to circumvent restrictions on their movement:

> the Government should inform the drivers of the buses that they should not carry women [to town] without permission from their husbands (...) although police, kapasu and district messenger patrols inspected the buses at Solwezi, Lumwana and Mwinilunga, it was difficult to catch offenders who usually caught the buses outside the town-ship by agreement with the drivers.[1475]

Even if women rarely initiated the movement to town themselves, they did not passively follow their husbands either.[1476] By the 1950s it was acknowledged that: 'an increasing number of unmarried, divorced and widowed women are leaving the rural areas to escape the drudgery of village life, to seek wealthy husbands in the Copperbelt or in the Belgian Congo.'[1477] Although formal employment opportunities were limited, women who accompanied their husbands to town would actively contribute to the family income.[1478] Women might engage in petty trade, for example in second-hand clothes or beans, or they might find employment as teachers or orderlies.[1479] Labour migration should therefore be seen as a household strategy. Young men might make the initial move to labour centres on their own, but they might return to the village to marry and thereafter take their wives to urban areas to settle there (semi-)permanently.[1480] Although the percentage of migrating men was probably always higher than the percentage of women, the disproportion was not as extreme as census figures suggest.[1481] The common portrait of women and old men being left in the village, without the necessary young male labour to cultivate the fields, is exaggerated.[1482] First of all, labour migration was meant to enhance rural security. Male decisions to migrate are made within the context of the household, with the interests of women and children in mind. Self-realisation could not be an individual pursuit of men, but was rather a household strategy. If married men migrated, they did not leave their wives behind, but sought to enhance their livelihoods. Secondly, aspirations towards self-realisation could result in the migration of families, rather than single men. This, in turn, could contribute to agricultural viability. If men, women and children moved to urban areas together, the gender imbalance in rural areas would not become extreme. A more equal gender balance would facilitate the continuation of agricultural production within Mwinilunga District and would minimise the effects of loss of labour force. Interpreting migration as a household strategy of social connectivity challenges views of rural breakdown.[1483] Remittances, the opportunity of schooling relatives in town, or assistance in obtaining employment, all contributed to rural diversification, rather than decay.[1484]

Census figures on labour migration should be questioned in the light of the culture of mobility in Mwinilunga.[1485] Throughout the 1950s censuses recorded male labour migration ratios exceeding 50%.[1486] These figures should not be taken at face value.[1487] Cases of people reported to be 'at work' while they were avoiding tax payment by hiding in the bush or by visiting relatives are ubiquitous.[1488]

[1474] Andersson, 'Informal moves'; Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'.

[1475] (NAZ) LGH5/1/3 Loc.3604, Lunda-Ndembo Native Authority Council, 5 November 1960.

[1476] Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'

[1477] (NAZ) SEC2/962 R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 20 August 1954.

[1478] This view has been confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Lucy and Gladys, 6 February 2010, Kalulushi.

[1479] See: K.T. Hansen, *Keeping house in Lusaka* (New York etc., 1997); Confirmed by numerous interviews.

[1480] Ferguson, 'Mobile workers'; Macmillan, 'The historiography of transition'.

[1481] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Andersson, 'Informal moves'.

[1482] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

[1483] Potts, 'Worker-peasants and farmer-housewives'.

[1484] Andersson, 'Informal moves'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.

[1485] Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

[1486] (NAZ) Mwinilunga District Annual Reports.

[1487] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees;* B. Fetter (ed.), *Demography from scanty evidence: Central Africa in the colonial era* (Boulder etc., 1990).

[1488] This view is based on a wide reading of archival sources (NAZ).

The population found creative means to deceive the tax registrar, by using false names, claiming to have paid taxes across the border, etc.[1489] Furthermore, levels of residential mobility remained high throughout the twentieth century. In the 1950s Turner documented that a man could be born in one village, but might go to live with his maternal uncle in another village. He might move upon marriage, migrate to town and finally retire in the Boma.[1490] The tax registrar failed to grasp these multiple movements and, therefore, might have significantly overrepresented the percentage of men 'at work'.[1491] Moreover, census figures suggest a steady population increase during the twentieth century. Whereas population estimates for Mwinilunga District were as low as 10,866 in 1920, a total population of 81,496 was recorded in 1990.[1492] This increase might reflect revised census methods, immigration from Angola and Congo, as well as natural increase. Population increase might have compensated for male outmigration. Whereas labour migrants moved away from the district, others might have come in to compensate for the loss of labour force. Views of rural decay due to labour migration should therefore be reconsidered.

All too often, migration has been viewed negatively, as a last resort for impoverished agricultural producers who fail to find market outlets.[1493] Nevertheless, with a degree of sarcasm, colonial officials observed that:

> The relative prosperity or backwardness of a chiefs area bears little relation to the number of labourers exported, but, the impression is gained that labourers from home areas with a lower standard of living have limited ambitions and are quite content to return home when they have saved a few pounds as a qualification for a long "rest".[1494]

The assumption that the poorest or the least educated, those deprived of all other opportunities, would be compelled to migrate by capitalist pressures does not hold. Rather, 'the poorest are generally excluded from migration opportunities. Migration presupposes a measure of relative well-being, which provides the material and ideological conditions for seeking new fortunes through spatial mobility.'[1495] Thus, contrary to what might be expected, areas where crops are difficult to market and employment opportunities are poor seem to send less migrants to urban areas, whereas more migrants originate from areas enjoying favourable educational and marketing opportunities.[1496] Migration is rooted 'not so much in the poor rural living conditions as in migrants' desire to prosper in the rural areas.'[1497] Labour migration should be seen as a strategy towards self-realisation, contributing to rural sustainability and prosperity, rather than leading to breakdown or decay. Labour migration allowed skilled individuals to enhance existing opportunities. Whereas some individuals focused on marketing pineapples within Mwinilunga District, others sought to develop personhood by building a career in urban areas. Agricultural production and labour migration did not conflict, but could coincide. Labour migrants might invest in agriculture upon return, or might facilitate the marketing of agricultural produce in urban areas. Labour migration did not cause rural decay or poverty, but could stimulate self-realisation and could thereby constitute the locality of Mwinilunga District.[1498]

In spite of high levels of outmigration from Mwinilunga District officials noticed 'comparatively little outward signs of disorganisation.'[1499] Labour migration could be an alternative or complementary strategy next to agricultural production, aiming to make rural life more secure. Waged employment

---

[1489] Allina-Pisano, 'Borderlands, boundaries, and contours'.
[1490] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1491] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[1492] See: (NAZ) Mwinilunga District Annual Reports; Central Statistical Office, Zambia, Census 1990.
[1493] Andersson, 'Administrators' knowledge'; See: R.H. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.), *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London etc., 1977).
[1494] (NAZ) NWP1/2/37 Loc.4903, D.G. Clough, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1950.
[1495] Englund, 'The village in the city', 139.
[1496] See: De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'.
[1497] Englund, 'The village in the city', 151.
[1498] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place'; De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'.
[1499] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 December 1937.

did not necessarily have to be disruptive of agricultural production, but could contribute to its development through remittances and investment in agriculture made by returning labour migrants.[1500] Markets for agricultural produce were neither unlimited nor very stable in the area of Mwinilunga. Labour migration could serve to cushion the volatility of agricultural production and marketing, whilst providing additional income.[1501] Already during the colonial period officials acknowledged that the wealth of urban areas could spread into rural areas:

> The prosperity in the urban areas was to a lesser degree felt in the rural areas where wages and ration allowances in lieu of rations in kind have shown a steady increase, while the demand for surplus native foodstuffs and fish has brought a considerable sum of money into African pockets in several districts.[1502]

Instead of a stark rural-urban dichotomy, rural and urban areas could more usefully be viewed as two sides of the same coin.[1503] By straddling the boundaries of both, individuals sought to maximise opportunities and increase livelihood security. There is a 'mutual dependence between urban and rural fortunes.'[1504] Therefore:

> migration to town and the subsequent maintenance of rural connections are inseparable (…) social security arrangements have to be situated in migrants' networks, but those networks themselves cannot be reduced to a set of economically motivated links among migrants (…) [they have] to be understood in relation to their socio-cultural disposition.[1505]

How are rural and urban spheres interconnected through social connectivity, remittances and self-realisation?

Remittances in money and goods have been taken as a sign of enduring rural-urban connections.[1506] Interpreted within the same debates of development and underdevelopment, migrant remittances have overwhelmingly been judged for their economic importance.[1507] For the area of Mwinilunga, consequently, officials painted a grim picture, as migrants did not seem interested in remitting money. Generally, while migrants were in employment in urban areas remittances and contact with kin remained minimal.[1508] Long transport hauls and the difficulty of communication made that remittances tended to be infrequent and limited, as officials observed:

> There was no evidence that the migrant workers, speaking generally sent much money home. Taxes were all paid in tikkies and pennies and sixpences, which I took to be the product of local trade, and not of postal orders sent from the towns.[1509]

Colonial officials lamented the loose ties between labour migrants and their kin in the villages, as 'they return seldom, and remit money and clothes never.'[1510] Remittances did not seem to be migrants' primary concern, as 'most natives who have savings appear to be more occupied with what use they can make of them on the spot than with safe and cheap methods of remitting money to their relatives.'[1511] Migrants tended to carry goods or money as gifts or investment capital upon their return, rather than remitting on a regular basis. Remittances, however, are but one form of rural-urban contact, which should be placed in a broader context.[1512]

[1500] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, 172-7; Pottier, *Migrants no more.*
[1501] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1502] (NAZ) SEC2/157, Western Province Annual Report, 1950.
[1503] Englund, 'The village in the city'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.
[1504] Englund, 'The village in the city', 149.
[1505] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 99.
[1506] Geschiere and Gugler, 'The urban-rural connection'.
[1507] E. Obadare and W. Adebanwi, 'Transnational resource flow and the paradoxes of belonging: Redirecting the debate on transnationalism, remittances, state and citizenship in Africa', *Review of African political economy* 36:122 (2009), 499-517.
[1508] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1509] (NAZ) SEC2/957, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 6 March 1949.
[1510] (NAZ) NWP1/2/26 Loc.4901, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 10 January 1949.
[1511] (NAZ) SEC2/151, Western Province Annual Report, 1937.
[1512] Andersson, 'Informal moves'.

Through labour migration and mobility rural and urban areas have become interconnected in numerous and enduring ways.[1513] Rather than marking rupture, migration might contribute to the constitution of society within Mwinilunga District. This could be expressed in the economic domain. Labour migrants could contribute to agricultural production in the form of investment in inputs, such as fertiliser, hoes, axes and the like.[1514] Concerns that labour migration might jeopardise agricultural production were voiced, because 'if people are away from their village for six months or more they cannot cultivate proper gardens.'[1515] Nevertheless, such concerns appeared unwarranted. To the contrary, if labour migrants invested their earnings in agricultural production upon return they might expand agricultural production and start marketing crops on a large scale. Numerous pineapple farmers used earnings from migrant labour as starting capital to buy suckers or to engage labour to prepare fields.[1516] Migrants earned cash incomes, which they could invest in productive enterprises in rural areas. Increased living standards could result from labour migration. In the 1950s, within the time span of five years, a colonial official observed a marked 'improvement' in material culture throughout Mwinilunga: 'Dresses, clothes were better, there were more bicycles, more Kimberley brick houses, lamps, suitcases, blankets etc. all seemed to have improved.'[1517] Rather than sending remittances, labour migrants would 'buy what few cloths they require' whilst working on the line of rail where goods were cheaper than within Mwinilunga. These goods might subsequently be transported to rural areas once the workers had finished their contracts.[1518] If labour migrants returned to settle in Mwinilunga District, they would bring consumer goods and material wealth from urban areas with them.[1519] As a result, consumer goods such as clothes, pots and pans became widespread in the villages and demand for these goods equally increased. Once these goods came to be regarded as necessities, this could provide a further incentive towards labour migration.[1520] Labour migration might lead to increased levels of wealth, but this did not necessarily equal rural 'development'.[1521]

As the previous examples have shown, labour migration could enhance standards of living and security within the village, yet this did not simply generate a dynamic of economic growth. Although labour migration offered prospects of material gain, increased social status and a return to the village as a respectable 'Big Man', wealth and self-realisation equally entailed risks.[1522] Kabalabala embodies this sense of both opportunity and risk involved in labour migration:

> Kabalabala was a man, living in the area of the Kabompo River, who possessed charms with which he could turn himself into a lion. People who walked long distances would get tired and rest along the road, where they might erect temporary camps or shelters to spend the night. Especially those who were returning from the towns to their villages could carry considerable possessions, purchased with urban wages and serving as gifts or items of exchange and use in the village. Kabalabala would come and chat with these people during the day, covertly making an inventory of their possessions. At night Kabalabala would transform himself into a lion, return to the camp of the travellers, steal all their belongings and kill one or more members of the travelling group. Clothing, pots, and other goods would be taken from the travellers by Kabalabala, who would sell these items for money. This made travelling to and from

[1513] Geschiere and Gugler, 'The urban-rural connection'; Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection'.
[1514] Turner, 'Money economy'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1515] (NAZ) KSE6/3/1, Mwinilunga Sub-District Indaba, 13 October 1916.
[1516] See Chapter 2; This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Saipilinga Kahongo, 22 March 2010, Ikelenge.
[1517] (NAZ) SEC2/966, R.J. Short, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, July 1958.
[1518] (NAZ) F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1926.
[1519] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Turner, 'Money economy'.
[1520] (NAZ) SEC2/131 Vol.1, D.C. Hughes-Chamberlain, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 December 1929.
[1521] De Haan, 'Livelihoods and poverty'.
[1522] Comaroff, 'The madman and the migrant', explore the negative effects of labour migration.

> town dangerous, because Kabalabala could not be killed by spears, axes or guns. Travellers not only risked losing their belongings, but might even die if attacked by Kabalabala.[1523]

Labour migration, in common with other forms of mobility, entailed opportunities, but also risks. Individuals travelling long distances could earn large amounts of money, acquire skills and bring home copious goods, but might equally be struck by adversity along the way. Labour migration could be a strategy towards self-realisation, but also entailed a loss of labour force within the village. Even if kin who remained behind in the village might benefit from migrant remittances, they would oftentimes make claims which a migrant could not meet, resulting in witchcraft accusations or narratives such as Kabalabala. Wealth is not merely economic, but also social. The outcome of labour migration might be 'the creation of wealth that can grow over time', but migrant wealth and success equally had to be translated into social status within the community, expressed through self-realisation and social connectivity.[1524] This demonstrates not only the closely intertwined nature of rural and urban realities, but suggests that rural-urban ties should be viewed not only in economic, but also in social, cultural and political terms.[1525]

Interpreting labour migration as a strategy towards self-realisation allows an understanding of rural-urban relationships in other than purely economic terms.[1526] Migrants have to 'cultivate not only their land but also their social relationships in their areas of origin.'[1527] A common assumption is that 'people's social security is *spatially* situated – in agricultural production in rural areas', hence the focus on remittances and ties to a 'home' area, 'whereas, in practice, such security is *socially* situated – in the rural-urban network.'[1528] Government officials on occasion credited migrant labourers as being agents of 'development'.[1529] One District Commissioner stated that: 'returning workers bring with them, as a rule, higher standards of housing and some ideas about gardening for pleasure.'[1530] Indeed, migrant labour could be a means of self-realisation which straddled rural-urban divides. Self-realisation might be seen as an 'act of fabrication. It yields value in the form of persons, things, and relations (…) relations and identities are potentialities to be realized and remade in the unceasing work of daily life.'[1531] Turner equally acknowledged how labour migration could contribute to self-realisation. Returning labour migrants might play a role in diversifying rural livelihoods or creating a conducive environment for enterprise, but this was always a social rather than an individual endeavour:

> Remittances of money are sometimes sent home to relatives, but it is more usual for migrants to return with presents and distribute them among kin when they arrive at their villages. Many of the migrants purchase the standing-crop in gardens rather than wait for eighteen months for the cassava crop to mature. Some migrants are beginning to start small 'businesses' with their savings. Some buy sewing machines and set up as tailors, others start 'tea-rooms' on the motor roads, and others again become hawkers and small traders.[1532]

Urban and rural strategies are thus thoroughly intertwined. Labour migration is not driven by rural poverty, but by a desire to gain wealth and influence in either rural or urban areas, a desire towards self-realisation.[1533] Some returning migrants who had accumulated 'considerable savings' might become 'Big Men', if they deployed these savings to diversify agricultural livelihoods, engage in craft

---

[1523] Compilation from several interviews, especially Minas Kantumoya Kasolu Kachacha, 27 July 2010, Kanongesha, and Fred Mpenji, 3 August 2010, Kanongesha. For comparable cases of vampires on the Copperbelt, See: White, *Speaking with vampires*.

[1524] Cohen and Sirkeci, *Cultures of migration*, 31.

[1525] Bakewell, 'Keeping them in their place'.

[1526] See: Andersson, 'Informal moves'.

[1527] Englund, 'The village in the city', 147-8.

[1528] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 107.

[1529] See: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

[1530] (NAZ) SEC2/967, R.J. Short, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, May 1959.

[1531] Comaroff, 'The madman and the migrant', 196-7.

[1532] Turner, 'Money economy', 23.

[1533] Englund, 'The village in the city', 151.

production or trade.[1534] Material gain and improved living standards within the village were attributed to migrants' engagement in the flourishing urban economy:

> Wages have been substantially increased, especially on the Mines and Railways (…) the African standard of living both in town and country has risen appreciably. A man and his family are better clothed and better nourished than they were even three years ago.[1535]

Returning labour migrants made a definite impact on village life, although officials feared that this would merely encourage further migration:

> The return to the villages of people who have been working for numerous years on the Copperbelt, was most marked. Time will reveal what influence they will have on future labour movements (…) [Their stories] might be detrimental to efforts at stimulation of the production of an economic crop.[1536]

Labour migration created a pattern and established social relationships in both rural and urban areas: 'In practice, moving between town and country often becomes a way of life, with important social ties being established in both settings.'[1537]

Social connectivity gave rise to a variety of rural-urban ties. Whereas some migrants chose to uphold tight links with their kin back home, others severed connections and sought urban wealth or influence.[1538] A survey held in 1952 reveals that whereas some migrants retained homes in villages throughout Mwinilunga, others did not. The absence of a house and a field might have made the move to return to one's village of origin less probable for workers:

> Where 12 adult males had residence in the village 4 others were away at work yet had houses in the village ready for their return, and another 3 were away at work having no house or garden in the village and maintaining contact only by mail or other means.[1539]

This survey further illustrates the precarious and flexible yet definite nature of rural-urban links created by migrant labourers during periods of employment in town:

> A very considerable number of those who go away to work maintain contact by letter, but have no house or garden in the village. Most of those who go away, remain away for a number of years, but nearly always return eventually. The majority of men go away to the line at some stage during their lives (…) Those men who stay away longest nearly always have a valuable contribution to make to rural life on their return.[1540]

Urban residence was viewed through the prism of rural aspirations, and as a consequence social connectivity and aims of self-realisation become crucial for understanding labour migration. Labour migration was, therefore, not so much transformative, but constitutive of rural life in Mwinilunga:

> The rural (…) is the key ideological domain in which migrants anchor their understandings of their aspirations and dilemmas. The domain of the rural, both as the object of moral imagination and as a geographical site, is constantly re-made in relation to what migrants achieve and fail to achieve during their stays in town.[1541]

Not all migrants chose to return to their village of origin, as some found opportunities in town more attractive, or were driven away from their village due to quarrels or witchcraft accusations. Others, perhaps, settled in villages where they had kin or friends, or settled in the Boma where employment opportunities, possibilities for trading and social amenities were more favourable than in villages.[1542] A sense of 'home' was thus fluid and inherently social:

> For some migrants the homeland continues to be a truly rural environment; for others 'returning home' means extending an urban way of life in the district town nearest to a village one can call 'home'. Home-

[1534] (NAZ) SEC2/966, M.A. Hinds, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 22 September 1958.
[1535] (NAZ) SEC2/155, Western Province Annual Report, 1948
[1536] (NAZ) SEC2/957, A. Stockwell-Jones, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 30 January 1949.
[1537] Englund, 'The village in the city', 150.
[1538] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 133-5.
[1539] (NAZ) SEC2/960, K.J. Forder, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 23 September 1952.
[1540] (NAZ) SEC2/135, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1952.
[1541] Englund, 'The village in the city', 153.
[1542] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Turner, 'Money economy'.

> coming, as a concept, is moulded by the migrant's labour experience: the longer the period of absence, the greater the chance that 'home' is away from the village.[1543]

Due to flexible and negotiable ties of kinship, several residential options would usually be open to migrants, who retained rights to cultivate land even after protracted absence. In this manner, 'similar socio-cultural dispositions regulating (…) migrants' behaviour (…) may give rise to different urban [and rural] trajectories', as there are many alternative trajectories 'whereby positions of high status can be attained.'[1544] Labour migration could be one of these strategies whereby wealth and high status could be achieved, a strategy towards self-realisation which straddled the rural-urban divide.

Through labour migration urban and rural life have become closely interlinked, economically, socially and ideologically. Still, officials could be surprised 'to note in a District so close to the industrialised areas how very thoroughly most of those returned from work on the mines seemed to have been reabsorbed by their traditional environment.'[1545] This observation appears less puzzling, however, if rural and urban spheres are viewed as interrelated instead of detached or even opposing. Building on a culture of mobility in the area, as well as socio-cultural dispositions of self-realisation and social connectivity, labour migration emerged from within the setting of Mwinilunga District. Self-realisation among migrants 'constitutes a crucial part of the active capturing of the urban space, for it allows them to refashion the city (…) in their own terms, which are those of long-standing moralities, rooted in local pasts.'[1546] Rather than setting in motion a 'radical transformation' or marking an 'epochal divide', labour migration could embody continuity.[1547] Labour migration could be a strategy to realise aspirations, develop relationships and enhance status. There could be considerable variations in worker strategies, some planning to retire in rural areas, others choosing to remain in town indefinitely. These strategies, however, were all underpinned by a relative judgement of opportunities and risks, costs and benefits in both rural and urban areas. The motivation to move to urban areas was deeply rooted in rural realities within Mwinilunga District. In order to diversify or increase income, to spread risks or avert the limited and volatile nature of markets within Mwinilunga, movement to urban areas could be propelled. Urban life by no means signalled a rupture with rural existence. Connections remained manifold, expressed through remittances and return migration, but also through contact, consumer goods and capital investment.[1548] In town opportunities have been sought which are not available locally, but which might serve to enhance socio-economic and political relationships within the village. Labour migration could serve to uphold, but also question, gender relations, generational hierarchies and the acquisition of wealth, providing new resources for local negotiations and struggles, contributing to processes of generating meaning and culture.[1549] Labour migration has thus profoundly shaped the locality of Mwinilunga. By placing social connectivity at the centrepiece of understandings of labour migration it might be argued that 'the motive for migration was, perhaps (…) to seek alternative means of being local.'[1550]

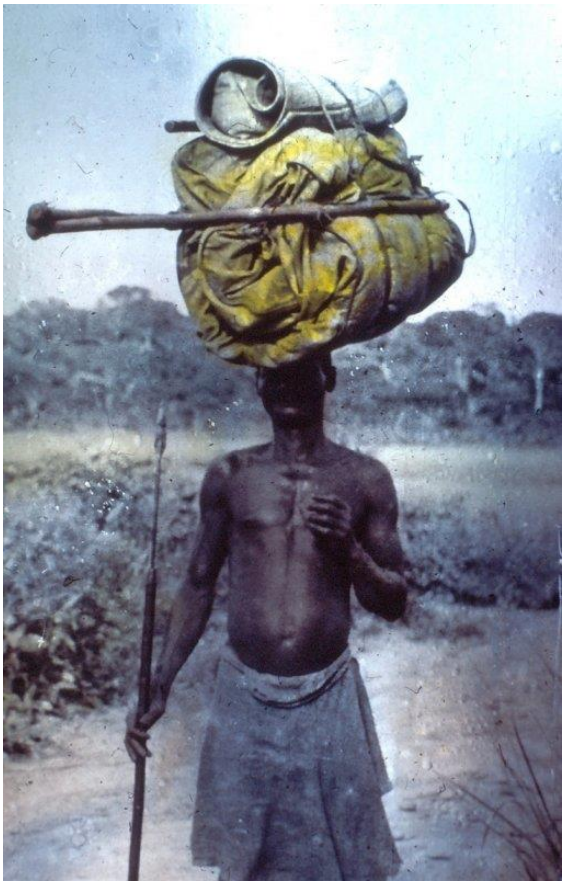
Conclusion

Labour migration emerged from within the culture of mobility in Mwinilunga District. The practice built on established notions of work and movement, whilst providing access to new opportunities. Labour migration could be a means of coping with circumstances within the village, a resource to realise aspirations through mobility. Although labour migration formed a powerful alternative to local livelihood strategies, such as agricultural production or hunting, various strategies were not mutually

[1543] Pottier, *Migrants no more*, 45.
[1544] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 105.
[1545] (NAZ) NWP1/2/2 Loc.4897, A.F.C. Campbell, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 23 August 1937.
[1546] De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.
[1547] Ngwane, 'Christmas time'.
[1548] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1549] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[1550] Ngwane, 'Christmas time', 689.

exclusive. Through social connectivity, migrants effectively straddled the rural-urban divide. Life histories make the enduring and complex connections between rural and urban areas apparent. Rather than leading to rural breakdown, labour migration could enhance the locality through self-realisation. Viewing labour migration through the prism of self-realisation can challenge the 'modernist narrative' which posits linear historical transitions, a rural-urban divide and proposes labour migration as a transformative act. Self-realisation, rather than stressing structural forces, emphasises creativity and agency. Studying life histories of migrants from Mwinilunga District challenges universal paradigms of migration, by pointing towards variety, flexibility and contestation. Labour migration built on local customs, aspirations and morals which fused into a hybrid work ethic. Pre-existing practices and ideologies proved remarkably resilient, guiding workers' entrance into the labour market through patterns of mobility. In the area of Mwinilunga, a mobile work force could negotiate work contracts according to their own preferences, using mobility as a tool for tax evasion or to avoid recruitment. Moreover, the hegemony of the state and capitalist interests could be subverted through movement. Labour migration could be a social strategy for attaining wealth and power, emphasising links, interconnections and relationships. Rather than stressing transformative change or a rural-urban divide, labour migration could serve to build personhood and constitute the locality of Mwinilunga.

Mobility, in the form of population movement, trade or labour migration, served to realise aspirations of secure and profitable livelihoods. Although agricultural production could provide a stable livelihood for some within Mwinilunga District, mobility could be a complementary livelihood strategy. Even if mobility could be a high risk undertaking, it equally held the promise of high profits. Mobility could provide access to markets, material gain and social standing and therefore remained a persistently attractive strategy to the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District. Continuity and change could go hand in hand, as mobility built on historical roots and a flexible 'culture of mobility', but simultaneously adapted to changing social, economic and political circumstances. Through mobility the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District could negotiate the global and the local, Zambia, Angola and Congo. Moreover, mobility could be an avenue towards consumption. Both labour migration and cross-border trade could be spurred by a desire to access items such as clothing, pots, pans and guns. Objects of consumption could themselves be mobile, only rarely being produced and consumed by a single person within a confined area. Consumer goods travelled through long-distance trade and international marketing. The relationship between production and consumption, the ways in which consumer goods and their circulation changed over time, and the meaning of goods within society will be at the centre of the following chapter.



3B.1: Porter carrying load
Source: Dennis Brubacher

3B.2: Returned labour migrants
Source: Betty Dening, Personal Collection

4: Consumption
Goods, wealth and meaning

> So many have been led away by the wave of prosperity & materialism (…) at present they are eager rather to gain the world – It's not to be surprised at – to possess a bicycle & good clothes & a brick house is so much more than their father even dreamed of.[1551]

Over the course of the twentieth century dramatic changes in patterns of consumption have occurred throughout Mwinilunga District.[1552] Around 1900 communities in this area had still appeared to be relatively 'self-sufficient'. People had been able, at least in theory, to produce most items required for daily subsistence within the village or adjoining neighbourhood. Bark cloth and animal skins for clothing, clay pots for cooking, housing material from the forest and iron tools for agricultural production could all be procured locally.[1553] The volume and importance of imported use-products increased significantly as the twentieth century progressed, though.[1554] Mass-manufactured, industrial and store-bought items replaced local alternatives, particularly after 1940.[1555] Goods such as enamel plates and cups, candles, cloth, bicycles and much more, spread widely even in remote areas. Although the pre-colonial long-distance trade had precipitated these changes and had introduced goods from overseas many centuries earlier, it was only after the inception of colonial rule that the outward manifestation of the consumer shift became fully and unmistakably apparent.[1556] What had once been luxury items for the elite, used as markers of identity and status because of their scarcity, became widely diffused, accepted and generally expected items in all layers of society and everyday life.[1557]

In the 1950s the District Commissioner Mwinilunga observed that marked shifts in patterns of consumption had occurred: 'dresses, clothes were better, there were more bicycles, more Kimberley brick houses, lamps, suitcases, blankets etc. all seemed to have improved.'[1558] The acquisition of consumer goods has ideologically been linked to 'improvement' in other contexts as well.[1559] In official discourse and public consciousness consumption has been attributed positive qualities and an expansive dynamic, 'more money creating fresh wants.'[1560] Officials firmly believed that consumption

---

[1551] (EOS) H. Julyan Hoyte, 19 November 1947.

[1552] See: R. Ross, M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša (eds.), *The objects of life in Central Africa: The history of consumption and social change, 1840-1980* (Leiden etc., 2013); Compare to: F. Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of consumption* (Oxford etc., 2012).

[1553] A. von Oppen, *Terms of trade and terms of trust: The history and contexts of pre-colonial market production around the Upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster etc., 1994); J.C. Miller, *Way of death: Merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade 1730-1830* (Madison, 1988).

[1554] D.M. Gordon, 'Wearing cloth, wielding guns: Consumption, trade, and politics in the South Central African interior during the nineteenth century', in: Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life*, 17-40; K.T. Hansen, *Salaula: The world of secondhand clothing and Zambia* (Chicago etc., 2000).

[1555] T. Burke, *Lifebuoy men, Lux women: Commodification, consumption and cleanliness in modern Zimbabwe* (Durham etc., 1996); M.J. Hay, 'Material culture and the shaping of consumer society in colonial Western Kenya', *Working papers in African studies* (Boston University, 1994).

[1556] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'; Miller, *Way of death.*

[1557] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'; D.M. Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade and the transformation of the South-Central African interior during the nineteenth century', *The William and Mary quarterly* 66:4 (2009), 915-38; J. Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world: African consumerism and the genealogies of globalization* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2008).

[1558] (NAZ) SEC2/966, R.J. Short, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, July 1958.

[1559] See: F. Trentmann, 'Beyond consumerism: New historical perspectives on consumption', *Journal of contemporary history* 39:3 (2004), 373-401; F. Trentmann, 'Crossing divides: Consumption and globalization in history', *Journal of consumer culture* 9:2 (2009), 187-220; D. Miller, 'Consumption and commodities', *Annual review of anthropology* 24 (1995), 141-61.

[1560] (NAZ) SEC2/131 Vol.1, Kasempa Province Annual Report, 31 December 1929.

would entail involvement with the capitalist market economy, as individuals would be obliged to earn money in order to purchase much desired items from emergent village stores. Money would become a necessity and would supplant modes of exchange based on barter. In this sense, consumption might serve a 'civilising mission' and lead to 'development'.[1561] Nevertheless, 'materialism' and 'riches' admittedly had dubious and potentially dangerous flip-sides, causing the dissipation of communal social bonds and initiating a trend towards individualism.[1562] Competitive consumptive display was particularly condemned by missionaries, who stated that: 'The inroads of so-called civilisation have brought materialism and the deification of riches which are hardening the hearts of many.'[1563]

Looking beyond the outward appearance of consumption, this chapter will focus on the socially embedded and contested process of how the meaning and value of goods has been constructed over time.[1564] No matter how complete the 'consumer revolution' might seem, it was equally slow, complex and at times contradictory.[1565] Unravelling the meaning and value of goods can be a first step towards understanding their social impact. Both changes and continuities in patterns of consumption during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be dealt with. Next to the functional motives behind consumer shifts, the labour inputs required for the acquisition of consumer goods have to be taken into consideration. By looking at a number of concrete examples, namely changes in ironworking, clothing and housing, the links between consumption, trade, production and social relationships will be examined. Although consumer habits indeed underwent fundamental change, there might be long-term threads weaving past and present patterns of consumption together, particularly with regard to concepts of 'wealth in people' and 'self-realisation'.[1566]

From locally produced to store-bought goods: Exchange and the creation of value

Exchange and trade occupy a prominent place in debates on African consumption.[1567] Modes of exchange and networks of trade have generally been seen as developing along a linear course.[1568] By means of increasingly complex and long-distance trade networks, a transition from small-scale and relatively self-sufficient communities to market integration, commercialisation and globalisation would allegedly be set in motion.[1569] Modes of exchange, in tandem, would progress from non-

[1561] Burke, *Lifebuoy men*, 84-5; J.L. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution: The dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume two* (Chicago and London, 1997), 166-217.

[1562] J. Parry and M. Bloch (eds.), *Money and the morality of exchange* (Cambridge etc., 1989), 4; K. Barber, 'Money, self-realization and the person in Yoruba texts', in: J.I. Guyer (ed.), *Money matters: Instability, values and social payments in the modern history of West African communities* (Portsmouth etc., 1995), 205.

[1563] (EOS) W. Singleton Fisher, n.d.

[1564] See: A. Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge etc., 1986); M. Douglas and B.C. Isherwood, *The world of goods: Towards an anthropology of consumption* (London and New York, 1979); J.I. Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization in Equatorial Africa', *Man* 28:2 (1993), 243-65; Hansen, *Salaula*; Burke, *Lifebuoy men*; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world*.

[1565] R. Ross, M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša, 'Introduction: Material culture and consumption patterns: A Southern African revolution', in: Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life*, 1-13.

[1566] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; J.I. Guyer, 'Wealth in people, wealth in things – Introduction', *Journal of African history* 36:1 (1995), 83-90; F. de Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars: Identity, expenditure and sharing in southwestern Zaire (1984-1997)', *Development and change* 29:4 (1998), 777-810.

[1567] See: R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.), *Pre-colonial African trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900* (London etc., 1970); J. Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things', in: Trentmann, *The Oxford handbook of the history of consumption,* 85-107.

[1568] For a critique, see: F. Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for? An African historian's perspective', *African affairs* 100:399 (2001), 189-213.

[1569] J. Vansina, 'Long-distance trade routes in Central Africa', *Journal of African history* 3:3 (1962), 375-90, suggests a tripartite division between local trade from village to village, trade over longer distances and direct long-distance trade; Gray and Birmingham, *Pre-colonial African trade,* suggest a distinction between subsistence-oriented and market-oriented trade. Certain debates on globalisation assume that 'local' or 'bounded' units have increasingly become connected to 'the rest of the world' through the flow of people, goods and ideas.

monetary gift exchange and barter to capitalist commodity exchange.[1570] For the area of Mwinilunga, such clearly demarcated stages of trade do not seem to apply. Far from being historically successive, 'subsistence' and 'market production' could coincide.[1571] Even today, barter and monetised exchange exist side by side, whereas trade within the village is complemented by imported trade items from across the globe. This diversity of trade might enhance rather than undermine economic activity.[1572]

Notwithstanding diversity, officials have persistently complained about 'self-sufficiency' and 'subsistence', lamenting the lack of 'market integration' throughout Mwinilunga District.[1573] In the 1920s one District Commissioner deplored that: 'It could not be other than depressing to a political economist to see a community that exports nothing and buys little or nothing that is imported.'[1574] Reports from the 1970s were only moderately more positive: 'Most of the people are still subsistence farmers, growing enough only for their consumption requirements, and only selling a little which enables them to purchase basic household utensils.'[1575] Through taxation, cash crop production, waged labour and consumption, the colonial administration made attempts to integrate Mwinilunga into the market economy.[1576] Officials suggested a linear and ultimately inevitable transition from subsistence to market incorporation.[1577] By looking at pre-colonial precedents of exchange, trade and market interaction through a focus on consumption, such binary discourses of subsistence and market incorporation can be challenged. The inhabitants of Mwinilunga District had longstanding interactions with objects, trade and markets, enabling them to assign meaning and value to consumer goods, to appropriate and domesticate them in locally specific ways.[1578] Such interactions set the stage for colonial and post-colonial consumer behaviour and demonstrate how the meaning and value of goods has been socially constructed.

Production and exchange: The foundations of trade

Throughout the pre-colonial period most goods required for daily subsistence could, in theory, be procured or produced within the confines of the village or its surroundings.[1579] The ability to locally fabricate a wide range of use-products was due to extraordinary skill and knowledge, emanating from years of habitation in the specific environment of Mwinilunga.[1580] Continual adaptation, borrowing and

[1570] Parry and Bloch, *Money and the morality of exchange*, 8-12; Guyer, *Money matters,* 1-6.

[1571] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; J.A. Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, change, and social transformation in South Central Africa* (Madison, 2001); K. Crehan, 'Mukunashi: An exploration of some effects of the penetration of capital in North-Western Zambia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 8:1 (1981), 83.

[1572] S.S. Berry, 'Stable prices, unstable values: Some thoughts on monetization and the meaning of transactions in West African economies', in: Guyer, *Money matters*, 309.

[1573] This is based on a wide reading of archival sources (NAZ), see: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

[1574] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 March 1922.

[1575] (NAZ) MRD1/8/27 Loc.4272, North-Western Province Development Committee, 20 March 1970.

[1576] T. Burke, 'Unexpected subversions: Modern colonialism, globalization, and commodity culture', in: Trentmann, *The Oxford handbook of the history of consumption,* 470-2; Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution,* 166-8.

[1577] See: L.M. Thomas, 'Modernity's failings, political claims, and intermediate concepts', *The American historical review* 3:116 (2011), 727-40; Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization'.

[1578] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world*.

[1579] Miller, *Way of death,* 48: 'Most western central Africans personally produced a much higher percentage of what they consumed than do modern people, and their cultural assumptions made it appear easier to fabricate what they desired for themselves than to acquire it from others, although that sometimes required extending the concept of the "self" to include assemblages of the kinspeople and dependents necessary to accomplish the tasks at hand (…) axioms of production for use by oneself and one's own must have profoundly influenced the ways that people generally thought about goods.'

[1580] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; See: J. Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests: Toward a history of political tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison etc., 1990); J.I. Guyer and S.M. Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge: Accumulation and composition in Equatorial Africa', *Journal of African history* 36 (1995), 91-120.

innovation gave rise to a multiplicity of crafts. This entrepreneurial spirit resulted in the weaving of a range of mats which have become renowned far beyond Mwinilunga. Examples are *chisesa* (mat of split palm or bamboo), *chisalu* or *chikongolu* (mat for drying or enclosing), *chikanga* (bed mat) and *chisasa* (worn-out mat), made from bamboo, grass, reed or palm fibres.[1581] The proliferation of so many types of mats went beyond the requisites of subsistence or use value, and therefore suggests productive differentiation, craftsmanship and exchange value.[1582] Self-sufficiency, rather than implying isolation, was a rarely obtained ideal carrying connotations of strength, autonomy and wealth.[1583] The notion of self-sufficiency is captured by the Lunda verb *dikilakesha*, which is based on the verb *kula* meaning to grow, to grow up to maturity, to be an adult. Self-sufficiency required the careful composition of skills, strategies and resources within the individual, household or village unit.[1584]

To give examples of the variety of local productivity, women could weave baskets (to carry and store crops or fish, or to sift meal), plates and cups could be produced from calabashes, whereas hunting spears or fishing hooks might be produced by a blacksmith.[1585] A sense of this vibrant workmanship was captured in the 1950s when a crafts show boasted numerous types of mats, baskets, pots, stools, spoons, spears, bows and arrows, walking sticks, drums, combs and brushes, next to more recent additions such as tables, chairs, cupboards, doors, window frames and needlework.[1586] In spite of the presence of store-bought alternatives, local production retained its attractions throughout the twentieth century, going beyond factors of functionality, availability or price. Although most goods could indeed be produced locally, and notwithstanding the ingenuity of artisans, neither the process of production nor access to finished goods was by any means unproblematic.[1587] To enable and regulate access to goods, relationships of exchange and trade developed. These encompassed the straightforward exchange of goods between neighbouring villages, but could also comprise complex and long-distance trade networks.[1588] Due to various factors, trade became indispensable.

First of all, natural resources are spread unevenly across the landscape, problematizing issues of access.[1589] Not all parts of the district can easily access the *wumba* soils from which clay cooking pots are made, for instance, as this soil is only found next to certain rivers.[1590] Furthermore, salt could be difficult to obtain. Whereas high-quality salt pans are available across the border in Angola and in adjacent Kasempa, in the area of Mwinilunga vegetal salt (*mungwa wamusengu, mungwa webanda* or *mukeli*) would be relied on.[1591] Although inferior to marine or rock salt, it could be used to season vegetables in the absence of alternatives.[1592] Exchange and trade, connecting local, regional and

[1581] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Lukaki Salukenga and Mrs Lutaya, 6 August 2010, Kanongesha. See: M.K. Fisher, *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary* (Revised edn., Ikelenge, 1984).
[1582] Crehan, 'Mukunashi', 88.
[1583] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 795-6.
[1584] See: Guyer and Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge'; Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'.
[1585] See: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1586] (NAZ) Box 5A Shelf No. 9, Mwinilunga District Show, 15 June 1956.
[1587] Studies of local crafts are scarce, see exceptions on ironworking: C.E. Kriger, *Pride of men: Ironworking in 19th century West Central Africa* (Portsmouth, Oxford and Cape Town, 1999); E.W. Herbert, *Iron, gender, and power: Rituals of transformation in African societies* (Bloomington etc., 1993).
[1588] See: Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[1589] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*; Miller, *Way of death*; Herbert, *Iron, gender, and power.*
[1590] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Levu Mongu, 17 May 2010, Nyakaseya.
[1591] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Mandosa Kabanda, 2 August 2010, Kanongesha; *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary*.
[1592] Miller, *Way of death,* 56-7. Vegetal salt would be obtained by burning certain types of grass, which grow in silted river marshes. After sifting the ashes and mixing them with water, vegetal salt can be used to season vegetables, yet due to its taste and quality informants considered this type of salt unsuitable to season valuable game meat. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries trade salt remained highly valued, as described in the 1930s: 'Salt was a very precious commodity, and a little of it in a screw of paper would make an old Lunda woman

international actors, could balance out scarcity and abundance, allowing the tapping of alternatives to local resources.[1593] Trade spread salt through the area, enabling villages far removed from salt pans access to this scarce resource. Livingstone, for example, mentioned traders carrying salt as a medium of exchange in the 1850s.[1594] Adapting to changing circumstances, this trade endured well into the colonial period:

> Salt is gathered in the Kasempa salt pans by Mwinilunga natives and carried here for sale at 1 ½ d per lb. Some take small presents of salt to Chief Kasempa, some barter fish for salt, while others just gather their salt and return, meeting with no hindrance (…) Missions to the North can import very cheaply from Angola where the salt is of better quality.[1595]

Distinct types of goods could be exchanged for one another (fish for salt, salt for money) over long distances, giving rise to relationships of power and interdependence (involving the payment of tribute to Chief Kasempa), creating determinants of value and routes of trade which proved remarkably enduring.[1596] Trade could occur between neighbouring villages and over longer distances, involving the exchange of bulky foodstuffs as well as scarce luxuries. Making a virtue out of environmental necessity, trade could be actively sought rather than reluctantly acceded to. Furthermore, trade could stimulate the creation of socio-political and economic ties in the wider region, as trading partners would exchange ideas and skills along with goods.[1597] In this sense, 'trade has been a major avenue for stimulating innovation and diffusion, because ideas always accompany trade.'[1598]

Secondly, the production of goods required labour inputs, particularly under prevailing technological bottlenecks. Securing labour supplies could be problematic, necessitating elaborate planning to accommodate all productive activities.[1599] For example, to construct a wattle and daub house preparations would start early in the dry season. Appropriate poles and thatching grass would be gathered and left to dry, whereas the final structure would only be completed when the rains would commence, four to five months later.[1600] Consequently, the allocation of labour inputs became subject to relationships of power, involving hierarchies of gender, age and status.[1601] House construction is gendered, as men are responsible for erecting houses and women can lay claims on this.[1602] The failure to erect a proper house is considered a legitimate reason for a woman to request divorce from her husband.[1603] Revealing age as well as gender hierarchies, a girl's parents could request their son-in-law to construct a house for them as part of the bride service arrangements during betrothal. Similarly, a chief could call his subjects to erect a house for him.[1604] This was an ultimate symbol of power and authority, a mark of 'singularity', which set the chief apart from the rest of the population, as not even headmen could claim assistance in house construction.[1605] Because human labour is a scarce and finite

---

happy for days (…) Salt is very precious and every grain that I inadvertently dropped was eagerly licked up by the small children.' E. Burr, *Kalene memories: Annals of the old hill* (London, 1956), 93, 110.

[1593] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

[1594] I. Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's African journal: 1853-1856* (London, 1963)*,* 121.

[1595] (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 December 1935.

[1596] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'.

[1597] See: Miller, *Way of death*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

[1598] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*, 94.

[1599] Miller, *Way of death,* 40; G. Austin, 'Resources, techniques and strategies South of the Sahara: Revising the factor endowments perspective on African economic development, 1500-2000', *Economic history review* 61:3 (2008), 587-624.

[1600] V.W. Turner, *Schism and continuity in an African society: A study of Ndembu village life* (Manchester etc., 1957), 36.

[1601] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[1602] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 181-2.

[1603] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Nsombi, 30 July 2010, Kanongesha.

[1604] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, see: Mulumbi Datuuma II, 'Customs of the Lunda Ndembu Volume I: The Kanongesha Chieftainship succession in Zambia' (Unpublished manuscript, 2010).

[1605] I. Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: Commoditization as process', in: Appadurai, *The social life of things*, 73.

resource, the quintessential expression of power is to acquire access to and control over labour resources, to build wealth in people.[1606] If successful, this control could result in the increased production of goods (iron tools, spoils of the hunt and houses are but some examples), but it could equally cause dependency.[1607] No one person could produce all goods single-handedly, whether for want of physical strength, knowledge or time. This caused divisions of labour within society, which required complementarity and would lead to power hierarchies and trade.[1608] Because hunters would trade game meat for iron spears produced by blacksmiths, social relationships, political alliances and networks of trade would arise. Household self-sufficiency, although perhaps a professed goal, could not be more than an ideal.[1609]

Thirdly, the production of consumer goods required knowledge and expertise.[1610] Examples from neighbouring areas mention closed, hierarchical and esoteric associations, organised along lines of gender or kinship, which might monopolise access to knowledge of a specialist craft, such as ironworking.[1611] What is perhaps remarkable about Lunda society is that, generally speaking, access to knowledge is unrestricted and specialisation remains rare.[1612] Nevertheless, knowledge might be segregated by gender, age or heredity. Whereas women would specialise in pottery, men would focus on ironworking. Furthermore, certain lineages might dominate specific occupations within the village and specialised hunting guilds did exist, most notably the *wuyanga* cult for gun-hunters.[1613] Even if knowledge could be guarded by rules, taboos or birth, barriers remained highly permeable. In theory, access to knowledge is open to all on the basis of personal capacity and interest.[1614] Any woman who showed proclivity to do so could weave mats or make pots, although in practice very few did. Limited demand, competition, access to resources, labour and knowledge all restricted the number of craftsmen and women in a village.[1615] Furthermore, artisans would overwhelmingly diversify their livelihoods, continuing to produce their own food, hunt or fish next to manufacturing hoes or baskets. Dependency on a single source of livelihood was deemed risky, unwise and ultimately unsustainable.[1616] Nevertheless, even partial craft specialisation evoked the necessity of exchange and trade. Not all villages possessed potters and thus pots might be obtained from distant villages where production was acclaimed, in exchange for chickens, cassava meal or hoes. Patterns of trade thus necessarily obfuscate notions of 'subsistence' or 'self-sufficiency'.[1617] To sum up, natural resource allocation, access to labour and knowledge all encouraged exchange and trade beyond the boundaries of the individual, household or village level.[1618]

Through exchange and trade socio-economic and political relationships and hierarchies of power between Mwinilunga and the broader region have been established.[1619] Not only the barter of bulk goods, such as the exchange of sorghum for fish or game meat between neighbouring villages, but also access to scarce luxury goods through long-distance trade proved important during the pre-

[1606] Miller, *Way of death*; Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.
[1607] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'.
[1608] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*.
[1609] Crehan, 'Mukunashi'.
[1610] Guyer and Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge', 109, 117.
[1611] Herbert, *Iron, gender, and power*, 26-7.
[1612] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[1613] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 30.
[1614] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Guyer and Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge', 93.
[1615] Crehan, 'Mukunashi', 88.
[1616] Crehan 'Mukunashi', 89; See: J.K. Thornton, 'Pre-colonial African industry and the Atlantic trade, 1500-1800', *African economic history* 19 (1990/91), 1-19.
[1617] Crehan, 'Mukunashi'; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world.*
[1618] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[1619] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'.

colonial period.[1620] An example of the range and complexity of trade networks is provided by the description of markets in Musumba, the Lunda capital to which Mwinilunga was linked through allegiance, tribute and trade.[1621] In the 1880s the Portuguese explorers Capelo and Ivens described these markets as follows:

> at a short distance from the *mu-sumba* are established vast markets, true bazaars containing straight lanes or streets where flour of various kinds, peanuts, palm-oil, fresh and dried meat, millet, salt, tobacco, palm wine, sorghum, and other articles are displayed, and are bartered for merchandise, such as blue and red baize, cottons, printed calico, large white and small red beads, powder, arms and bracelets.[1622]

Local, regional and long-distance trade networks were clearly interrelated. Foodstuffs produced locally would be gathered at regional centres, where goods supplied through the long-distance trade could be obtained. These goods would then be distributed through networks of tribute, allegiance and trade to all corners of the Lunda polity, including Mwinilunga.[1623] Production and consumption were linked and transcended the local level in both supply and demand. Local and long-distance trade were further linked through caravans. Caravans would travel long distances at a slow speed, carrying trade goods such as guns and cloth and stopping at villages along the way to exchange these goods for locally produced food, ivory, beeswax or rubber. In this sense, caravans could function as large mobile markets.[1624] The long-distance trade provided access to a wide range of imported goods.[1625] Some of these were categorically similar to items which had been produced locally, as manufactured cloth could be used as a substitute for bark cloth or skins.[1626] Other goods might be unknown and might evoke change. Guns fundamentally differed from spears and thereby guns altered the practice of hunting.[1627] Imports included cloth, beads, guns and gunpowder, liquor and a whole range of other items.[1628] Due to their seemingly irrational and unintelligible demand some of these items would be denounced as 'trinkets' by European traders.[1629] By the turn of the twentieth century an official described that: 'the custom is for a black trader to appear twice a year to purchase rubber and ivory. If he does not appear the village becomes uneasy – the ladies impatient for their new clothes, and gentlemen half wild for tobacco.'[1630] How can this demand for imports in Mwinilunga, which has been portrayed dramatically as the 'unquenchable African thirst for foreign goods',[1631] be explained?

Goods, value and meaning: Wealth in people and self-realisation

Through their interaction with goods, the inhabitants of Mwinilunga have assigned meaning to objects, creating and contesting their value. The value of goods informs their demand and can explain patterns

[1620] Miller, *Way of death*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'.

[1621] See: E. Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule: The politics of ethnicity* (Cambridge etc., 1975); J.J. Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej: Reconstructing Ruund history (The nuclear Lunda: Zaire, Angola, Zambia)' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1978).

[1622] H. Capelo and R. Ivens, *De Benguela as terras de Iaca: Descricao de uma viagem na Africa Central e Ocidental, Vol.1* (Coimbra, 1996), 315. Quoted in Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 4-5, slightly different translation.

[1623] See Chapter 1.

[1624] See: S.J. Rockel, *Carriers of culture: Labor on the road in nineteenth-century East Africa* (Portsmouth, 2006); Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

[1625] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'.

[1626] Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things', 90.

[1627] G. Macola, 'Reassessing the significance of firearms in Central Africa: The case of north-western Zambia to the 1920s', *Journal of African history* 51:3 (2010), 301-21.

[1628] S.B. Alpern, 'What Africans got for their slaves: A master list of European trade goods', *History in Africa* 22 (1995), 5-43.

[1629] J. Prestholdt, 'On the global repercussions of East African consumerism', *The American historical review* 109:3 (2004), 761; Miller, *Way of death,* 73.

[1630] E.A. Steel, 'Zambezi-Congo watershed', *The geographical journal* 50:3 (1917), 187.

[1631] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 208.

of exchange. Going beyond functional or economic aspects, consumption is inherently social, involving interpersonal relationships and hierarchies of power:[1632]

> Economic exchange creates value. Value is embodied in commodities that are exchanged. Focusing on the things that are exchanged, rather than simply on the forms or functions of exchange, makes it possible to argue that what creates the link between exchange and value is *politics*, construed broadly.[1633]

Consumption can be a means of communication within society. Goods are given meaning and value through use and exchange, and are therefore cultural:

> Consumption is the very arena in which culture is fought over and licked into shape (…) Instead of supposing that goods are primarily needed for subsistence plus competitive display, let us assume that they are needed for making visible and stable the categories of culture (…) This approach to goods, emphasizing their double role in providing subsistence and in drawing the lines of social relationships, is (…) the way to a proper understanding of why people need goods (…) consumption activity is the joint production, with fellow consumers, of a universe of values. Consumption uses goods to make firm and visible a particular set of judgments in the fluid processes of classifying persons and events.[1634]

These views focus on consumption as a social process, involving interpersonal relationships, competition and hierarchies of power. Goods might be seen as markers of social relationships, means of communication, as well as media of power and control.[1635]

For Central Africa, particularly for the pre-colonial period, 'wealth in people' has been proposed as a concept for understanding the relationships between value, meaning, goods and people.[1636] The notion of 'wealth in people' explores how: 'control of necessary and scarce material goods mediates authority over people and, conversely, how those with power and authority use their power to channel access to material wealth.'[1637] Entangled in webs of meaning and power, people and goods were mutually constitutive, as one could be used to gain access to and control over the other:

> economic wealth and political power and authority were frequently indistinguishable in Africa, where capital was people. A wealthy man increased productivity by organizing and controlling people (…) the prime economic resource remained human labor put to work in the fields and (…) control of people thus opened the road to wealth.[1638]

People and human labour remain highly valued in African societies as factors of production and wealth: 'For all that wealth was sought by traders, wealth for its own sake did not acquire followers (…) Wealth remained what it had always been: a crucial avenue to authority and power.'[1639] Understanding the relationship between people, goods and value can explain the driving forces behind consumption.

In the area of Mwinilunga, a hierarchical model of wealth in people might apply to the period of slave raiding at the end of the nineteenth century.[1640] During this period large villages were established under strong headmen who dispensed goods to followers in order to gain their allegiance. Village heads provided protection from hostile attack and acted as gatekeepers, bringing in and controlling the distribution of imported goods.[1641] Through goods 'Big Men' sought to attract followers and build hierarchies of power, dependency and debt. By controlling imports and limiting competition, village heads could ensure relations of dominance and subservience. Access to imported cloth and beads could attract the allegiance of wives, children and slaves. This could further boost the prestige and productive capacities of village heads, ultimately attracting even more followers and creating a

---

[1632] See: Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world*; Burke, *Lifebuoy men*; Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life.*

[1633] Appadurai, *The social life of things*, 3, 57.

[1634] Douglas and Isherwood, *The world of goods,* 57, 59, 60, 67.

[1635] See: J.M. Allman (ed.), *Fashioning Africa: Power and the politics of dress* (Bloomington etc., 2001); Burke, 'Unexpected subversions'; Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things'.

[1636] See: Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'.

[1637] Miller, *Way of death*, 41.

[1638] Miller, *Way of death,* 43, 45.

[1639] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*, 237.

[1640] See: Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'.

[1641] See: Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things', 87; Gordon, 'Wearing cloth', 25-34.

cycle of commodities-dependents-commodities.[1642] Consequently, 'power had to do with the control of imported goods.'[1643] This situation was short-lived and fragile, though, being challenged at the beginning of the twentieth century:[1644]

> The accumulation of wealth and property or stock invited murder and the gathering together of large communities invited attack from more powerful communities, neighbours on the west (…) armed with muskets and large supplies of powder, freely obtained in exchange for the fruits of their expeditions, whether slaves, rubber or ivory.[1645]

Large stockaded villages dissipated into small household settlements, where competition rather than monopolistic control predominated.[1646] Processes of accumulation and the hierarchical control of goods, therefore, seem to fit poorly with the realities of the bulk of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries throughout Mwinilunga District.[1647]

Notions of wealth in people as 'self-realisation' might be more applicable to small villages where a competitive spirit prevails and headmen have been described as *primus inter pares*.[1648] Rather than aiming to accumulate a quantitatively large following, 'self-realisation' could take many personalised forms.[1649] This approach emphasises fluidity, by suggesting 'a *multiplicity* of control and access mechanisms, at many levels, that makes definitive order – of either the goods, or the people, or the principles of operation – virtually impossible. All control, however apparently effective, was partial, provisional and ephemeral.'[1650] Self-realisation acknowledges the intrinsic value of people, stressing the goal of making oneself a respected member of society.[1651] By realising the full potential of individual personality, one could attract the esteem and loyalty of others. The achievement of personhood might be connected to:

> a growing sense of insertion into and responsibility for the lives of other members of one's kin group (…) The elder ideally forms the middle of the relationships that are being knotted around him and of which he becomes the constituting focal point and nexus (…) [this involves] social responsibility, highlighting the elder's capacity to weave the social network and give a tangible form to ties of reciprocity and solidarity.[1652]

Self-realisation might be achieved through a diversity of strategies, such as agricultural production, hunting or labour migration, but could also be expressed through consumption.[1653]

Notions of social responsibility, individual personhood and wealth could be realised through the acquisition of goods. The influx of imported goods, which accelerated greatly in the course of the twentieth century, did not constitute a qualitative shift in ideas of wealth in people, but did provide additional options towards self-realisation.[1654] Material wealth, in the form of clothing, bicycles, housing and much more, even at present continues to be invested in social relationships and can serve to build alliances, underlining the enduring importance of connections between people, goods and wealth.[1655] Due to the wide range of available consumer goods throughout the twentieth century, individual personhood and authorship gained a competitive element, which had profound

---

[1642] Miller, *Way of death*; Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'.
[1643] Ross, Hinfelaar and Pesa, *The objects of life,* 4.
[1644] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth', 34-8.
[1645] (NAZ) KSE6/1/1, G.A. MacGregor, Balunda District Annual Report, 1908-9.
[1646] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'.
[1647] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade;* Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1648] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.
[1649] Barber, 'Money, self-realization and the person'.
[1650] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization', 252.
[1651] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.
[1652] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 797.
[1653] J.A. Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection: Migration practices and socio-cultural dispositions of Buhera workers in Harare', *Africa* 71:1 (2001), 82-112.
[1654] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'.
[1655] See the contributions to Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life.*

consequences for productive and social relationships.[1656] The meaning and value of goods (which could convey status, hierarchy and power) was constituted through interpersonal relationships and therefore goods could embody and contest social hierarchies. How this has played out in the area of Mwinilunga will be illustrated by three examples, namely ironworking, clothing and housing.

Ironworking: Smelters, smiths and craftmanship

Ironworking has been a long-established craft in the area of Mwinilunga.[1657] The development of metallurgical skills probably dates back to the earlier half of the first millennium A.D.[1658] Although the initial spread was slow and haphazard, in the long run ironworking knowledge constituted a 'technological breakthrough'.[1659] Access to iron ore and the production of iron artefacts proved of vital importance, as iron tools have contributed to the development of agricultural production, hunting and fishing, but have equally influenced settlement patterns and social organisation in the area.[1660] Several localities within Mwinilunga District boast deposits of iron ore, although these vary in quality, accessibility and workability.[1661] In the vicinity of these sites ironworkers have historically engaged in both smelting and smithing activities. The items which these craftsmen produced, such as knives, spears, arrowheads, hoes and axes, proved indispensable to production and survival, but could also serve as a medium of exchange in the long-distance trade or be deployed as symbols of political power, prestige and beauty. Iron items, especially *mubulu* bracelets which symbolise betrothal and fertility, might be used as bodily adornment, whereas standardised iron bars could serve as currency.[1662] Notwithstanding the vibrancy and value of metallurgy, it will be examined why throughout the twentieth century locally produced iron items have increasingly been replaced by industrially manufactured and imported ironware.[1663]

The practice of ironworking in Mwinilunga

In 1910 the District Commissioner acknowledged the importance of the metallurgical craft, as well as the knowledge and expertise involved:

> In several localities where rich ore or iron stone is to be found the smelting of the ore and working of the pig iron, which is of an extremely tough nature, into hoes, axes, spears and arrow points, is carried on by a few natives who seem to acquire a reputation for this work which is handed down from generation to generation.[1664]

In spite of its value, only several decades later iron production had all but died out in the area of Mwinilunga. Reasons for this decline should not only be sought in competition from mass-produced iron tools, but also in the organisation of the metallurgical craft itself. Access to raw materials, labour

---

[1656] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'; Hansen, *Salaula.*

[1657] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 105, argues that metallurgy was probably developed around 500 A.D. as part of 'a set of rather revolutionary productive innovations.'

[1658] J. Vansina, 'Linguistic evidence for the introduction of ironworking into Bantu-speaking Africa', *History in Africa* 33 (2006), 321-61; J. Vansina, *How societies are born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600* (Charlottesville etc., 2004), 60-7, tentatively dates the beginning of the Iron Age in West Central Africa to the 4th century A.D. See: Kriger, *Pride of men*, 34-41. Copper smelting at nearby Kansanshi has been dated to the 5th-7th centuries A.D.

[1659] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*, 58, 60.

[1660] Kriger, *Pride of men*; Herbert, *Iron, gender, and power.*

[1661] In the 1850s Livingstone described such a site, Schapera, *Livingstone's African journal,* 239.

[1662] Iron was increasingly replaced by cheaper, more readily accessible and easier to mould brass as the raw material for *mubulu* bracelets over the course of the twentieth century.

[1663] Compare to: C.L. Goucher, 'Iron is iron 'til it rust: Trade and ecology in the decline of West African iron smelting', *Journal of African history* 22:2 (1981), 179-89; W. MacGaffey, 'The blacksmiths of Tamale: The dynamics of space and time in a Ghanaian industry', *Africa* 79:2 (2009), 169-85; Kriger, *Pride of men*, Epilogue; Thornton, 'Precolonial African industry', 8-9.

[1664] (NAZ) KSE6/1/1, C.S. Bellis, Lunda District Annual Report, 31 March 1910.

inputs and expertise proved problematic even before the advent of imported axes and hoes under British imperialism.[1665]

For one, iron ore deposits are not distributed uniformly over the area of Mwinilunga. Deposits are concentrated along rivers and streams with clayey soil types, but are unavailable in other areas.[1666] Moreover, for smelting large amounts of hardwood are required. This is a resource which, similarly to iron ore, is not universally accessible. Smelting (which involves the extraction of workable bloom from iron ore, whilst discarding residue slag) necessitates extremely high temperatures, which can only be achieved by making use of ample amounts of the right types of charcoal. This constitutes such a drain on the forest resources that in some parts of the district hardwood has become scarce and difficult to obtain.[1667] Furthermore, smelting required extensive preparations. A furnace had to be constructed, most commonly at the root of a large anthill, supplies of wood had to be gathered and rituals would be observed. Not only did a ceremony precede the inauguration of the furnace, but metallurgists had to adhere to strict sexual and food taboos.[1668] Smelting could extend over several days, or even weeks, if preparations are taken into consideration. From dawn till dusk groups of up to twenty men might be employed full time, pumping bellows to generate the heat necessary to smelt iron. After smelting the bloom iron would again be transformed into use products through labour intensive smithing. All this contributed to the high value and limited availability of iron utensils throughout the pre-colonial period.[1669]

Apart from natural resources and labour inputs, the individual skill of the smelter or smith proved crucial to ironworking success. Metallurgical knowledge was difficult to access.[1670] Knowledge of ironworking remained confined to a select group of men, mastered only after years of diligent apprenticeship. Although smelters and smiths most probably never constituted a separate or strictly demarcated class of the population, craftsmen did enjoy high levels of respect.[1671] Master ironworkers were widely known in the region and informants today hold great pride in their descent from these famous men, or even boast merely having witnessed the act of smelting during their lifetime.[1672] This adds credence to the claim that: 'there was potential for self-valuation, for partial authorship, in the competitive validation of the work contributions of young men to iron-smelting.'[1673] Metallurgy could be a means for men to make a name for themselves, to create personal as well as material value and power, a means of self-realisation. Not only the knowledge but also the practice of ironworking was ritually embedded, as metallurgists abided by strict rules and taboos. This further elevated the status of ironworking and the value of its output.[1674]

Ironworking was thus a labour intensive and specialist craft, producing items which were valuable and scarce, in spite of persistently high demand. It might even hold true that demand structurally outstripped supply before the twentieth century, giving rise to an elaborate long-distance trade in iron items.[1675] Not only for clearing the land, but also for constructing houses, cooking and cultivating, iron tools were required. Even though iron smelting and blacksmithing were in many ways

---

[1665] Herbert, *Iron, gender, and power.*

[1666] Some deposits of iron ore would be of very low quality or so tough that they would prove difficult to work.

[1667] Goucher, 'Iron is iron'; Kriger, *Pride of men.*

[1668] These views are based on numerous oral interviews, for example Headman Kachacha, 27 July 2010, Kanongesha.

[1669] Kriger, *Pride of men*; Herbert, *Iron, gender, and power.*

[1670] In this respect, smelting was more difficult than smithing.

[1671] Access to the ironworking craft was not restricted by kinship or heredity in any strict sense. Although certain lineages might dominate ironworking, apprenticeship was open to both patrilineal and matrilineal descendents and even to outsiders. See: Kriger, *Pride of men*; Herbert, *Iron, gender, and power.*

[1672] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Kenneth Kalota, July 2010, Kanongesha. Metallurgy was a strictly male enterprise, women would be guarded from even witnessing the smelt.

[1673] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization', 254.

[1674] Kriger, *Pride of men*; Herbert, *Iron, gender, and power*; Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests,* 60.

[1675] Kriger, *Pride of men*, 66-9.

indispensable to village life and subsistence, iron tools were neither abundant nor easily accessible. In the 1920s it was reported that one village containing 24 adult women possessed only 3 hoes.[1676] Although this case might have been exceptional, knives, hoes and axes were highly valued and could be bartered for goods such as livestock, agricultural produce or even for items imported through the long-distance trade. At the outset of the twentieth century, the District Commissioner remarked that iron articles 'are usually bartered for calico, powder or caps, the buyer having previously bartered rubber with the Portuguese traders for these goods.'[1677] Products of metallurgy were part of networks of exchange, barter and sale, occasionally involving trade over long distances, answering to local supply and demand.[1678]

Mass-manufactured iron tools: Competition or opportunity?

Because the production of iron tools was a labour intensive and intricate process, and output was consequently restricted, smelters and blacksmiths faced competition from mass-manufactured iron tools and scrap metal once these became widely available.[1679] Whether these were imported from overseas or produced in the burgeoning urban centres of the region, alternative sources of iron posed challenges to established ironworkers. Competition caused the decline of local smelting activity during the twentieth century, and furthermore compelled the smithing craft to either transform its activities or anticipate a similar decline.[1680] By the end of the 1920s the outlook appeared bleak:

> The old blacksmiths (…) are gradually dying off, or getting too old to work and the younger generations do not appear anxious to learn the trade, so it can only be a matter of a few years when nothing but imported hoes and axes will be seen in the villages.[1681]

A different, and more revealing, explanation for the decline of the metallurgical craft in Mwinilunga District might be provided:

> The reason for this pathetic decay in local industries is not difficult to see: scrap iron can be picked up at any of the Mines and the less energetic present day native is thus saved the arduous toil of extracting his ore from the iron stone rock; while indifferent German ware can be purchased at any of the appropriate stores.[1682]

Factors such as knowledge, skill and apprenticeship of metallurgists, as well as labour and price differentials played a role in the decline of local ironworking. However, these factors cannot fully account for why industrially manufactured iron goods came to supplant established local production. Especially if it is considered that consumers deemed local products to be of better quality ('stronger') and more serviceable than imports, the rapid spread of mass-produced iron tools appears paradoxical.[1683]

Narratives explaining the decline of local crafts by reference solely to external stimuli and unfavourable (international) trade relations or pricing mechanisms should be balanced by taking local factors and dynamics, such as labour supply, raw materials distribution and ironworking knowledge into account.[1684] Items are embedded in social relationships, hierarchies of power and processes of meaning-making, all of which need to be considered when assessing shifts in consumer behaviour.[1685]

[1676] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1921.

[1677] (NAZ) KSE6/1/1, C.S. Bellis, Lunda District Annual Report, 31 March 1910.

[1678] Herbert, *Iron, gender, and power*; Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*, 60.

[1679] See: S.T. Yusuf, 'Stealing from the railways: Blacksmiths, colonialism and innovation in Northern Nigeria', in: J-B. Gewald, A. Leliveld and I. Peša (eds.), *Transforming innovations in Africa: Explorative studies on appropriation in African societies* (Leiden etc., 2012), 275-95.

[1680] See: MacGaffey, 'The blacksmiths of Tamale'.

[1681] (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 1927.

[1682] (NAZ) KSE6/1/6, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 December 1928.

[1683] Kriger, *Pride of men,* Epilogue.

[1684] R.A. Austen and D. Headrick, 'The role of technology in the African past', *African studies review* 26:3/4 (1983), 163-84; Thornton, 'Precolonial African industry'; Burke, *Lifebuoy men,* 202-3.

[1685] Burke, *Lifebuoy men*; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world*; Hansen, *Salaula.*

Before the twentieth century ironworking knowledge had remained confined to a select number of men, who enjoyed great prestige due to their expertise and control of output. These individuals held power and had opportunities towards self-realisation through the creation of valuable goods. Their singular personalities and skills enabled them to build large followings and amass wealth in goods as well as people.[1686] Smelters and smiths were 'Big Men' *par excellence*, as 'knowledge was particularly highly valued and complexly organized.'[1687] Nevertheless, their position remained tenuous and contested, especially because output could not meet demand. The attractions of imported iron goods have to be seen in this light. These goods could compete with locally produced items because hoes, axes, knives and spears were essential to the productive life of all members of society and hence to the self-realisation of hunters, agricultural producers and carpenters. Access to iron tools, which had previously remained restricted – as men had to enter ties of dependency with smelters to acquire spears, whereas women would obtain hoes only after marriage – was opened up through channels of mass supply.[1688]

Competition, in the long run, eroded the privileged position which smelters and smiths had enjoyed. Output could no longer be controlled and the frail monopoly power of smelters was dissipated through the multiplicity of consumer demand and market supply. The path was thus paved for self-realisation of a different type, not through metallurgical skill but through other productive activities that made use of iron tools.[1689] Cultivating large fields, erecting houses and riding bicycles, all facilitated by access to industrial iron, could serve to build alternative forms of wealth, in goods, people and knowledge. Although smiths remained important, as their activities were indispensable for mending broken tools and for other services, the balance of power had shifted.[1690] With a degree of sarcasm, by the late 1940s the District Commissioner observed that: 'in this age of progress, people cannot be bothered to toil at creating a useful object when a mass produced article can be bought at the local stores.'[1691]

Labour scarcity, price mechanisms, competition and the viability of local crafts can be illustrated by looking at attempts by the colonial government to revive the blacksmith craft in the 1920s and 1930s.[1692] At the start of the twentieth century officials had observed that demand for iron tools structurally outstripped supply within Mwinilunga District. In an endeavour to correct the imbalance, officials stimulated local metallurgy. Such attempts aimed to enhance local money earning opportunities, to provide an alternative to labour migration and to encourage agricultural production through the provision of affordable hoes and axes. In 1921 the District Commissioner explained that:

> Two years ago it was extremely difficult to find one of the coming generation apprenticed to this [blacksmithing] craft, and our efforts to save the industry seemed doomed to failure until the price of the imported article increased to such an extent that it seemed a favourable opportunity to renew our attack. The smiths were told early in April last that I was willing to purchase at local rates every hoe and axe made in the sub-District and that all articles bought would be resold at the same price to either natives or Europeans – i.e. no commission would be charged or profit made (…) the smiths began to think that after all it might be worth their while to start working at their trade in real earnest (…) even if it is impossible to work up a small export trade, it is highly desirable that enough Alunda hoes should be made, at a reasonable price, to supply the local demand.[1693]

To stimulate metallurgy, the administration had to offer high prices, creating a de facto subsidised ironworking craft. Although this proved untenable in the long run, a temporary rise in output did result:

[1686] Kriger, *Pride of men.*
[1687] Guyer and Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge', 93.
[1688] See: Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'.
[1689] Compare to: Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'; Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things'.
[1690] MacGaffey, 'The blacksmiths of Tamale'.
[1691] (NAZ) SEC2/957, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 29 July 1949.
[1692] Burke, 'Unexpected subversions', explains contradictory colonial policies towards African consumption.
[1693] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1921.

> a moderately successful effort was made to revive the almost dead blacksmiths industry. The output from these smithies gradually increased until the smiths were selling upwards of 1000 hoes and axes per annum with the local Native Commissioner's aid; i.e. in addition to those sold in their villages.[1694]

In the 1920s prices for locally produced iron tools ranged from 1/- to 2/6 for hoes, whereas axe heads were sold for 1/- to 1/6 each, allowing for a small profit to the craftsman. Officials overwhelmingly stressed price differentials of imported versus locally produced iron tools as a factor explaining output, competition and patterns of consumption.[1695] The temporary rise in output of locally produced hoes and axes in the 1920s, following inducements by the colonial government, was attributed to pricing:

> They [blacksmiths] will, however, make a few dozen [hoes] each month when they know the Native Commissioner is willing to pay cash for all they bring along. The imported article is expensive (owing to the distance from railhead). The Alunda are poor and improvident and often quite unable to pay the price asked by the storekeeper for his hoes: the storekeeper in his turn is not keen on handling the native made article, there is no profit on them – the Alunda know their value too well.[1696]

Even if they could be produced in sufficient quantities, local hoes and axes would prove too expensive to be sold outside of the district, due to prohibitive costs of transport and marketing. Nevertheless, this purely economic rationale has to be questioned, as both production and consumption should be understood within the totality of their socio-economic, political and cultural context.[1697]

Over the course of the twentieth century, imported hoes and axes gradually became more plentiful and affordable within Mwinilunga District. The attractions of store-bought hoes and axes lay in their availability and favourable price, but could equally be attributed factors such as utility or form:

> Hoes were being imported by the storekeepers, of a smoother surface than those manufactured locally, with the result that they were readily purchased by the natives – despite the fact that the hoe made by the village smith was admitted to be more serviceable.[1698]

Imported hoes and axes gradually became more plentiful and affordable over the course of the twentieth century. Not only did the price of mass-manufactured iron tools decrease, but local purchasing power increased as a result of waged employment and sale of agricultural produce.[1699] Former Member of Parliament Peter Matoka attributed the decline of the local ironworking craft to externally induced 'underdevelopment',[1700] resulting from debilitating colonial policies: 'Developing technologies such as iron smelting, gunsmith, cloth weaving, salt preparation, hoe and axe making were discouraged over the years in favour of factory made items from Europe for which markets had to be developed.'[1701]

Nevertheless, the long-term economic consequences of the replacement of locally produced iron tools by mass-manufactured items remain ambiguous.[1702] By and large, for local metallurgists the transition was negative. Previously smelters and smiths had been a relatively privileged and affluent segment of the population. Ironworking had provided income earning opportunities within the district, mitigating the need to seek alternative employment to pay taxes or to satisfy monetary requirements. In the 1920s it was noted that: 'Blacksmiths can readily earn money for their tax – and more – if they wish. The others have to go afield.'[1703] In the course of the twentieth century their income dwindled. Nevertheless, some blacksmiths were able to successfully transform their enterprises and adapt their activities to changing circumstances.[1704] In the 1950s it was reported that:

[1694] (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1926.
[1695] Burke, 'Unexpected subversions', describes the colonial focus on price differentials of consumer goods.
[1696] (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1926.
[1697] Appadurai, *The social life of things*; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world.*
[1698] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1921.
[1699] See: Burke, *Lifebuoy men*, 106-8, for a discussion about the 'creation of an African market'.
[1700] Burke, 'Unexpected subversions', 471; Burke, *Lifebuoy men,* 84-5; See: Hansen, *Salaula.*
[1701] (NAZ) HM77/PP/2, P.W. Matoka, Review of Zambia's 33 Years of Independence, 8 November 1997.
[1702] Herbert, *Iron, gender, and power*; Kriger, *Pride of men.*
[1703] (NAZ) KSE6/2/2, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Quarterly Report, 31 December 1921.
[1704] MacGaffey, 'The blacksmiths of Tamale'; Yusuf, 'Stealing from the railways'.

> A small iron industry still flourishes in this district (spears, axes, hoes and knives are made). Annual production: 50 hoes sold at 4/- for large size, 3/- for small size; 30 axes sold at 2/- each; 60 hunting knives at 1/- each; 50 spearheads at 3/- each; annually £23 handed down as family business.[1705]

Whereas some resorted to mending broken hoes and axes, creating a recycling business which reduced the need to purchase tools from the stores, others engaged in new activities, such as gun, bicycle and motor car repairs. As Mwinilunga is far removed from the main areas of industrial production and supply, repairmen and other craftsmen are in high demand and enjoy esteem.[1706] The existing knowledge and expertise of craftsmen could, to a certain extent, be transformed and adapted.[1707]

The negative view of decline or underdevelopment of ironworking can further be qualified by linking the availability of imported iron tools to other aspects of production.[1708] Colonial officials related the supply of iron hoes and axes to agricultural output. In 1927 the District Commissioner observed that: 'in the cultivating season there is a great demand for these articles [hoes and axes], and a shrinkage in the supply results in a diminution in the acreage cultivated.'[1709] In this connection, the ready availability of mass-produced iron tools might positively influence agriculture by facilitating the cultivation of fields.[1710] Whereas previously there had been a scarcity of iron tools, industrial production made supply more abundant, if still expensive. In the 1920s officials further established the connection between metallurgy and agricultural production, as attempts were made to spur both:

> with an increased number of cheap hoes and axes available cultivation improved so much that it is now possible to purchase nearly all the meal we require locally (…) it is hoped that now the smiths efforts are slackening the acreage cultivated will not shrink in sympathy (…) the lethargic smiths are not farsighted or energetic enough to make and store hoes for the demand they know arises each year during the cultivating season.[1711]

Metallurgy influenced productive activities beyond agriculture. Access to a bicycle enabled the marketing of agricultural produce at distant markets, generally facilitating travel and mobility. Furthermore, iron tools are indispensable to the craft of carpentry, which developed in Mwinilunga due to missionary education and occupational training.[1712] In these and other ways, access to iron was directly connected to productive activities, which in turn could serve to build personal status and wealth.

The availability of imported iron tools provided a means to challenge the authority of smelters and smiths. Due to their knowledge and expertise, these individuals had been able to constitute wealth in people. Imported iron tools, however, provided new avenues towards self-realisation by enabling the composition of singular personalities through fishing, agriculture or hunting.[1713] Competition and the expansion of sources of supply enabled a different negotiation and balance of power in the area, jeopardising the position of smelters, but opening up alternative opportunities. Even so, blacksmiths adapted and persevered in their enterprises. Innovative individuals continue to repair bicycles, construct door bolts and manufacture fish hooks from iron.[1714] Nevertheless, in the course of the twentieth century supply and competition broadened the previously more exclusive hold on power and resources held by smelters and smiths.[1715] The rapid influx of iron played a role in the transition

---

[1705] (NAZ) SEC2/963, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 16 June 1955.
[1706] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[1707] Kriger, *Pride of men*, Epilogue; Burke, *Lifebuoy men*, 205.
[1708] Miller, 'Consumption and commodities', 144.
[1709] (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 1927.
[1710] W. Allan, *The African husbandman* (Edinburgh etc., 1965).
[1711] (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1926.
[1712] I. Peša, 'Buying pineapples, selling cloth: Traders and trading stores in Mwinilunga District, 1940-1970', in: Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life,* 262-3, 279-80.
[1713] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization', 252-3.
[1714] See: J.A. Pritchett, *Friends for life, friends for death: Cohorts and consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu* (Charlottesville etc., 2007).
[1715] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization', 258-9.

from locally produced to store-bought utensils, but so did issues of price, labour, natural resources and knowledge. The result has not been a simple replacement of 'old' by 'new', nor a complete decline of previous artisanal activity. Rather, a complex consumer landscape has emerged. Whereas previously metallurgical knowledge had been a key 'resource' as well as a 'means of production',[1716] with the advent of mass-manufactured iron tools value came to lie in the skill of composition: 'The value of objects and the work that produces them was part of this larger process through which people achieved 'reality', a singular composition of multiple dimensions.'[1717] Diversity, proliferation and compositional skills, rather than monopolistic control came to prevail over the course of the twentieth century. Being able to exploit opportunities through access to iron tools, individuals still remained primarily interested in building wealth in knowledge, goods and ultimately people.[1718] By hosting agricultural work parties or constructing large houses, the deployment of iron tools could serve to attain prestige and wealth. Even if a transition from locally produced to store-bought goods has occurred, this transition did not signal a major rupture in underlying notions of wealth and social relationships. The outward appearance of goods has changed, but iron tools can still be used to build social personhood, express status, attract a large following and thereby enhance productive and reproductive capacities. Iron tools continue to be fundamentally connected to notions of wealth in people, and this explains their persistent value.[1719]

Cloth, clothing and culture

Similarly to metallurgy, a clothing transition from locally produced to mass-manufactured and store-bought garments has occurred throughout Mwinilunga District. Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, bark cloth and animal skins have largely been replaced by industrially manufactured cloth.[1720] Clothing is an especially interesting item in the study of consumption, because of the way in which it mediates between the individual and society. Clothing dresses the individual body for social display and thereby engages in processes of meaning-making, as well as struggles over power and hierarchy.[1721] Clothing: 'being personal, is susceptible to individual manipulation. Being public, it has social import.'[1722] Clothing can be an expression and even an agent of social change, both constructing and challenging social identities, conveying class, gender and generational distinctions or aspirations.[1723] Godfrey Wilson, during his 1930s fieldwork in the urban area of Broken Hill (Kabwe), aptly captured the relevance of clothing. His observations might be extrapolated to Mwinilunga due to the labour migration which connected the two areas. Mine workers spent 51.4% of all cash earnings on clothing:

> The desire for clothes is the normal conscious motive that brings men to town, and "nakedness" is the usual answer to the question "what made you leave the country?" They have been driven, without any possibility of return, from their Eden of bark-cloth and skins. Every African man of whatever social group tries to dress smartly for strolling round the town, or for visiting in his spare time, and loves to astonish the world with a new jacket, or a new pair of trousers of distinguished appearance. Women behave in the same way; and they judge husbands and lovers largely according to the amounts of money which they are given by them to spend on clothes. Clothes are discussed unceasingly (…) they are tended lovingly and carefully housed in boxes at night. It is largely by accumulating clothes that men save.

[1716] Guyer and Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge', 117.
[1717] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization', 253.
[1718] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.
[1719] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests,* 237; Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'.
[1720] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth', 25-9; Hansen, *Salaula,* 24-39.
[1721] Hansen, *Salaula,* 6-12; K.T. Hansen, 'Second-hand clothing encounters in Zambia: Global discourses, Western commodities, and local histories', *Africa* 69:3 (1999), 343-65; Allman, *Fashioning Africa*, 2-6.
[1722] H. Hendrickson (ed.), *Clothing and difference: Embodied identities in colonial and post-colonial Africa* (Durham, 1996), 2.
[1723] P.M. Martin, 'Contesting clothes in colonial Brazzaville', *Journal of African history* 35:3 (1994), 401-26, especially 420; R.J. Ross, *Clothing: A global history* (Cambridge and Malden, 2008).

> Clothes (…) are the chief medium in which obligations to country relatives are fulfilled. The Africans of Broken Hill are not a cattle people, nor a goat people, nor a fishing people, nor a tree cutting people, they are a dressed people (…) clothes symbolize their claim to civilized status.[1724]

Evidently, clothing did not merely function as bodily covering, but was also an item of display, a means of conveying social status, a negotiating tool in gender relations and a medium to fulfil social obligations.[1725] By paying particular attention to changes in production, style and status, the history, meaning and importance of clothing in Mwinilunga will be examined. Clothing could serve to build social relationships, but could equally challenge existing hierarchies of power, allowing 'the expression of variety, individuality, and uniqueness.'[1726] The cultural biography of clothing will be traced, by highlighting the changing functions and meanings of clothing in the social life of Mwinilunga District.[1727]

During the seventeenth century imported manufactured cloth had started to trickle in to the area of Mwinilunga through the long-distance trade.[1728] In the eighteenth century textiles constituted 55% to 80% of all imports to Central Africa.[1729] Nevertheless, the circulation of textiles only really increased in the second half of the nineteenth century, when 'an industrial commodity replaced a mercantile one.'[1730] Due to increased supply, imported cloth was transformed from a luxury item for elite use to a quotidian item for public use, imbued with multiple layers of meaning. Clothing became an item of mass consumption through a gradual process which would only be completed in the twentieth century: 'A rare thing had become a necessity that people craved.'[1731] Imported garments had captured local fascination and had been highly valued from the outset, as was remarked by Silva Porto in 1880: 'The gold of these areas is cloth, and cloth fascinates the savages.'[1732] Rather than stressing eccentricity, an association existed between 'power and material wealth', as Central Africans possessed a 'well-informed knowledge of the symbolic importance of dress and the association of style, finery, wealth and power.' Far from simply copying European dress styles or accepting imports without discrimination, people in Mwinilunga 'appropriated foreign items in a purposeful manner derived from their pre-existing cultural perceptions.'[1733] In order to understand local interactions with imported clothing, pre-existing patterns of dress will first be examined.

Bark cloth and animal skins: The meaning and value of clothing

Prior to the advent of mass-manufactured imported garments, bark cloth and animal skins had provided covering, protection, warmth and clothing to the inhabitants of Mwinilunga. Although both bark cloth and animal skins could be worn by men and women in public and private settings, subtle differences distinguished the two.[1734] Whereas bark cloth would most frequently be associated with quotidian and domestic spheres, with women and children, garments made out of skins would be associated with luxury and status, with chiefs, hunters and prominent men, with political and economic power.[1735] In the 1870s Cameron noted this gendered division in dress: 'The clothing of the men

[1724] G. Wilson, *An essay on the economics of detribalization in Northern Rhodesia, Part 2* (Manchester, 1968), 18.
[1725] See: Allman, Hansen, Hendrickson and Ross.
[1726] Hansen, 'Second-hand clothing encounters', 346.
[1727] Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things', 66-7.
[1728] Compare to: Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world.*
[1729] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*, 224; Miller, *Way of death*, 74-5n3.
[1730] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth', 27.
[1731] Hansen, *Salaula*, 26.
[1732] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 223; Quoting A.F.F. da Silva Porto (1885), *Viagens e apontamentos de um Portuense em Africa* (Coimbra, 1986), 606.
[1733] Martin, 'Contesting clothes', 405.
[1734] These views are based on numerous oral interviews, for example Chief Kanongesha's mother, 12 August 2010, Kanongesha. Detailed descriptions of the use of bark cloth or animal skins as clothing are rare. See: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Miller, *Way of death.*
[1735] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*, 225, suggests the opposite, that bark cloth was highly labour intensive and prestigious, more so than skins. It might be that the relative prestige of bark cloth and skins shifted over time.

consisted of skin aprons, whilst the women contented themselves with wearing a few shreds of bark cloth.'[1736] Further distinctions could be made. The skins of small animals, such as duiker (*nkayi*) or impala (*mupaala*), could be used to carry new-born babies in, yet these held little prestige. Contrastingly, leopard skins (*chisumpa*) were a chiefly prerogative connoting wealth and power, circulated through networks of tribute linked to the central Lunda court.[1737] Although bark cloth and skins provided distinct advantages (protecting the body against the elements, expressing identity and portraying social status) some qualifications did apply. Access to natural resources could be problematic, as the *musamba*, *mupuchi* and *katochi* trees from which bark cloth is preferably obtained are spread sparsely over the area. Moreover, the production of bark cloth is a labour intensive process. Trees are first cut down, then the bark is stripped from the tree, and thereafter the bark is soaked and beaten until soft.[1738] Animal skins, similarly, could be difficult to procure. Access to animal skins would depend either on hunting skills where game is plentiful, or on ties of kinship, clientage and trade with hunters where game is scarce or unavailable.[1739]

Due to the temperate climate of Mwinilunga, clothing could remain minimal.[1740] Elders recall dressing in a loincloth (*mwinda*), which was still common among women and children during the first half of the twentieth century.[1741] A narrow piece of cloth or skin would be strapped between the legs to cover the pubic area, leaving the chest and legs bare. Livingstone described this in the 1850s:

> The women as usual were nearly naked in front, and a little piece of cloth, about a foot long by 6 inches and less in breadth, was usually thrust between the thighs when near us. The covering behind (a skin of some small antelope) was much broader and longer than that in front – a curious perversion of the feelings of decency.[1742]

Although there might have been adequate clothing for adults, additional requirements (such as cloth to carry babies in, clothing for small children or blankets to provide warmth during the cold season) could only be met with difficulty.[1743] In the absence of blankets intense feelings of cold would prevail and people would resort to burning fires inside their huts. Livingstone evidences the scarcity of cloth:

> The women here shew that cloth is very scarce, for instead of a cloth in which to suspend their children a belt of about 1 ½ inch[es] is made of bark and slung from the shoulder to the opposite side. The child is placed in this as a partial support against the side of the mother. The belt comes around the hips of the child, and he is taught to rough it from his earliest years. I suppose that the chief clothing of the parents is the fire at night.[1744]

In this context the quantity of imported cloth was particularly advantageous, even if supply only increased gradually.[1745] Foreign trade made affordable clothing accessible in previously unimaginable quantities and this explains part of the eagerness to obtain imported manufactured cloth.[1746]

Similarly to skins, bark cloth is imbued with ritual meaning and importance, being used in initiation and healing ceremonies, as well as in the annual *Chisemwa Chalunda* celebrations.

[1736] V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (London etc., 1885), 403.

[1737] This view is based on numerous oral interviews; Mulumbi Datuuma II, 'Customs of the Lunda Ndembu'; (NAZ) NWP1/2/23, R.C. Dening, Comments on H. Vaux's Report; (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, Report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936.

[1738] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*, 225.

[1739] See Chapter 2.

[1740] See: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*, 224; Miller, *Way of death,* 79-81.

[1741] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Nakineli, 14 April 2010, Ikelenge; *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary.*

[1742] Schapera, *Livingstone's African journal,* 36.

[1743] See: Gordon, 'Wearing cloth', 26-7.

[1744] Schapera, *Livingstone's African journal*, 228.

[1745] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*, 226.

[1746] Prestholdt, 'On the global repercussions'.

From imported goods to objects of local desire: The spread and attractions of manufactured clothing

At the beginning of the twentieth century European travellers, traders, missionaries and colonial officials were the chief suppliers of imported cloth to Mwinilunga, even if they frequently operated through African intermediaries who would dispense cloth in the villages.[1747] Europeans supposed a 'universal' demand among the local population for 'superior' imported cloth, which in their eyes expressed a higher degree of 'civilisation' or even 'modernity' than bark cloth or skins could convey.[1748] The local meaning and value of cloth remained poorly understood. Travellers commented on the 'craving for cloth' among the Lunda:[1749]

> Clothing is much more eagerly enquired after by all than beads or other ornaments (…) Cotton cloth is in great demand. Men and women come running after us with fowls, meal, &c, which we would gladly purchase had we the means, and when they find we have no cloth they turn back disappointed.[1750]

Although actively promoting the spread of cloth, officials equally foresaw that heightened demand might prove problematic:[1751]

> The desire of bought calicoes etc. is inordinately developed amongst these people, and almost as soon as they handle cash they wish to turn it into calico, which at the beginning will make it extremely difficult to obtain their cash before it reaches the store.[1752]

Various groups, such as traders, missionaries or administrators, differently envisaged the purpose and effects of clothing on African societies. Within the context of imperialism and colonialism, dress was part of a broader 'civilising mission'.[1753] Nevertheless, clothing was not merely an issue of culture and morals, of dressing 'properly' or 'decently', but was connected to economic interests. Officials, attempting to entrench industrious behaviour under capitalsim, saw clothing as a potential aid. By insisting on dressing in imported apparel, which could only be purchased in European trading stores with cash, the colonial administration could propel individuals into waged labour or cash crop production to earn money over and above their tax requirements.[1754] In the post-colonial period, clothing discourses were even more firmly grounded in ideologies of 'improvement' and 'development', 'a matter of objective issues, universally desirable goals, and technocratically necessary interventions.'[1755] Everyday clothing practices, however, could differ from and subvert official discourse and intentions. Consumers could appropriate manufactured garments in unexpected locally specific ways, reimagining and refashioning them in their circulation, based on 'existing relationships to global commodity flows.'[1756] Therefore, paying attention to how imported cloth and clothing has been incorporated into Lunda society and how it has been given meaning can reveal changes in material culture and values, but can equally shed light on the engagement of local actors with missions, markets and state policies.[1757] Function and taste could be important when composing apparel, but clothing choices were equally enmeshed in social, cultural, economic and political processes. In order to grasp the changing meaning and value of clothing, the societal context has to be understood: 'Since clothing is inescapably a demonstration of identity, wearing clothes – or for that matter not doing so – is inevitably a political act, in the widest possible sense of that word.'[1758]

[1747] Hansen, *Salaula*, 24-29.

[1748] See: Burke, *Lifebuoy men*, 84-6; L. Schneider, 'The Maasai's new clothes: A developmentalist modernity and its exclusions', *Africa today* 53:1 (2006), 101-31; Hansen, *Salaula*; Thomas, 'Modernity's failings', 727-40; Ross, *Clothing,* 83-4; Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution,* 218-73.

[1749] Burke, 'Unexpected subversions', 475, refers to 'the allure of the foreign'.

[1750] Schapera, *Livingstone's African journal*, 69, 102.

[1751] Burke, 'Unexpected subversions'.

[1752] (NAZ) KSE 6/2/1, J.M. Pound, Lunda District Quarterly Report, June 1913.

[1753] Hansen, *Salaula*, 27; Ross, *Clothing*, Chapter Seven; Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution*, 218-73.

[1754] Burke, *Lifebuoy men*, 66-70, 84; Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution*, on missionaries.

[1755] Schneider, 'The Maasai's new clothes', 107.

[1756] Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things', 89; Burke, 'Unexpected subversions', 471.

[1757] Hansen, 'Second-hand clothing encounters'; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world.*

[1758] Ross, *Clothing*, 12; Allman, *Fashioning Africa.*

Ever since the earliest interactions with imported cloth, local preferences of dress have been formulated.[1759] In accordance with local styles such preferences could change over time. To their despair, European traders and officials could exert little influence over changes in fashion.[1760] Only reluctantly would officials accede to demands from workers, who might request wages exclusively in calico of a particular type.[1761] Expressing independent tastes in pursuit of their clothes, the local population could frustrate the economic interests and hegemony of colonial rule. Officials complained that the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District, by crossing borders and trading with the Portuguese in Angola 'obtain all the calico they require to settle their numerous disputes, or cases amongst themselves, and of the particular sort they like, from the Portuguese traders and are therefore quite independent of this station in this respect.'[1762] Although Europeans largely dominated the supply of cloth, the terms of its use and appropriation could be unexpected and distinctly ordained by individual interests and the local context.[1763]

The local circulation, acceptance and use of imported cloth was shaped by social relationships. Through socio-economic and political negotiations and power relations cloth was given meaning.[1764] Due to limited supply prior to the nineteenth century, imported cloth was initially regarded as a highly valued luxury commodity. Its distribution was confined to political elites (mainly chiefs and headmen) who might hand out small pieces of cloth to kin and dependents, circulating cloth through gifts and channels of tribute.[1765] Cloth, as a status symbol, could strengthen the prestige of those with access to it and could enable the expansion of ties of allegiance and dependency. In this sense, dress was imbued with social meaning, being used as a marker of status, an expression of wealth, hierarchy and power.[1766] Travellers juxtaposed descriptions of a 'dirty and wild-looking' population with the apparel of their headman who 'was dressed for the occasion in a coloured shirt, felt hat, and a long petticoat made of coloured pocket-handkerchiefs.'[1767] In the 1930s one missionary described her encounter with Chief Kakoma as follows: 'he was dressed in many yards of trade cloth billowing all around him, and on top of all a weird and wonderful coat of some military uniform of ancient design.'[1768] Even if such showcasing was interpreted as exotic, these descriptions offer an insight into the local use and meaning of clothing. Cloth could be used to establish social relationships, to assert status, build hierarchies of power and create dependency.[1769]

Furthermore, cloth could be used as a medium of exchange, or even as a standardised currency, particularly throughout the nineteenth and in the first half of the twentieth century.[1770] Various standard units derived from the human body might be used as measurement, most notably short (*chibeli*, *chitambala*), one yard (*chitenda*), two yards (*chilala*, *luvunga*, *mudjoka*) and narrow-width cloth (*mukwamba*).[1771] In trade relationships, particularly in the long-distance caravan trade, cloth was a central commodity. Similarly to beads and guns, cloth could be obtained in exchange for

[1759] See: Martin, 'Contesting clothes'; Prestholdt, 'On the global repercussions'.
[1760] Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world,* Chapter Three.
[1761] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, C.S. Bellis, Balunda District Monthly Report, September 1909: Workers demanded to be paid in only blue calico that month.
[1762] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, C.S. Bellis, Balunda District Monthly Report, September 1910.
[1763] Prestholdt, 'On the global repercussions'; Hansen, *Salaula.*
[1764] Allman, *Fashioning Africa.*
[1765] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth', 25.
[1766] See: Miller, *Way of death,* 81.
[1767] Cameron, *Across Africa*, 403, 413.
[1768] Burr, *Kalene memories*, 117.
[1769] Martin, 'Contesting clothes'.
[1770] See: Gordon, 'Wearing cloth', 28; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[1771] A yard was defined as the length from the tip of the fingers to the middle of the chest; whereas two yards was the distance from fingertip to fingertip of outstretched arms. See: Miller, *Way of death,* 69; *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary*; These lengths of cloth differ somewhat from the list compiled by C.M.N. White and cited in Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

items such as ivory, rubber, beeswax and slaves.[1772] Furthermore, cloth could mediate social relationships. As a unit of payment cloth could figure in initiation ceremonies, bridewealth and funeral payments, as a remuneration for the services of witchdoctors and healers, or cloth payment might be imposed as a fine in judicial disputes.[1773] Court cases provide evidence of such uses of cloth. In one case cloth was used to cover funerary expenses:

> Mapupu himself came to me to claim goods in compensation for his son Chindora's death, saying that since my sister had killed him, being a witch, I her brother must pay (…) I paid him 8 yards calico, one short flintlock gun, one blanket and one string of beads, and he accepted these.[1774]

Cloth could even be used to redeem individuals from slavery, suggesting that cloth and human lives (wealth in goods and wealth in people) might be directly interchangeable:[1775]

> I went to Swana Chirombo with two guns and some calico to release Kalukeki's child Lusenga from slavery (…) I asked Katoyi to release Lusenga and gave him two pieces of calico (4 yds. and 2 yds.) and a brass anklet, and told him I would find other goods to give him.[1776]

Further signifying links to social relationships, cloth could be a constituent of bridewealth. One man gave his 'mother-in-law 5 pieces of calico (3 pieces of 4 yards each & one piece of 8 yards & one of 2 yards) also some brass wire (3/-) and a plate.'[1777] Initially, the social function of cloth might even have been more important than its utility as dress: 'For years the people have said "What, we Wandembo, pay tax, we have no money, and are not strong, we don't even wear calico". Incidentally forgetting to say that they have hundreds of yards to pay off some affair.'[1778] Cloth could be used as a store of wealth, not being worn, but being kept as an insurance stock with which to fulfil social obligations and payments. Cloth could act as a medium to establish and maintain social relationships, building wealth in goods as well as people.[1779] The social importance of cloth did not cancel out its use value as garment. Rather, the two reinforced each other.

Cloth retained its use as a unit of payment throughout the colonial period.[1780] Because British currency was far from universal in the opening decades of the twentieth century, cloth might be used as an alternative. Food or other goods could be purchased with cloth, or labour might be paid by dispensing amounts of cloth.[1781] Official reports reflect such practices:

> after leaving calico in liberal payment for necessary food taken from the gardens, I eventually returned to Mwinilunga (…) I distributed as much calico as possible to the women and children. They showed confidence by returning again and again to Camp to sell a handful of beans or a little meal (…) I paid off the defaulting carriers of a day, and gave a piece of cloth to each man brought in.[1782]

Colonial rule underlined the importance of cloth, both intentionally and unintentionally. Agricultural producers, wage labourers and mission workers were all rewarded for their toils in cloth. In this manner, the colonial administration encouraged the spread and general use of cloth through all layers of society in Mwinilunga District.[1783] In spite of the initial use of cloth as a unit of barter or payment,

---

[1772] See: Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'; Miller, *Way of death*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

[1773] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; V.W. Turner and E.L.B. Turner, 'Money economy among the Mwinilunga Ndembu: A study of some individual cash budgets', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 18 (1955), 19-37, provide examples.

[1774] (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/2 Rex v. Mapupu, 9 January 1915.

[1775] See: Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'; Miller, *Way of death,* 81.

[1776] (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/2, Rex v. Katoyi, 25 July 1915.

[1777] (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1. Mashau of Shimbi v. Nyaikwatelu, 4 August 1917.

[1778] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, T.M. Lawman, Lunda District Quarterly Report, 14 October 1912.

[1779] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'; Martin, 'Contesting clothes'; Miller, *Way of death.*

[1780] See: Hansen, *Salaula;* Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution;* Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things'.

[1781] W.S. Fisher and J. Hoyte, *Ndotolu: The life stories of Walter and Anna Fisher of Central Africa* (Ikelenge, Rev. Ed., 1992).

[1782] (NAZ) BS2/199 IN2/1/3, G.A. MacGregor, Balunda Sub-District Monthly Report, January 1909.

[1783] Hansen, *Salaula,* 24-39.

officials advocated monetisation in the form of British currency. Using cash instead of cloth could prove problematic, though:

> The introduction of cash is a great thing and avoids much bother in keeping calico etc., but at the same time, in a place like this where calico cannot be bought or if at all, only at a high price, money will always be taken less willingly than cloth: natives here have a stupid habit of coming in some way with a small load of food for sale, say 20 or 25 lbs. One cannot give them much cash for this and with calico at 1/- a yard (the price today at store) they do not receive much benefit by selling, from their point of view. I have landed calico for my own use at 6d a yard but this does not allow of any profit to a trader.[1784]

Notwithstanding objections, cloth continued to be a unit of payment for labour (blankets could be part of road labourers' wages) or a unit of barter when selling crops to missionaries (a basket of cassava could be exchanged for a length of cloth), throughout the twentieth century.[1785]

Over the course of the twentieth century cloth made a transition from luxury good for the elite to a common and everyday item of use.[1786] The value of cloth could even be standardised, if not fixed:

> Wages are from 5/- to 7/- per month and are invariably paid in calico valued at 6d per yard (…) No goat is to be purchased under from 10 yards to 16 yards of calico (…) Fowls are far from plentiful and are valued at from 1 to 2 yards of calico each (…) Calico (common white or blue) is valued at 6d per yard by all natives.[1787]

Cloth, thus, held great significance, going beyond its utilitarian value. Its use as a medium of exchange, a unit of payment and a mediator in social relationships, enhanced the desirability and importance of cloth. Therefore, when supply became more plentiful under colonial rule, cloth spread rapidly and its use broadened.[1788] Even if continuities remained with previous uses of clothing, this transition had profound consequences for the meaning and value of cloth.

During the opening decades of the twentieth century access to imported cloth, purchased mainly through European trading stores, was by no means universal.[1789] Due to economic hardship and unfavourable terms of trade in the 1920s and 1930s, officials noted that people who had once worn imported cloth had reverted to bark cloth and animal skins, signifying the recent and reversible nature of the clothing transition: 'The high prices still asked by the stores for calico and blankets naturally causes a good deal of dissatisfaction among the natives – a large proportion of whom are reverting to skins and bark cloth to cover their nakedness.'[1790] Nevertheless, as the twentieth century progressed cloth was increasingly defined as one of the 'articles that have become necessities.'[1791] Although what was regarded as a necessity was culturally defined and might be contested, the spread of clothing through Mwinilunga District was general and popular. Despite the marked price increase in trading stores between 1914 and 1921, clothing sales continued unabatedly.[1792]

	Price in 1914	**Price in 1921**
White calico	1/- a yard	2/6 to 3/- a yard
Blue or striped calico	1/- a yard	2/6 a yard
Shirts	3/- each	7/- each
Blankets	4/3 each	8/6 each

Whereas prices paid for agricultural produce did not rise in proportion, making it necessary to produce and sell more crops to obtain the same amount of cloth, clothing consumption did not contract. The

[1784] (NAZ) KSE6/1/2, J.M.C. Pound, Lunda Sub-District Annual Report, 1911-12.

[1785] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, Mrs Mandamu Sapotu, 10 March 2010, Ikelenge.

[1786] Hansen, *Salaula*; Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'.

[1787] (NAZ) KSE6/1/1, G.A. MacGregor, Balunda District Annual Report, 1908-9.

[1788] It is important to stress, as Hansen and Burke do, that the supply of cloth under colonialism (especially before 1945) remained limited, and that supply could not fully meet demand. Nevertheless, when compared to the nineteenth century the supply of cloth in the twentieth century had increased greatly.

[1789] Hansen, *Salaula.*

[1790] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1924.

[1791] (NAZ) NWP1/2/78 Loc.4913, E.L. Button, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1959.

[1792] (NAZ) KSE 6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1921.

value of clothing is clearly illustrated by a survey from the 1950s, which concluded that on average men spent £5 17s 4d a year on clothing, out of a total income of £14 10s 4d. Approximately 40% of all male income was spent on clothing, and for those aged between 40 and 60 the percentage was even higher. This pattern differed but slightly for women, who on average spent 33% of their income on clothing, £1 15s 3d out of a total income of £5 5s 6d a year. No other item of expenditure approximated the significance of clothing. Taxation, utensils and other store-bought goods were but minor expenses in comparison to store-bought garments.[1793] Placing these patterns of clothing consumption, taste and appearance in the context of agricultural production, labour migration and social relationships might explain the central position of clothing throughout Mwinilunga.

Clothing consumption, production and social relationships

Ever since the introduction of mass-manufactured imported garments to Mwinilunga, Europeans envisaged the economic repercussions of their adoption.[1794] In the 1850s Livingstone acclaimed the wonders of commerce, as 'the prints of Manchester are by means of it brought to the centre of Africa.'[1795] Commerce appeared so beneficial because it was believed that once clothing would become a necessity, this would lead to participation in the capitalist economy. Individuals desirous of cloth would be propelled to work, either as wage labourers or as cash crop producers, in order to earn a cash income with which to purchase dress. Industrial mass manufacture made it possible to tap into the potentially lucrative African market, which would contribute to sustainable economic growth and support the aims of imperialism.[1796] Only after the 1940s, however, was the full potential of the consumer market realised and was consumption officially encouraged.[1797] Due to booming copper production and high prices on the world markets, consumptive aspirations appeared virtually unrestrained. After independence official policies of 'development' further promoted the acquisition of consumer goods. The favourable economic climate gave way to a worldwide economic recession by the end of the 1970s, which consequently problematized clothing consumption.[1798]

Both in discourse and practice a strong link between consumption and production was established. One District Commissioner remarked that: 'The Lunda people are extremely fond of calico, and later on they will be found to improve in physique and will turn out a good working population.'[1799] Officials were convinced that the demand for cloth would lead to increased agricultural production: 'People are very interested to grow crops because when they take their crops to the traders they get much money and cloth.'[1800] Stated differently, increased production enabled access to consumer goods such as clothing, but moreover, the prospect of consumption could act as a stimulus for enhanced productive activities. Within this logic, consumption was linked to 'development', as a desire for clothing could spur individuals to make larger fields or engage in waged employment in urban areas.[1801] Government officials, in their attempts to propagate capitalism, industrious behaviour and a transition from 'subsistence' to 'market' production, eagerly promoted consumption as a tool to boost productive activities.[1802]

[1793] Turner, 'Money economy', 30.

[1794] Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world*; Hansen, *Salaula.*

[1795] Schapera, *Livingstone's African journal,* 32.

[1796] Burke, *Lifebuoy men*, Chapter Three; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world*, Chapter Three; Hansen, 'Second-hand clothing encounters', 352-4.

[1797] Burke, *Lifebuoy men*; Hansen, *Salaula.*

[1798] Hansen, *Salaula,* 24-39.

[1799] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, J.M. Pound, Lunda District Quarterly Report, 31 December 1913.

[1800] (NAZ) NWP1/2/21 Loc.4901, Agricultural Report Chief Kanongeshya Area, 8 February 1950.

[1801] Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life,* Introduction. Perhaps consumption caused something akin to an 'industrious revolution': J. de Vries, *The industrious revolution: Consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present* (Cambridge etc., 2008), 10, 72.

[1802] Burke, 'Unexpected subversions'.

The links between clothing and labour migration were practical as much as discursive.[1803] One missionary observed that: 'The people in this district are away a great deal working for the white men in the towns, where they earn good money and so for the most part are well clothed.'[1804] Not only were clothes regarded as a reward for waged employment, but clothing could act as a push factor, enticing men to leave their homes in search of income with which to buy the latest fashion.[1805] Mr Makajina made the long trip from Angola via Mwinilunga to Johannesburg, largely on foot, in pursuit of a nice suit. After having made several stops on the Zambian Copperbelt, in Livingstone and Zimbabwe, he proceeded to Johannesburg where the 'latest fashion' was to be found. He only returned to settle in Mwinilunga once he had obtained two black suits and other goods, such as a saucepan radio.[1806] This case might be exceptional in the paramount importance attached to clothing, but it most certainly depicts a broader trend. Other migrants might spend their first wages on clothing, or they might send clothes home as remittances to maintain ties with kin.[1807] Production and consumption were thoroughly intertwined, both in official discourse and in the daily lives of the consuming public. In order to purchase the latest fashion a cash income proved indispensable. In turn, those with access to the latest fashion could attract the admiration of others, building personal status and value. Within the framework of wealth in people consumption could further aspirations towards self-realisation: 'By representing aspirations publicly, new consumer imports were tools in the constitution of personhood and strategies of distinction.'[1808] Clothing could serve to build, maintain or challenge social relationships. Through its ability to convey status, hierarchy and power, clothing could be distinctly social and political.[1809]

Clothing could serve as a public statement of personal worth, wealth and status. Prior to the twentieth century imported cloth had still entered the area in relatively small quantities through a limited number of channels, enabling the control of this stream by a small group of powerful individuals. The political elite of chiefs, headmen and traders could direct the import of cloth, a good which conveyed prestige and commanded respect to the owner.[1810] Cloth could be used as a status symbol, the distribution of which could attract followers, dependents and wives.[1811] Within the context of wealth in people 'Big Men' could act as gatekeepers, monopolising imports and thereby building and maintaining social and political hierarchies.[1812] A cycle was created whereby goods could be used to gain human allegiance, which in turn could serve to increase productivity and obtain more goods (cloth-people-more cloth).[1813] Through the labour power of their dependents, which facilitated the acquisition of produce such as ivory, rubber and beeswax, chiefs and headmen could access cloth and other imported goods of the long-distance trade. By dispensing cloth to their dependents, chiefs and headmen could swell their productive activities, generating means to obtain even more cloth.[1814] The slave trade was the apex of this cycle between goods and people. In the 1950s one District Commissioner recalled that:

[1803] See: M. Barrett, ''Walking home majestically': Consumption and the enactment of social status among labour migrants from Barotseland, 1935-1965', in: Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life,* 93-113.
[1804] (EOS) Alfred Digby Fisher, December 1930.
[1805] The Rhodes Livingstone Institute researchers have described this process with eloquence.
[1806] Interview with Mr Makajina Kahilu, 8 March 2010, Ikelenge.
[1807] Wilson, *Essay on the economics.*
[1808] Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things', 96.
[1809] Martin, 'Contesting clothes'; Ross, *Clothing.*
[1810] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth', 25-6; Miller, *Way of death,* 81.
[1811] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization', 258-9.
[1812] Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things', 87.
[1813] Miller, *Way of death;* Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life,* 4.
[1814] Miller, *Way of death,* 71-3; Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'.

> not so long ago (…) lengths of cloth could only be obtained by barter with the Yimbundu [Ovimbundu] tribe, who brought their goods from Angola. The price paid for lengths of cloth was human: five lengths for a boy slave, and ten for a girl.[1815]

Once the supply of cloth increased in the course of the twentieth century the gatekeeper mechanism of control was challenged and eventually undermined. People aspiring to build a new base of social power could amass and distribute imports to challenge figures of authority.[1816] Aspirants 'destabilized structures of authority in novel ways by enhancing their prestige through access to imported goods.'[1817] Cloth became accessible to a variety of individuals through multiple channels of supply, enabling junior wage labourers to contest the authority of elders. Although access to mass-manufactured cloth could challenge the power of established 'Big Men', it enabled others to build up their own authority.[1818] In this sense access to cloth could be a means towards self-realisation. People continued to use the power of cloth to gain respect and human allegiance.[1819]

Clothing, culture and self-realisation

In the area of Mwinilunga cloth was not used solely in ways ordained by European suppliers. Rather, cloth was reinterpreted and transformed, given new and at times challenging meanings.[1820] Cloth could be a means of distinction, expressing status and evoking admiration. Through cloth people could build wealth, manifest power and realise personhood.[1821] Rather than being merely accumulative, wealth acquisition was compositional and self-realisation could be achieved in multiple manners, indicating 'the competitive and constantly innovative process of valorization along multiple routes', making effective control or hierarchy impossible.[1822] In the nineteenth century cloth was mainly a means of control over people, but in the twentieth century cloth continued to be a marker of prestige and wealth. Because clothing could express personal power and value, wearing fashionable clothes could be a means towards building personhood and status, attracting the admiration and allegiance of other people.[1823] According to the principle of self-realisation, 'the assets were not things at all, but the singular persons who harnessed sources and controlled fates.'[1824] Cloth did not only boost the prestige of the owner, but could be handed out to kin and could serve to build and strengthen social relationships. Migrant labourers might carry cloth for their relatives when on leave, remit cloth from town or stock clothes as a store of wealth. Returning migrants would be viewed with admiration, chiefly due to their possession of fashionable clothes.[1825] Cloth could enable a labourer to marry the wife of his choice, or it could serve as remuneration for work parties. Because these work parties might assist the host with the construction of a new house, or with the cultivation of a large field, cloth had the potential of being productive in the strictly economic sense, as well as enhancing social relationships and promoting prestige.[1826] Marital relationships built on the exchange of cloth, as a husband is expected to provide his wife with a new cloth on a regular basis (once a year is the norm today). Failure to fulfil this obligation would justify claims of neglect and might even lead to divorce.[1827] A man whose wife had requested divorce defended himself by stating: 'I have given her clothes and

[1815] (NAZ) SEC2/962 P.L.N. Hannaford, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, April 1954.
[1816] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth', 25, 33.
[1817] Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things', 97.
[1818] Guyer and Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge', 119-20.
[1819] See also: Hansen, *Salaula.*
[1820] Burke, 'Unexpected subversions', 481; Prestholdt, 'On the global repercussions'.
[1821] Martin, 'Contesting clothes'; Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'.
[1822] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization', 246, 253.
[1823] See: Hansen, *Salaula*; Hansen, 'Second-hand clothing encounters', 344.
[1824] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization', 257.
[1825] Barrett, 'Walking home majestically'; Wilson, *Essay on the economics.*
[1826] Turner, 'Money economy'.
[1827] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Julian Chiyezhi, 2008, Mwinilunga; See Chapter 5.

treated her properly.'[1828] In order to build and maintain social relationships it was necessary not only to have access to cloth, but more importantly cloth had to be distributed. A respectable man would be the provider of cloth for the household.[1829] On the other hand, a man hoarding cloth solely for his own use, while his wife and children walked around in rags, would be strongly condemned.[1830] Wearing a nice suit was not only a personal, but also a fundamentally social act.

Clothing became a good which was universally aspired during the twentieth century. The proverb '*vwala musamba, ihina dakala kutonda*' – 'wear bark cloth, printed cloth is hard to find', reflects the difficulty of obtaining cloth. Nevertheless, this scarcity did not endure.[1831] During the colonial period clothing became widely available and a marked shift occurred within the span of several decades. Whereas in the 1930s it had still been remarked that: 'most of the women wear a long cloth knotted around the arm pits. When they have enough money they get a blouse and skirt',[1832] by the 1960s it was common to possess a spare pair of clothing, as well as two blankets.[1833] Especially from the 1940s onwards a variety of fabrics, designs and qualities of cloth, tailored clothing and ready-to-wear garments became commonplace and accessible. Distinctions of attire from the colonial and early post-colonial period are still vividly recalled and discussed at present. During the opening decades of the twentieth century various types of cloth circulated. The most common varieties were *kanyiki* (blue calico), *mutoma* (white calico) and *sapato* (khaki coloured calico), worn by both men and women.[1834] White cloth was considered the most prestigious of these, being reserved for chiefs, headmen and their wives. In later periods different types of cloth, under a variety of names, spread through the area. This complicated the distinction of quality or value, but nevertheless, consumers expressed clear preferences. Zimbabwean cloth, *chiwankie*, was considered inferior to Congolese varieties of cloth, such as *tumbela* or *katende*, which were less stiff and kept their colour better than cheaper alternatives. *Muzukila* was an affordable cloth worn by the masses, whereas varieties such as *pindalo* could convey wealth, making a person *mbongu* (a stilt-walker, a person who is very rich).[1835] Styles were also highly gendered. Whereas initially both men and women would wear the same type of cloth, wrapped around the lower part of their body or knotted under one armpit, styles would increasingly be differentiated by gender once cloth became more plentiful. Women continued to wear cloth, though of different varieties. Affluent women would wear two or three pieces of cloth, one wrapped around the lower part of the body, one around the chest and one as headgear. Furthermore, women might wear tailored *chitenge* or *chikwembi* (printed coloured cloth) dresses or ready-made blouses and skirts. Men, on the other hand, would wear shorts and blouses (*kahuma*, jacket; *chikovwelu*, shirt; *mupila*, vest; *kaputula*, shorts). After independence long trousers became the standard for men, as it was no longer considered respectable to wear shorts.[1836] Appropriate footwear would complete apparel. Lunda men had made shoes out of animal skins, or in exceptional cases out of tree bark, and these could be worn by hunters when they would go into the bush. Nevertheless, footwear had not been an item of widespread use. Road workers and migrant labourers remembered wearing rubber shoes made of used car tyres to protect their feet. From the 1930s onwards canvas shoes became

[1828] (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Kambai of Kanyika v. Nyansamba of Muloa, 25 June 1918.
[1829] See: J.L. Parpart, '"Where is your mother?": Gender, urban marriage, and colonial discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945', *The international journal of African historical studies* 27:2 (1994), 241-71; H. Powdermaker, *Copper town: Changing Africa: The human situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt* (New York etc., 1962).
[1830] See the reference to the song Kabwengenenge below.
[1831] Proverb recited by Mr Justin Kambidima, September 2010, Ntambu.
[1832] (NAZ) HM8FI4/2/1, Singleton Fisher, Missionary Work Among the African People – Life at Kalene Hill, n.d. [1930?].
[1833] (NAZ) LGH5/4/2 Loc.3615, Mwinilunga Security Scheme 1963: Assessment of Common Goods in the District.
[1834] These types of cloth are also mentioned by Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world.*
[1835] This is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Mandosa Kabanda, 2 August 2010, Kanongesha.
[1836] Such shifts have equally been described by Hansen, *Salaula.*

accessible to both men and women. Later still, returning migrant labourers introduced the trend of leather shoes. Footwear, an item which had once been regarded superfluous, was transformed into a necessity and a marker of status.[1837]

Cloth was able to fulfil such important functions, expressing wealth in people as well as self-realisation, through its ability to convey value and hierarchy.[1838] Therefore, chiefs would fervently discuss the form and colour of their uniforms. To allow for adequate distinctions, the following suggestions were made in the 1960s: 'A dark blue or black suit with golden buttons and gold braid down the seams of the trousers. The decorations should be different for Chiefs, Senior Chiefs and Paramount Chiefs.'[1839] Similarly, messengers were said to derive their authority from 'the power of their uniform.'[1840] Enabling status distinctions, clothes could be a unique and personal medium but could also visualise social relationships and hierarchies. Targeting the eradication of poverty through development and an insistence on 'modern' attire,[1841] the colonial administration suggested links between clothing, social distinction, wealth and civilisation: 'The appearance of the natives in this area very definitively suggests poverty; few of the natives can boast of anything more pretentious than loin cloths made of skin and bark cloth.'[1842] By the 1950s an old woman wearing rags and walking around barefoot would be considered destitute. Whether this condition was caused because she lacked the physical strength to cultivate her own gardens or because she had lost her husband and had no sons who could provide for her, the absence of clothing was a visible marker of her poverty. Poverty, thus, was not only a lack of material possessions but also a lack of social relationships. A woman without a husband and children who could take care of her clearly lacked wealth in people, power and influence. Clothing could be a positive marker of wealth and social power. A female pineapple farmer who was able to sell large quantities from her fields might use her profits to buy clothes for herself and her children, visualising her achievements and social status through clothing. That her clothing attracted envy from her less well-endowed neighbours merely underlined her personal success. Furthermore, she could use cloth as a payment to attract other women for work parties, enabling her to increase production and fulfil goals of self-realisation.[1843] Clothing could function in a variety of ways, marking status distinctions but also serving to build interpersonal relationships.

With the rise of nationalism under colonial rule, clothing could be used as an economic and political tool to assert equality or even to claim superiority vis-à-vis the white ruling class.[1844] In this sense, clothing consumption might be 'a tool for achieving legitimacy and parity within global modernity.'[1845] By delineating racial and class boundaries through dress, colonial administrators and missionaries had attempted to keep Africans in their place.[1846] Such attempts did not go unchallenged. Wearing the right apparel could serve to assert decency, or even 'civilisation' and 'modernity'.[1847] A discussion, initiated by several chiefs from Mwinilunga District in the Provincial Council, evidences that this could be an aspired goal: 'Africans desirous of living a decent life, get their requirements from European stores, I do not think any of us here today is wearing clothing bought in an African store.'[1848] Nevertheless, clothing was more than a simple emulation or 'mimicry' of whites.[1849] People 'wore

[1837] Pritchett, *Friends for life*, describes the same.
[1838] Compare to: Martin, 'Contesting clothes'.
[1839] (NAZ) LGH5/2/8 Loc.3613, North-Western Province Resident Secretaries Conference, 20 October 1969.
[1840] (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 March 1922.
[1841] Schneider, 'The Maasai's new clothes', 110.
[1842] (NAZ) SEC2/953, G.S. Jones, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 27 February 1933.
[1843] Interview with Mrs Nanci Kamafumbu, 19 April 2010, Ikelenge.
[1844] See: Ross, *Clothing*, Chapter Nine.
[1845] Burke, 'Unexpected subversions', 476.
[1846] See: Burke, *Lifebuoy men,* 99.
[1847] See: Schneider, 'The Maasai's new clothes'; Allman, *Fashioning Africa.*
[1848] (NAZ) North-Western Province African Provincial Council, May 1958.
[1849] J. Ferguson, 'Of mimicry and membership: Africans and the "New World Society"', *Cultural anthropology* 17:4 (2002), 551-69.

European clothes as an attempt to make clear that they were as good as anyone in the world, and certainly the equals of those who were perceived as looking down at the wearer of the suit.'[1850] Clothing was used in locally specific ways to assert social and political status within the community. After independence the importance of clothing was further underlined. Government officials designated clothing 'improvement' as one of the main markers of 'development'.[1851] In numerous reports and public statements it was decreed that: 'no person should ever really dress in rags in Zambia nor indeed go barefooted.'[1852] By the 1970s it was stated that: 'The principle task of any government like ours in a developing country is, as quickly as possible to provide (…) better clothing.'[1853] Clothing became a marker of 'development' and 'modernity',[1854] as it could secure 'membership as respectable equals (…) in the nation.'[1855]

Until the present day the importance of clothing remains paramount. A popular song, *Kabwengenenge* (2007), depicts a man who does not like to cultivate his fields. Due to his poverty the man is unable to buy cloth for his wife, which causes her to steal the *chitenge* (printed coloured cloth) of her neighbour. This shames her to such an extent that she subsequently sneaks around the village, using shortcuts so that nobody can see her. Nevertheless, the neighbour discovers the theft and claims the *chitenge* back, leaving the woman nude and embarrassed.[1856] This song connects the themes of production and consumption, underlining the importance of cloth, as well as its links to social distinction, status, wealth and work. The moral of the song is that a husband should work hard to provide his wife with a decent garment, because without cloth a woman is poor and unworthy. Cloth did not gain such supreme and enduring importance as an item of utility alone. The use and meaning of cloth changed over time, but its significance was based on the interrelations between clothing, social relationships, power and status. Therefore clothing practices and preferences can only be understood by looking at clothing, people and wealth in all their complex reciprocity.

Grass, mud and bricks: Housing, community and permanence

Even more than metallurgy or clothing, housing is a locus of consumption where the individual meets a wider collective.[1857] Inhabited by individuals, nuclear families or extended kin-based entities, dwellings are integrated into larger units of settlement, such as farms, villages or towns.[1858] Housing might express struggles in society, between men and women, between chiefs, the government and their subjects: 'Within the domestic realm and the social worlds of its residents, individuals enact state- or civically-generated definitions of the family, perform daily acts of sustenance, and act on deeply held beliefs of "the good life."'[1859] Architectural styles, which have changed over time, are connected to social relationships and notions of wealth. Housing can mediate the personal or domestic sphere and broader issues of culture, ideology, society and economy:

> The built environment constitutes a carefully contrived stage on which social action occurs. Dwellings in particular are a universal aspect of material culture that cross-culturally define the domestic domain,

[1850] Ross, *Clothing*, 170.
[1851] Hansen, *Salaula,* 38.
[1852] (NAZ) Second National Convention on Rural Development, 12 December 1969.
[1853] (NAZ) A New Strategy for Rural Development in Zambia, 1974.
[1854] Schneider, 'The Maasai's new clothes', 116.
[1855] Schneider, 'The Maasai's new clothes', 124.
[1856] Kabwengenenge, Kanongesha Band, 2007 – The translation and explanation of this song was kindly provided by Mrs Julian Chiyezhi, September-October 2008, Mwinilunga.
[1857] Miller, *Consumption and commodities,* 155.
[1858] G. Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping in Zambia' (University of Hull, 1967).
[1859] A.S. Lewinson, 'Domestic realms, social bonds, and class: Ideologies and indigenizing modernity in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', *Canadian journal of African studies* 40:3 (2006), 463-4.

> often serve as a setting for corporate economic activity and solidarity, and provide an affirmation of cultural values.[1860]

Turner has explored socio-cultural and political importance and the ideological power with which housing location was imbued in the area of Mwinilunga in the 1950s. He depicted the 'spatial separation of adjacent genealogical generations' within the village, which acted as a hierarchical ordering mechanism for power relations, the 'visible end-result of a number of social tendencies.'[1861] An inherently social expression, housing in the area of Mwinilunga was connected to broader issues of socio-economic and political power, holding complex meaning for its occupants.

Housing is a pivotal aspect of daily life and social well-being, and therefore it is essential to study the 'socio-cultural precepts of building form', as well as residential development, in order to illustrate how an 'indigenous micro-planning system served as the spatial embodiment of the popular consciousness', closely connected to issues of wealth and socio-political power.[1862] The tension between discourse and practice should be examined, between (post-)colonial government doctrine and housing construction in the area of Mwinilunga. In official discourse issues of housing have been connected to debates on permanent residence, agricultural productivity and ultimately to issues of 'modernity'.[1863] A clear link between housing, health, social welfare and material wellbeing is suggested by an official statement from the 1980s:

> Housing is a basic human necessity which plays an important part in maintaining good health habits and social stability of a nation. It provides the necessary physical environment in which the family develops and such physical environment plays a decisive role in raising the general level of the standard of living of the people.[1864]

Housing was afforded prominence in UNIP campaigns and policies after independence. It was decreed that: 'No person should really fail to have a decent two- or three-roomed Kimberley brick house.'[1865] This mode of reasoning was essentially a continuation of colonial rhetoric. Generally, officials viewed the transition from grass housing to wattle and daub, and later sundried or burnt brick houses, roofed with iron sheets instead of grass, not only as positive and desirable, but ultimately as inevitable.[1866] Government officers held that transitions in building style would be accompanied by a trend towards permanent residence, as opposed to the frequent shifting of locations, as well as expanded and improved methods of agricultural production and material prosperity.[1867] The colonial and post-colonial state viewed housing and building control as 'spatial strategies aimed at social control' and aimed at 'implanting a landscape of hegemony' through the built environment.[1868] Ultimately, 'Colonial regimes articulated power and a vision of modernity through architecture that materialized the regulating, authoritative nature of bureaucracy and the state.'[1869] In the case of Mwinilunga shifts in housing patterns were complex, at times contradictory or reversible, but above all they were not determined by imperatives of government ideology or economic necessity.[1870] Official visions were contested through daily practices. Struggles over housing expressed a mixture of indigenous and external socio-economic and political factors, as well as cultural and ideological values. Housing held

---

[1860] N. Gabrilopoulos, C. Mather and C.R. Apentiik, 'Lineage organisation of the Tallensi compound: The social logic of domestic space in Northern Ghana', *Africa* 72:2 (2002), 222.

[1861] V.W. Turner, 'The spatial separation of generations in Ndembu village structure', *Africa* 25:2 (1955), 121-37.

[1862] G.A. Myers, 'Sticks and stones: Colonialism and Zanzibari housing', *Africa* 67:2 (1997), 253.

[1863] See: Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution,* 274-322.

[1864] (NAZ) Department of Community Development, North-Western Province, 1980.

[1865] (UNIPA) Kimberley brick is a term used for sundried mud brick structures.

[1866] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping', 23-32; A. von Oppen, 'The village as territory: Enclosing locality in Northwest Zambia, 1950s to 1990s', *Journal of African history* 47:1 (2006), 57-61.

[1867] Von Oppen, 'The village as territory'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.* See: Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution,* 274-8.

[1868] Myers, 'Sticks and stones', 252.

[1869] Lewinson, 'Domestic realms, social bonds, and class', 466.

[1870] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Three.

complex local meaning.[1871] More often than not, government officials 'misunderstood (…) customs and the contradictory dynamics within them as practised', and therefore attempts towards control, planning and authority often proved 'ineffective in shaping space to control', or 'remaking spatiality'.[1872] Changes in housing styles throughout Mwinilunga District will be examined, by relating shifts in housing to social relationships and processes of meaning generation.

Grass, mud and the meaning of housing

Early colonial officials voiced recurrent complaints about the 'impermanence' of Lunda housing.[1873] Throughout the nineteenth century settlements in Mwinilunga had been small and had shifted their location frequently.[1874] Travelling through the area in the 1870s Cameron described how his party:

> passed many small hamlets consisting only of a few huts in the centre of a patch of cleared and cultivated ground (…) The huts were all small, and while some were circular with conical roofs and walls of stakes, with the interstices filled in with grass, others were oblong with sloping roofs and were lined with mats.[1875]

Houses might be constructed in a number of ways, but most common were either grass, or wattle and daub structures. These could be conical, round or square in shape, possessing sloping grass thatched roofs.[1876] To an extent architectural style depended on permanence of residence. When founding a settlement in a new location, residents would start with building grass *nkunka*.[1877] As temporary dwellings which would be destructed on departure, *nkunka* might be built near the fields during harvesting time, or in the bush during hunting expeditions. Equally, *nkunka* would be constructed for ritual purposes. They might house boys and girls during initiation ceremonies, patients during healing rituals, or function as seclusion huts for menstruating women. Only in exceptional circumstances would *nkunka* be inhabited for more than one or two years.[1878] In most cases they would be abandoned within a single season. After several months *nkunka* would be replaced by fortified wattle and daub housing, which could be inhabited for years if repaired occasionally.[1879]

Housing was not only connected to permanence, but equally to status and to hierarchies of power based on gender and age. Turner described that: 'older men are the first to move into permanent mud houses when a new village is being built, while the sisters' sons, who are working for their uncles, are still quartered in the grass houses.'[1880] Elder widows might be housed in *nkunka* permanently, because they lacked access to male labour to procure poles for wattle and daub constructions. House construction was part and parcel of negotiations over meaning, hierarchy and power. Especially access to and mobilisation of labour for house construction reflects societal power relations. House construction is highly labour intensive and therefore access to extra-household labour is sought for tasks such as woodcutting or roofing. Furthermore, house construction is gendered, depending on male labour. Access to male labour could be gained through marriage (women commanding the labour of their husbands), age (elders commanding the labour of juniors) and status hierarchies (chiefs commanding the labour of subjects).[1881] Housing is thus thoroughly social, expressing hierarchies of gender, age, wealth and social status.

[1871] Turner, 'The spatial separation'.
[1872] Myers, 'Sticks and stones', 252-3.
[1873] Compare to: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[1874] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping', 5-9; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 2-3.
[1875] Cameron, *Across Africa*, 404-5.
[1876] These views are based on numerous oral interviews and a reading of archival sources (NAZ).
[1877] See Chapter 1 for *nkunka* (conical grass structure).
[1878] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1879] According to informants wattle and daub houses would be inhabited for four to five years before shifting.
[1880] Turner, 'The spatial separation', 130, refers to M. McCulloch, *The Southern Lunda and related peoples (Northern Rhodesia, Belgian Congo, Angola)* (London, 1951), 40.
[1881] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Two; Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

The design of the village was further connected to ritual power.[1882] As has been described by Livingstone, religious meaning permeated the space of the village:

> They are idolators, near every village an Idol is seen, a block of wood with a rough human head carved on it, or a lion made of clay and two shells for eyes standing in a little shed. The people when unsuccessful in any enterprise, or sick, beat a drum before them all night, and they are otherwise very superstitious (…) In the deep dark forests near their villages we always met with idols and places of prayer (…) the worshipper – either male or female – comes alone and prays to the gods (Barimo) or spirits of departed relatives, and when an answer to the petition seems granted, meal or other food is sprinkled on the spot as a thankoffering.[1883]

The spirits of the ancestors, who are buried on the outskirts of the village, connect village residents to the land. These ancestral connections are a prerequisite for village wellbeing, fertility and prosperity, although ancestors might influence village affairs both benevolently and malevolently.[1884] Because death is interpreted as a bad omen, especially if it involves the headman or prominent elders, a village would shift its location after the occurrence of a number of deaths.[1885] Going beyond matters of architecture, housing is imbued with ritual, socio-economic, cultural and political meaning.

Colonial observers condemned the impermanence of Lunda housing, connecting this to issues of 'laziness', lack of hygiene or even 'primitivity'.[1886] Nevertheless, impermanence could have a logic of its own and was not universal. Both grass and wattle and daub houses were constructed from locally procured materials. Poles and thatching grass, from specific hardwood trees and reeds, could be difficult to access as they tended to be dispersed over the landscape. Grass and especially wattle and daub houses could be remarkably strong and durable, if properly constructed.[1887] These structures could provide shelter and comfort, offer protection against wild animals and could withstand the vagaries of the long rain season in Mwinilunga.[1888] Yet permanence did not always result. If house construction needed to be completed rapidly, inferior alternatives to established building practices would be resorted to. Due to constraints of time, labour or natural resources, houses would sometimes be put together in a haphazard way, making frequent modifications, repairs and rethatching necessary. White ants might attack the poles, whereas rain and humidity would affect roofing.[1889] All these factors encouraged the frequent relocation of dwellings and settlements.

Impermanence was informed by considerations other than architecture. The search for hunting, fishing or cultivating grounds, disputes within the village, war and enemy attack, or death and improvidence could all be reasons causing a household or village to relocate. Generally, villages would shift their location in intervals ranging from one to twenty years.[1890] This mobility was coupled with, and facilitated by, the small size of villages. In the 1950s Turner noted that population increase seemed 'to have led to an increase in the number of villages rather than in the size of individual villages.'[1891] Turner attributed the small size of villages to ecological factors (the carrying capacity of land for agricultural production and an occupational focus on hunting) as well as the fissile nature of virilocal marriage in a matrilineal descent system.[1892] This tendency towards small and mobile villages was

---

[1882] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

[1883] D. Chamberlain (ed.), *Some letters from Livingstone, 1840-72* (London, 1940), 219, 249-50.

[1884] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 173.

[1885] This view is based on numerous oral interviews for example Mr Zakewa Kahangu, 26 April 2010, Nyakaseya, a reading of archival sources (NAZ) and is reflected in Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 263-5.

[1886] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping', 9-12; Compare to: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution.*

[1887] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*

[1888] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[1889] This view is based on numerous oral interviews.

[1890] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 91; (NAZ) SEC2/955, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1947; (NAZ) NWP1/2/17, F.M.N. Heath, Mwinilunga District Travelling Report, 1948.

[1891] Turner, 'The spatial separation', 122.

[1892] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

temporarily offset by the end of the nineteenth century, due to slave raids and ensuing insecurity. Centralisation of population and authority resulted, as people sought security in numbers and founded large settlements headed by elders who exercised an exceptional level of authority.[1893] Such settlements would be surrounded by a stockade, which had earlier served to keep away wild animals, such as lions and hyenas.[1894] Due to the labour required to erect a stockade, these settlements would most probably remain in the same place for a longer period of time, signalling increased permanence of residence. 'Big Men' could act as gatekeepers, as a large and permanent village conveyed status and power. Through the authority of the village head, who commanded the respect of the village population, wealth in people was built and strengthened.[1895] A large and prosperous village was a sign of respect and status of village heads whose ultimate aim was to give their name to such a village.[1896] Nevertheless, at the beginning of the twentieth century these concentrated and more permanent villages had started to split up once more. This might not have been only due to the cessation of slave raiding, but could equally be attributed to changes following the inception of colonial rule.[1897] Housing had an indigenous logic and held complex meanings, yet building forms did become influenced by colonial rule, both in discourse and practice.

Promoting 'improved' housing: Official attempts at housing reform

Colonial observers denounced the impermanent housing styles in the area of Mwinilunga as rude or even 'primitive', propagating permanent brick houses instead.[1898] In a project of social engineering, the colonial state set out 'to reduce the chaotic, disorderly, constantly changing social reality beneath it', attempting 'to create a terrain and a population with precisely those standardized characteristics that will be easiest to monitor, count, assess, and manage.'[1899] Consequently, existing settlements were described in derogatory terms, as collections of 'wretched huts and dirty villages.'[1900] Even if both grass and wattle and daub structures were condemned, *nkunka* were particularly detested. Sedentarisation of settlement and cultivation were aspired. In this connection, *nkunka* appeared 'illegible and resistant to the narrow purposes of the state.'[1901] Colonial officials even convicted people in court for building and living in impermanent *nkunka*:

> I found the two accused living in "nkunkas", their wives were there – also their fowls and their possessions (…) I arrested them for living in the forest & building nkunka without permission – and took them to their village (…) I quite see that it is necessary for natives to protect their crops – but this is no excuse to desert their huts in the village & leave them for months in a filthy condition & allow grass to grow in them – which shows they must have been away for a long time.[1902]

Although discussions centred on the outward appearance of housing, the logic behind colonial spatial planning 'was at once aesthetic, scientific, and practical.'[1903] Rather than mere architecture, issues of control, order and authority were at stake. Housing 'improvement' was cast in a discourse of development and civilisation, encompassing such aims as hygiene and livelihood security.[1904] In promoting 'improved' and 'permanent' housing the underlying aim of the colonial state was to make

[1893] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping', 3; Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'.
[1894] This view is based on oral interviews, for example Headman Chinkonja, 13 August 2010, Kanongesha.
[1895] See: Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'; Miller, *Way of death.*
[1896] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 104-5.
[1897] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter One.
[1898] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping', 12.
[1899] J.C. Scott, *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed* (New Haven and London, 1998)*,* 81-2.
[1900] (NAZ) KSE6/1/2, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Lunda Sub-District Annual Report, 1913-14.
[1901] Scott, *Seeing like a state*, 224.
[1902] (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/7, Rex v. Shiwimbi, 17 January 1928.
[1903] Scott, *Seeing like a state*, 140.
[1904] Schneider, 'The Maasai's new clothes'; Scott, *Seeing like a state*, 188.

villages sedentary and legible so that they would be amenable to government control.[1905] Such attempts had a powerful aesthetic dimension, as 'the visual aesthetics of how a proper village should look combined elements of administrative regularity, tidiness, and legibility', linked to a particular representation of order.[1906] Sedentarisation and permanent housing, it was believed, would result in a disciplined and productive population, replacing the unruly mass of shifting cultivators so difficult to control. Permanent settlement would facilitate tax collection, spur agricultural production, waged labour, and would ultimately create governable citizens.[1907]

Officials did recognise that people could have specific reasons for shifting their settlements every so often, but nevertheless they continued to insist on permanence and administrative control:

> Some villages are well kept and have quite well built huts, whereas others are just collections of grass shelters which the builders would be at no great loss to leave (…) all are of very nomadic habits and although in many cases they have built good huts to live in and have made decent villages they are only too ready and anxious to shift their habitat. They have their own native reasons for shifting which to them are good enough but from an official point of view not adequate. Three years seems long for them to reside on one spot when having had a number of deaths in the village and having played out the surrounding land by their wretched method of kachai [finger millet] cultivation they crave to move and start lopping off timber in a new area and building again.[1908]

Even if officials connected improved housing to increased permanence of residence, the connection proved far from straightforward.[1909] A well-built house might be abandoned once residents moved to another site, in the same fashion as a less permanent house would be. Deep-rooted socio-cultural dispositions towards shifting settlements worked against the construction of brick houses.[1910] Nonetheless, the colonial administration persistently asserted the desirability of building more permanent houses, preferably in bricks, even if such attempts met with resistance:

> With a few, very few, exceptions there was a marked improvement in the appearance of the villages. They are beginning to look more prosperous. Having collected the scattered family groups I have been busy persuading them to build a better type hut (…) In some cases I have met rebuffs; take Nyachikanda for example: When asking this gentleman why he lives in such a miserable hut when the majority of his people had built themselves respectable houses, he said: 'If I live in my present hovel of grass and leaves; shall I someday die?' 'If I build a hut of wattle and daub; shall I someday die?' On receiving an answer to both these questions in the affirmative he naively said: 'Why then would I worry to build a good hut!'[1911]

Whilst the efficacy of government campaigns might have remained questionable initially, by the end of the 1940s a housing transition from mud to brick appeared to be in full swing:

> The general outline [of a village] is an open circular layout, which in some cases has been turned consciously into a square (...) Huts or houses fall into three categories: (1) Small wattle and daub huts, approximately 7' x 10', smaller than the average pigstie in the UK. These are not by any means temporary dwellings, found only in new villages, but some villages of many years standing are still entirely composed of them. (2) Medium sized huts, normally wattle and daub and often two-roomed approximately 11' x 17' in size – Most of the huts in established villages are of this type (...) a commendable effort is being made to build this type of hut in Kimberley brick in several villages (...) it appears that exhortation and incessant visits are having some effect. (3) Comparatively large Kimberley brick houses, of three rooms or more, of good construction (...) Besides the Chief, the only other Kimberley brick dwelling of four rooms belonged to a wealthy villager in an outlying area (...) It appears to be beyond the physical capacity of the normal householder to construct anything larger than the

[1905] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[1906] Scott, *Seeing like a state*, 237.
[1907] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; Scott, *Seeing like a state*; Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution.*
[1908] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Lunda District Quarterly Report, 30 September 1916.
[1909] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees;* Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1910] Turner, 'The spatial separation'.
[1911] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Lunda District Quarterly Report, 30 September 1915.

> medium sized two room hut. For larger construction extra labourers are required, and that means money, which the ordinary villager has not got.[1912]

The transition from grass or wattle and daub housing to brick housing and the implications of this trend should be further explored.

The construction of sundried brick houses required considerable investment of time, labour and capital, yet officials still remarked that: 'The standard of house building in this District is amongst the highest in the Territory.'[1913] Connected to aspirations towards self-realisation, by the 1950s a transition to brick housing could be observed throughout the district:

> The general tendency to replace pole and dagga houses with Kimberley brick structures which has been noted in the past two years, is becoming increasingly pronounced in all areas. It appears that to own a well-built Kimberley brick house gives one almost as much added "face" as owning a bicycle does.[1914]

The shift towards sundried brick houses was clearly reflected in the 1963 census. By then, 50.5% of all houses in the North-Western Province were constructed in brick, whereas 49.5% remained wattle and daub.[1915] Building styles were not solely connected to issues of permanent residence, but had to do with status, hierarchy and power within the village community. Although constructing a large brick house could enhance the status of the owner, it could equally be a considerable expense. Making bricks, whether sundried or burnt, involved a long process. Brick housing required store-bought materials (glass for windows, doorframes, various metal accessories, etc.), access to (extra-household) labour and capital.[1916] Moreover, brick houses were not necessarily more permanent than well-built wattle and daub houses. Sundried bricks could be attacked by white ants, whereas roofing still had to be repaired regularly, especially if it was made of grass. Nevertheless, government officials connected brick housing to notions of 'permanence' and 'civilisation':

> We all know that there is a growing demand for better houses, as our country becomes more civilised. The standard of housing in an area establishes in the minds of visitors the degree of civilisation in that area (...) often well-built houses stand without doors or windows because the owner has insufficient funds to pay for the licences for his timber.[1917]

Even if constructing a brick house could involve a considerable expense of time, labour and material resources, brick housing gained popularity throughout Mwinilunga District because of the connections between housing and notions of status, wealth and self-realisation.[1918] The meaning of brick housing, however, did not conform to colonial expectations of permanence, civilisation and development, but was part of indigenous socio-cultural dispositions, relationships of power and hierarchy.[1919]

Although brick housing might radiate status and power within the community, resources and wealth were required to construct a brick house. Both productive resources and social power had to be mobilised to realise housing consumption. Labour migration, for example, could serve to meet the expenses of constructing a brick house.[1920] Returning migrant labourers might spend their savings on iron sheet roofing, or could commission a work party to construct a house on return from town. This might make labour migrants 'Big Men' who would enjoy respect and status in the village: 'a brick-built house plastered with cement and roofed with asbestos or iron sheets reflects urban success.'[1921] Furthermore, advancing aims of self-realisation, earnings from cash crop agriculture could be invested in house construction. Because housing carried an element of prestige, pineapple farmers would invest

---

[1912] (BOD) Richard Cranmer Dening Papers, Mwinilunga District Tour Report No.6, 1947.
[1913] (NAZ) NWP1/2/105 Loc.4920, H.T. Bayldon, North-Western Province Annual Report, 1963.
[1914] (NAZ) NWP1/2/33, K. Duff-White, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 5 October 1950.
[1915] (NAZ) CO3/1/36, Final Report of the May/June 1963 Census of Africans.
[1916] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Three.
[1917] (NAZ) North-Western Province, African Provincial Council, May 1958.
[1918] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Three.
[1919] Myers, 'Sticks and stones'.
[1920] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Safukah Kazomba, 28 April 2010, Nyakaseya.
[1921] Andersson, 'Reinterpreting the rural-urban connection', 99.

their profits in the construction of large brick houses.[1922] Status and prestige were inherently social and therefore one pineapple farmer constructed a brick house with ten rooms. Signalling that he was able to take care of his family, the owner of this large, well-built brick house gained standing in his community.[1923] The word for house, *itala*, is derived from the verb *tala*, to look at or to attract the regard of others.[1924] Personal achievement gained public expression through housing. That is why Chief London Ikelenge built a two-storey sundried brick house in the 1950s. Chief Ikelenge used his resources to build a large house, which enabled him to display his prestige and power, but also to accommodate his extended family and receive numerous guests.[1925] Housing, beyond serving as an expression of personhood and self-realisation, could enhance wealth in people by anchoring social relationships. The construction of a large house could attract the settlement of extended kin and even strangers, thereby enhancing the labour, resources and power of the house owner.[1926] It is this social dynamic that informed the construction of brick houses in the area of Mwinilunga.

The meaning of housing was contested and could easily be misinterpreted, though. With a sense of puzzlement, colonial officials remarked that: 'Size rather than quality still remains the African's ideal, however, no doubt from motives of prestige; and a large tumble down house is preferred to a small sound one.'[1927] Brick housing conferred more prestige than wattle and daub constructions, but nevertheless a large wattle and daub house could still form the centrepiece of a prosperous village and boost the status of its owner.[1928] The meaning of housing could be connected to chiefly authority. In discussions with colonial officials chiefs suggested that respectable housing was a requisite if chiefs wanted to gain recognition from and exert influence over the population. Especially because of the rising material wealth of labour migrants and emergent agricultural producers, chiefs sought to assert equality with – or preferably superiority over – their subjects in matters of housing. If they failed to do so the legitimacy of their power might be questioned:

> It is quite impossible for a Chief to maintain his position and influence among the emergent and sophisticated Africans if he is confined to a hovel. With these people prestige is largely derived from visible material wealth and a large house has a very considerable influence in this direction. The general trend is for improved housing and a higher standard of living.[1929]

Housing, status and authority were social and relational. Wealth in people was connected to wealth in goods, as chiefs sought to assert their authority and gain respect from their following by exposing material wealth in the form of housing. Some chiefs lacked the material resources or capacity to do so, and would make claims on the government to erect houses for them:

> The government should build houses for Chiefs (...) The Chiefs themselves were not able to do so, as they did not have the means (...) Many Chiefs lived in poor houses with the result that their standard of living was low.[1930]

Housing was connected to authority, power and wealth in people. The colonial and post-colonial government insisted on the construction of large and permanent houses for other purposes, though.

Both the colonial and the post-colonial government propagated housing 'improvement', as it was universally presented, as an adjunct towards permanent settlement and increased (agricultural) productivity. Colonial policies which aimed to eradicate shifting cultivation (slash-and-burn *chitemene* agriculture) were closely correlated to issues of order, control and raising agricultural productivity.[1931]

[1922] Peša, 'Buying pineapples', 277-8.
[1923] Interview with Mr Ngomi Kamafumbu, 8 March 2010, Ikelenge.
[1924] *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary.*
[1925] Interview with Mrs Yiness Ikelenge, 10 April 2010, Ikelenge; (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.
[1926] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1927] (NAZ) NWP1/2/78 Loc.4913, F.R.G. Phillips, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 1955.
[1928] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1929] (NAZ) NWP1/3/2 Loc.4921, Provincial Commissioner Solwezi, 6 May 1960.
[1930] (NAZ) LGH5/4/12 Loc.3618, House of Chiefs, 12 July 1965.
[1931] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees;* Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution*; Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'.

Because 'shifting cultivation is an exceptionally complex and hence quite illegible form of agriculture', the state aimed 'to replace this illegible and potentially seditious space with permanent settlements and permanent (preferably monocropped) fields.'[1932] Failing to recognise the inherent logic of shifting fields and settlements in a fragile environment – the 'disorderly order' of a practice which could yield high returns – the colonial government advocated fixed settlements with permanent houses as 'superior' alternatives.[1933] In official discourse the connection between agricultural production, permanent settlement and housing was strongly established. In the 1940s officials asserted that: 'The progressive trend towards Kimberley brick houses was most noticeable. If shifting cultivation is remedied over the course of years, then more substantial houses will inevitably follow.'[1934] According to such reasoning, the trend towards permanent housing would inevitably entail higher agricultural productivity. In the 1950s it was noticed that: 'Mud and wattle houses are dying out rapidly with the general raising of the standard of living brought about, to a certain extent, by agricultural development.'[1935] Similar discourses have been replicated by the post-colonial state, especially in schemes such as Intensive Development Zones, where 'model villages' might function as centres for 'development'.[1936] After independence a strong connection between improved housing and 'modern life' was established. In official discourse housing became the hallmark of 'development' and was regarded as a fundamental right of citizens.[1937] Numerous loan schemes were set up by the post-colonial government, connecting housing to social welfare:

> The Ministry of Housing and Social Welfare was prepared to give out money to people in the rural areas to enable them to build better houses in model villages. The villages they had were not the villages needed in future. If people lived in these villages the Government would build schools, dispensaries, post offices, recreation centres.[1938]

Officials hoped that permanent houses in model villages would create a superior type of individual, earning money, producing for the market, educating his children and so on.[1939]

Housing was one of the first wishes brought forward by the population when asked to express themselves politically before and after independence. The construction of permanent houses was considered to be one of the most successful government schemes:

> The group housing scheme proved to be most significant in the activities of the department and met with an encouraging response from local communities in all provinces (...) in all cases, communities willingly contributed communal labour and available local resources.[1940]

By the 1970s the transition to brick housing was even described in terms of a 'revolution': 'The desire of the people to build permanent structures (…) has indeed become real in this Province (…) There is a complete rural village housing revolution.'[1941] Official discourse established the connection between housing, permanence and productivity more clearly than ever:

> We now know for certain that our communities are stable enough in the rural areas; they do not move their villages any time they feel to do so as was the case in the not too distant past, hence the need for permanent houses (…) Unless the rural areas are developed to a certain standard, we shall continue to have the present problem of rural population flocking to urban areas. One of the most important ways to stop this is to improve rural houses (…) It follows, therefore, that in such villages productivity in

[1932] Scott, *Seeing like a state*, 282.
[1933] Myers, 'Sticks and stones'.
[1934] (NAZ) SEC2/956, F.M.N. Heath, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 18 July 1948.
[1935] (NAZ) SEC2/962, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 20 August 1954.
[1936] K. Crehan and A. von Oppen (eds.), *Planners and history: Negotiating 'development' in rural Zambia* (Lusaka, 1994).
[1937] See: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity.*
[1938] (NAZ) LGH5/1/3 Loc.3604, Mwinilunga Rural Council, 29 December 1964.
[1939] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* 114-21; Crehan and Von Oppen, *Planners and history.*
[1940] (NAZ) Department of Community Development, 1965.
[1941] (NAZ) North-Western Province Department of Community Development, 1973.

> whatever venture by villagers, is higher than in certain disorganised villages with poor types of houses.[1942]

Housing practices regularly clashed with official discourses and intentions, as housing held multiple socio-economic, ritual and political meanings in Mwinilunga District.[1943] Residents would read equivocal meanings into housing which only rarely conformed to government policies. Much to the annoyance of the government, no clear-cut connection between housing and permanence or (agricultural) productivity could be established.[1944] Especially the increased appearance of farms in the 1940s and 1950s proved a nuisance to officials, who were puzzled by continuing 'impermanence':[1945]

> Even the building of Kimberley brick houses has failed to compete with Lunda instability, and one can see whole villages of abandoned Kimberley brick houses whose occupants have split up and moved on. The present strong tendency for individuals in this area to break away from villages and set up their own "farms" or individual settlements is an illustration of this. For a progressive individual living in a village has no assurance that he can stay there permanently.[1946]

Official policies failed to eradicate the impermanence of settlements, because they failed to comprehend the social logic and meaning of housing.[1947] Throughout the twentieth century individuals continued to shift their settlements contrary to government regulations.

Although the transition from grass and wattle and daub housing to brick housing did indeed accelerate from the 1950s onwards, the meaning attached to housing could not be ordained by government policy or economic imperative. Housing was and remained a fundamentally social act, establishing a connection between the individual and the village community.[1948] Housing was imbued with deeply rooted ritual, cultural and social meanings, conveying status, hierarchy and power. Through housing wealth in people was given physical expression. Even if individuals no longer live in large kin-based settlements, housing can still express interpersonal ties and therefore housing carries so much prestige. More important than its material expression, housing holds social meaning and this has remained imperative throughout the transition from grass and mud to brick housing.[1949] The construction of a well-built brick house went beyond reasons of ostentation. The underlying purpose and fundamental aim of house construction, both past and present, is for the owner of the house to become the focal point of a large and prosperous village. The 'prestige attached to living in a long-established village' could be considerable, exactly because of high rates of village fissure.[1950] Powerful individuals sought to give their names to such a village, so that their memory would endure even in afterlife. Therefore, 'when a village has become unquestionably established as a persistent social unit, the personal name of an outstanding headman tends to petrify into a title which is inherited by his successors.'[1951] Through housing a 'man is able to achieve a certain sense of immortality, to produce something which endures beyond his lifetime, to inscribe his name in a lasting, more permanent, way in the social life of his community.'[1952] The rationale behind and the desired end-result of investment in housing, was to attract kin and dependents, to build a large homestead. Housing remained connected to wealth in people.

Deviating from official intentions, the construction of brick houses did not automatically result in economic growth or in the emergence of nuclear families.[1953] Housing was invested with prior socio-

---

[1942] (NAZ) National Literacy Gazette, 1972.
[1943] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1944] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Three.
[1945] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 42-3.
[1946] (NAZ) LGH5/5/11 Loc.3621, C.M.N. White, Mwinilunga District Land Tenure report No.7, 1940.
[1947] Compare to: Myers, 'Sticks and stones'.
[1948] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1949] Turner, 'The spatial separation'.
[1950] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 104.
[1951] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 105.
[1952] C. Piot, 'Of persons and things: Some reflections on African spheres of exchange', *Man* 26:3 (1991), 417.
[1953] Compare to: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

economic, cultural and ideological meaning, rather than being a clean slate onto which government officials could write their modernising discourse. By contesting official intentions, house owners negotiated their own lived environment.[1954] Housing is an ultimate means of self-realisation, as the house owner becomes the centre of a group of kin and dependents. Constructing a large house is therefore an act of social adulthood, entailing rights as well as obligations, potentialities as well as risks.[1955] Material wealth could be consolidated in housing, and with this wealth house owners could attract a large following, building wealth in people. The labour power which house owners thereby attracted might serve to expand (agricultural) production and create more wealth in future, setting a dynamic of growth in motion. Nevertheless, although brick houses did increasingly spread throughout the district, the habit of building in brick did not simply remedy shifting cultivation or create 'modern' individuals as officials had intended.[1956] In sum, housing should be viewed from its inherently social and relational logic, as a single house stands in relation to the other houses in the village. From this relational logic, housing can be seen as an expression of meaning, prestige and a tool towards self-realisation, building wealth in people.

Goods, people and wealth: The rationale of consumption

What has been suggested throughout the previous examples is that in order to access consumer goods, no matter whether these were locally produced or mass-manufactured and store-bought, it was necessary to mobilise resources. These resources could vary and change over time. Land, political authority and forms of currency could be deployed to gain access to goods.[1957] Yet human labour remained the chief productive resource, constituting the fundamental continuity in patterns of consumption in the area of Mwinilunga.[1958] One accessed wealth through people, by means of their labour, knowledge and skills: 'Wealth in money and things is just one aspect of a wider reality that also includes wealth in people.'[1959] The desired end-result of consumption, which might be defined as 'the articulation of the individual's social identity, and also a matter of social agency,'[1960] would be manifested in and through people, social relationships and social status.[1961] The connection between human labour power, consumption and wealth is particularly apparent in the case of local ironworking, as iron tools could only be produced through the protracted labour and expertise of smelters and smiths, whereas valued iron tools could subsequently be used to generate material wealth as well as wealth in people.[1962] Even in later periods, when goods would be purchased in village stores through the mediation of cash, labour remained indispensable. In order to earn money an individual would resort to labour migration or cash crop production, both highly labour intensive enterprises.[1963] No one individual could muster sufficient wealth in isolation, and therefore ties to other people would be valued and fostered. Wealth continues to be defined as people. Because 'ultimate value is placed on relationships', 'the conversion of things into relationships is a first and unquestioned principle of social life.'[1964] Forms of currency could mediate the connections between wealth, people and goods. By

[1954] Myers, 'Sticks and stones'.
[1955] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Three.
[1956] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[1957] S.S. Berry, 'Social institutions and access to resources', *Africa* 59:1 (1989), 41-55.
[1958] This goes beyond the 'labour theory of value', encompassing social relationships and wealth in people. See: Parry and Bloch, *Money and the morality of exchange,* 4; Miller, *Way of death,* 40-1.
[1959] F. de Boeck, 'Borderland breccia: The mutant hero in the historical imagination of a Central African diamond frontier', *Journal of colonialism and colonial history* 1:2 (2000).
[1960] H.P. Hahn (ed.), *Consumption in Africa: Anthropological approaches* (Berlin, 2008), 10.
[1961] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; Miller, *Way of death*.
[1962] Kriger, *Pride of men*; Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization', 254.
[1963] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1964] Piot, 'Of persons and things', 417.

looking at the role of currencies in the area of Mwinilunga, the functions of exchange and the meaning of wealth might be elucidated.

To facilitate exchange, various forms of currency have circulated in the area of Mwinilunga throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Cloth, iron bars, beads and much more had simultaneously co-existed as a medium of exchange, standardised to various extents.[1965] In the opening decades of the twentieth century the colonial administration sought to supplant this multiplicity of currencies with a single general purpose currency, the British pound sterling. This monetary 'revolution' has been attributed profound and far-reaching consequences, both positive and negative.[1966] On the one hand money has been seen as destructive of kinship ties, promoting 'the growth of individualism and the destruction of solidary communities.'[1967] On the other hand, more positively, 'monetization is assumed to act as a catalyst to economic growth and structural change. By permitting (or compelling) people to participate in supra-local circuits of exchange, monetization promotes specialization and exchange and, hence, economic growth.'[1968] Money had both disruptive and constructive potentials in the area of Mwinilunga, playing a role in the development of local notions of accumulation, expenditure and wealth.[1969] Money, however, was not an autonomous or depersonalised force, but proved significant exactly because it was embedded in social relationships.[1970] The symbolism and meaning of money 'relates to culturally constructed notions of production, consumption, circulation and exchange.'[1971] In the 1950s Turner described the tendency towards monetisation with a sense of astonishment, noting:

> the extent to which money economy was replacing the traditional economy of barter and exchange. Marriage payments, for instance, formerly made in cloths, guns or small livestock, are now made in cash. Hoe- and axe-blades, once exchanged by blacksmiths for meat and vegetable produce, are now sold by them for money. Kin nowadays give each other presents of money as well as of fowls and cassava meal. Doctors and herbalists are paid in cash instead of in goods. Money economy, in fact, is penetrating into all the pores of social life.[1972]

This account reveals the intertwined nature of money and social relationships, connected to notions of wealth in people and self-realisation.[1973] Money could be used in social payments, for bridewealth or funeral expenses, to make gifts and could even serve as a payment for witchdoctors.[1974] Tracing the process of monetisation can reveal the sources and meanings of wealth, as well as the relationships circulated through them, exposing the connection between monetary wealth and wealth in people.

At the start of the twentieth century European observers, equipped with different values and cultural attitudes, exoticised Lunda use of money. Colonial officials assumed that Africans, supposedly accustomed only to barter and 'simple' exchange, would be unable to deal with British currency:[1975]

> To give an example with what a backward tribe we have to deal: When I was on tour recently along the Portuguese Border a headman brought to me a small basket of yams. I gave him a shilling. He looked at it suspiciously for some time, then asked: "What is this – a nose ornament?"!! It was explained that

[1965] See: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade;* Miller, *Way of death*; Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'.
[1966] P. Bohannan, 'The impact of money on an African subsistence economy', *The journal of economic history* 19:4 (1959), 491-503; J.L.A. Webb Jr., 'Toward the comparative study of money: A reconsideration of West African currencies and neo-classical monetary concepts', *The international journal of African historical studies* 15:3 (1982), 455-66; Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution,* 166-217.
[1967] Parry and Bloch, *Money and the morality of exchange,* 4, refer to Simmel and Marx.
[1968] Berry, 'Stable prices, unstable values', 300.
[1969] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.
[1970] Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution,* 174-5.
[1971] Parry and Bloch, *Money and the morality of exchange,* 1.
[1972] Turner, 'Money economy', 19.
[1973] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.
[1974] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[1975] Compare to: Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution.*

> money was much sought after by his more enlightened brothers; he refused to believe it and asked for salt in exchange for his yams.[1976]

Nevertheless, forms of exchange in the area of Mwinilunga had been complex and market-oriented long before the advent of colonial rule.[1977] Numerous currencies, which could be standardised but were not fixed, existed side by side. In the 1850s Livingstone had noted that: 'The native traders generally carry salt and a few pieces of cloth, a few beads, and cartouches with iron balls.'[1978] Various items could function as a medium of exchange. Beads could be used to obtain salt, salt and beads could be used to settle affairs, whereas slaves could be redeemed with guns, cloth or beads.[1979] In case a woman died, her husband might give her relatives 'a pair of shorts, 8 yards of cloth and a cup, as compensation for the death of this woman.'[1980] Colonial officials remarked that: 'Beads are very popular amongst these people, and the smallest spoonful of beads obtains wonderful value in meal.'[1981] Items such as beads, shells, salt and cloth, as well as guns and iron bars could fulfil the monetary functions of standard of measurement, store of value, medium of exchange and means of payment.[1982] Arguably, it was exactly the co-existence of various forms of currency which enabled such high levels of economic enterprise during the pre-colonial period of long-distance trade.[1983] The fluidity and negotiability of multiple forms of currency enabled widespread exchange among all layers of society, promoting entrepreneurship and trade. The availability of multiple currencies could spread the risks of expressing wealth in terms of a single currency. Being sensitive to the vagaries of value fluctuations, single currencies proved prone to attempts at monopoly control by political elites or the state.[1984] In this context, multiple currencies as well as the diversification of income earning opportunities and means of access to wealth appeared particularly sound.

Assuming that monetisation would facilitate market interaction and promote economic growth, under colonial rule attempts were made to impose a single standardised currency to replace the previous multiplicity.[1985] In spite of benevolent rhetoric, British currency did not catch on immediately. In 1911 officials complained that: 'Cash is not yet in general use either for purchasing or payment of labour and in many instances is refused.'[1986] Staunchly convinced of the inherent superiority of British currency, colonial officials expressed no doubt that cash would be accepted sooner or later: 'When they [Lunda] have reaped the benefit of the stores and traded a little the idea of cash will not appear to them so dreadful.'[1987] Far from being an all-purpose currency from the outset, British currency remained highly restricted, being used only for the payment of taxes or the purchase of consumer goods.[1988] By 1960 it could still be remarked that: 'The economic necessity of obtaining the basics of existence does not arise and the only incentive for a local African to work is to pay his tax or to purchase a particular article which he requires.'[1989] Contrastingly, a survey conducted in the 1940s concluded that: 'The average villager appears to spend from 15/- to £3-0-0d per annum on consumer goods.'[1990] Over time monetary spending increased and cash gained a variety of uses. Discursively,

---

[1976] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Lunda District Quarterly Report, 30 September 1914.
[1977] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[1978] Schapera, *Livingstone's African journal,* 121.
[1979] (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Msangi v. Chingbwambu, 7 July 1912.
[1980] (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/7, Rex v. Nyaluhana, 8 June 1928.
[1981] (NAZ) KSE6/6/1, Captain Stennett, Balunda District Tour Report, 20 August 1909.
[1982] Webb Jr., 'Toward the comparative study of money', 457; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[1983] Miller, *Way of death*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[1984] Berry, 'Stable prices, unstable values', 302, 309.
[1985] Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution*; Parry and Bloch, *Money and the morality of exchange.*
[1986] (NAZ) KSE6/1/1, G.A. MacGregor, Lunda District Annual Report, 31 March 1911.
[1987] (NAZ) KSE6/6/1, J.M. Pound, Balunda District Tour Report, 30 September 1910.
[1988] Compare to: Guyer, *Money matters.*
[1989] (NAZ) NWP1/2/90 Loc.4916, Labour in Mwinilunga, Reports and Returns, 1961.
[1990] (NAZ) SEC2/955, F.M.N. Heath, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 16 November 1947.

officials linked monetisation to 'development'.[1991] Trading activities, especially the marketing of agricultural produce, would 'provide the African with ready cash in his pocket for the purchase of consumer goods (…) bringing about a general raising of the social standards of the people.'[1992] Yet the connection between monetisation and economic development proved far from straightforward. Rather than productively investing their earnings, individuals would engage in conspicuous consumption, spending money immediately and – according to colonial officials – irrationally.[1993] By the 1940s officials complained that: 'natives are still unable to forego the lure of ready cash in spite of the threat of hunger or famine.'[1994] Money, appearing to hold an inherent attraction, was even said to be 'a necessity to the welfare of man nowadays.'[1995] Money became so widespread and attractive because it could provide access to store-bought goods, such as soap, paraffin, matches, candles, cooking oil, salt, sugar, clothing and blankets. The desirability of both money and store-bought goods can only be understood by looking at the social logics of consumption.[1996] Wealth cannot be equated to money, as notions of wealth are not universal but are rather informed by a specific socio-cultural and political context.[1997] Notions of wealth in Mwinilunga can only be understood by linking consumption to social relationships, hierarchies of status and aspirations towards self-realisation.[1998]

Connections between money, consumer goods and social relationships have been asserted in theory and practice.[1999] Within a capitalist economy, money enabled access to consumer goods. Productive activities such as cash crop agriculture or labour migration might generate material wealth, making cloth and brick houses quotidian items of consumption rather than luxury goods.[2000] Economic theory has connected monetisation and consumption to processes of individualisation and the destruction of social solidarity.[2001] Turner argued similarly in the 1950s:

> Wherever our kind of Western individualism crops up in Central Africa (…) men plunge into the struggle to earn and save cash for the new goods and prestige symbols that money can buy. To save money they must break the corporate kinship nexus; for in the old order of society, that which a man acquires, he must share out among his kin and neighbours. He cannot both save and distribute money. Thus, the crucial value attached to corporateness is rejected, and with it go many other values and obligations; frankness between group members, comradeship in adversity, mutual generosity and reciprocity (…) As one Ndembu put it to me, 'For Europeans, things are more important than people, for us, people are more important than things.' But Africans are rapidly becoming more 'Europeanized' in this sense.[2002]

Yet the trend towards individualisation did not appear clear-cut. Connections between consumer goods, wealth and people proved complex and enduring.

In most cases material wealth continued 'to be used to gain control over people, as well as vice versa, and exchange remains closely tied to the definition of social identities.'[2003] Money could be used to realise and strengthen social relationships.[2004] Money could be converted into consumer goods and

---

[1991] See: Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution,* 171-2.

[1992] (NAZ) NWP1/2/65 Loc.4910, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 19 November 1954.

[1993] See: M. Prowse, 'Becoming a bwana and burley tobacco in the Central Region of Malawi', *Journal of modern African studies* 47:4 (2009), 575-602, for the rationale behind conspicuous consumption.

[1994] (NAZ) SEC2/957, Mr. Sanford, Comment, 1940.

[1995] (NAZ) North-Western Province African Provincial Council, June 1954.

[1996] Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life,* 'Introduction'.

[1997] J. Ferguson, 'The cultural topography of wealth: Commodity paths and the structure of property in rural Lesotho', *American anthropologist* 94:1 (1992), 55-73.

[1998] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.

[1999] Piot, 'Of persons and things'; J. Friedman, 'Consuming desires: Strategies of selfhood and appropriation', *Cultural anthropology* 6:2 (1991), 154-63.

[2000] Burke, *Lifebuoy men.*

[2001] Parry and Bloch, *Money and the morality of exchange.*

[2002] V.W. Turner, *The drums of affliction: A study of religious processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Oxford, 1968), 22-3.

[2003] Berry, 'Stable prices, unstable values', 305.

[2004] Barber, 'Money, self-realization and the person'.

personal allegiance: 'Mulepa was more pleased with 3 cigarettes than with the 10/- apparently! I don't blame him, money to him – except with great pawns – only means payment of hut tax or calico for his wives.'[2005] Through money wealth in people could be enacted, as the purchase and distribution of cloth could attract human allegiance and could serve to build a large and prosperous household, in turn enhancing labour power and productive resources.[2006] Inherently social, money could be distinctly enabling: 'money is what *constitutes* social relationships and indeed social being (…) [money] is conceived of as constitutive of individual self-realization (…) money is inseparable from the social regard and the social bonds that support the successful individual.'[2007] Rather than being flaunted, money could be used in productive ways. Money could serve to build social personhood and prestige, attract a large following and thereby enhance productive and reproductive capacities.[2008] Instead of squandering earnings, people could deploy money in socially meaningful and productive ways: 'One Ishimo, a trader and an active man, has in fact opted to use his money and energy within the framework of his home village, and is running for the headmanship.'[2009] In a social and relational setting, wealthy individuals could use money to gain political power and thereby further their assets. Even after independence and in the sphere of formal politics, money continued to be used to attract human allegiance. Within the logic of neo-patrimonialism government funds would be handed out to win support and votes for the ruling party.[2010] Whereas loans would exclusively be given out to UNIP members, they would be denied to ANC supporters.[2011] The connection between money and social relationships, between wealth and self-realisation thus appeared compelling and even natural.

Self-realisation had been a long-established goal in the area of Mwinilunga, involving the development of personhood, the promotion of social status as well as interactions between wealth and people.[2012] Individuals could obtain social recognition and prestige through a multitude of channels, for example through hunting, ironworking, labour migration or by becoming a headman of a large prosperous village. Social adulthood, which could be achieved to varying degrees, was a process.[2013] Through a number of steps, involving continuous hard work and participation in the life of the broader community, well-being and prestige could increase. Wealth was connected to notions of fertility, procreation and social relationships:

> In Luunda land new sources and forms of material wealth, introduced from the outside in the form of new commodities as well as money, have always been incorporated into a wider notion of fecundity in terms of physical health and social and physical reproduction (in relation to agriculture, hunting and reproductive sexuality).[2014]

Wealth was social, rather than purely material. A wealthy man did not only possess much cloth, but above all had many children. *Chikoli*, a ritual to promote prosperity, good health and strength, centred on the *katochi* tree, which symbolised 'many children' due to its numerous roots.[2015] Contrastingly, barrenness was perhaps the most severe form of social destitution.[2016] Wealth and social relationships

---

[2005] (BOD) Mss Afr S 776, Theodore Williams Diary, 23 January 1913

[2006] Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'.

[2007] Barber, 'Money, self-realization and the person', 207.

[2008] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.

[2009] (NAZ) SEC2/966, W.D. Grant, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 21 April 1959.

[2010] See: M. Leenstra, *Beyond the façade: Instrumentalisation of the Zambian health sector* (Leiden, 2012); Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life,* 8-9.

[2011] (NAZ) LGH5/2/7 Loc.3612, J. Chindefu to H. Kikombe, 23 February 1966; See also Chapter 3A.

[2012] See: De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia'.

[2013] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; See: Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

[2014] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 784.

[2015] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Maladi, 16 May 2010, Nyakaseya; *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary.*

[2016] See: Turner, *Drums of affliction,* for fertility rituals aimed to prevent barrenness, such as *nkula* and *wubwangu*. Turner, 'The spatial separation', 136, describes how a man's: 'reputation as a sorcerer appears to

were connected in terms of life-giving reciprocity. In order to become a wealthy 'Big Man' a person had to share with his kin, neighbours and friends. Being selfish or self-centred (denoted by the verbs *dikokweja* and *dikokela*, or the noun *chifwa*) involved averting others, evoking a state of isolation which might even cause death (*kokweja*, attract others by kindness; *kokela*, draw towards, attract; *fwa*, die, be broken, be unconscious). Contrastingly, a person with *kashinshi* (thoroughness, reliability, responsibility, trustworthiness) and *kavumbi* (good manners, courtesy, self-respect) would be highly valued, exactly because these personal attributes were inherently social, relational and reciprocal.[2017] The selfish accumulation of wealth was associated with blockage and sorcery, because goods had to flow through social relationships. One wealthy pineapple farmer, for example, was attacked by an *ilomba* (mythical snake, familiar spirit connected to witchcraft), because he failed to share his profit among kin. He faced hardship, misfortune and bad luck, because he had built a large house for his nuclear family in isolation from others.[2018] Individuals engaging in selfish accumulation thus risk being ostracised, because wealth is understood as social, marked by solidarity and reciprocity.

Neither goods nor money created wealth in and of themselves. Rather, goods and money could be a means to become a person. One could generate wealth and realise one's full potential only by becoming the centrepiece of a community of friends, kin or of a village.[2019] A fundamentally social process, this could provide prospects of prosperity and good luck, but equally entailed responsibilities:

> The more one becomes the focus of the social life of the kin group, the more one is given respect, but the more, also, one becomes responsible for the redistribution and sharing of the goods that circulate in the kin group.[2020]

To be respected (*kalemesha*, respectfulness; *lemesha*, to glorify, esteem, honour) involved a heavy duty and hard work (*lema*, to be heavy, important, valuable). Yet hard work paid, because it enabled the expansion of productive and reproductive capacities, through access to the labour power of dependents.[2021] Although not necessarily within a capitalist logic, this ushered an expansive dynamic of goods and people. Goods, which increasingly became available and affordable through emergent village stores, could serve to gain human allegiance, which would in turn expand productive capacities and could thereby further enhance access to goods.[2022] The attraction of goods can be explained by reference to their social capacity to convey distinction, status, hierarchy and ultimately power. This also explains the motivation to acquire goods by engaging in productive activities, or consumptive production.[2023] The relational implications of goods proved paramount. Power relations, hierarchies and the meaning of goods did change over time, though. Throughout the pre-colonial period the consumption of luxury goods was still largely confined to the top of the political hierarchy, as the limited supply of imported goods was controlled by headmen and traders. Similarly, the production of iron tools was limited by access to natural resources and the labour power of blacksmiths, making goods scarce and precious and limiting their consumptive circulation. Under colonial rule and after independence, consumer goods increasingly started to defy pre-existing boundaries, as industrial manufacturing and trade enabled access to a greatly enlarged flow of goods. This access broadened the potential avenues towards self-realisation, beyond the control of headmen, hunters or ironworkers. Power could be accessed through a multiplicity of channels and could be derived from a

---

have been assisted by the fact that although he married eight times (and was divorced five times and widowed once) he had no children.'

[2017] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Justin Kambidima, September 2010, Ntambu; *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.

[2018] Interview with Mr Aaron Chikewa, 27 April 2010, Nyakaseya; His current short height is attributed to witchcraft.

[2019] Turner, *Schism and continuity;* Pritchett, *Friends for life.*

[2020] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 794.

[2021] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.

[2022] Miller, *Way of death;* Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'.

[2023] Piot, 'Of persons and things', 411, Quoting C.A. Gregory, *Gifts and commodities* (New York, 1982).

multiplicity of sources, but wealth and power continued to be thoroughly vested in people and social relationships.[2024]

In this setting, consumption revolved around the human factor. Consumption did not lead to a dependence on the market.[2025] Although consumer goods were indeed predominantly accessed through the market, their value was expressed in personal and relational, rather than strictly monetary terms. Goods proved meaningful because they could advance goals of self-realisation, further personhood and enable the composition of singular personalities.[2026] Far from promoting an individualising tendency, money and wealth were thoroughly related to people:

> Creating allegiances may no longer have been the primary purpose of holding material wealth, but remained a necessary condition for acquiring and controlling it. Accordingly, wealth continued to be invested in building allegiances and maintaining the social relationships and institutions that sustain them.[2027]

Although there has been a transition from locally produced to mass-manufactured store-bought goods over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the area of Mwinilunga, this transition has not necessarily caused a radical transformation of society.[2028] The underlying motive for the acquisition of goods was and continued to be the social and relational potential of objects. Even if it has been realised in historically diverse ways, the goal of building wealth in people through consumption has endured in Mwinilunga District.

Conclusion

Although a transition from locally produced to store-bought goods has occurred throughout Mwinilunga District, this transition did not signal a major rupture in notions of wealth or social relationships. The outward appearance of goods did change, but this did not signify a 'consumer revolution', as objects continued to be used to forge inter-personal relationships, for purposes of prestige and to express hierarchy. Through a broadened access to goods during the twentieth century avenues towards self-realisation were opened up and diversified, but the ultimate goal remained to become the head of a large and prosperous household. Goods did not primarily hold meaning in themselves, but were valued because of their potential to forge ties with other people. Goods could serve to build social personhood, express status and hierarchy, attract a large following and thereby enhance productive and reproductive capacities. The continuity in patterns of consumption in Mwinilunga District lies in this connection between goods, wealth and people, between money, consumption and social relationships.

Within modernising narratives, consumption, money and the market economy have been afforded profound transformative potential. Through access to consumer goods, individuals might be turned into profit oriented 'modern' consumers.[2029] In the area of Mwinilunga the outward appearance of consumer goods indeed underwent major change. Nonetheless, goods, whether imported or locally produced, were appropriated and invested with meaning within the local setting. Although consumption has been linked to processes of globalisation and Westernisation, homogenisation did not ensue.[2030] The production of meaning continued to be a specific local process. Consumer goods possess a certain plasticity, being 'reimagined and refashioned in their circulation.'[2031] In the area of Mwinilunga goods hold social meaning and can be used as a means of self-realisation within the

[2024] See: Gordon, 'Wearing cloth'; Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.
[2025] Parry and Bloch, *Money and the morality of exchange,* 1-7.
[2026] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'.
[2027] Berry, 'Stable prices, unstable values', 307.
[2028] See contributions to: Ross, Hinfelaar and Peša, *The objects of life.*
[2029] See: Parry and Bloch, *Money and the morality of exchange*; Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution.*
[2030] Burke, 'Unexpected subversions', 481.
[2031] Prestholdt, 'Africa and the global lives of things', 89.

framework of wealth in people. Goods have been appropriated as a means to gain access to people, and although the external manifestation of consumer goods has changed, the underlying motives for consumption have remained far more constant. Premised on the value of social relationships, consumers in Mwinilunga have developed unique patterns of consumption. In the next chapter, the dynamics of social relationships will be further explored.

4.1: A grass *nkunka* used during female initiation
Source: (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks

4.2: Thomas Kapita, a trader, in front of his Kimberley brick house
Source: (NAZ) SEC2/964, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, Accompanying Photographs

5: Villages
Competition, co-operation and relationships

> *Mukala wasema yawantu, mukala diyi amaama yawantu* – The village gives birth to the people, therefore the village is the mother of the people[2032]
>
> *Tunga kwisanga, wumonanga ihungu; tunga kwitu, wutiyanga nyiswalu* – If you build in the bush, you see trouble; if you build in the jungle to hide from trouble, you hear rustling (Although living in a village can cause problems, it is better than living alone. You cannot find peace anywhere, certainly not by running away from trouble)[2033]

In the 1950s Turner witnessed conflict and processes of village fission, 'the spectacle of corporate groups of kin disintegrating and the emergence of smaller residential units based on the elementary family.'[2034] He assumed that colonial rule, coupled with factors such as labour migration, cash crop production, education and Christianity would cause erosive change within society throughout Mwinilunga District.[2035] These processes of change would lead to a transition from solidarity and communalism to individualism, competitiveness and a nucleation of the family.[2036] Under the influence of capitalism large stable villages would disintegrate into smaller units ('farms'), where acquisitive nuclear families would prevail over extended kin-based associations.[2037] When viewed in a long-term historical perspective, can such views be endorsed? Over the course of the twentieth century village organisation and social relationships changed profoundly. Influenced by processes of social change categories of kinship, age and gender were questioned, authority was redefined and tradition was negotiated.[2038] Change, however, did not simply lead to a demise of previous practices. Far from disintegrating, people continue to live in villages and attach importance to relationships of kinship and communality rather than engaging in individualised profit-maximisation.[2039] Furthermore, long-standing beliefs concerning the authority of chieftainship, the efficacy of rituals and discourses of witchcraft have remained significant even as they have incorporated new elements and meanings.[2040] Continuity and change will be at the heart of this chapter, by examining issues of village residence, interpersonal association, competition and co-operation. How did the tension between individualism and communalism play out, how did social change influence relationships between people, especially relating to kinship, gender and authority?

[2032] Interview with Mr Kenneth Kalota, July & August 2010, Kanongesha.

[2033] (BOD) R.C. Dening Papers, Uncatalogued, Lunda Proverbs.

[2034] V.W. Turner, *Schism and continuity in an African society: A study of Ndembu village life* (Manchester etc., 1957), 43.

[2035] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; V.W. Turner, *The drums of affliction: A study of religious processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Oxford and London, 1968). Turner's work tied into RLI concerns with social change. More generally, see: R.H. Bates, 'Capital, kinship, and conflict: The structuring influence of capital in kinship societies', *Canadian journal of African studies* 24:2 (1990), 151-64.

[2036] For critiques, see: N. Price and N. Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family and their relevance to demography's nucleation thesis', *Africa* 69:4 (1999), 510-34; F. de Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars: Identity, expenditure and sharing in Southwestern Zaire (1984-1997)', *Development and change* 29:4 (1998), 777-810; S.S. Berry, *No condition is permanent: The social dynamics of agrarian change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison, 1993).

[2037] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; This view is reflected in colonial reports, (NAZ).

[2038] J.A. Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, change, and social transformation in South Central Africa* (Madison, 2001).

[2039] See: A. von Oppen, 'Bounding villages: The enclosure of locality in Central Africa, 1890s to 1990s' (Habilitationsgeschrift, Humboldt University Berlin, 2003).

[2040] E. Turner, 'Zambia's kankanga dances: The changing life of ritual', *Performing arts journal* 10:3 (1987), 57-71.

Despite the fact that there has been profound change in Mwinilunga District over the course of the twentieth century, it is the question whether this has led to deep changes in the social order. Rather than witnessing village breakup and crisis, kinship structures and their attended ideologies have been flexible enough to accommodate changes. To what extent does the assumption that economic and political change leads to social change hold good?[2041] Relationships between men and women, youths and elders, chiefs, headmen and commoners will be examined to see whether there was indeed a trend from communality, reciprocity and reliance on extended kin towards individualism, self-interest and family nucleation.[2042] This will be done by looking at cases of competition and co-operation within the village, such as work parties, practices of communal eating, witchcraft accusations and the performance of rituals. Village settlement patterns will be viewed from a historical perspective, to see whether the emergence of the 'farm' was indeed an expression of village breakup and societal fission or whether Turner perhaps overlooked the long-term continuities behind such settlement patterns.[2043] Did social change sever communal ties, or did change perhaps heighten the need to invest in personal relationships as a means of insurance, to gain influence and wealth?[2044] Did modes of thought, patterns of conduct and interpersonal association experience rupture and ultimately perish, or did they creatively adjust, retaining significance even under changed circumstances?

Villages and farms: Settlement patterns, social organisation and authority

According to a romantic, yet surprisingly thorough supposition, pre-colonial African societies were once harmonious units, part of a homogeneous culture.[2045] Turner described the 'traditional village' in such stereotypical terms, suggesting a village setting marked by egalitarianism, solidarity and strong kinship bonds: 'The traditional village was a circle of pole-and-mud huts typically containing a core of matrilineally related kin under the leadership of a member of the senior genealogical generation chosen by the villagers.'[2046] The most striking change Turner observed during his fieldwork in the 1950s was the breakup of these large and stable villages into so-called 'farms':

> In the last few years profound changes have occurred in the residential structure in this area: the most noteworthy has been the breakdown of traditional villages into small units headed by younger men who participate in the encroaching cash economy (…) The *ifwami* or 'farm' consists of one or more Kimberley-brick houses bordered by a few mud huts and it is occupied by the farm head, his elementary family and a small fringe of kin and unrelated persons.[2047]

Turner linked the process of village breakup to the dissipation of ties between extended matrilineal kin and to challenges to village authority. The emergence of nuclear families and a trend towards individualisation would result from the penetration of the cash economy, wage labour and agricultural market production.[2048] Was the appearance of farms really so new, and did it indeed mark a shift from communalism to individualism?

First of all, the stability and large size of pre-colonial Lunda villages has to be questioned.[2049] Even if there were large villages surrounding the chiefly palace or along rivers and on fertile plains,

---

[2041] G. Wilson and M.H. Wilson, *The analysis of social change: Based on observations in Central Africa* (Cambridge etc., 1945).

[2042] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.

[2043] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Three.

[2044] Berry, *No condition is permanent.*

[2045] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 800; K. Crehan, ''Tribes' and the people who read books: Managing history in colonial Zambia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 23:2 (1998), 203-18.

[2046] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 10, 189.

[2047] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 10.

[2048] V.W. Turner and E.L.B. Turner, 'Money economy among the Mwinilunga Ndembu: A study of some individual cash budgets', *Rhodes-Livingstone journal* 18 (1955), 19-37; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 43.

[2049] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 40-2; Turner does acknowledge that Lunda villages might never have been very large, but nevertheless he argues that the appearance of 'farms' is a new phenomenon. See: D.M. Gordon,

most villages in the area of Mwinilunga remained small, dispersed and would shift regularly.[2050] Around 1870, Cameron described how: 'The winding road passed many small hamlets consisting only of a few huts in the centre of a patch of cleared and cultivated ground.'[2051] Large villages were a symbol of power, signifying that the village head was the leader of a large and prosperous household, a 'Big Man'.[2052] Nevertheless, this ideal was only rarely achieved. The emergence and persistence of a large village remained precarious, depending 'on such factors as the ability of the headman to keep his following together, the maintenance of reasonably good relations between the men of the matrilineal core and their brothers-in-law, and the biological accidents of fertility and freedom from disease.'[2053] Numerous individuals would seek to become village heads, aspiring the status and authority which came with this title. Ill-defined and malleable rules of succession would result in competition and the proliferation of small settlements, as Livingstone observed: 'people are scattered over the country, each in his own little village. This arrangement pleases the Africans vastly, and any one who expects to have a village gives himself airs in consequence, like the heir presumptive of an estate.'[2054] Low population density and the precarious environmental setting further propelled the small size and mobile nature of villages, preventing strong centralised forms of authority.[2055]

Early colonial reports corroborate the small size and lack of stability of villages. In the opening decades of the twentieth century villages 'from one to four huts' were noted, as 'every man wants to be his own headman.'[2056] One official recorded that: 'Several natives were discovered to be living singly in the bush away from their villages.'[2057] Another official remarked that headmen would complain because 'their followings are leaving them, and making small family villages in the bush', and furthermore that 'the tendency of the natives to form small family communities and build some distance away from their chief or headman is more marked in this sub-district than in any I know.'[2058] The propensity to establish small settlements was linked to competition over authority and power: 'the ambition of the Alunda is to collect a dozen natives around him and then request that he may be recognised as a headman (…) The tendency of villages is to split up into family groups.'[2059] In the light of these examples, the trend towards village breakup, which Turner described in the 1950s, appears far from new. Rather, the establishment of small settlements might have been inherent and cyclical.[2060]

Although the occurrence of farms appeared preponderant in the 1950s, small settlements had long historical precedents in the area of Mwinilunga.[2061] Farms may have resembled pre-colonial settlement patterns, as Turner himself suggested.[2062] The true anomaly might have been the large

'The abolition of the slave trade and the transformation of the South Central African interior', *William and Mary quarterly* 66:4 (2009), 915-38.

[2050] See: A. von Oppen, *Terms of trade and terms of trust: The history and contexts of pre-colonial market production around the Upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster etc., 1994).

[2051] V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (London etc., 1885), 404.

[2052] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Three; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; K. Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl: Living matriliny in North-Western Zambia in the 1980s', *Critique of anthropology* 17:211 (1997), 225.

[2053] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 76.

[2054] I. Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's African journal: 1853-1856* (London, 1963), 248.

[2055] R.E. Schecter, 'History and historiography on a frontier of Lunda expansion: The origins and early development of the Kanongesha' (PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976).

[2056] (NAZ) KSE 6/2/1, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Quarterly Report, 31 December 1914.

[2057] (NAZ) SEC2/952, C.H. Hazell, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 23 August 1932.

[2058] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Quarterly Report, 31 March 1914.

[2059] (NAZ) KSE6/6/2, G. Hughes-Chamberlain, Mwinilunga Sub-District Tour Report, 12 November 1926.

[2060] G. Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping in Zambia' (University of Hull, 1967).

[2061] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'.

[2062] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 41: 'the present small size of villages represents partly a return to an ancient type.'

village, established under colonial legislative pressure.[2063] Notwithstanding administrative attempts to establish large villages, such as the ten taxpayer rule, small settlements continued to predominate:

> Before the arrival of the Europeans in this corner of the Territory the Lunda were accustomed to live in small family settlements of often only three or four men with their wives and families. The Government however has always encouraged larger villages but they have never been popular here: big villages would lead to factions and quarrelling.[2064]

In this connection, village breakup into farms might have been cyclical rather than progressive. Large and long-established villages held much prestige amongst their inhabitants, creating 'a certain amount of moral pressure not to secede from it and 'kill the village'.'[2065] Nevertheless, large villages lacked stability. All too often conflicts would arise, and these conflicts might lead to village fission and the formation of new settlements, such as farms.[2066] This appeared to be an ongoing historical process, halted temporarily by the emergence of large stockaded villages due to threats of slave raiding or by (post-)colonial legislative pressure, but reignited thereafter.[2067] Instead of stable units, villages had always been sites of struggle for influence and power. Rather than being attempts to escape from village authority, small settlements could constitute the nuclei from which large villages would grow up. Farm heads would attempt to attract kin and dependents towards their settlements, building authority and wealth in people. Even in the 1980s it was described that young men, rather than going to the village of their maternal uncle and waiting for succession there, would generally 'prefer to start their own villages and then invite relatives to join them at the point when they can most profitably use additional labor.'[2068] Although a large village was the ideal within the framework of wealth in people, rivalry fostered the appearance of small settlements. Over time some farms might develop into large villages, although tension, competition and fission would prevent this in many cases.[2069] Throughout the twentieth century there was a continual process of village build-up and fission, giving rise to a large number of small villages rather than a select number of large ones. This process was not necessarily connected to capitalism or colonialism, but was inherent to village organisation.[2070]

Nonetheless, in accordance with Turner, colonial officials persistently asserted the proliferation of farms throughout the 1940s and 1950s, complaining about problems of village fission and instability. Officials connected the appearance of farms to the authority of village heads: 'There seems to be a growing tendency for villages to split up and chiefs seem inclined to favour this as more villages, however small, give them greater prestige than a few large ones.'[2071] Colonial officers would link the weakening authority of village heads to inter-generational struggles, claiming that 'many of the younger generation' felt the urge to 'break away from their headmen and village discipline.'[2072] It was lamented that: 'Many old headmen are little more than immobile receptacles of old custom and it is inevitable that the average villager, often an ex-line worker, loses patience with them.'[2073] Issues of authority and generational struggle were linked to the encroaching cash economy:

[2063] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; K. Crehan, *The fractured community: Landscapes of power and gender in rural Zambia* (Berkeley etc., 1997); H.L. Moore and M. Vaughan, *Cutting down trees: Gender, nutrition, and agricultural change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990* (Portsmouth etc., 1994).

[2064] (NAZ) SEC2/955, H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 11 October 1940.

[2065] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 104.

[2066] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[2067] Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'; Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'*.*

[2068] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 196.

[2069] See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Three.

[2070] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'*;* D. Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development: A human geographical study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia* (Amsterdam, 1981).

[2071] (NAZ) SEC2/955, H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 11 October 1940.

[2072] (NAZ) NWP1/2/78 Loc.4913, F.R.G. Phillips, North-Western Province Annual Report, 1957.

[2073] (NAZ) NWP1/2/33, D. Clough, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1950.

> cash wealth has tended to fall into the hands of the younger and more active men rather than those of the older headmen. The former have developed ambitions to found villages of their own and the result has been the multiple fission of older villages into a number of "farms".[2074]

Younger men who had earned monetary wealth would aspire to become the head of a prosperous village settlement, achieving the status of 'Big Man'.[2075] As within existing villages some would be frustrated in their aspirations, these young men might move away and establish their own settlements elsewhere. The occurrence of farms was attributed to such quarrels over influence and power, for 'If people lived in close proximity to each other friction was bound to ensue.'[2076] Even more than challenges to authority, colonial officials blamed factors related to capitalism for the increasing appearance of farms throughout Mwinilunga District.[2077]

Farms were linked to such socio-economic factors as the cash economy, labour migration and the sale of agricultural produce: 'Most true farms are situated beside the motor roads, for the typical farm-head is a man who has earned money, often on the line-of-rail, and who intends to earn more locally.'[2078] Allegedly the establishment of farms would be driven by the entrepreneurial spirit of individuals aspiring to accumulate money and build wealth through farming.[2079] The following case might be exemplary:

> There is one man who has shown himself to be possessed of an unusual amount of initiative (…) having established himself as a trader, he recently built a good standard Kimberley house, and cut a passable motor road to enable lorries to fetch away cassava meal.[2080]

This man had built his house at a considerable distance from the main village in order to develop his agricultural enterprises. Referring to such cases, officials argued that farms would enhance individual entrepreneurship, which had previously been restrained by the communal claims and redistributive expectations prevalent in larger villages. In an attempt to avoid the burdensome obligations of sharing with kin, individuals would be propelled to establish farms.[2081] Due to increasing individualism under the accumulative tendencies of the money economy, a man might claim that:

> It was not worth his while to work hard to produce a plentiful supply of food for sale, or to maintain big flocks, since the inept and the idle in the village, as well as the sick and the old, would claim a share in his wealth as of right. People were therefore, given permission to live by themselves in 'farms' (…) There is no doubt that it has resulted in very great progress in rural conditions in the District, and has created a situation in which by propaganda and pressure the people can be driven to better themselves.[2082]

Whereas large villages were associated with communal obligations which would lower productivity and profit, officials connected farms to high productivity and economic development: 'an enterprising man living by himself is not "sponged on" by his relatives, to quite the same extent as would be the case if he were living among them.'[2083]

Moreover, farms were connected to changes in patterns of kinship affiliation: 'Farm heads were disencumbering themselves of many of the obligations of kinship, and retaining for their own use and for the use of their elementary families money they earned as wages and by the sale of cash-crops or surplus subsistence crops.'[2084] Turner asserted that in time farms would come to supplant 'villages', as nuclear families would pursue their individualised economic interests in defiance of the grasping claims of extended kin and the 'traditional authority' of headmen and chiefs.[2085] This trend did not

---

[2074] (NAZ) NWP1/12/18 Loc.4951, T.M. Lawman to P.C. Solwezi, 12 August 1953.
[2075] Compare to: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*.
[2076] (NAZ) SEC2/963, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, July 1955.
[2077] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'.
[2078] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 36.
[2079] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2080] (NAZ) SEC2/958, K. Duff White, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 12 November 1950.
[2081] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'.
[2082] (BOD) R.C. Dening Papers, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, No. 5, 1954.
[2083] (NAZ) SEC2/959, K.J. Forder, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 5 November 1951.
[2084] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 133.
[2085] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

materialise. The remainder of this chapter will attempt to explain why this was not the case, by exploring the dynamics of accumulation and sharing, competition and co-operation, as well as patterns of authority within the village. Large villages continued to be an ideal, a means of building wealth in people, gaining authority and power. Competition and individual entrepreneurship could indeed lead to the establishment of small settlements, yet this was a recurrent process rather than a trend brought about by colonialism or capitalism.[2086] Small villages would grow and become larger villages, as living in villages continued to be an essential element of life and a structuring principle of everyday experience.[2087]

The village has proven to be remarkably enduring. In the 1980s Pritchett set out to restudy Turner's work, concluding that rather than disintegrating: 'The village continues to be a fundamental location for the formulation of individual identity, a necessary element in productive strategies, and a key ingredient in individual plans for the afterlife.'[2088] Although the size of individual villages had perhaps diminished somewhat, Pritchett advanced that villages had always been 'fluid, ever-changing units offering individuals a variety of residential options.'[2089] Villages would change continuously, being reconfigured in reaction to social change. How can the persistence of the village be explained within an environment of flux, fission and social change? By looking at the social organisation of village life an answer to this question will be sought.

Chiefs, headmen and authority: Governance and mediation

Village fission and the establishment of farms have commonly been associated with the weak(ening) authority of village heads. Younger, more ambitious men would seek to disencumber themselves from the authority of headmen and chiefs by establishing their own settlements.[2090] Exploring the historical development of village authority, patterns of chieftaincy and headmanship can counter such views. The trend towards individualisation and the demise of 'traditional authority', which Turner identified in the 1950s, might not have been so straightforward.[2091] Village authority had never been stable as intravillage competition had worked against the establishment of large settlements.[2092] The position of headmen and chiefs was generally desired as village heads were able to mediate between the village population and the outside world, gaining status and respect within the ideology of wealth in people.[2093] In order to understand the desirability of the position of village head, the foundations of authority and mediation should first be explored.

Chiefs and headmen have transformed and maintained their position, despite numerous changes throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century.[2094] Their continued influence is based on a number of ritual, socio-economic and political pillars, which have enabled village heads to act as effective intermediaries between local, regional, national and international levels of governance.[2095]

[2086] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, Chapter Three.

[2087] A. von Oppen, 'The village as territory: Enclosing locality in Northwest Zambia, 1950s to 1990s', *Journal of African history* 47:1 (2006), 57-75.

[2088] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 108.

[2089] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 103.

[2090] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 43.

[2091] W.G. Morapedi, 'Demise or resilience? Customary law and chieftaincy in twenty-first century Botswana', *Journal of contemporary African studies* 28:2 (2010), 215-30.

[2092] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 345-9.

[2093] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.

[2094] On the resurgence of chieftaincy, see: M. Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism* (Princeton etc., 1996); A.A. Costa, 'Chieftaincy and civilisation: African structures of government and colonial administration in South Africa', *African studies* 59:1 (2000), 13-43; B. Oomen, '"We must now go back to our history": Retraditionalisation in a Northern Province chieftaincy', *African studies* 59:1 (2000), 71-95; J. Ubink, 'Traditional authority revisited: Popular perceptions of chiefs and chieftaincy in peri-urban Kumasi, Ghana', *Journal of legal pluralism* 55 (2007), 124.

[2095] For the concept of mediation, see: Ubink, 'Traditional authority revisited', 125-8.

For one, chiefs and headmen have mediated their position vis-à-vis other headmen and chiefs within the setting of the Lunda polity. Ever since their departure from Musumba, chiefs in Mwinilunga have maintained contact with other Lunda chiefs, not only with Paramount Chief Mwantiamvwa but also with chiefs such as Musokantanda, Ishinde and Kazembe, forging enduring links between Mwinilunga, Angola, Congo and other parts of Zambia.[2096] Through trade and tribute, intermarriage and ceremonial connections, ties have been upheld between different parts of the Lunda entity.[2097] Ties of allegiance were materialised through flows of tribute, running from individuals through village heads to chiefs, ultimately connected to Mwantiamvwa and his court.[2098] This hierarchical system of tribute was largely discontinued under colonial rule, due to international boundary demarcation and other regulations, yet gifts between subordinates and superiors continued to be exchanged during formal visits, cementing the regional ties of the Lunda polity.[2099] In the course of the twentieth century, connections between Lunda chiefs seemed to be weakening. Colonial officials would assert that: 'relations with (…) Mwachiamvwa appear to be breaking up in many ways quite rapidly.'[2100] Nevertheless, expectations that ties within the Lunda entity would be severed appeared ill-founded. In 1955 it was noted that: 'Great respect continues to be shown to Chief Mwatiamvwa across the Congo border by all Lunda/Ndembu.'[2101] Even in 2010, when Mwantianvwa was scheduled to attend the *Chisemwa ChaLunda* ceremony hosted by Chief Kanongesha, the announcement instantly attracted crowds of spectators from Angola, Congo and the Zambian Copperbelt.[2102] The Lunda connection was more than symbolic, influencing trade, identity, the formulation of political claims and allegiances.[2103] Through Lunda ties, headmen and chiefs persistently underlined connections between the local, regional and international level, boosting their power through the process of mediation.

Politically, chiefs and headmen were imperative in negotiating involvement with the colonial and post-colonial state.[2104] Chiefs depended on the state for official recognition and the payment of their subsidies, but the state depended on chiefs in numerous ways as well.[2105] The collection of taxes or the recruitment of labour, for example, were premised on the collaboration of headmen and chiefs.[2106] Chiefs might be given quota by the government to supply a number of labourers for road construction work. Similarly, when recruiting labourers for the mines, the co-operation of chiefs and headmen was indispensable to persuade men to go to work.[2107] Being the main representatives of state policies within the local setting, chiefs became central actors in the administration of law and order.[2108] Nevertheless, chiefs did not simply comply with government policies: 'The truth is that, even

[2096] J.A. Pritchett, *Friends for life, friends for death: Cohorts and consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu* (Charlottesville etc., 2007); E. Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule: The politics of ethnicity* (Cambridge etc., 1975).
[2097] J.J. Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej: Reconstructing Ruund history (The nuclear Lunda: Zaïre, Angola, Zambia)', (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1978); Schecter, 'History and historiography'.
[2098] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2099] Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*; O. Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating or migrating villagers? A study of movement from North West Zambia to Angola' (PhD thesis, University of Bath, 1999).
[2100] (NAZ) SEC2/955, C.M.N. White, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 20 April 1940.
[2101] (NAZ) SEC2/963, P.L.N. Hannaford, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 17 March 1955.
[2102] Observations from Kanongesha area, July 2010.
[2103] Pritchett, *Friends for life*; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule.*
[2104] Mamdani, *Citizen and subject*; S.N. Chipungu, 'African leadership under indirect rule in colonial Zambia', in: S.N. Chipungu (ed.), *Guardians in their time: Experiences of Zambians under colonial rule, 1890-1964* (London and Basingstoke, 1992), 50-73.
[2105] T.T. Spear, 'Neo-traditionalism and the limits of invention in British colonial Africa', *Journal of African history* 44:1 (2003), 3-27.
[2106] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 40-1.
[2107] (NAZ) KSE6/1/3, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1918.
[2108] M.L. Chanock, *Law, custom and social order: The colonial experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge etc., 1985); S.S. Berry, 'Hegemony on a shoestring: Indirect rule and access to agricultural land', *Africa* 62:3 (1992), 327-55.

where they might, these chiefs and headmen will not assist the Administration if such assistance in any way affects their own people.'[2109] Chiefs and headmen would hide tax defaulters, disguise poachers and deliberately fail to meet quota.[2110] Being mediators between the population and the government, chiefs and headmen proved crucial, for they 'perform, in reality, the day to day administration.'[2111] Even after independence, this remained the case. The government relied on chiefs to assist in 'calls to the people for voluntary effort, selfhelp schemes, emergency school building and fund raising for a new University', arguing that 'the success of these projects depends very largely on the mobility and influence of a Chief.'[2112]

Combining political and economic power, chiefs and headmen could play a role as mediators of trade.[2113] Within the context of the pre-colonial long-distance trade, chiefs and headmen could function as middlemen between traders and the village community. They would establish contacts with traders, exact tribute, fees and goods from them and secure favourable terms of trade.[2114] In order to negotiate commercial transactions, caravan leaders would have to donate copious gifts to village heads, without whose consent trade relations would be bound to fail.[2115] Revealing his own lack of power, Livingstone desperately described how one chief:

> made a demand of either a tusk, beads, a man, copper armlets, a shell, or we should not be permitted to enter his august presence. No one was admitted without something of the sort, and as the country belonged to him we should not pass through, unless we came down handsomely.[2116]

Some village heads and chiefs grew wealthy by amassing amounts of cloth, firearms and beads which they would distribute among subjects to secure their allegiance. Village heads could gain influence as trade intermediaries, becoming 'Big Men' with a prosperous and large following.[2117] The slave trade was the dramatic apex of this exchange of goods for human allegiance.[2118] Colonial officials described how the predecessors of the current chiefs were the ones 'who grew rich by the simple means of selling their people into slavery.'[2119] Underlining their position of economic leadership within the community, chiefs and headmen could guarantee debts or could be held responsible for the payment of fines of their subjects. If a person had a case with somebody from another village, but was unable to pay the fine, he or she would rely on the goodwill of the village head to fulfil the payment.[2120] The authority of village heads, thus, comprised not only rights but also responsibilities. Throughout the twentieth century village heads continued to mediate the economic contacts of their villages.[2121]

Another enduring aspect of the economic importance of chiefs and headmen was their connection to the land, from which they derived a degree of their authority to rule.[2122] Land allocation

---

[2109] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, J.M. Pound, Balunda District Monthly Report, October 1910.
[2110] See: Pritchett, *Friends for life*; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[2111] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2112] (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/1/13, Annual Report North-Western Province, 1965.
[2113] See: Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[2114] Compare to: S.J. Rockel, *Carriers of culture: Labor on the road in nineteenth-century East Africa* (Portsmouth, 2006); J. Prestholdt, 'On the global repercussions of East African consumerism', *The American historical review* 109:3 (2004), 755-81.
[2115] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.* Chapter Six; Based on my own reading of pre-colonial traveller accounts.
[2116] Schapera, *Livingstone's African journal*, 98.
[2117] Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'; J.C. Miller, *Way of death: Merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade 1730-1830* (Madison, 1988).
[2118] C. Piot, 'Of slaves and the gift: Kabre sale of kin during the era of the slave trade', *Journal of African history* 37:1 (1996), 31-49.
[2119] (NAZ) SEC2/953, N.S. Price, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 29 September 1957.
[2120] Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'; Miller, *Way of death.*
[2121] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade;* Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[2122] J. Vansina, *How societies are born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600* (Charlottesville etc., 2004); Schecter, 'History and historiography'.

would proceed from chiefs to headmen to household heads.[2123] Rights would be granted in usufruct: 'As all Chiefs hold the land of the Chieftainship in trust for their descendants they are unable to give, dispose of or sell any of their land outright.'[2124] Chiefs and headmen derived great power and prestige from their control over land: 'The influence of Chiefs is such that few, if any, rural Africans would be bold enough to make any suggestion of a freehold title if they still wished to retain the protection and assistance of the Chiefs in domestic affairs.'[2125] Land officially became vested in the president after independence, yet leasehold or freehold tenure remain exceptions until this day.[2126] Access to and control over land afforded village heads economic prominence, enabling them to exert influence over the activities that take place on the land.[2127] Some chiefs might encourage economic activity in their area. In 1955 an official reported that Chief Ntambu 'encourages the growth of many varieties of produce', developing agricultural production for purposes of marketing.[2128] Officials would remark that: 'the encouragement to develop agriculture rests (…) principally with the Chief (…) the advancement of an area depends upon the Chief being one step ahead of his people.'[2129] Major economic stakeholders, such as the Chinese miners who appeared in Chief Chibwika's area in 2009, would be required to pass through the chief and obtain his formal approval before commencing their enterprises.[2130] Due to such complex economic, political and social mediation of the local, regional, national and international levels, village heads were able to secure a persistently important position for themselves.[2131] Consequently, the position of village heads was fiercely contested, giving rise to village fission and the small size of settlements.[2132]

Despite the importance of the position of village heads, their titles do not appear to have been fixed or well-defined prior to colonialism.[2133] Chieftaincy and headmanship did not adhere to bounded categories or communities. The title *mwanta,* chief, is a generic term which can signify master, headman, employer, or can even be used by a wife to call her husband. Only when reference to the *lukanu* (royal bracelet) is added, as in *mwanta walukanu*, does it become clear that a chief is meant.[2134] This suggests that chieftaincy was a fluid and contested category. The position of chief was not clearly demarcated from that of a village head, but depended on individual merit, performance and claims of historical precedence.[2135] Succession to the title of chief or headman remained open to competition: 'at one time all the Hierarchy were Heads of Extended Families (…) [The Chief] may be succeeded by any of his titular children, which means that in theory anyone in the Kindred may be chosen provided

[2123] See: E. Colson, 'The impact of the colonial period on the definition of land rights', in: V.W. Turner (ed.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960, Volume 3* (Cambridge, 1971); P. Shipton and M. Goheen, 'Introduction: Understanding African land-holding: Power, wealth, and meaning', *Africa* 62:3 (1997), 307-25.

[2124] (NAZ) NWP1/12/18 Loc.4951, District Commissioner Mwinilunga to Provincial Commissioner Solwezi, 4 November 1954.

[2125] (NAZ) NWP1/12/18 Loc. 4951, R.S. Thompson to Provincial Commissioner Solwezi, 17 December 1954.

[2126] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[2127] Compare to: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees;* W.T. Kalusa, *Kalonga Gawa Undi X: A biography of an African chief and nationalist* (Lusaka, 2010).

[2128] (NAZ) SEC2/963, P.L.N. Hannaford, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 26 May 1955.

[2129] (NAZ) NWP1/12/18 Loc.4951, District Commissioner Mwinilunga to Provincial Commissioner Solwezi, 4 November 1954.

[2130] Based on observations in Kanongesha area, July 2010; R. Negi, 'The micropolitics of mining and development in Zambia: Insights from the Northwestern Province', *African studies quarterly* 12:2 (2010/11), 27-44.

[2131] Ubink, 'Traditional authority revisited', 125-8; Spear, 'Neo-traditionalism'; P. Englebert, 'Patterns and theories of traditional resurgence in tropical Africa', *Mondes en développement* 30:118 (2002), 51-64.

[2132] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.

[2133] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 37-8; Vansina, *How societies are born.*

[2134] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 323-4; Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Confirmed by oral interviews.

[2135] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 345-70.

age and deportment permit.'[2136] Even if there were rules of succession, these could be manipulated to a large extent, giving rise to contestation and a general ambition towards headmanship:[2137]

> Succession usually runs in the male line; all things being equal the eldest son succeeds – next come the younger sons – then the sons of a brother – failing these the sons of a sister. To these rules I have come across a good many exceptions. If popular, a headman's nephew will often be chosen to succeed, even when the headman has several eligible sons.[2138]

Due to the function of mediation between the village population and the outside world, the position of village head was desired and open to ambitious men (and women in some cases), resulting in fierce competition over positions of village leadership.[2139]

The position of a village head depended on achievement, rather than ascription. Authority would depend on the ability to mediate social, economic and political influences between the village and a broader arena. Some village heads, who proved successful at mediation, might achieve great power and influence over the village population. Nonetheless, authority could and often would be questioned. Due to malleable rules of succession and low population densities, ambitious young men could move away from large villages and establish their own settlements elsewhere: 'in a Lunda village nephews get tired of the perpetuation of the authority of the generation above them, and break away to form separate villages.'[2140] It was noted that 'every man wants to be his own headman' and consequently 'the ambition of the Alunda is to collect a dozen natives around him and then request that he may be recognised as a headman.'[2141] This was not necessarily an expression of village breakup, or the demise of authority. Rather, it was a recurrent tendency through which new village nuclei would be established which might grow out to become full-fledged villages.[2142] Due to such competition, colonial officials would note that 'internecine disputes, and mutual distrust between every village and its every neighbour make combination most remote, if not utterly impossible.'[2143] Establishing a new village and becoming the village head of such a settlement could be a route to prominence and power, but nonetheless, this might fail and the village might remain small, perishing with time.[2144] By highlighting the changes and challenges which colonial and post-colonial rule posed to patterns of authority, it will be explored how this dynamic played out.

Village leadership in a historical perspective

Chieftaincy in Mwinilunga has ancient origins, going back at least to the Lunda migration towards the Upper Zambezi around 1740.[2145] Although chiefs differ from each other, as they have their own form of governance, they all contribute to the continuity of the Lunda tradition of chieftaincy.[2146] The continued salience of chieftaincy might be surprising as chiefs have generally been associated with 'traditional' small-scale and bounded social units, whereas the colonial and the post-colonial state sought to propagate a more large-scale form of authority, epitomised by the nation-state. Consequently, chieftaincy would be doomed to wither away on the route to 'civilisation' and

[2136] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2137] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 87-90; Schecter, 'History and historiography'.
[2138] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks, 141.
[2139] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 94-5.
[2140] (NAZ) LGH5/5/11 Loc. 3621, C.M.N. White, Land Tenure Report North-Western Province, 1956.
[2141] (NAZ) KSE6/6/2, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Tour Report, 14 February 1926.
[2142] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Three.
[2143] (NAZ) HC1/2/43 BS2/251 Loc. 130, G.A. MacGregor, Balunda Monthly Report, January 1909.
[2144] K.M. de Luna, 'Affect and society in precolonial Africa', *International journal of African historical studies* 46:1 (2013), 123-50; J. Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests: Toward a history of political tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, 1990), 69, 99.
[2145] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Vansina, *How societies are born.*
[2146] '*Anyanta ejima adi na nyichidi yawu, na nshimbi yawu, na yisemwa yawu, ilanga chisemwa yawantu yawaLunda chidi chimu hohu*' – All chiefs have their own ways, their own laws, their own traditions, but the tradition of the Lunda people is only one, Interview with Mr Jesman Sambaulu, 10 August 2010, Kanongesha.

'modernity'.[2147] Despite such rhetoric, chiefs remain important in present-day Mwinilunga and 'traditional ceremonies', such as *Chisemwa ChaLunda* hosted by Chief Kanongesha, attract large crowds. Although the power of chiefs has been profoundly affected by colonial and post-colonial policies, chiefs continue to be important in mediating the local, national and international level.[2148]

Despite their importance on a village level, it is doubtful whether chiefs and headmen in the area of Mwinilunga held positions of overwhelming political or military power.[2149] Turner asserts that:

> High spatial mobility contributed powerfully to the considerable political autonomy of the village (…) with the continual movement of villages from site to site, and with the frequency of village fission, it became extremely difficult for (…) headmen to exert political authority over the inhabitants of their areas.[2150]

Early colonial officials complained that: 'There is no powerful Chief in this division (…) These men have but little power, nor do they seem anxious to be made powerful.'[2151] Chiefs could operate with a high degree of independence:

> After the initial division of the land, the local sub-chiefs became virtually independent of the Paramount Chief's authority. The latter became a sort of 'primus inter pares', having no rights in the territories of his sub-chiefs. His administrative, judicial and economic control did not extend beyond his own immediate area.[2152]

Rather than using force, village heads would give guidance to their communities by relying on ritual power and moral justification.[2153] Such functions legitimised and strengthened their rule: 'A strong emotional quality goes with their symbolic significance as epitomising Lunda tribal identity.'[2154] Although the position of headmen and chiefs had been loose and contested, the position of village head was nevertheless aspired to. This had to do with notions of wealth in people.[2155] Turner explained that people 'saw success in life as measured by the number of followers a man could acquire',[2156] and consequently men would aim 'to obtain influence, and subsequently office, in traditional villages.'[2157] Despite the general aspiration to become the leader of a prosperous village, patterns of succession to the title of headman might frustrate the ambitions of enterprising men, who might move away to establish their own village and their own authority.[2158] Turner describes this structural competition within villages, as impatience to succeed to the office of headman might lead some to 'hive off from the village' and 'found new settlements', because if a man 'wishes to enjoy a long period of leadership, he may well prefer to give up his chance of succeeding to office in a long-established village, despite the greater prestige of such an office, than to wait until he is old.'[2159] Such competition encouraged the small size of settlements.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, when the long-distance trade enabled some rulers to amass wealth, yet slave raiding caused insecurity and warfare, the position of chiefs and headmen changed.[2160] Expressing wealth in people, villages with more than one hundred inhabitants sprung up as a consequence of raids and warfare. These large villages would be ruled by strong village heads, 'Big

---

[2147] Morapedi, 'Demise or resilience?', 216; Mamdani, *Citizen and subject*; Costa, 'Chieftaincy and civilisation'; Oomen, 'We must now go back to our history'.

[2148] Ubink, 'Traditional authority revisited'; Englebert, 'Patterns and theories of traditional resurgence'.

[2149] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Vansina, *How societies are born,* 258.

[2150] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 6, 15.

[2151] (NAZ) KSE6/1/3, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1915.

[2152] (NAZ) NWP1/12/18 Loc. 4951, T.M. Lawman to Provincial Commissioner Solwezi, 12 August 1953.

[2153] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 318-21; Schecter, 'History and historiography', 5-6; Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej', 103.

[2154] (NAZ) NWP1/2/83 Loc. 4914, Land Tenure Report, North-Western Province, 1947.

[2155] De Luna, 'Affect and society'; Vansina, *How societies are born.*

[2156] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 134.

[2157] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 135.

[2158] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*, 69, 73-82, 99.

[2159] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 88-9.

[2160] Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'; Miller, *Way of death.*

Men', who could organise unified action in times of attack. In this setting, chiefs and headmen commanded unprecedented authority over their subjects, deciding over matters of life and death.[2161] This minutely orchestrated form of governance proved short-lived, though:

> The people concentrated in large villages heavily stockaded and porticullised but spread out into temporary hamlets during interludes of peace (…) The compact strategic concentrations made necessary by the threat of slave raids, have been superseded by scattered hamlets, where complicated machinery of administration is not required.[2162]

The small size of villages, loose patterns of authority and constant competition were temporarily offset by the threats of slave raids and the need to congregate into larger and more formally organised villages.[2163] At the start of the twentieth century large villages broke up into smaller units once again. Soon thereafter, the authority of village heads was profoundly affected by colonial rule.

Colonial adaptation: Authority, recognition and village fission

The policy of indirect rule, 'with its co-option of local authority figures as an extremely cheap lower tier of colonial administration', appeared attractive in the light of concerns to reduce expenditure.[2164] British colonialism formally claimed to uphold the position of headmen, chiefs and customary rules, yet it brought about profound changes in forms of governance, according to some even 'inventing tradition'.[2165] The colonial administration sought to rule through chiefs and headmen, using their existing authority and keeping established forms of governance in place. At the same time, chiefs and headmen were given new tasks under colonial legislation.[2166] Chiefs were held responsible for judicial, legislative, executive and administrative tasks, amounting to a formal fusion of authority in the person of the chief.[2167] The judicial role of the chief changed under colonialism, as Chief Ikelenge summarised:

> Chiefs did not in the past hold court. We all know that the Chief's role in so far as courts were concerned was that of an adviser who counselled with his subjects whose duty it was to try cases. This practice was reversed by the Colonial Government which required Chiefs to hold court as part of the functions for which they were paid.[2168]

In some respects, the colonial administration strategically boosted the position of chiefs and headmen by assigning administrative tasks to them.[2169] Colonial officials noted that: 'there is no doubt that under our influence the Chiefs themselves have taken up more and more of an executive position.'[2170] Next to judicial tasks, the collection of taxes, the compilation of census, the maintenance of law and order, the enforcement of forestry, game and agricultural legislation, and much more became the responsibility of chiefs, and to a lesser extent headmen as well.[2171]

The existing rivalry between headmen and chiefs was merely heightened as a result of their new responsibilities and formalised status in the administrative hierarchy. Because chiefs received a salary and colonial rule aimed to minimise expenses, debates arose over who was – and who was not – to be recognised as a chief or headman.[2172] From 1931 onwards 'Government Staffs of Office' were awarded to a limited number of titleholders, creating a formal hierarchy. Due to the scarcity of

[2161] Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'.
[2162] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2163] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[2164] Crehan, 'Tribes and the people who read books', 205; Berry, 'Hegemony on a shoestring'; Spear, 'Neo-traditionalism'.
[2165] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*; Mamdani, *Citizen and subject*; E. Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger (eds.), *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge etc., 1983).
[2166] Chipungu, 'African leadership under indirect rule'.
[2167] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 40-2; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 10-8.
[2168] (NAZ) LGH5/4/12 Loc. 3618, House of Chiefs Minutes, 9 December 1965.
[2169] Berry, 'Hegemony on a shoestring'.
[2170] (NAZ) NWP1/12/23, R.C. Dening Comments on Harry Vaux's Report, 31 May 1954.
[2171] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 40-2.
[2172] Crehan, 'Tribes and the people who read books'.

government funds, the number of salaried chiefs was limited to nine under the Lunda-Ndembo Native Authority. Sailunga (Lunda) and Kanongesha (Ndembo) were awarded the title of 'Senior Chief', whereas Kanyama, Kakoma and Ntambu (Lunda) and Nyakaseya, Ikelenge, Mwininyilamba and Chibwika (Ndembo) were appointed as chiefs.[2173] During the pre-colonial period the distinction between headmen, chiefs and senior chiefs had been more difficult to make, or had perhaps not existed at all.[2174] According to Chief Ikelenge there was 'no seniority amongst the chiefs when they first came to this country. At present there is none – they sit on equal mats before Kanongeshya.'[2175] Under colonial rule, however, chiefly recognition and hierarchy were formalised, giving rise to quarrels over authority and recognition. Because many people could claim an influential position due to malleable rules of succession, 'the competition for any traditionally acknowledged headmanship, with its potential of succeeding to the salaried position of Native Authority chief, became fierce.'[2176] When deciding which chiefs to recognise, government would consider the personality of a chief, questioning whether the chief was likely to do good work in his area and whether his population was big enough to warrant his chieftainship.[2177] Factors such as population density, facilities (schools, missions, roads and levels of agricultural production), as well as the character and co-operation of a chief all played a role. Quite different from the pre-colonial requirements for chiefly authority (including lineage, age and rhetorical ability) colonial rule introduced new markers of success.[2178]

Today, there are numerous headmen in Mwinilunga District who claim to have been chiefs in the past – although some can substantiate their claims more convincingly than others.[2179] One example of a chief who was deposed under colonial rule is Ntambu-Sachitolu.[2180] Because Ntambu-Sachitolu refused to co-operate with the collection of taxes, his staff of office was taken away by officials in the 1920s.[2181] This act had far-reaching consequences for his authority and for the villages in his area:

> We the children of Ntambo are very sorrowful that the Chieftainship is no longer recognised; he was our father very powerful and respected (…) Now he has no government recognition his people are scattering and we feel like orphans without a father [*sic*].[2182]

Whereas Ntambu-Sachitolu tried to contest his deposition in the 1940s, other chiefs declined to recognise his claims, as they feared for their own position in the competitive colonial environment: 'All the Chiefs were agreed that at no time had Ntambo any valid claim to chieftainship nor any right to territory or population.'[2183] Lack of colonial recognition could thus result in the small size of villages and in the dispersal of population, as chiefly authority would fade. Even some recognised chiefs complained that their authority was jeopardised due to colonial rule. Chief Sailunga claimed that 'he was losing his power and that the headmen never now come to visit him.'[2184]

On the other hand, colonial recognition could boost the position of some chiefs and draw population towards their areas. A case in point is Chief Ikelenge, who was subordinate to Chief

---

[2173] This is based on a reading of archival sources, (NAZ); See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

[2174] Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

[2175] (NAZ) SEC2/222, Provincial Commissioner North-Western Province to Chief Secretary Lusaka, 13 December 1945.

[2176] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 42.

[2177] (NAZ) NWP1/3/2 Loc. 4921, H.T. Bayldon, North-Western Province, 24 August 1961.

[2178] Von Oppen, 'The village as territory'.

[2179] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Headman Mwinilunga, 31 October 2010, Mwinilunga; See: Schecter, 'History and historiography'.

[2180] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 12-3; Confirmed by a reading of archival sources, (NAZ) and oral interviews.

[2181] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example with Ex-Chief Ntambu-Lukonkesha, 11 August 2010, Kanongesha; as well as a reading of archival sources (NAZ). The exact date of Ntambu-Sachitolu's deposition is not recorded in the archives, yet it was somewhere in the 1920s.

[2182] (NAZ) SEC2/304, James Ntambo to Legislative Council Lusaka, 9 February 1946.

[2183] (NAZ) SEC2/304, Provincial Commissioner North-Western Province to Chief Secretary Lusaka, 30 April 1946.

[2184] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, C.S. Bellis, Balunda District Monthly Report, July 1910.

Kanongesha yet managed to gain power due to his co-operative stance towards the government and due to the large mission which was established in his area.[2185] Consequently, Chief Ikelenge's area became the nucleus of a concentrated, large and prosperous population. In the competitive political climate of the 1960s, ANC members condemned Chief Ikelenge for being 'a "Mission and government stooge"', pleading to Chief Kanongesha that 'the government is grooming Chief Ikelenge to take over the senior Chieftainship.'[2186] Due to government loyalty Ikelenge chiefdom became the hub of agricultural investment and schemes of development, attracting even more population towards the area.[2187] The attitude of chiefs could considerably influence population density and settlement patterns in an area, either leading to village dispersal or to concentration of settlement.

Headmen would only gain recognition from the colonial government if their villages contained a minimum of ten taxpaying men.[2188] Nevertheless, villages with ten taxpaying men never became the rule, evidenced by the small number of registered villages.[2189] Colonial officials would repeatedly complain that chiefs and headmen could not live up to their expectations: 'the small headmen who crow from the dung heaps of their villages are but idle fellows and not to be taken too seriously.'[2190] Despite official encouragement to form large and stable villages, the contrary appeared to be occurring, as villages split up into small settlements.[2191] Officials attributed this to the weak authority of village heads: 'There are now very few headmen who are respected enough to lead the people to perform their ordinary village duties and labours', and consequently 'there seems to be a tendency for villages to split up.'[2192] The demise of the authority of village heads was blamed partially on inter-generational struggles. Headmen were described as operating within 'the old tight, custom bound village circle.'[2193] The tendency of 'many of the younger generation to break away from their headmen and village discipline' in order to found their own settlements, was attributed to the personality of the headman.[2194] Within the previously described competitive atmosphere over authority and recognition, the establishment of small settlements does not appear surprising, though. Competition and fission had been inherent in Lunda villages and village breakup rather than cohesion was the norm.[2195] Due to new administrative tasks and a limited number of officially recognised chiefly positions, colonial rule enhanced existing competition between village heads. Yet despite contradictions and conflicts, chiefly rule and the authority of headmen adapted to changing circumstances, albeit in altered forms.[2196] Apart from small villages, a number of large villages headed by a strong headman or chief did arise. Under the influence of nation-building in independent Zambia, the position of headmen and chiefs was further altered.

[2185] This view is based on observations; oral interviews; a reading of archival sources (NAZ); See: W.S. Fisher and J. Hoyte, *Ndotolu: The life stories of Walter and Anna Fisher of Central Africa* (Ikelenge, Rev. ed., 1992).
[2186] (NAZ) LGH5/4/5, Lunda-Ndembo Native Authority Minutes, 6 May 1961.
[2187] This view is based on observations; oral interviews, for example Mrs Yiness Ikelenge, 10 April 2010, Ikelenge; a reading of archival sources (UNIPA).
[2188] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2189] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 34, 37.
[2190] (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, G.A. MacGregor, Balunda District Monthly Report, 1 November 1908.
[2191] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[2192] (NAZ) SEC2/955, H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 11 October 1940.
[2193] (NAZ) NWP1/2/33, D. Clough, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1950.
[2194] (NAZ) NWP1/2/78 Loc. 4913, F.R.G. Phillips, North-Western Province Annual Report, 1956.
[2195] Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'; Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[2196] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'; Von Oppen, 'The village as territory'.

Village leadership within the Zambian nation-state

Chieftaincy held a potentially ambiguous role within the Zambian nation-state. Although the Zambian government did create a 'House of Chiefs' as a complementary body to parliament, the role of chiefs remained advisory.[2197] Yet the government wanted to reassure chiefs:

> that they have a significant role to play even in the changed circumstances of the administration. It is also important that Chiefs are identified as far as possible with the development of the country and the people, and do not feel that they are being by-passed or brushed aside.[2198]

The influence of chiefs was confined, for example by policies which vested land in the president. Consequently: 'Many Chiefs feel that they have little part to play in the day to day running of their areas and that they are ignored and unwanted by their own people.'[2199] In an attempt to centralise authority, the government limited the independent powers of chiefs:

> President Kaunda today warned Chiefs here [in Mwinilunga] that if they flouted Government authority and tried to exercise their own in its place they would be dismissed instantly (…) The President told the Chiefs the Government would not be obstructed in its present role of building up the country.[2200]

Confronted with nation-building aspirations chiefs and village heads were losing ground, particularly if they did not co-operate with government aims.[2201] It might have been expected that villages would disintegrate into ever smaller units due to the loss of authority of village heads. Nevertheless, this has not occurred. In the 1980s, men would 'still dream of arriving at old age as the headman of a large village.'[2202] Chiefs and headmen have retained their positions intact into the present: 'it was still headmen who were the key players in local political life and the de facto power of headmen (…) depended to a significant extent on their ability to build up their villages by getting kin to settle with them.'[2203] The authority of village heads depended on attracting followers and building wealth in people, by mediating between the village and a broader (inter)national setting. Since the 1990s it might even be argued that chiefs and headmen have been experiencing a 'resurgence' of their authority. Chiefs managed to reinvent their position and assert their continued authority, for example by instituting 'traditional ceremonies', such as *Chisemwa ChaLunda*.[2204]

The prediction that village authority would weaken over time has not proven true. The occurrence of small settlements or farms cannot be linked to the diminishing power of village heads, as their position has always been contested. Competition between village heads indeed fostered the establishment of small settlements, yet the personality of the headman or chief equally held the potential of establishing large, prosperous settlements.[2205] The role of the village head reveals the tension between individual aspirations and communalism, village cohesion and fission. Turner described the personality of the 'ideal' village headman, the leader of a large village:

> The good headman is the good fellow, the man who 'laughs with everyone', who is hospitable, self-respecting, helpful and democratic (…) His field of friendly co-activity is not circumscribed by narrow minimal lineage relations; it extends outwards to include everyone of the village, regardless of their precise degree of relationship to him. The headman in his person should typify and exemplify the most general norms governing social interaction within the village.[2206]

Nevertheless, few individuals could meet these exacting standards. Because of tensions between individualism and communalism, large villages would only rarely appear or would split up after some

---

[2197] W.M.J. van Binsbergen, 'Chiefs and the state in independent Zambia: Exploring the Zambian national press', *Journal of legal pluralism and unofficial law* 25/6 (1987), 139-201; Englebert, 'Patterns and theories of traditional resurgence'.

[2198] (NAZ) LGH5/2/5 Loc. 3612, North-Western Provincial Development Committee, May 1965.

[2199] (NAZ) LGH5/2/7 Loc. 3612, Mwinilunga District Quarterly Newsletter, May 1967.

[2200] (NAZ) Times of Zambia, 24 June 1966.

[2201] M. Larmer, *Rethinking African politics: A history of opposition in Zambia* (Farnham and Burlington, 2011).

[2202] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 194.

[2203] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl', 225.

[2204] Ubink, 'Traditional authority revisited'; Englebert, 'Patterns and theories of traditional resurgence'.

[2205] Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests,* 73-82.

[2206] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 202.

time: 'Because few men possess or develop the personality ideally required for headmen new settlements often fail to become established.'[2207] Rather than being progressive, tension and competition were recurrent. No matter how precarious the balance, due to the skills of social, economic and political mediation the position of village heads has remained established throughout the twentieth century. Ultimately, the most important form of mediation was that over people. Chiefs and headmen aimed to become 'Big Men' with a large following, yet due to competitive tendencies the following of a village head would not remain stable for long. The position of village heads was reconfigured in reaction to government policies and social change, yet village heads persistently asserted their importance at the interstices of individual, village, regional and (inter)national authority.[2208] Headmen and chiefs mediated over people in a continually shifting setting, and this constituted the basis of their authority, the long-term thread in their rule. The tension between individualism and communalism did not only manifest itself in the position of village heads, but permeated many other aspects of village life.

Competition, co-operation and relationships: Reciprocity, accumulation and power

Village breakup into farms was attributed to a trend towards individual accumulation, disregarding relationships of reciprocity among extended kin.[2209] Officials greeted individualism with a degree of scepticism, for although it might contribute to economic entrepreneurship and development, it could equally hinder the orderly functioning of village society.[2210] Binary oppositions between communalism and individualism, household reciprocity versus self-interested accumulation, and kinship obligations versus a nucleation of the family were asserted and tensions between the two spheres were proposed as the root cause for village fission.[2211] Turner argued that the 'cash economy tends to destroy ties of corporate kinship *within* villages.'[2212] Nevertheless, trends towards individualisation and accumulation should be questioned.[2213] By looking at examples of agricultural work parties, communal eating and witchcraft, the tensions between accumulation and reciprocity will be brought out. It will be proposed that there was an inherent competitiveness in Lunda villages, yet that this did not necessarily disrupt patterns of reciprocity or co-operation.[2214] Rather than diminishing due to the money economy, kinship relations retained importance, constituting the essence of self-realisation and personhood and underpinning residence in villages.[2215]

Work parties and piecework: Co-operation or competition?

Agricultural production in Mwinilunga District has been described as highly individualistic.[2216] Nevertheless, because some tasks in agricultural production could be laborious, individuals, next to relying on the labour supply of the household, could occasionally call for assistance from kin and

[2207] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 203; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 191.
[2208] See: Kalusa, *Kalonga Gawa Undi X.*
[2209] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; See: Bates, 'Capital, kinship and conflict'; K. Crehan, 'Women and development in North Western Zambia: From producer to housewife', *Review of African political economy* 27/8 (1983), 51-66.
[2210] This view is based on a reading of archival sources, (NAZ).
[2211] Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family'; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 800; Bates, 'Capital, kinship and conflict'.
[2212] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 51.
[2213] See: Berry, *No condition is permanent*; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family'.
[2214] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[2215] Berry, *No condition is permanent*; J.I. Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization in Equatorial Africa', *Man* 28:2 (1993), 243-65.
[2216] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 23; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 277.

neighbours to complete tasks rapidly.[2217] Such 'work parties' would last for one day, as one colonial official described: 'the man who wants assistance lays on a feast, consisting largely of beer, and other villagers help him with his garden in exchange.'[2218] Because work parties facilitated the completion of large tasks within one day, they enabled increased productivity. Although work parties stress collaboration, reciprocity and sharing, they hold the potential of developing into a system of paid agricultural work, 'piecework', which is marked by individualism, accumulation or even exploitation.[2219] Work parties could foster economic differentiation, leading to 'a vortex of impoverishment, intensifying the unequal exchange between haves and have-nots.'[2220] Yet, work parties did not have to work out in this way. They might equally enable a mixture of personal ambition and equity, containing inequality and overt accumulation through a focus on reciprocity and kinship.[2221] Work parties might be 'seen as a creative attempt to combine the impact of the money economy and processes of commodification with pre-existing ideas of reciprocity, personal ambition and ultimate equality.'[2222] Hosting a work party and expanding one's field could serve to approximate the ideal of becoming a 'Big Man', but status and wealth equally entailed responsibilities of reciprocity and the constitution of social relationships.[2223] Work parties did not necessarily promote individual accumulation, but rather created reciprocal dependence. The host of the work party would become responsible for the welfare of its members, creating webs of interdependence which would limit the extent of accumulation.[2224] Hosting a work party might be 'integral to the constitution of economic actors as moral persons.'[2225] Looking at the tensions between individualism and communalism, accumulation and sharing in work parties can therefore reveal social dynamics and power relations within villages throughout Mwinilunga.

Most agricultural tasks in Mwinilunga District are completed within the household. Even if co-operation in tasks such as tree-felling or harvesting might occur, individual activity is the norm.[2226] When attempting to organise game drives to eliminate vermin which was jeopardising the growing crops, colonial officials would complain that: 'trenches mean hard work and the individualistic Lunda thought themselves incapable of organising communal hunts.'[2227] Despite individual patterns of production, important headmen and chiefs could lay claim on communal labour: 'The Village Head is entitled to free labour for the clearing of his farm', yet 'it is not within his executive power to command this service.'[2228] Rather than being coerced, labour services depended on the respect, authority and status of the village head among his subjects. This respect enabled the village head to command labour, yet the continued assertion of respect depended on the relationship between the village head and his subjects, constituting a mutual dependence.[2229] Another form of communal labour was the *chenda*

[2217] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 22; W. Allan, *The African husbandman* (Edinburgh etc., 1965), 44; M.P. Miracle, *Agriculture in the Congo basin: Tradition and change in African rural economies* (Madison etc., 1967), 21.
[2218] (NAZ) NWP1/2/73, R.C. Dening, Comments on Harry Vaux's Report, 31 May 1954.
[2219] P.L. Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?: Cash-crops, reciprocity and money among the Maka of Southeastern Cameroon', *Development and change* 26:3 (1995), 503-23; H. Englund, 'The self in self-interest: Land, labour and temporalities in Malawi's agrarian change', *Africa* 69:1 (1999), 139-59; D.F. Bryceson, 'Ganyu casual labour, famine and HIV/AIDS in rural Malawi: Causality and casualty', *The journal of modern African studies* 44:2 (2006), 173-202; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 319-28.
[2220] Bryceson, 'Ganyu casual labour', 199.
[2221] Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?'; Englund, 'The self in self-interest'.
[2222] Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?', 521-2.
[2223] Englund, 'The self in self-interest'; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 797.
[2224] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 319-28; Englund, 'The self in self-interest'; Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?'.
[2225] Englund, 'The self in self-interest', 138.
[2226] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Two; Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[2227] (NAZ) SEC2/956, F.M.N. Heath, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 21 January 1948.
[2228] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2229] Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?', 513-5.

(work party), which might be commissioned by any individual. Because tasks such as constructing mounds, hoeing or weeding are labour intensive, individuals might call for assistance from their neighbours (both kin and non-kin) to complete tasks rapidly. Large amounts of beer would be brewed, hunters might provide game meat, a goat or a sheep might be slaughtered or money could be offered as an incentive to attract assistance. In the morning people would gather to perform the required tasks and once the job was completed beer, meat or money would be offered as a reward in the evening. Work parties would last for one day and might be commissioned by any man or woman with sufficient resources to remunerate labourers.[2230] Work parties enabled increased productivity, as they facilitated the completion of large tasks in a short time-span. Enjoying access to a pool of temporary labourers enabled some to cultivate a large acreage and to engage in cash crop production for the market.[2231]

Work parties have been long-established in the area of Mwinilunga.[2232] Communal labour would generally involve a form of reciprocity. Village heads would be authorised to solicit communal labour for the cultivation of their fields or the construction of their house, but this was only because of the services which they provided to the community.[2233] Village heads offered protection, bestowed fertility and brought prosperity to their communities, which could be translated into claims on labour in a reciprocal relationship.[2234] Work parties organised by village members among themselves would equally be marked by a certain reciprocity: 'everyone else can demand communal labour for the clearing of his farm, but is also bound to perform the same service for others when called upon to do so.'[2235] The feasts which followed work parties would distribute scarce goods and delicacies, such as money, game meat or beer, among members. Work parties:

> may have been for a very long time just one alternative access to scarce goods and labour between individuals (…) within the local economy, and may have had a socially balancing effect between the individuals and groups involved to even out temporary shortages.[2236]

Rather than fostering exploitative accumulation, work parties appeared to possess a balancing mechanism.[2237] One colonial official noted that: 'The higher the status of a villager, the more he is bound theoretically to fulfil his communal obligations as an example to the public.'[2238]

Nevertheless, work parties did contain a more individually accumulative or even exploitative potential.[2239] Wealth and power differentiation might occur if rich farmers would habitually call on poor village members to perform labour in return for low rewards. Whereas the host of the work party would be able to expand fields, produce cash crops and procure wealth through the market, labourers would be caught in a vicious circle. Only minimal remuneration could be earned by working for others, yet labour inputs for work parties might clash with requirements in one's own fields. Labourers would have less time to cultivate their own fields and would become trapped in poverty.[2240] Patterns of accumulation and incipient wage labour could be witnessed in work parties from early on.[2241] Court records from 1916 mention the case of a man who had worked in another person's garden but had

---

[2230] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 22; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 319-22.
[2231] Bryceson, 'Ganyu casual labour'; Crehan, 'Women and development in North Western Zambia', 66.
[2232] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 319.
[2233] Compare to: Englund, 'The self in self-interest', 146, 151.
[2234] F. De Boeck, ''When hunger goes around the land': Hunger and food among the Aluund of Zaire', *Man* 29:2 (1994), 257-82.
[2235] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2236] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 324.
[2237] Englund, 'The self in self-interest'; Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?'.
[2238] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2239] This has been noted by: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?'; Englund, 'The self in self-interest', all authors qualify this assertion to some extent.
[2240] Bryceson, 'Ganyu casual labour'; J. Pottier, *Migrants no more: Settlement and survival in Mambwe villages, Zambia* (Manchester, 1988), 84-6.
[2241] Compare to: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 319-28.

not been paid the promised 2/-.[2242] Even though British currency had but barely penetrated the area, men would already charge one another for agricultural labour. A further case of labour contracts which held an exploitative potential was that of recently settled Angolan and Congolese immigrants. Because immigrants often lacked close kin in Mwinilunga District, their access to land would be complicated and this would encourage their participation in work parties to obtain food and capital.[2243] In the 1920s it was noted that:

> Any surplus they [inhabitants of Mwinilunga] may have is eagerly bought (and usually paid for by labour only) by the continual stream of immigrants from Angola and the Congo. These new arrivals are usually quite content to work for their food until such time as they can get their own gardens established.[2244]

Similar to later flows of refugees who were landless and lacked ties to the area, agricultural labour could assume exploitative properties, but only under specific conditions.[2245]

Piecework was another form of short-term contract which exchanged labour for remuneration in currency or kind.[2246] Through formal contracts missionaries and colonial officials had spread the practice of piecework, employing day labourers to herd cattle, maintain a road or build an office.[2247] But individuals could also commission their neighbours for specific piecework. This was a particularly common practice in the case of large-scale cash crop production for the market.[2248] Because a single household would not manage to complete all the tasks of cultivation in large fields, they would call on others for assistance. This assistance would usually be casual and short-term (the Lunda word for piecework, *chikonkwanyi,* means stint of work) on previously agreed conditions.[2249] Pineapple farmers, in particular, would employ pieceworkers to assist in tasks such as constructing ridges, weeding or harvesting pineapples. Labourers would be paid per completed ridge and remuneration might be in money, cloth, fish or meat.[2250] Pineapple farmers might commission pieceworkers to cultivate their cassava fields in exchange for a share in pineapple profits. This practice would undoubtedly benefit large farmers, who would be able to expand their fields without jeopardising food security.[2251] Nevertheless, this practice did not lead to the impoverishment of pieceworkers. This did not have to do with a lack of individual accumulative desire, nor with an inherent disposition towards egalitarian sharing, but rather with the constitution of personhood and the importance of social relationships, as large farmers were dependent on pieceworkers for prestige and power in the same manner that pieceworkers depended on large farmers for goods and support.[2252]

Work parties and piecework are subject to power hierarchies, being part of the 'micro-politics of everyday life.'[2253] They allow for a redistribution of wealth in the village, as resourceful individuals who have earned money through labour migration or cash crop production can provide others with access to scarce resources through agricultural employment.[2254] Farmers usually employ kin or neighbours, only rarely strangers.[2255] The most common pool of labourers consists of women and

---

[2242] (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Jorombo of Katundo v. Sakasumbi of Kalene Hill Mission, 19 September 1916.
[2243] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 325-6; For examples from the 1990s, see: Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.
[2244] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Quarterly Report, 30 June 1922.
[2245] Englund, 'The self in self-interest', 153; A. Hansen, 'Once the running stops: The social and economic incorporation of Angolan refugees into Zambian border villages' (PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1977).
[2246] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 321-8.
[2247] See: Fisher and Hoyte, *Ndotolu*; R. Short, *African sunset* (London, 1973).
[2248] Crehan, 'Women and development'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 88.
[2249] *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary*; Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example with Mr John Kamuhuza, April 2010, Ikelenge.
[2250] See interviews with Mr Kamuhuza, Mr Saipilinga and Mr Kamafumbu, March and April 2010, Ikelenge.
[2251] Bryceson, 'Ganyu casual labour'.
[2252] Englund, 'The self in self-interest'; Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?'.
[2253] Englund, 'The self in self-interest', 151.
[2254] Bryceson, 'Ganyu casual labour'; Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?'.
[2255] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 22. Compare to: Englund, 'The self in self-interest'; Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?'.

youth, who by working in other people's fields could earn income which might be invested in consumption, education or in their own agricultural enterprises.[2256] The material interests of labourers could play a role in their acceptance of piecework and they might in fact initiate the piecework relationship: 'When someone wants something, e.g. pair of shoes, he goes to somebody who has some and asks: "What can I work for you so that you give me the shoes?"'[2257] The relationship did not become exploitative, as pieceworkers would retain their independence by cultivating their own fields, 'which restricted the access of the richer farmers to additional labour, and thus limited their possibilities for further extending their farms.'[2258] This independence not only checked accumulative tendencies, but furthermore 'labourers themselves disclose their constitutive relationships by working for their recruiter.'[2259] Pineapple farmers could become 'Big Men', but they could only do so through the support of others, which involved responsibility for their well-being. Pineapple farmers could be:

> self-interested actors whose concern is to protect, and possibly increase, personal wealth. Yet wealth (…) becomes wealth only when it mobilises others (…) Wealth which is individual and private, mobilising no one but the person him- or herself, constitutes its proprietor as the inversion of moral being.[2260]

Pineapple farmers were expected to provide for the education of their nephews and nieces, build a house for their parents, etc.[2261] Work parties and piecework could provide an avenue towards self-realisation and create a dynamic of growth, but because aspects of personhood remained relational, this dynamic would not become exploitative.[2262] An individual could not attain wealth single-handedly, but would depend on others for their labour, skills and for building personal prestige and power: 'Persons and households appear as the outcomes of others' contributions and are, in turn, morally obliged to act in line with those relationships.'[2263] The relationships in work parties and piecework were therefore not unduly hierarchical, but would be characterised by a reciprocal dependency.

Work parties provided a model for post-independence policies of Humanism, co-operative organisation and self-help.[2264] Officials would argue that: 'Zambia has always had a tradition of mutual aid in the villages, and this is a very valuable basis on which to build a co-operative movement.'[2265] Promoting a form of equity, rather than competition, policies aimed to: 'stop the exploitation of one man by another through the cooperative practice of one man one vote and equitable distribution of profits (…) communities willingly contribute communal labour and available local resources.'[2266] Work parties could be motivated by individual aspirations. Nevertheless, work parties did not result in self-centred exploitation of labourers by 'Big Men' but rather emphasised the multiple forms of interdependence within village communities. Hosts would depend on labourers not only for physical labour, but for social standing. Self-realisation could not be achieved single-handedly, but was dependent on social relationships which constituted social and moral personhood.[2267] Hosting a work party could mark prestige in the village, whereas arising inequalities continued to be 'contained within the old idiom of reciprocity and kinship.'[2268] Work parties could accommodate social change, express individual aspirations and competition within the village. Rather than promoting individualisation

[2256] Crehan, 'Women and development', 66.
[2257] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 323.
[2258] Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?', 319.
[2259] Englund, 'The self in self-interest', 152.
[2260] Englund, 'The self in self-interest', 151.
[2261] Interviews with Mr Kamuhuza, Mr Kamafumbu and Mr Saipilinga, March and April 2010, Ikelenge.
[2262] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'.
[2263] Englund, 'The self in self-interest', 146.
[2264] J. Gould, 'On the genealogy of the post-colonial state: Lugard and Kaunda on cooperatives and authority in rural Zambia', in: H.S. Marcussen (ed.), *Improved natural resource management: The role of formal organisations and informal networks and institutions* (Roskilde, 1996), 232-57.
[2265] (UNIPA) UNIP1/1/7, Ministry of Agriculture Annual Report, 1964.
[2266] (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/1/52, R.C. Kamanga, Address to the District Governor's Workshop, 10 June 1971.
[2267] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Englund, 'The self in self-interest'.
[2268] Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?', 505.

which would lead to village breakup, commercial agriculture could be combined with ideas of reciprocity and personal ambition.[2269] Another practice which can highlight the tensions between individual accumulation and reciprocity is the sharing of food.

Sharing a meal: Food, power and hierarchy

Food is a 'prime constituent of social relations.'[2270] Moreover, 'Food is a common medium through which people define relations of reciprocity, exchange and social control, and thereby manipulate status, politics and prestige', in addition to categories of gender, age and personhood.[2271] In Mwinilunga a meal is only rarely consumed by an individual in isolation, as food can be used to express, strengthen or question social relationships. Eating is a social experience, evidenced by the paramount importance of communal eating and food sharing within the village.[2272] Commensality might be 'a metaphor of the orderly life, representing generosity, mutuality and freedom from greed.'[2273] Nevertheless, commensality does not merely express egalitarian tendencies of sharing and kinship solidarity, as eating is part of the micro-politics of daily life and can give rise to aspirations for self-aggrandisement as well.[2274] Noting a trend towards individualisation, in the 1950s Turner described that communal eating was giving way to consumption of food within the nuclear family:

> Sometimes an elementary family, including the husband, would eat together in the wife's kitchen (…) this arrangement is becoming more common today than the collective meal of the men's group. This is yet another aspect of the general breakdown of the traditional social organization in this area where subsistence cultivation is steadily giving way to petty commodity cultivation.[2275]

Even if it is no longer universal, communal eating persists until the present day.[2276] In order to persist, the practice of communal eating had to be maintained, increased or weakened by every member of the community on a daily basis.[2277] The act of eating expressed the tension between individualism and communalism, being 'a process involving reinterpretation to fit the changing events of everyday life.'[2278] The politics of food, sharing and communal consumption will be explored, revealing the tensions and power relations which lay at the basis of the seemingly simple and mundane act of eating.

Eating is governed by rules, regulations and taboos. This rule-bound aspect makes food an instrument for communication, expressing power relations along lines of gender and age.[2279] The meal connects production and consumption through redistributive acts which give some members of the community entitlements to food which they have not produced themselves.[2280] Before food reaches the plate, it has gone through a number of transformations, oscillating between collective and individual spheres of ownership.[2281] Whereas ownership of land and resources is vested in the Lunda

---

[2269] Geschiere, 'Working groups or wage labour?', 521-2; Englund, 'The self in self-interest'.

[2270] M. Douglas and J. Gross, 'Food and culture: Measuring the intricacy of rule systems', *Social science information* 20:1 (1981), 1.

[2271] De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land', 261.

[2272] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 23-4; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 253-4.

[2273] J.H. Hamer, 'Commensality, process and the moral order: An example from Southern Ethiopia', *Africa* 64:1 (1994), 137.

[2274] Hamer, 'Commensality, process and the moral order'; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; S. Bahuchet, 'Food sharing among the Pygmies of Central Africa', *African study monographs* 11:1 (1990), 27-53; E. Mandala, *The end of chidyerano: A history of food and everyday life in Malawi, 1860-2004* (Portsmouth, 2005).

[2275] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 24.

[2276] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* 193-7. For the Northern Province, Richards equally predicted that communal eating would fade due to capitalism, yet the practice persists until today.

[2277] Douglas and Gross, 'Food and culture', 5.

[2278] Hamer, 'Commensality, process and the moral order', 139.

[2279] Douglas and Gross, 'Food and culture', 1.

[2280] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land'; Mandala, *The end of chidyerano*, 221.

[2281] Mandala, *The end of chidyerano,* 203-38.

as a collective, bestowed by *Nzambi* (God the creator) and the ancestors and held in custody by chiefs and headmen, production is predominantly individual.[2282] Collective landholdings are subdivided into individual plots, worked by men and women separately. Similarly, the collective wealth of game and honey is appropriated by individual hunters or honey collectors if they prove successful in the bush.[2283] No matter how fortunate a producer might be, an individual would always acknowledge that success and wealth depended on others, as *kashinshi* (responsibility) was the most valued characteristic of all.[2284] Producers depended on kin and neighbours for collaboration and would seek ancestral or communal blessing for the success of productive activities.[2285] During the *musolu* rain ceremony crops and agricultural implements would be sacrificed at an ancestral shrine to ensure a regular rainfall during the season.[2286] Likewise, after a hunter had killed an animal, he would go to a hunting shrine to sacrifice (*kupesha*) the intestines (*mujingwa* from *jila*, be sacred, subject to taboos) of the animal to ancestral spirits to secure continued success in the hunt. Should a hunter fail to make these sacrifices, he would risk misfortune or even death.[2287] Food connects the individual to a wider community:

> the daily activities of cultivating, hunting, cooking and feeding create and make possible the integration of individuals into the household as the social redistributive and food-sharing unit which provides the constructive basis from which they properly engage in social relationships with the world beyond.[2288]

Individual producers would acknowledge their debt to the community through the act of eating, by sharing food with neighbours and kin in communal meals.

Communal meals, rather than being symbols of harmony or the outcome of a 'golden age theory' of reciprocal sharing and support, were a daily site of contestation, subject to power relationships within the village.[2289] Turner gives a standardised description of the daily meal:

> In villages men eat in the central thatched shelter (*chota* or *njang'u*) and the women take turns in cooking for the whole group (…) Cassava mush, the invariable staple of every meal, was prepared by a woman and her daughters (…) Women, girls and uncircumcised boys ate their food, cooked on a different fire from that on which the men's food had been prepared, in the kitchens, either in family groups or with friends.[2290]

Far from being egalitarian, food consumption was differentiated along lines of kinship, gender and age.[2291] Whereas men would eat food together in the *chota*, women would eat in separate kitchens, although several women might keep each other company, share food and cook together. Each household was expected to contribute something to the communal men's meal, in the form of *nshima* or relish (vegetables, beans, fish or meat). This ensured that a variety of food would reach the men's shelter – as a hunter might contribute meat, whereas a fisherman would come with fish, etc. – and it spread risks.[2292] Even the best hunters could be struck by misfortune and in this case they could rely on others without immediately suffering from hunger. Furthermore, the sharing of food would make it easier to provide for elders, orphans and visitors. Rather than becoming the exclusive responsibility

---

[2282] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 310; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 217.

[2283] V.W. Turner, *The forest of symbols: Aspects of Ndembu ritual* (Ithaca etc., 1970), 280-98; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.

[2284] Interview with Mr Justin Kambidima, 22 October 2010; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Turner, *Forest of symbols,* 280-98.

[2285] See Turner's work; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 190.

[2286] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Mazondu Sanyikosa, 27 May 2010, Nyakaseya; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 247-9, 275-81; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 16, 298, 327.

[2287] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Fanwel, 5 May 2010, Nyakaseya; See: Turner, *Forest of symbols,* 280-98.

[2288] De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land', 272.

[2289] Mandala, *The end of chidyerano,* 204; Bahuchet, 'Food sharing among the Pygmies', 27-8.

[2290] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 23-4.

[2291] De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land'; Mandala, *The end of chidyerano.*

[2292] This view is based on numerous oral interviews and observations; See: Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 23-4.

of a single household, care for needy individuals would be spread among different households.[2293] Still, sharing food was far from unproblematic.

Not all individuals could make equal claims on all types of food. Inequality in access revealed power relations within society.[2294] For one, there were hierarchies based on age and status within the male communal eating group. Elders would start eating first and would be allocated the best pieces of meat, whereas young boys would get the leftovers. If any food was left after the meal, it would be brought back to the women in their kitchens.[2295] Similarly, hierarchies would play a role when dividing meat from the hunt. These hierarchies would be contested and subject to change:

> The pattern of distribution of meat varies with the size and composition of the residential unit. If this unit is small, containing a small bilateral extended family (*ntang'a*), in addition to the portions reserved for the hunter and those given to the senior headman or chief, a back leg will be given to the hunter's brother or mother's brother or is divided between several brothers; a back leg or a front leg will be given to his mother; a front leg will be divided among his sisters; the saddle will go to his wives; the breast will go to his father; and any small pieces that remain will be distributed among boys too old to live in their parents' huts. In the larger villages containing two or more minimal matrilineages, a leg may be allocated to the senior man of each lineage, and it will be further subdivided by the latter among the married men of his lineage.[2296]

Meat distribution could be a means to acknowledge, honour and strengthen interpersonal ties within the village. A hunter would divide meat between the headman, his brothers, sisters, wives, mother and children, thereby strengthening his future claims on their labour, services and support.[2297] Meat distribution was far from equitable. Because rules remained malleable, meat distribution could become a source of tension and struggle. Conflict might erupt after a communal *ikuna* hunt:[2298]

> The buck had all been dismembered for easier distribution. Each hunter who had killed a buck was given the "head" (this technical term includes the head, neck, heart and lungs and may only be eaten by the hunter lest the magic of his hunting prowess be stolen from him), and a leg. A leg also of each buck was taken by [headman] Malovu who doubtless shared them with the other headmen. Malovu then began to distribute the remainder of the meat to all who had taken any part in the "burn". All this was accompanied by much shouting and arguing, the men who had not actually killed anything clamouring loudly for their share. This process of distribution is called *kwanzañena,* from *kwanza* (to eke out).[2299]

The division of meat was not fixed and would be subject of debate. Access to and distribution of meat could express and strengthen social relationships and make a hunter a 'Big Man'.[2300]

Because of the social and political functions of food, which enabled the building of wealth in people, not only individual consumption but food sharing among kin and neighbours would be resorted to. The tensions between individualism and communalism are brought out by Turner's description:

> It is considered to be good manners for each man or woman who has received meat to have a portion of it cooked for the men's eating-group in the village shelter, each retaining a share for his or her own elementary family. A good deal of grumbling goes on both over the precise division of the meat and over the amounts cooked for the men's group (…) Throughout the economic system a tension is set up between the individual producer or killer of food and the group who by custom have claims in it. A 'greedy person', one who persistently retains what he produces for himself, ultimately may be expelled from the village. Conversely, a professional hunter who resents the claims of remote classificatory kin

---

[2293] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Pierre Shimishi, 1 May 2010, Nyakaseya; Compare to: Mandala, *The end of chidyerano.*

[2294] De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land'; Hamer, 'Commensality, process and the moral order'.

[2295] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 23-4.

[2296] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 31.

[2297] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Turner, *Forest of symbols,* 280-98; Compare to: S.A. Marks, *Large mammals and a brave people: Subsistence hunters in Zambia* (New Brunswick etc., 2005).

[2298] See Chapter 2.

[2299] W.S. Fisher, 'Burning the bush for game', *African studies* 7:1 (1948), 38.

[2300] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 792.

> on the product of his hunting may lead away from a village a small group consisting of his wives, and children, and his sister's children, to found a new village.[2301]

Despite tensions, sharing food was about making constitutive relationships visible, about establishing moral personhood:[2302] 'If food is treated as a code, the messages it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries.'[2303] To return to the division of meat, rights over the distribution of meat were perhaps more important than access itself. By distributing meat, social relationships could be built and strengthened and that is why decision-making powers would be so vehemently contested.[2304] Food was not valued exclusively as nourishment, but could serve to establish a large and influential following. Hunters could become 'Big Men' by sharing meat and building a following, or by establishing villages of their own.[2305] By sharing produce through communal meals, individuals acknowledged interdependence with the village community: 'Foodstuffs (…) become food only in so far as they are the result of reciprocity and exchange, and relate to reproduction and life-transmission. Processes of circulating, distributing, preparing and consuming food constitute an indirect socialization of the transmission of life.'[2306] The persistence of communal meals therefore argues against individualisation and village breakup.[2307]

Communal meals could express rivalry and power relations within the village, being contested events. Not all households or individuals could contribute equally to communal meals. Notorious figures included *chibodi* (a person who is not a hunter but who likes to eat meat) and *kabwengenenge* (a person who does not like to cultivate).[2308] Even though these persons would not contribute their share to productive activities, they would demand food from others.[2309] This might result in quarrels, witchcraft accusations or even court cases: 'Sambula caught two bush-buck. He gave me a small piece of one. I told him the piece of meat was too small and we quarrelled over the matter.'[2310] The headman and elders would reprimand and encourage the lazy person to start producing more food. This communal pressure from the *chota* would evoke *nsonyi* (shame, embarrassment) which could act as a moral incentive to increase production.[2311] Starting from a young age children would be educated to work hard. In the *chota* male youths would be taught: 'If you do not contribute to the communal pot, you will get starved, you will receive no food.'[2312] Despite productive imbalances, affluent and productive village members would continue to share food with their less successful counterparts. Sharing food was a strategy towards self-realisation and a means to build wealth in people: 'self-worth is based upon wealth and power, which ironically can be obtained only through disciplined self-restraint and generous redistribution of food and material reward to others.'[2313] Becoming a 'Big Man' involved a 'balance of acquisitiveness and self-aggrandisement with sharing, avoidance of greed,

---

[2301] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 31-2.
[2302] Englund, 'The self in self-interest'.
[2303] M. Douglas, 'Deciphering a meal', *Daedalus* 101:1 (1972), 61.
[2304] Crehan, 'Women and development', 57.
[2305] See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*.
[2306] De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land', 267.
[2307] Compare to: Mandala, *The end of chidyerano*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2308] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Jonathan Chiyezhi, 2010, Mwinilunga; See: Pritchett, *Friends for life.*
[2309] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 148-52.
[2310] (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/2, Rex v. Sambula, Makaka, Japinda and Musatchi, 6 September 1915.
[2311] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Jinguluka, May 2010, Nyakaseya; (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2312] Interview with Mr Jackson Jinguluka, May 2010, Nyakaseya.
[2313] Hamer, 'Commensality, process and the moral order', 130.

generosity, and restraint.'[2314] Generosity in dispensing food would not only be rewarded with status at present, but might be converted into remembrance after death as well:[2315]

> There is a tendency to forget and ignore the spirits of bad men (…) and to boost the memory of good men. The spirits of mighty hunters are greatly respected (…) In general, a well-known man will have been an expert in some activity, hunting, fishing, medicine and so on, and his spirit will be invoked by anyone indulging in that profession; he is so to speak the patron saint or the guardian angel in respect to that activity.[2316]

Because influence and power depended on people, distributing food could serve to establish personhood and status within the community.[2317]

In the 1950s Turner predicted the demise of communal eating and linked this to a trend of individualisation. Commercialisation would strain reciprocity and promote individual accumulation.[2318] In the light of these predictions, the persistence of food sharing might be surprising. Nonetheless, despite its inherent contradictions, sharing food could serve to pool risks and enhance group cohesion, underlining relationships of mutual dependence.[2319] Because rights of ownership were based on 'each individual's responsibility in assuring the prosperity of the community', access to meat and fish entailed obligations towards others.[2320] The sharing of food was linked to other forms of exchange, to the circulation of goods in the village and beyond.[2321] Even if sharing involved responsibilities, it could accrue benefits, creating a web of ties within the community. Dispensing food entailed the expectation of a return gift, creating a debt and boosting the respectability of the host.[2322] The practice of communal eating was vital, as 'life-transmission only becomes possible through sharing, reciprocity, relatedness and complementarity.'[2323] Food had always been consumed within the household, as well as in groups.[2324] Yet exclusive individual consumption would ultimately prove unsustainable. Communal eating has not withered away, as eating continues to be a way in which to constitute and express social relationships, upon which wealth, influence and power are based.[2325] In a context of social change, economic or political insecurity, social ties could be a 'safety network'.[2326] Wealth in people constituted a desired goal and a 'Big Man' would '*diisha antu yakudya*, feed the people, that is, spend wealth on social prestige, transform *maheta* (things) into *kavumbi* (respect).'[2327] Enhancing one's connections to others by sharing food could further individual interests and resources. Although dependents, especially unproductive individuals such as *chibodi* or *kabwengenenge*, could be a burden, they could be important assets as well.[2328] Communal eating might 'help to build networks as well as to enhance an individual's reputation for generosity and public mindedness.'[2329] When compared to the beginning of the twentieth century, the frequency of communal meals has diminished, but food continues to be an important means of establishing social relationships.[2330] As an ostentation of wealth and status, food is shared with extended kin and visitors to build an individual's

[2314] Hamer, 'Commensality, process and the moral order', 130.
[2315] Pritchett, *Friends for life.*
[2316] (NAZ) NWP1/2/23, R.C. Dening Comments on Harry Vaux's Report, 31 May 1954.
[2317] Hamer, 'Commensality, process and the moral order'; De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land.'
[2318] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 24; Compare to: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*.
[2319] Mandala, *The end of chidyerano*; Bahuchet, 'Food sharing among the Pygmies'.
[2320] Bahuchet, 'Food sharing among the Pygmies', 40.
[2321] Bahuchet, 'Food sharing among the Pygmies', 38-9; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[2322] De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land'; Hamer, 'Commensality, process and the moral order'.
[2323] De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land', 269.
[2324] This view is based on numerous oral interviews; See: Mandala, *The end of chidyerano.*
[2325] Hamer, 'Commensality, process and the moral order'; De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land'.
[2326] Berry, *No condition is permanent.*
[2327] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 131.
[2328] See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 194.
[2329] Berry, *No condition is permanent,* 161.
[2330] Mandala, *The end of chidyerano.*

base of support and influence. Food can serve to strengthen interpersonal ties, which remain the most important resource in the area of Mwinilunga. Because of this, communal eating has retained its importance, even if its form has changed.

Witchcraft, jealousy and power: Discourses on accumulation and sharing

Colonial officials in Mwinilunga held that witchcraft beliefs were a thing of 'uncivilised Africans', primitive markers of 'tradition':[2331]

> The wholesale practice of witchcraft which is so deep seated that it enshrouds every aspect of the daily lives of people is an obstacle which must be broken down by strong propaganda in order to ensure the success of any concerted development.[2332]

According to linear narratives of historical change, witchcraft beliefs and practices would inevitably demise, influenced by the spread of education, Christianity and civilisation.[2333] Nevertheless, this has proved far from straightforward. Rather than seeing it as a local or conservative manifestation, witchcraft has increasingly been associated with modernity and globalisation.[2334] Looking at witchcraft might be a way 'to understand the manner in which individuals and collectivities manage human problems and seek to explain the world in which they live.'[2335] Instead of a mere belief, witchcraft is a product of moral community, a part of the 'texture of life', connected to 'adultery, jealousy, selfishness, discord, sickness, and death.'[2336] Witchcraft can reveal tensions between the individual and the community, providing a discourse in which to discuss norms of communal sharing, legitimate accumulation and the attainment of wealth.[2337] Witchcraft accusations are often attributed to a failure to share wealth and a 'disregard of basic principles of respect, reciprocity and solidarity', in favour of self-interested accumulation of profit.[2338] Witchcraft has all too often been analysed through the prism of 'social levelling', curbing initiatives towards 'individual accumulation'. Nevertheless, a binary opposition 'between communal values and selfish individualism' should be avoided as the two stand in a dialectic relationship:[2339]

> A sorcery discourse nearly always has 'levelling' implications: sorcery as originating from jealousy and seen as an attack on old or new inequalities. But this is often balanced by 'accumulative' implications: the same discourse can also serve to protect or reinforce the accumulation of wealth and power.[2340]

Witchcraft in Mwinilunga will be analysed to see how it could mediate forms of individuality and sociality. Was it used as a social levelling mechanism in times of stress and social change, or could it further individual wealth and entrepreneurship? Witchcraft discourses could simultaneously be a means of legitimising and contesting wealth: 'The idiom of witchcraft has its own power. It may frame

---

[2331] (NAZ) LGH5/1/3 Loc.3604, Lunda-Ndembu Native Authority Meeting, 13 April 1961.

[2332] (NAZ) LGH5/5/8, Mwinilunga District Development Plan, 1956.

[2333] See: V.W. Turner, 'Witchcraft and sorcery: Taxonomy versus dynamics', in: *The forest of symbols*, 112-30; F.H. Melland, *In witch-bound Africa: An account of the primitive Kaonde tribe and their beliefs* (London, 1967).

[2334] See: H. Englund, 'Witchcraft and the limits of mass mediation in Malawi', *Journal of the royal anthropological institute* 13 (2007), 295-311; J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff (eds.), *Modernity and its malcontents: Ritual and power in postcolonial Africa* (Chicago and London, 1993); G.C. Bond and D. Ciekawy (eds.), *Witchcraft dialogues: Anthropological and philosophical exchanges* (Athens, 2001); H.L. Moore and T. Sanders (eds.), *Magical interpretations, material realities: Modernity, witchcraft and the occult in postcolonial Africa* (London etc., 2001).

[2335] Bond and Ciekawy, *Witchcraft dialogues,* 4.

[2336] K.E. Fields, 'Political contingencies of witchcraft in colonial Central Africa: Culture and the state in Marxist theory', *Canadian journal of African studies* 16:3 (1982), 586.

[2337] H. Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person: The morality of accumulation in Central Malawi', *Critique of anthropology* 16 (1996), 257-79.

[2338] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 789-92.

[2339] R.A. Austen, 'The moral economy of witchcraft: An essay in comparative history', in: Comaroff, *Modernity and its malcontents,* 92.

[2340] C.F. Fisiy and P.L. Geschiere, 'Sorcery, witchcraft and accumulation: Regional variations in South and West Cameroon', *Critique of anthropology* 11:3 (1991), 253.

a social or political critique, tracing the social fault lines of wealth, power, and authority.'[2341] In this sense, witchcraft might provide a lens to study village cohesion and competition, questioning the trend towards individualisation and village breakup.[2342]

All forms of adversity, such as the delayed onset of rains, the inexplicable occurrence of disease or death, might be conceived in idioms of witchcraft. Next to extraordinary circumstances, witchcraft can deal with everyday experiences, being 'intimately bound up with people's ideas about production, exchange and consumption.'[2343] Witchcraft can at once present a fault line and a point of intersection between the individual and the community:

> Witchcraft is a social and cultural manifestation that reveals the capacity of individuals to be subjected to and resist an established normative order (…) It is built upon desire, jealousy, avarice, and the belief that through manifestations of the human will and the application of particular skills, human emotions may affect the fortunes of others. It recognizes the necessity of being social but also the limiting impositions and normative constraints derived from the incumbency of social positions, their expectations, and their anticipated obligations.[2344]

Because discourses, beliefs and practices of witchcraft stand at the intersection of the individual and the community, they can be a tool to study social change and intra-village struggles over power, wealth and meaning. Witchcraft might heighten in situations of social change and tension.[2345] Within a context of flux, witchcraft discourses might be seen as 'moral frameworks for making sense of wage labour, consumption, migration, productive regimes, structural adjustment programmes, development policies and the functioning of markets.'[2346] In the area of Mwinilunga, witchcraft is a discourse about the attainment of power and wealth, involving control over production and reproduction, being:

> an argument about *how* (…) prosperity is to be achieved. Witchcraft unravels a relational notion of personhood; accumulation is endowed with moral adequacy as long as the enterprising person makes his or her constitutive relationships visible, usually through gift-giving, patronage or feasting. Conversely, the morally despised form of accumulation derives from the perception of the person as an individual. In brief, witchcraft discourses are (…) occasions to contest and manage the images of the person as a moral being.[2347]

How could witchcraft discourses mediate processes of social change, expressing tensions between individuals and the community? Looking at witchcraft and its changing manifestations over time can reveal norms about accumulation and sharing, how these norms have been contested and why the importance of social relationships has not been superseded by overt expressions of individualism.

Witchcraft as a discourse about fertility, wealth and power

Witchcraft is all too often associated with negative, anti-social and malignant forces, charged with afflicting evil, harming others and usurping power by illicit means. According to Turner, it might even be representative of 'a world of decay, where all that is normal, healthy and ordered is reduced to chaos and "primordial slime."'[2348] Witchcraft might heighten in times of social change and societal stress. More positively, witchcraft might be a way to give direction to change, domesticating some aspects of change whilst debating, contesting or rejecting undesirable consequences.[2349] Although in Mwinilunga witchcraft possessed dangerous and destructive elements, it simultaneously held a positive, protective and power-enhancing potential.[2350] Discourses on witchcraft are commonly

[2341] Bond and Ciekawy, *Witchcraft dialogues,* 11.
[2342] E. Colson, 'The father as witch', *Africa* 70:3 (2000), 333-58.
[2343] Moore and Sanders, *Magical interpretations,* 15.
[2344] Bond and Ciekawy, *Witchcraft dialogues,* 317.
[2345] Colson, 'The father as witch', 335; Turner, 'Witchcraft and sorcery'.
[2346] Moore and Sanders, *Magical interpretations,* 15.
[2347] Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person', 260.
[2348] Turner, 'Witchcraft and sorcery', 125.
[2349] Comaroff, *Modernity and its malcontents*; Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person'.
[2350] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 288-313; See: Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

associated with issues of fertility, wealth and power.[2351] The notion of *maheta* (wealth, riches, property) implies not only material possessions, but also fertility in the broadest sense of the word, including offspring, agricultural produce, meat and fish.[2352] Fertility is highly valued within the ideology of wealth in people. Norms of solidarity, reciprocity and fertility 'characterize the cultural order of life in the village, given form in the relationships between the generations, or between genitor/genitrix and offspring.' This cultural order is 'defined by life-giving reciprocity between hunter and family, husband and wife, between living and dead, and between the generations.'[2353] Witchcraft can be negatively associated with the blockage of life-flow, the lack of desired fertility or the failure to be self-sufficient.[2354] Because childlessness is the inversion of fertility, old spinsters might be accused of witchcraft for failure to bear children.[2355] One colonial official noted that a person accused of witchcraft would in most cases be 'some friendless old woman or a wretched domestic slave who by reason of some bodily infirmity was not capable of earning his keep.'[2356] Social relationships are vital to the constitution of moral personhood. This is particularly pronounced in *Nyamuweji*, a small settlement for accused witches established by the missionaries of Kalene Hill in the 1910s and still in place today.[2357] One of the current inhabitants was accused of witchcraft after her nephews and nieces had started dying from undefined causes. The witchdoctor who divined the cause of the deaths attributed the misfortune to the old woman, who had remained childless all her life. She was accused of being in possession of a *ndumba* (cat-like demon, evil spirit possessing witch) with which she would eat the lives of her family members. Consequently, she was chased from her village to *Nyamuweji*.[2358] This accusation was based on a notion of undesirable life-inverting fertility, the woman was accused of 'having "eaten the life" of another person.'[2359] Underlining the notion of wealth in people, social relationships are valued as major assets. Therefore, old spinsters who lack support and relationships can be accused of witchcraft, for attempting to usurp the fertility of others.[2360]

Apart from being a negative force which wrests power, witchcraft could have more positive effects. Chiefs, for example, could enhance the fertility of their areas, engaging in witchcraft which might be socially legitimate. Chiefs were associated with witchcraft as a means of protecting the population.[2361] During the time of pre-colonial slave raiding, when villages congregated within stockades (*mpwembu*), the village head could provide additional protection through charms such as *mujiminu,* which would make the village invisible to outside attackers, or by deploying an *ilomba* (mythical snake) in a magical feud (*chipuupu*).[2362] Chief Kanongesha Ndembi was openly associated with witchcraft: 'An amount of clandestine witchcraft activity is carried on with the Chiefs tacit approval and he himself is popularly believed to be something of an expert.'[2363] Knowledge of witchcraft could evoke reverence, but also fear among the population: 'His open belief in black magic

---

[2351] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Colson, 'The father as witch'; A. Apter, 'Matrilineal motives: Kinship, witchcraft, and repatriation among Congolese refugees', *Journal of the royal anthropological institute* 18 (2012), 25.

[2352] *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary*; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.

[2353] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 789.

[2354] Turner, 'Witchcraft and sorcery'; Colson, 'The father as witch'; Apter, 'Matrilineal motives'.

[2355] Contrast to: Colson, 'The father as witch'.

[2356] (NAZ) HM6/CO3/4/1, E.A. Copeman Papers.

[2357] Fisher and Hoyte, *Ndotolu.*

[2358] Interviews in Nyamuweji, 4 May 2010, Nyakaseya.

[2359] (EOS) Echoes of Service Magazine, A. Agard, 'Murders for Witchcraft', Kazombo, No. 634, 36th Year, November 1907.

[2360] Apter, 'Matrilineal motives', 25.

[2361] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 326-7; Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests,* 96-8; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 303-6.

[2362] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Fanwel, 5 May 2010, Nyakaseya; See: D.M. Gordon, *Invisible agents: Spirits in a Central African history* (Athens, 2012).

[2363] (NAZ) LGH5/4/5 Loc. 3616, Lunda-Ndembo Native Authority Meeting, 6 May 1961.

and witchcraft flouts the laws of the country and he is greatly feared by the people of his area.'[2364] Chiefs were associated with witchcraft exactly because of their power,[2365] being resourceful enough to possess charms: 'Mwachiamfwa, being a man of resources, claims to have a 'medicine' to make chiefs witch proof.'[2366] Whereas witchcraft could serve to 'reinforce the existing power structure',[2367] power could also be questioned through the idioms of witchcraft.[2368] In the 1950s colonial documents contained long transcripts of the dispute between Chief Chibwika and Kanongesha over the ascendancy of the Kanongesha chieftaincy. Both parties resorted to witchdoctors, either to harm their opponent or to protect themselves from attack. Discourses of fertility and power were involved in the dispute, as Chibwika professed that: 'Chief Kanongesha had been at his throne for a long time and he wanted to take over that throne.' Chibwika consulted a witchdoctor (*chimbanda*): 'to give him medicine for his body, so that anyone who mentioned his name would die.' Kanongesha's witchdoctor declared that: 'Chief Kanongesha said that Chief Chibwika was trying to kill him, and he asked me for defence medicine. So I gave him a tortoise shell and two sets of crossed sticks, to defend him against lions and snakes when he went outside.'[2369] Tensions between Chibwika and Kanongesha gave rise to a *chipuupu* in which claims to power and authority were contested. Kanongesha feared attack and therefore he:

> protects himself by having an extensive knowledge of the local medicines himself, by confining himself to his own village, and by taking water only from a stream unknown to everyone else and food from a special trusted servant. He surrounds himself with an aura of magic, and (…) even educated men will not approach his house at night.[2370]

Rather than being a social levelling mechanism, witchcraft could act as a discourse to legitimise the attainment of wealth and power. Chiefs are associated with witchcraft practices because of the position of power they occupy.[2371] Not only should they be able to protect themselves from attacks, but they might actively use witchcraft to enhance their status.[2372] This use of witchcraft was considered legitimate, for with the chiefly position of power came responsibility over subjects. Witchcraft was condoned as long as a chief would rule well, protect his subjects, share his riches and bring prosperity to his area.[2373] Paradoxically, a chief would be depicted as a warrior and a bringer of peace at the same time. The population might ask: '*Anganda ami nikwinka hodi? Etu tunahani kovwahila*' – 'My chief what can I give you? We have given you respect.'[2374] This means that the chief bestows benefits on the population through his rule and that the population should reciprocate chiefly benevolence and custody by granting respect. Nonetheless, witchcraft and chiefly power could not be overtly individualising, as a chief depended on his subjects for respect and authority. Because the chief would bestow fertility on the community, he would be considered a 'Big Man' within the framework of wealth in people and he would be authorised to engage in socially legitimate forms of witchcraft.[2375]

[2364] (NAZ) LGH5/4/5 Loc. 3616, Lunda-Ndembo Native Authority Meeting, 30 January 1959.
[2365] Vansina, *How societies are born,* 268-9.
[2366] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Quarterly Report, 30 June 1919.
[2367] Colson, 'The father as witch', 344.
[2368] Gordon, *Invisible agents*; Fields, 'Political contingencies of witchcraft'.
[2369] (NAZ) SEC5/242, R.C. Dening on the Misconduct of Chief Chibwika, 27 August 1953.
[2370] (BOD) R.C. Dening Papers, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, No. 6 1947.
[2371] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 304: 'The power possessed by chiefs may provoke envy and enmity among his subjects. Yet (…) that power is widely acknowledged as a necessary element in maintaining the balance of forces between this world and the other.'
[2372] Gordon, *Invisible agents*; Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests,* 96-8.
[2373] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person'.
[2374] Mulumbi Datuuma II, 'Customs of the Lunda Ndembu, Volume I, The Kanongesha chieftainship succession in Zambia' (Unpublished manuscript, 2010).
[2375] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person'.

Hunters were another category of the population frequently associated with witchcraft due to their connections to fertility and power.[2376] Talented hunters might be accused of using witchcraft to kill game, as this would explain their exceptional accumulation of life-force: 'successful gun-hunters [*chiyanga*] are regarded as sorcerers, who acquire their power in hunting by killing people by means of their familiars.'[2377] Control over highly valued game meat would be regarded as a symbol of fertility, contributing to communal welfare and being a means to enhance power.[2378] Thus, successful hunters might be associated with witchcraft. A *chiyanga* would be:

> assisted by the guardian shade of a deceased hunter kinsman and by magical charms, he performs rites to propitiate the shades of the hunter-dead before he ventures into the bush, and he is believed to encounter there the inimical powers of witches, sorcerers, ghosts, werelions, and persecuting ancestors.[2379]

To enhance his powers as a hunter, a *chiyanga* would go through a competitive and hierarchical cult.[2380] After proceeding through several grades, the *chiyanga* would be honoured by 'a celebration of the hunter's skill and success over a long period and a feast in honor of his guardian ancestor spirit who has provided him – and through him his dependents and fellow villagers – with a regular supply of meat.'[2381] Witchcraft could enhance the power and fertility of hunters and was deemed necessary to become a successful *chiyanga*. More negatively, witchcraft could set limits to individual power and accumulation. Witchcraft accusations could result from quarrels over the division of meat, as 'a professional hunter who resents the claims of remote classificatory kin on the product of his hunting', might be charged with greed or lack of sharing by a *chisoda* (unsuccessful hunter).[2382] Despite communal claims on meat and norms of reciprocity, individual *chiyanga* hunters could deviate from such norms. Hunters might use witchcraft to set their own terms, differentiate themselves from others and gain power vis-à-vis their peers. A *chiyanga* would enjoy remarkable freedom of movement, could express individualism and would hold great power.[2383] Through witchcraft tensions between individualism and communalism could find expression.

The case of hunting illustrates that witchcraft could, on the one hand, be used to underline communal norms and foster reciprocity, functioning as a social levelling mechanism.[2384] A *chisoda* might claim his share of meat by bewitching a greedy *chiyanga,* promoting the equitable division of meat.[2385] On the other hand, witchcraft might enhance individualism, power and fertility. By using witchcraft a *chiyanga* might increase his success and create a name for himself.[2386] Witchcraft could be used to substantiate communal claims as well as to assert individual agency. Underlining norms or challenging them, witchcraft could be a force of both continuity and change.[2387] By deviating from norms, a successful gun-hunter might gradually reconfigure standards and expectations, yet only within certain limits. Even a *chiyanga* protected by witchcraft could not afford to be selfish and greedy, cutting off social ties by keeping all meat to himself. Within the context of wealth in people, greed, stinginess and selfishness (*chifwa*) were likened to social death (*fwa*, to die).[2388] Nevertheless, a hunter could question and modify established norms by becoming a powerful and respected person, thereby

[2376] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 32.
[2377] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 32.
[2378] De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land'.
[2379] Turner, 'Themes in the symbolism of Ndembu hunting ritual', 281.
[2380] Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example with Mr Paul Maseka, 18 May 2010, Nyakaseya.
[2381] Turner, 'Themes in the symbolism of Ndembu hunting ritual', 283-4.
[2382] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 32.
[2383] Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Steven Chikwili, 14 October 2010, Ntambu.
[2384] See: Austen, 'The moral economy of witchcraft'.
[2385] Interview with Mr Mischek Maseka, 11 May 2010, Nyakaseya.
[2386] See Turner's work.
[2387] See: Bond and Ciekawy, *Witchcraft dialogues*; Moore and Sanders, *Magical interpretations.*
[2388] *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary*; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 194-5.

setting a precedent for others to follow. Hunters were regarded as solitary figures who could make a name for themselves, gain recognition and fame in a large area. Occupying a special position, hunters were at once part of society and stood outside of it.[2389] In this sense, witchcraft could lead not only to a confirmation, but also to a potential 'rearticulation of inherited ideological elements.'[2390]

As the previous examples have shown, witchcraft could be a means to enhance individual and communal fertility, wealth and power.[2391] In order to protect oneself against the manifold risks of everyday life, an individual could resort to the use of charms.[2392] Examples are *chikaka* and *ndakala*, which provide protection against crocodiles and hippos in the river or against snakes and wild animals in the bush.[2393] Some charms could confer good luck unto a person in his or her productive activities. Roots and leaves from various plants could be gathered and put into an *izawu* (medicine pot) in the middle of a field. Before planting, a seed or root would first be dipped into the *izawu* and this would ensure a plentiful harvest, even in fields of a small surface.[2394] Other charms might be used to wash a hoe, axe, hunting spear or fishing hook in, ensuring abundant supplies of crops, meat or fish.[2395] The charm *mutookela* could be used for good luck in agricultural production, hunting or fishing endeavours, as well as to solicit a warm welcome when embarking on a long journey.[2396] Witchcraft could actively enhance the power and fertility of individuals. Therefore witchdoctors would be greatly esteemed:

> The Chiyomboka, the witch doctor and Diviner, whether he be an honest man trying to stamp out evil, or a charlatan encouraging evil for his own ends, is looked upon with great respect as a public prosecutor and guardian of the people.[2397]

Witchcraft could play into existing relationships and hierarchies in the village, reflecting age, gender and power differentials.[2398] It appeared that the increased power and prestige of old age caused a heightened proclivity towards witchcraft: 'All men are suspected dabblers in the Occult, and it is regrettable that the old men, whose age and wisdom should command the respect of the youth, are often by their very age and wisdom the more suspect of Sorcery.'[2399] Yet apart from reflecting existing hierarchies, witchcraft could challenge hierarchies, serving to acquire influence and power.

Witchcraft could be an idiom in which to express struggles and power relations within society.[2400] In a competitive atmosphere in which power and authority were contested, a *chipuupu* (magical feud) might be resorted to:

> Many of the Lunda people, especially the men, spend a good deal of their time on what may best be termed magical feuds. These feuds consist of a kind of battle between two people with black magic as the weapon. It generally begins with a quarrel (…) [Upon ascertaining that one person wishes to inflict harm on another, recourse to a witch-doctor is sought. One] tells the witch-doctor his trouble and is told what fee he must pay. If his enemy is a powerful man (…) a big fee will be demanded (…) The richer

---

[2389] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.

[2390] S. Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals: Anthropology and history in Tanzania* (Madison, 1990), 26.

[2391] Gordon, *Invisible agents*; Apter, 'Matrilineal motives'.

[2392] Colson, 'The father as witch', 338; Melland, *In witch-bound Africa*; W. Singleton Fisher, 'Black magic feuds', *African studies* 8:1 (1949), 20-2.

[2393] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Fanwel, 5 May 2010, Nyakaseya.

[2394] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Zabetha Nkemba, 8 May 2010, Nyakaseya; See: Melland, *In witch-bound Africa*; Colson, 'The father as witch'.

[2395] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 16.

[2396] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Fred Mpenji, 3 August 2010, Kanongesha; *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary.*

[2397] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.

[2398] Turner associated male witchcraft with free will and power, whereas a female witch would have witchcraft 'thrust upon her', 'she is thought to be quite aware of what has happened, but for fear of her own life cannot resist the lethal demands of familiars against her kin.' Turner, 'Sorcery and witchcraft', 120. This distinction was not reflected in my own observations.

[2399] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.

[2400] Gordon, *Invisible agents.*

> of the two continues to make black magic while the poorer man, unable to continue paying the witch-doctor's fees succumbs from superstitious fear, pines and dies.[2401]

Possessing an *ilomba* could make one extremely powerful: 'The owner of 'ilomba' becomes very strong, physically, and does not die early. The possession of 'ilomba' assures the owner generally from all harm or personal violence.'[2402] Nevertheless, power was not without risks. After an initial period of co-operation between the owner and the witchcraft familiar, an *ilomba* might turn against the owner:

> At first the *ilomba* is the servant of his owner and is occupied in obeying his commands, killing the people whom his owner wants out of the way (…) The *ilomba's* appetite grows with success (…) It appears that the owner is powerless to resist the *ilomba's* demands and so the *ilomba* soon becomes its owner's master, excepting that he can never swallow the shadow of a victim unless it is named by its owner. Finally the *ilomba's* demands become so exorbitant (he will even ask for its owner's favourite wife or dearest child) that the owner will commit suicide rather than accede to them.[2403]

Although individuals could assert power and question norms of communal sharing through witchcraft, power relations were not turned on their head through the witchcraft dialogue.[2404] Whilst witchcraft could be used as a protective or power enhancing means, it could not be controlled by its owner:

> It is (…) well-known that important personages in Lundaland usually have more than what they consider their fair share of enemies; they are therefore given the power to transfer their spirits to some animal permanently; so that if they are poisoned or shot they do not die, as they have no life to lose! This however has one disadvantage, because if the enemy can discover which animal has been entrusted with the spirit, and can obtain the necessary fetishes to kill that animal, the native who has parted with his life expires with the animal.[2405]

Witchcraft stood at the interstices of opportunity and risk. It might be used for positive or negative purposes, being a discourse about the power inherent in society.[2406] Witchcraft could simultaneously enhance and jeopardise power. How did witchcraft interplay with norms about reciprocity, sharing, wealth and accumulation?

Rather than being self-generating, wealth (*maheta*) should be actively produced or even captured (*heta* to gain, possess, own).[2407] Norms stipulate what is considered to be 'legitimate accumulation' of wealth, versus illegitimate 'self-interested profit-making', yet norms are continuously breached and these breaches find expression in idioms of witchcraft.[2408] Witchcraft accusations might occur when a person has accumulated wealth and power, but has failed to share this adequately with kin and neighbours. Such individuals might be accused of or attacked by malignant witchcraft.[2409] One woman explained the death of her brother through reference to witchcraft. Because he had bought several motorcars and had started a successful trading business, others felt jealous and plotted to kill him through witchcraft, because he had not shared his riches among his kin.[2410] Witchcraft might be associated negatively with social levelling mechanisms, discouraging entrepreneurship, and favouring an attitude of 'getting things from others for nothing.'[2411] Allegedly, nobody would want to 'put his head above the parapet', because 'he will be bewitched because he thinks he is better than his

[2401] Fisher, 'Black magic feuds', 20-2.
[2402] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks, 159.
[2403] Fisher, 'Black magic feuds', 22.
[2404] Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person'; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.
[2405] (NAZ) HM17/MI5/2, Bruce-Miller Papers, Central African Spiritualism.
[2406] Fields, 'Political contingencies of witchcraft'.
[2407] F. De Boeck, 'Borderland breccia: The mutant hero in the historical imagination of a Central-African diamond frontier', *Journal of colonialism and colonial history* 1:2 (2000).
[2408] Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person'; Bond and Ciekawy, *Witchcraft dialogues.*
[2409] Fisiy and Geschiere, 'Sorcery, witchcraft and accumulation'; Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person', 271-2.
[2410] Anonymous interview, March 2010, Ikelenge.
[2411] (NAZ) MCD1/3/29, North-Western Province, African Provincial Council, June 1955.

fellows.'[2412] Nevertheless, witchcraft should not necessarily be associated with the limitation of wealth or levelling processes. Norms of reciprocity within the village were not universally shared or uncontested, but would rather be debated through idioms of witchcraft.[2413] In the case of chiefs or successful hunters, witchcraft might enhance individual accumulation, enabling the building of wealth and power.

Not only could witchcraft reconfigure the familiar, but it could be an aid to make sense of the unfamiliar.[2414] Domesticating new influences in 'an ongoing argument in which multiple voices participate', witchcraft is closely linked to modernity and thrives 'as a means by which rural and urban Africans alike confront contemporary problems.'[2415] Rather than being an archaic remnant, in the area of Mwinilunga witchcraft was intricately bound to market production, labour migration and the consumption of mass-manufactured goods.[2416] Witchcraft could incorporate change, making use of such attributes as telephones to communicate with ancestors, or Hondas as a means of transportation for witches.[2417] Witchcraft was neither a sign of individualisation and self-interested accumulation, nor a social levelling mechanism espousing communal solidarity. Instead, witchcraft could be a discourse about the constitution of moral personhood, the ideal being a person who is 'courageous, firm and brave, who has self-restraint and shows perseverance, strong will, character, courage, and a sense of responsibility.'[2418] Accumulation of wealth and power itself was not critiqued, but pathways of accumulation could be questioned. Moral personhood was conceived as thoroughly social and relational, and therefore a person who achieved wealth without making his or her constitutive relationships visible would be suspect of witchcraft.[2419]

Witchcraft was not a social levelling mechanism, as it could equally enhance individual wealth and power, being used by both the rich and the poor. Witchcraft could be evoked by envy (*ichima, lwisu*) which the poor feel towards the rich. But it might equally originate from the greed (*chifwa, chisumi, kababa*) of the rich and powerful, who possess riches and power but want more. More benignly, witchcraft could provide protection against both envy and greed.[2420] Witchcraft could function as a critique of illegitimate accumulation. The man-eating lion *Kabalabala* might threaten the material wealth of returning labour migrants who had not shared goods with kin.[2421] Similarly, during the pineapple boom, wealthy farmers might be accused of witchcraft or could be attacked by the witchcraft of others, if they failed to dispense their riches to neighbours.[2422] Witchcraft can illustrate norms, reflecting how people think things should be organised within society. At the same time, witchcraft provides an opportunity to question norms, effect change and establish new discourses, causing gradual value transformation.[2423] Norms do not remain fixed, but are continually contested and reconfigured. This reconfiguration might occur through the discourse and practice of witchcraft. Although 'longstanding moral matrixes and habituses' could play a role in guiding behaviour, individuals continually 'reinvent older notions, mentalities, practices, and moralities' within the changing circumstances of their daily lives.[2424] Witchcraft was neither an expression of growing

[2412] Interview with Mr Paul Fisher, 27 September 2008, Hillwood Farm; For witchcraft and social levelling, see: Moore and Sanders, *Magical interpretations.*

[2413] Colson, 'The father as witch'; Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person'.

[2414] Comaroff, *Modernity and its malcontents*; L. White, *Speaking with vampires: Rumor and history in colonial Africa* (Berkeley etc., 2000).

[2415] Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person', 257.

[2416] Moore and Sanders, *Magical interpretations,* 15.

[2417] E. Turner, 'Philip Kabwita, ghost doctor: The Ndembu in 1985', *The drama review* 30:4 (1986), 28.

[2418] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 794.

[2419] Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person'; Fisiy and Geschiere, 'Sorcery, witchcraft and accumulation'.

[2420] *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary;* Englund, 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person'.

[2421] See Chapter 3B.

[2422] See Chapter 2.

[2423] Fields, 'Political contingencies of witchcraft'; Colson, 'The father as witch'.

[2424] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 801; Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals.*

individualism nor a safeguard for communal norms of reciprocity and sharing, but rather adapted to changing historical circumstances, debating their course and affecting their outcome.

Kinship, gender and the family: Social relationships and individualisation

The appearance of farms in the 1940s and 1950s was persistently linked to patterns of individualisation and a nucleation of the family.[2425] Colonial officials, missionaries and anthropologists alike proposed that 'capital has a profound impact upon the structure of kinship systems at the local level.'[2426] If individualisation and family nucleation would materialise, this would have far-reaching and indeed transformative effects on patterns of social relationships, gender, kinship and village residence.[2427] Studying change in village, family and household organisation is highly complex, because of a lack of sources, the discourse employed in the sources and because change is likely to be gradual, diffuse and contested, rather than clearly observable or straightforward.[2428] Instead of assuming linear transitions from extended kinship to individualisation and family nucleation, we should:

> look, first, at what resources are at stake in a community (including people), with an awareness of how their relative values can change over time. Then we should look at the control exercised over these resources, the complex contracts, negotiations and shifts which take place at all levels of society in response to this, and the varied patterning of relationships which results.[2429]

By paying attention to historical contestation and negotiation within the village, family and household a view which is quite different from family nucleation or individualisation might arise.[2430] After looking at gender relationships, the issue of kinship and social relationships will be returned to, as 'people create their own histories but do so through discursive and practical strategies that embody the 'received categories' of their cultures and the political-economic conditions of their existence.'[2431] It will be suggested that 'changes in the family and kinship structure in response to local social and economic transformation can be equated not with nuclearisation [or individualisation] but with the emergence of a modified form of family and kinship.'[2432]

Men and women: Contestation, co-operation and accumulation within the household

The model of the nuclear family assumes distinct but complementary male and female spheres of production and reproduction. Ideas of the male breadwinner as household head rest on the separation of female domestic labour and male wage labour outside the household sphere.[2433] The case of Mwinilunga District suggests a different pattern. Gender relationships in the area were inherently contentious and fluid, signified by individual production and separate spheres yet equally by household

[2425] Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 43; Turner and Turner, 'Money economy'; Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family'.
[2426] Bates, 'Capital, kinship, and conflict', 151.
[2427] Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family'; Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2428] M. Vaughan, 'Which family?: Problems in the reconstruction of the family as an economic and cultural unit', *Journal of African history* 24:2 (1983), 275-83; Mandala, *The end of chidyerano,* 203-38; Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests.*
[2429] Vaughan, 'Which family?', 275-6.
[2430] Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family'.
[2431] P.E. Peters, 'Revisiting the puzzle of matriliny in South-Central Africa', *Critique of anthropology* 17:125 (1997), 128.
[2432] Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family', 512.
[2433] Crehan, 'Women and development', 51; Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family', 510-12; A. Spring and A. Hansen, 'The underside of development: Agricultural development and women in Zambia', *Agriculture and human values* 2:1 (1985), 60-7.

complementarity.[2434] Tracing power struggles within the household can question basic assumptions about 'the family', 'kinship' and 'individualisation'.

Productive, consumptive and even social relationships between the sexes in Mwinilunga District have been described as characterised by *chaambu*, separation or division.[2435] This separation of tasks by gender is reflected in the Lunda proverb '*neyala wubinda, namumbanda lusemu*' – 'for the man hunting, for the woman procreation'.[2436] Men and women have been viewed in terms of opposition, man the hunter and life-taker, woman the agriculturalist and life-giver.[2437] According to the observations of colonial officials, productive activities were almost completely segregated by gender. Men would focus on hut building, hunting and might assist in heavy agricultural tasks such as the cutting of trees. Women, on the other hand, would draw water, cook and do most agricultural tasks, such as hoeing, weeding and harvesting.[2438] Such divisions were by no means complete, unchanging or uncontested. Even if descriptions suggest only a minimal degree of overlap between male and female tasks, such discourses obscure everyday forms of collaboration between the sexes. Complementarity rather than joint labour prevailed. Men and women would occasionally collaborate in such tasks as hoeing and sowing, although these tasks were predominantly female and men would assist only if need arose.[2439] In the end, however, productive tasks were interdependent and complementary – a male hunter could not do without the *nshima* provided by his wife, whereas a female cultivator would depend on her husband to cut the trees in her field.[2440] Rather than being independent, individuals were linked together in a series of mutually constitutive gender roles.

The tension between independence and complementarity is brought out by the reciprocal claims to labour and resources made in marriage and divorce cases.[2441] Women would be expected to cultivate their own field, and therefore official court statements from the colonial period might assert that: 'a husband is entitled to chase [divorce] his wife, if she does not carry out her functions as a good housewife.'[2442] According to the saying 'the woman without a garden is not worthy to marry', a wife who failed to cultivate would risk being divorced.[2443] One man requested divorce from his wife, complaining in court because: 'She is very lazy and continually refuses to do her share of cultivating – when I remonstrate her she runs off to her mother.'[2444] Women could equally lay claims on the labour of their husbands.[2445] One woman requested divorce, stating that: 'I have been living by myself at my village for 2 years now – my husband has not built me a hut. He has not given me any present since 1915.'[2446] Women would systematically lay claims on the labour and possessions of their husbands and failure to fulfil legitimate claims would cause contestation and might lead to divorce.[2447] Once cloth

[2434] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Five; Crehan, 'Women and development'; Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.
[2435] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 23; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 177.
[2436] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 27; Confirmed by numerous oral interviews.
[2437] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 187-91; Turner, *The drums of affliction,* 179; See: Crehan, 'Women and development'; Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.
[2438] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks, 157 for a schematic overview of 'male' and 'female' tasks. Oral interviews also tend to reproduce a standardised division of labour; See: Crehan, 'Women and development'.
[2439] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[2440] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Crehan, 'Women and development'.
[2441] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'; Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*; See: J.L. Parpart, '"Where is your mother?": Gender, urban marriage, and colonial discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945', *The international journal of African historical studies* 27:2 (1994), 241-71.
[2442] (NAZ) SEC2/963, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, July 1955.
[2443] (NAZ) Mutende, February 1944.
[2444] (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Chikwanda of Ntambo v. Chiwemba of Chisunka, 15 January 1922.
[2445] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.
[2446] (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Malato v. Chirundu & Shamiombwe, 26 July 1917.
[2447] Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Julian Chiyezhi, 2010, Mwinilunga; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Five.

spread widely throughout the area it became acceptable for a woman to demand presents of cloth from her husband. Especially if a man engaged in migrant wage labour or sold cash crops, a woman might claim one cloth a year from her husband. At present, such claims continue to be acceptable and a woman without clothes is ridiculed for having a lazy husband.[2448] Despite productive individualism, complementarity between gender roles prevailed. Even if they might act independently in the majority of cases, women and men would depend on one another in the productive and consumptive order of village life, by laying reciprocal claims on each other's labour, wealth and resources. Yet claims and rights remained far from stable, being subject to continuous debate and historical change.[2449]

Through everyday interactions, the relationships between men and women were negotiated and reconfigured. Over the course of the twentieth century gender divisions of labour in agricultural production were modified in reaction to socio-economic and political change.[2450] Ideas about male and female roles were contested, but change played out differently according to household, locality and social setting. Gendered divisions of labour could constitute 'structures of moral expectation', giving rise to reciprocal obligations, which established 'specific power landscapes' in which individuals would operate.[2451] How were these moral expectations, with regard to gender roles in agricultural production, given shape and how did they change over time? Throughout Mwinilunga District oral tradition steadfastly locates agricultural production within the female sphere.[2452] Accounts suggest that men would only assist women with specific tasks, such as the cutting of trees, but would otherwise steer clear of agricultural production. Rather, men preferred to engage in quintessentially male activities in the bush, such as hunting or honey collecting. These occupations would require bouts of intense but periodic activity in contrast to the daily and prolonged effort of agricultural production.[2453] Oral tradition thus suggests uncontested and unchanging divisions of labour since time immemorial, an assertion which appears unwarranted.[2454] Colonial officials in the first half of the twentieth century observed that men could in fact be relatively active in agricultural production. In 1915 the District Commissioner remarked that: 'it is the aLunda men who do nine-tenths of the hoeing etc. in the garden.' This overstatement was meant to counter male labour migration, which would cause 'starvation for the women whilst the men were away', if women would not be 'taught the "dignity of labour".'[2455] Serving ulterior motives, such discourses pleaded for industrious behaviour and increased female agricultural productivity.[2456] More in accordance with oral tradition, other reports might note that: 'The cultivation of land and the raising of the crops is usually left to the woman and very little supervision or interest is exercised by the [man].'[2457] Such diametrically opposed views might appear puzzling, yet they attest that gender roles were never fixed, being subject to contestation and change. Gender roles were not simply given by social norms, 'but had always depended very much on the specific circumstances of the individuals and kinship groups involved.'[2458]

Over the course of the twentieth century men and women rearticulated gender roles in agricultural production, but they did not necessarily do so along officially expected lines. Officials asserted a discursive opposition between female 'subsistence' and male 'market' production, connoting expectations of increasing individualism and gender separation in productive

[2448] This view is based on numerous oral interviews; See: K.T. Hansen, *Salaula: The world of secondhand clothing and Zambia* (Chicago etc., 2000).
[2449] Crehan, 'Women and development'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2450] Crehan, 'Women and development'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2451] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl', 213.
[2452] Based on oral interviews; See: Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[2453] Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[2454] Vaughan, 'Which family?', 275-6.
[2455] (NAZ) KSE6/1/3, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March 1915. See: (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Lunda Division Quarterly Report, 30 September 1916.
[2456] Compare to: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2457] (NAZ) Department of Agriculture, Lunda Division, Annual Report, 1925.
[2458] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl', 218.

relationships.[2459] Nevertheless, such divisions remained permeable and contested, rather than becoming absolute or fixed.[2460] In the 1950s female predominance in subsistence agricultural production appeared firmly established, yet women would equally participate in market production.[2461] Contemporary observers noted that women accounted for the main part of agricultural production, particularly in the riverside gardens where a variety of crops – such as vegetables, rice, maize and beans – were produced for sale.[2462] Women might carry food for sale in baskets over long distances, the cultivation of rice was described as a female prerogative and 'at most villages some of the women have streamside gardens, where maize and beans are grown.'[2463] Due to labour migration, which caused male absence for prolonged periods of time and thus limited male participation in agricultural production and marketing, women were able to take advantage of heightened opportunities for crop marketing in the 1940s and 1950s. By intensifying their labour inputs, relying on the assistance of neighbours and kin or by organising work parties, some women developed into veritable agricultural entrepreneurs.[2464]

Nevertheless, the strong position of women in agricultural production did not go unquestioned. Agricultural commercialisation would supposedly lead to economic individualism and clearly defined gender roles. As a result, women would largely be confined to subsistence production whereas men would engage in market production.[2465] Turner both confirmed and questioned such assumptions, concluding that:

> In the new cash economy men are acquiring an economic supremacy *vis-à-vis* women which they never possessed in the past when the women provided the regular and stable sources of nourishment from their cassava and maize gardens. On the other hand while women continue to retain an independent sphere within the subsistence economy and exercise control over the moneys obtained from the sale of their produce, they have a means of asserting their social independence from their husbands. The sexes are less interdependent than in the past and economic individualism both in production and consumption seems to be the keynote of the new cash economy.[2466]

In the 1940s and 1950s women had been able to seize agricultural marketing opportunities largely because men were engaged in wage labour in urban centres, or because men focused on other (more profitable) income-earning opportunities, such as the production of wax, rubber or items of carpentry, next to hunting, fishing or rearing livestock.[2467] From a 1950s survey it appeared that women, overall, earned more money from crop sales than men (£3 4s 9d versus £2 5s 7d). Yet whereas crop sales were only a relatively minor source of income for men, they constituted the main source of income for women.[2468] Once the profitability of cash crop production was realised, some men intensified their agricultural activities and questioned female dominance in production.

Several factors favoured men over women in commercial agricultural production.[2469] Official schemes of agricultural 'improvement' or 'development', such as the peasant farming scheme,

---

[2459] E. Boserup, 'Economic and demographic interrelationships in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Population and development review* 11:3 (1985), 383-97; Spring and Hansen, 'The underside of development'; Crehan, 'Women and development'; See: J.I. Guyer, 'Naturalism in models of African production', *Man* 19:3 (1984), 371-88.

[2460] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

[2461] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*, provides examples of female agricultural entrepreneurship.

[2462] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[2463] (NAZ) SEC2/966, C.J. Fryer, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 9 September 1958. See: (NAZ) NWP1/2/17, Stockwell-Jones, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1 October 1948.

[2464] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Yiness Ikelenge, 10 April 2010, Ikelenge, and a reading of archival sources, (NAZ); Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 184-5; See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*

[2465] Crehan, 'Women and development'; Spring and Hansen, 'The underside of development'.

[2466] Turner and Turner, 'Money economy', 36.

[2467] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity.*

[2468] Turner and Turner, 'Money economy', 29.

[2469] Crehan, 'Women and development'; Spring and Hansen, 'The underside of development'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* 114-5.

agricultural demonstration or livestock loans, would be geared towards men and would only rarely target women or include them as beneficiaries.[2470] Similarly, when marketing boards started buying crops from the area after independence, men asserted themselves as the main producers and commercial agents. Marketing boards would focus on relatively unfamiliar crops, such as maize, for which a starting capital would be necessary. Hybrid maize required expensive seed, fertiliser and other inputs. Next to the initial outlay of capital for inputs and land preparation, the risks of production and sale of hybrid maize could be high. Pests might ruin the harvest, weevils could affect stored maize, transport might fail to come or markets could slump. If successful, however, profits of market production could equally be high.[2471] Through their previous wage-earning experiences, men enjoyed easier access to capital with which to engage in agricultural market production. Some men invested time, energy and resources to create large farms along scientific and market-oriented lines.[2472] Nevertheless, contrary to predictions of economic individualisation, the division between male cash crop production and female subsistence production remained more apparent than real.

As a result of the income-earning opportunities provided by market production women could, on the one hand, increase their independence from men, yet, on the other hand, women risked being subdued by men or becoming overburdened by the onerous tasks of agricultural production.[2473] According to some, women stood at the 'underside of development', being subject to 'double exploitation', as they struggled to engage in market production yet social reproduction and repetitive agricultural tasks such as weeding, making mounds and preparing food tended to become more onerous as a result of expanded agricultural production.[2474] In this view, women would increasingly be restricted to the subsistence sphere of production, whereas men would come to dominate the more profitable income-earning opportunities, including cash crop production and extra-agricultural wage employment.[2475] Examples from Mwinilunga District contradict such views of female underdevelopment, as women were particularly active in the production of rice, beans and pineapples for sale throughout the twentieth century.[2476] Even if men appeared to dominate formal channels of marketing, women continued to play an important role in agricultural production and would regularly sell amounts of beans or maize through informal networks during the 1960s and 1970s.[2477] Rather than a single pattern of gender change leading to productive individualisation, men and women negotiated, contested and at times collaborated with each other.

Some women joined their husbands in joint agricultural enterprises, creating household-run commercial ventures. In the case of pineapple farming, both husband and wife could participate, resulting in large farms such as those of Mr and Mrs Kamafumbu. Whereas Mr Kamafumbu supervised the marketing of pineapples, Mrs Kamafumbu supervised the numerous pieceworkers whom they employed to cultivate their fields. Profits from pineapple sales would be used not only to maintain and expand existing pineapple fields, but would also benefit the household through the purchase of clothing, salt and meat, or by financing the education of children, the construction of a brick house and the purchase of a vehicle which facilitated the marketing of pineapples.[2478] Over the course of the twentieth century men did not necessarily become breadwinners or uncontested heads of the

[2470] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu;* A. Bowman, 'Ecology to technocracy: Scientists, surveys and power in the agricultural development of late-colonial Zambia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 37:1 (2011), 135-53.
[2471] Crehan, 'Women and development', 64-6; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[2472] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Saipilinga Kahongo, 22 March 2010, Ikelenge.
[2473] Turner and Turner, 'Money economy'; Crehan, 'Women and development'; Spring and Hansen, 'The underside of development'.
[2474] Boserup, 'Economic and demographic interrelationships'; Spring and Hansen, 'The underside of development'.
[2475] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 182-7.
[2476] This view is based on a reading of archival sources (NAZ); Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Josephine Sokawuta, 15 April 2010, Ikelenge.
[2477] Pritchett, *Friends for life.*
[2478] Interviews with Mr and Mrs Kamafumbu, March and April 2010, Ikelenge.

household.[2479] Particularly after the 1970s women enjoyed an influential position. A 'newly admitted importance of women' was identified:

> Since the decline of the copper industry, men have found it hard to find work, yet (…) they have not taken up agriculture to any extent (…) the work of women in agriculture has grown with the increased size of the family. In effect, the women are the center of existence in modern Zambia. It is their efforts that keep the country from true famine, and this is known by all.[2480]

Throughout the twentieth century men and women negotiated gender roles according to changing opportunities. Relationships between the sexes in Mwinilunga District did not accord with views of kinship solidarity, household co-operation or individualisation. Even where productive individualism prevailed, men and women remained interdependent for labour, resources and for generating wealth. Both sexes would seek to use claims and resources to their advantage within 'structures of moral expectation'. Change did not follow a self-evident or preconceived course.[2481] Neither men nor women gained supremacy over the productive sphere, brokering access, entitlement and claims within a shifting power field.[2482]

Cultivating separate fields: Labour, gender and property

Agricultural commercialisation did not lead to the individualisation of productive activities. Nonetheless, individual production has been a persistent feature of agriculture in Mwinilunga District.[2483] This is borne out by the practice of cultivating individual fields.[2484] It is rare for an individual to hold absolute rights of ownership over goods, land or people in Mwinilunga.[2485] Ownership would more commonly be vested in a wider kin-based group, under the authority of the headman or chief of an area. Nevertheless, individuals would be afforded land use rights, generally on a life tenure basis. Particularly if an individual had cleared and worked a plot of land, he or she would be granted unrestricted access to this land and its fruits.[2486] Some households would cultivate a single field or several dispersed plots of land collectively. Not uncommonly, others might cultivate separate plots of land individually. In the latter case, a man, his wife and elder children would all cultivate separate plots of land.[2487] The agricultural capabilities of individual girls would be tested from a young age by giving them a plot of land to cultivate, because only strong women would be considered good marriage partners.[2488] In order to prove strength in cultivation, to avoid rousing conflicts between co-wives and to minimise the risk of quarrels between household members over crop harvests and their consumption, the practice of cultivating separate fields became common in Mwinilunga District, highlighting the tensions between individualism and communalism.[2489]

Nevertheless, rather than being a straightforward assertion of individualism, the cultivation of separate plots of land reveals gender dynamics, patterns of household interdependence and contestation over time.[2490] Cultivating separate fields revolved around rights of distribution, rather

[2479] Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family'.
[2480] E. Turner, *Experiencing ritual: A new interpretation of African healing* (Philadelphia, 1992), 92.
[2481] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl', 213.
[2482] Compare to: Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2483] See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Five.
[2484] This has been brought up in interviews; See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[2485] Colson, 'The impact of the colonial period', 194.
[2486] See: C.G. Trapnell and J.N. Clothier, *The soils, vegetation, and agricultural systems of Northwestern Rhodesia: Report of the ecological survey* (Lusaka, 2nd edn., 1957); Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Shipton and Goheen, 'Understanding African landholding', 307; S.S. Berry, 'Social institutions and access to resources', *Africa* 59:1 (1989), 41.
[2487] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade.*
[2488] Interview with Mrs Maria Samanjombi, 4 October 2008, Chibwika.
[2489] This is based on numerous oral interviews; Also mentioned in archival sources (NAZ).
[2490] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.

than rights of ownership.[2491] Even when a husband and a wife would cultivate separate plots of land, they would collaborate in tasks such as hoeing and weeding in each other's fields. A man would cut the trees in his wife's field, whereas a woman would weed her husband's field. But although household members might cultivate together, they would still distinguish use rights over different fields.[2492] The motivation to do so would be an attempt to minimise quarrels over property and its distribution. By enabling the cultivator to dispose of the fruits of his or her own labour, the practice of cultivating separate fields facilitated a degree of individual decision making power. When matrilineal relatives of a wife would visit her, for example, she could feed them from her own field rather than having to request assistance from her husband. Similarly, if a member of the household wished to engage in market production of crops, he or she could cultivate these crops on a separate plot without assistance from other household members. Furthermore, upon divorce quarrels over property would be minimised, as the woman would take the produce she had cultivated herself.[2493] Thus: 'A common estate remained less evident in African marital property regimes than in Western ones, reversing the images of individualist West and communalist Africa.'[2494]

Whether such individual tendencies had been long established in the area or whether they had increased as a consequence of commercialisation and definition of land rights, remains to be ascertained. Women had already produced cassava for sale to pre-colonial caravans from their own plots of land, but the proliferation of separate plots was perhaps encouraged as a consequence of market production.[2495] Cultivating separate plots of land strengthened claims to individual ownership, but aspects of communalism, co-operation and distribution remained important as well.[2496] A husband and a wife might cultivate separate plots, yet harvested food would commonly be stored in a single household grain bin. This had profound consequences if food was sold on the market, as contestations over profits and spoils would be invited.[2497] Property was not regarded as individual, but would rather be redistributed among kin and dependents through complex relationships of reciprocity: 'Communal tenure and individual tenure are unnuanced visions that seldom fit African realities (…) *Private* property need not imply *individual* property, or vice versa; nor should individualism and collectivism be confused with exclusivity or inclusivity on the land.'[2498] The rights over and use of land were not well-defined but elusive, contested and changing, 'the result of a balance of power which was continuously reproduced through social struggles.'[2499] Rather than being fixed, relationships between men and women in agricultural production had always been subject to debate. Gender roles did not develop in a particular direction under capitalism, neither towards individualism nor towards a male breadwinner model. Men and women remained profoundly interdependent for labour, agricultural produce and other resources. Consequently, the room for negotiation of gender roles remained large: 'while various moral claims may have been accepted unquestioningly in principle, all kinds of evasions were possible when it came to their more tangible implications.'[2500]

[2491] Crehan, 'Women and development', 57; De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land'.

[2492] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr and Mrs Kalota, July 2010, Kanongesha; See: (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

[2493] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Kalota, July 2010, Kanongesha; See: Crehan, 'Women and development'; Berry, *No condition is permanent.*

[2494] M. Chanock, 'A peculiar sharpness: An essay on property in the history of customary law in colonial Africa', *Journal of African history* 32 (1991), 81.

[2495] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 247: 'Widespread individual production can be seen as an important basis of the growth of market production.'

[2496] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Five.

[2497] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*.

[2498] Shipton and Goheen, 'Understanding African land-holding', 311-3.

[2499] Von Oppen, *Terms of trade,* 270.

[2500] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl', 218.

Marriage: Households, kinship and social connectivity

Being more than a link between two individuals, marriage among the Lunda creates a bond between kin groups.[2501] Obtaining a marriage partner from a different village can therefore be a political act: 'for any link between villages might be the precursor of further links of kinship and affinity within and between vicinages and chiefdoms in the loose, decentralized polity.'[2502] Confirming the marriage relationship, bridewealth is considered a prerequisite for the recognition of a marriage, even if it merely involves a symbolic article or amount.[2503] Bridewealth could consist of a variety of goods, such as 'a bracelet, a piece of string, a shilling, or some other small token of the contract.'[2504] Particularly common during the first half of the twentieth century was a *mubulu* (metal bracelet) which symbolised betrothal, but this could be substituted by or given on top of a *makasa* (small white bracelet), an *iimba* (ivory pendant) or a *masumba* (small neck chain).[2505] As the twentieth century progressed store-bought items, such as cloth and soap, but most especially money, started to play a prominent role in marriage transactions.[2506] Bridewealth was not solely or even primarily concerned with the transaction of material objects, but rather pivoted around rights to labour and offspring and held a socio-political dimension.[2507]

Because marriage is so intimately connected to procreation and fertility, marriage continues to be socially expected throughout Mwinilunga District.[2508] The additional labour power of children is highly valued and sought after. In this sparsely populated district where general labour scarcity prevails, fertility could be a tool to build a loyal following and to become a respected member of society. The envisaged outcome of the marriage bond is childbirth, which expands and strengthens the kin group and creates enduring bonds between dispersed households. Within the context of wealth in people the route to success is premised on a large and prosperous household, following and village, and therefore 'Big Men' and 'Big Women' desire offspring.[2509] Thus the proverb '*iyala walema wudi namumbanda*' – 'an important man has a wife'.[2510] On the other hand, unmarried, widowed or childless men and women risk social ostracism.[2511] Claims to children and their labour would be fiercely contested. In a matrilineal society where virilocal residence upon marriage is the norm disputes between families could arise over children, particularly between fathers and mother's brothers.[2512]

Rather than being a single act, marriage in the area of Mwinilunga should be regarded as a process, proceeding through a number of stages and creating increasing bonds between families.[2513] To compensate for the loss of labour power of the wife's kin, a husband would perform labour duties for his in-laws for some weeks, months or even for a whole year:[2514]

> The husband lives at the village of his parents-in-law and usually performs some arranged services for them – cultivation and hut-building. On the birth of the first born he takes his wife to his own or his parent's village – his proper habitat. During the time when he is in residence at his parents-in-law he

[2501] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.
[2502] Turner, *Drums of affliction,* 264.
[2503] Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family'; Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'.
[2504] (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Chivumbi v. Mikelo, 27 January 1916.
[2505] Mulumbi Datuuma II, 'Customs of the Lunda-Ndembu'; Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Windson Mbimbi, 6 September 2010, Kanongesha.
[2506] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Lukaki Salukenga and Mrs Lutaya, 6 August 2010, Kanongesha.
[2507] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order,* 145-60, 177, 184.
[2508] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; De Boeck, 'When hunger goes around the land'.
[2509] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.
[2510] Proverb gathered by Gibby Kamuhuza, May 2010, Ikelenge.
[2511] V.W. Turner, 'The spatial separation of generations in Ndembu village structure', *Africa* 25:2 (1955), 121-37.
[2512] Turner, *Schism and continuity*.
[2513] Turner, *Drums of affliction,* 264; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 265; Chanock, *Law, custom and social order.*
[2514] Crehan, 'Women and development'; Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.

> does not come under the control of their Headman but is still under his own and can be called upon by him.[2515]

Betrothal, marriage and brideservice created ties of interdependence between groups of kin. Most importantly, relationships created by marriage constituted the starting point for contestations over property, labour and offspring, involving both rights and obligations.[2516] Rights over people and property were minutely elaborated in marriage and divorce regulations, but rules would rarely be defined absolutely. Rather, the application of rules would be subject to debate, contestation and change over time.[2517] Although kinship laid down structures of moral expectation, these might be interpreted in a variety of ways.[2518]

Over the course of the twentieth century marriage underwent a number of changes. For one, rates of bridewealth were adjusted.[2519] Due to increased income-earning opportunities, higher amounts of bridewealth would be demanded from migrant labourers and market farmers, who might also increasingly circumvent elders in closing a marriage deal. A man who had worked in town for a year could earn his bridewealth single-handedly and would therefore be less dependent on his father for support or approval.[2520] Nevertheless, marriages which do not enjoy the approval of the elders of both families continue to be condemned and lack full recognition. The role of the extended family in marriage remains important. Bridewealth is not shared merely within the elementary family, but serves to cement ties with distant kin as well.[2521] Due to greater mobility, marriage is increasingly contracted between members of distant villages, or even different ethnicities and nationalities, rather than being a bond between close kin.[2522] What remained constant was that marriage created a tie between individuals, kin groups and society – rather than leading to family nucleation or individualisation.[2523] Marriage and the exchanges and claims involved in marriage revolved around labour, created social networks and could act as visible markers of social relationships, embodying wealth in people.[2524] Marriage ties were malleable and rights conferred by marriage were contestable. But it is exactly herein that their strength, adaptability and enduring importance lies.

Matrimonial disputes were described as 'extraordinarily rife' throughout Mwinilunga District,[2525] and it was suggested that 'the Lunda have the most unstable marriages of any tribe in Northern Rhodesia.'[2526] Cases of adultery would frequently be brought to court, as these disputed not only the marriage bond, but also rights over persons, labour and status. The judicial procedure which followed cases of adultery was by no means standardised. It formed a platform on which rights and obligations between spouses could be contested:[2527]

> if a man marries a woman properly, and lives well with her for some time and then hears she has slept with another man, he follows that man for goods. The limit is 3, 4, or 5 cloths (…) or he would ask for a gun, or if a very strong man he would ask for two guns. These guns he would take to the relatives of the

[2515] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Lunda Division Quarterly Report, 30 September 1916.
[2516] Berry, *No condition is permanent*; Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*; Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.
[2517] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*; Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'.
[2518] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.
[2519] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 265; During fieldwork people complained that bridewealth was skyrocketing.
[2520] Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Wilson Kanyembo, 16 January 2010, Lusaka; See: Parpart, 'Where is your mother?'; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2521] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[2522] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mrs Yiness Solwezi, 10 March 2010, Ikelenge.
[2523] Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family'; Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.
[2524] B. Cooper, 'Women's worth and wedding gift exchange in Maradi, Niger, 1907-89', *Journal of African history* 36:1 (1995), 121.
[2525] (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Quarterly Report, 31 December 1921; Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 62; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 192, mention high divorce rates.
[2526] (NAZ) LGH5/5/11 Loc. 3621, C.M.N. White, Land Tenure Report North-Western Province.
[2527] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order.*

> wife. He would say – Your daughter has done badly, I cannot keep the goods made from her body so I give them to you. The relatives would say – You had to work hard to get these, and they would return to him – the husband, half of the value. He would still keep his wife. Then if there was a second offence, the husband would follow for goods, value as before; and would bring the goods as before to the relatives, saying – Your daughter has been bad again. I have forgiven her once, but will not keep her any longer. I bring her to you with the goods I have got for her adultery. The relatives would then remember the "nseu" [bridewealth], and say – Our daughter is bad to cause you this trouble, they would return all the goods in the case, saying – You keep all these goods against the "nseu" you paid for her. The woman would then be free to marry any one else without a case. The goods for adultery are always brought to the relatives (…) in this way [the relatives] are always held accountable for the return of the "nseu" on divorce for any reason.[2528]

Although this account suggests otherwise, the procedure following cases of adultery was by no means standardised. The outcome of the case depended on the circumstances: 'everything depended on the personality of the parties most intimately concerned and the composition of the council before which the case was brought.'[2529] What becomes apparent is that matrimonial disputes and their settlement revolved around interpersonal relationships and involved power struggles within the village. Adultery and the cases which followed adultery could cut the ties between two groups of kin, but only after a prolonged and negotiated settlement: 'African rural societies were built upon an absence of civil or juristic equality. Status hierarchies involved proprietary rights, the rights to demand labour and goods, and reverse rights to gifts and subsistence.'[2530] Because marriage created a strong interpersonal tie, confirming and strengthening links of kinship and interdependence, its importance has endured throughout the twentieth century, continuing to be a platform through which to debate rights, obligations and relationships.[2531]

Marriage remained a social bond in which spouses could lay claims on each other's labour and offspring. Rather than leading to individualisation or nucleation of the family, marriage bonds underlined the importance of the extended family and could strengthen bonds of kinship.[2532] Spouses and their kin would lay claims on the labour and offspring of the other spouse, creating enduring but contested bonds. Claims and expectations could change over time and negotiations over rights and property would occur, yet the marriage bond underlined the importance of the concept of wealth in people, relationships of kinship and marital interdependence.[2533]

Kinship, wealth in people and individualisation

Turner anticipated that cash crop production and wealth generated through labour migration would cause associations between extended kin to dissolve into nuclear families, propelling increasing individualisation: 'economic individualism both in production and consumption seems to be the keynote of the new cash economy. This individualism is snapping the traditional ties of extended kinship and breaking up corporate residential groupings such as the village.'[2534] Others have similarly suggested that matrilineal kinship would be vulnerable under conditions of increased wealth, social differentiation and inequality: 'under economic changes brought about by contact with Western industrial nations, matrilineal descent groups gradually disintegrate. In their place, the elementary family eventually emerges as the key kinship group with respect to residence, economic cooperation, legal responsibility, and socialization.'[2535] Kinship, descent and affiliation were indeed inexorably linked

[2528] (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks, 171, F.V. Bruce-Miller, 1920.
[2529] Melland, *In witch-bound Africa,* 74-5.
[2530] Chanock, 'A peculiar sharpness', 83.
[2531] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*; Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'.
[2532] Berry, *No condition is permanent*; Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family'.
[2533] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.
[2534] Turner and Turner, 'Money economy', 36.
[2535] K. Gough, 'The modern disintegration of matrilineal descent groups', in: D.M. Schneider and K. Gough (eds.), *Matrilineal kinship* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1961), 631; M. Douglas, 'Is matriliny doomed in Africa?',

to 'goods, claims, obligations, positions, and statuses', being inherently social and part of power struggles in society.[2536] Despite profound changes ties of extended kinship remain of paramount importance in Mwinilunga District.[2537] Kinship continued to provide 'the basic threads out of which social life was woven', naming and locating individuals in the social world and constituting the 'basic – and most emotionally powerful – model for *all* human relationships.'[2538] Ties of kinship proved important in a social, economic and political sense. A Lunda saying goes that 'to be without social linkages is akin to being lost in the deep forest.'[2539] How could ties of kinship and social relationships adapt to changing circumstances?

Ties of kinship could constitute a source of influence and power, making a person famous (*mpuhu*), a 'Big Man' within the framework of wealth in people.[2540] Members of kin could be one's following and source of support in political contestations:

> When a man wishes to succeed to office or to found a village of his own, he looks for the backing of his own children in these ventures, as well as to his uterine kin. A man's major unit of political support is the circle of his closest kin (…) In addition to his own and his sisters' children, these kin include his brothers and their children. Such a group contains the nucleus of a new generation, the junior adjacent genealogical generation over which he and his siblings exercise authority and control.[2541]

Exactly because of village fissure and high levels of mobility, a wide range of interpersonal relationships was created and upheld in the area: 'the continual flow of visits between matrilineal kin, however far apart in space, serves to maintain their connection.'[2542] Fluid ties of kinship could be an asset within a competitive environment, as a person could gain influence and power by attracting the allegiance of distant kin and establishing a large settlement. Up to the present, it remains the ideal to become the headman of a large and prosperous village, and for this the support of kin is indispensable: 'The essence of life is to become both *mukwakuheta* (one who possesses many things) and *mukwakwashi* (one who helps many people). Such individuals are adorned with praise and surrounded by followers anxious to do their bidding.'[2543]

The continued salience of kinship can be illustrated by looking at strategies towards self-realisation.[2544] Within a village those who have a name (*akweti majina*) would be distinguished from those who lack a name (*abula majina*).[2545] Whether through hunting, cultivation, labour migration or ritual eminence, individuals would strive to establish a name for themselves. Yet establishing a name for oneself could never be a solitary act. Rather, it involved profound social engagement, which underlined the importance of kinship bonds.[2546] Growing towards personhood involved both 'the realization of one's individual self-identity, autonomy and responsibility' and 'a gradual body-centred insertion (…) into the lives of other individuals.' This process implied social responsibility:

---

in: M. Douglas and P.M. Kaberry (eds.), *Man in Africa* (London, 1969), 121-33; Peters, 'Revisiting the puzzle of matriliny', 126-7.

[2536] Vansina, *How societies are born,* 93.

[2537] See: Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family'; Berry, *No condition is permanent.*

[2538] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl', 214.

[2539] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 84.

[2540] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 113; Pritchett, *Friends for life,* 225.

[2541] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 108.

[2542] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 87.

[2543] Pritchett, *Friends for life,* 107.

[2544] Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'.

[2545] This issue was raised in numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Jackson Jinguluka, May 2010, Nyakaseya; (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred.

[2546] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Pritchett, *Friends for life,* 107, 109.

> The more one becomes the focus of the social life of the kin group, the more one is given respect, but the more, also, one becomes responsible for the redistribution and sharing of the goods that circulate in the kin group.[2547]

A person would not only be expected to develop individual personhood, but also to foster social relationships by becoming a 'Big Man' or a 'Big Woman', a *mukwakwashi*, one who takes care of others and is thereby able to build a large and prosperous household and village.[2548] Prominent individuals did not only derive respect and influence from neighbours, kin and following, but were expected to reciprocate this support by occupying an exemplary position: 'The higher the status of a villager, the more he is bound theoretically to fulfil his communal obligations as an example to the public.'[2549] Ties of kinship were not well-defined, but inherently flexible and negotiable. Individuals could claim allegiance to either the maternal or the paternal side of the family, whereas the residence of children would continually be contested.[2550] Exactly because of this ambiguity, ties of kinship could be a resource in times of stress, providing support and protection:

> If access to resources and opportunities depends on one's ability to negotiate, people may be more interested in keeping options open than cutting them off, and in strengthening their ability to participate in and influence negotiations rather than acquiring exclusive control over resources and severing connections which are not immediately profitable.[2551]

Although interpersonal ties could be liabilities as well as assets, power and prestige continued to depend on social relationships: 'People do not just do things for you because you have prestige; rather, you have prestige because people do things for you.'[2552]

In the area of Mwinilunga, the persistence of extended kinship bonds was viewed by some as a nuisance.[2553] Wealthy individuals might be 'sponged upon' by their less fortunate relatives and as a result migrant labourers might experience difficulties: 'The tradition of extended families was working against town dwellers. Relatives flocked to stay with their townfolk. Even where there was no chance of being employed uncles, cousins, sisters, and aunts found their way to towns.'[2554] Nevertheless, kinship did not have to be a burden. In the 1950s, Turner described several cases of enterprising individuals who continued to value 'traditional' kinship affiliation, because they:

> saw success in life as measured by the number of followers a man could acquire, and not by the insignia of conspicuous wealth that could be purchased by money (…) [They] continued to work in their gardens, to gossip and discuss cases in the village *chota*, to participate in ritual as cult-members and patients, to exercise their traditional rights and fulfil obligations as kin (…) they felt that the royal road to eminence within the village way of life now lay through the acquisition of cash. Possessions of cash gave them large houses, bride-wealth for several wives who might give them children and enable them to offer hospitality, and the means of retaining their children and giving them a good education. They wanted money to better their position within the traditional system, not as a means of loosening their ties with it.[2555]

These men clearly adhered to notions of wealth in people, even if they participated actively in the money economy. Nevertheless, Turner equally described the rise of a new type of men, those of the younger generation who pursued money and wealth for its own sake, feeling 'embarrassed by the demands of their kin for presents in cash or kind', wishing to 'separate themselves from the village sphere and village way of life.'[2556] According to Turner the second pattern would come to predominate

---

[2547] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 794.
[2548] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 131; Pritchett, *Friends for life,* 227.
[2549] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2550] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl'; Turner, *Schism and continuity.*
[2551] Berry, *No condition is permanent,* 14.
[2552] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 131.
[2553] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 131.
[2554] (NAZ) HM77/PP/2, Peter Matoka, Review of Zambia's 33 Years of Independence, 8 November 1997.
[2555] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 134.
[2556] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 135.

in the long run, giving rise to individualisation and the establishment of farms. This prediction did not hold good.[2557]

In the area of Mwinilunga individuals overwhelmingly retained social ties, rather than cutting them. The establishment of farms was not a sign of individualisation. Instead, farms might be the nuclei from which new, larger villages would grow up. Farms could be locations where kinship was redefined and gained new significance. Acquiring a large following and establishing a prosperous village continued to be a widely held ideal and to achieve this goal kinship support proved indispensable.[2558] Kinship could be a means to access productive resources and advance social standing:

> Funerals, marriages, naming ceremonies, and initiation rites create opportunities for individuals to gain respect and create obligations among their kin and neighbors by contributing food, drink, clothing, ritual offerings, and gifts. People's contributions to such ceremonies may serve, in turn, to reaffirm or advance their status within their families and communities and their ability to draw on the resources or support of the group in negotiating their own claims to productive resources.[2559]

Social networks and kinship remain important because 'people's ability to generate a livelihood or increase their assets depends on their access to productive resources and their ability to control and use resources effectively', all of which are mediated through social relationships.[2560] Therefore, no village in Mwinilunga today is composed exclusively of nuclear families, but rather nephews, nieces, and other extended kin reside in a household or village to access education, medical facilities or markets.[2561] Relationships between extended kin can be used as resources to maximise opportunities, enabling trade relationships over long distances or facilitating the reception of a labour migrant in town.[2562] The UNIP government after independence actively promoted aspects of community cohesion, self-help, co-operative production and communal labour.[2563] In fact, 'Many family and kinship systems, in changing social and economic contexts, do not nucleate but adapt and reconstruct; in a number of cases extended kin bonds strengthen under pressure from 'modernising' forces.'[2564] Rather than becoming obsolete in times of stress and social change, bonds of kinship could be reaffirmed, underlining the salience of village residence and concepts of wealth in people.

Social change, continuity and reconfiguration: Disputes, rituals and value transformation

Rather than being harmonious units, villages have always been full of strife. Whether this was over the division of meat, the distribution of wealth or over issues of power and authority, conflicts would crop up regularly.[2565] In the 1940s one colonial official remarked with a sense of despair that 'a large amount of Lunda time must be spent in trying to resolve conflicts and hold society together at all.'[2566] Even if these conflicts might lead to village fission and breakup, when resolved successfully they could enhance village cohesion.[2567] Looking at conflicts and how these conflicts were resolved therefore says much about the tension between individualism and communalism. Social norms are rules that direct behaviour within society, and even if these norms lay 'down a particular social landscape with specific contours of power', creating sets of moral expectations, these expectations would be 'continually negotiated in their day-to-day dealings with others', being 'essentially ill-defined and unbounded, and

[2557] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* Chapter Three; See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2558] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 142, 194.
[2559] Berry, *No condition is permanent,* 160.
[2560] Berry, 'Social institutions and access to resources', 41.
[2561] Based on my own observations; See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[2562] See: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; Pritchett, *Friends for life.*
[2563] (NAZ) Department of Community Development, Annual Report 1964.
[2564] Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family', 528-9.
[2565] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*
[2566] (NAZ) LGH5/5/11 Loc. 3621, C.M.N. White, Land Tenure Report North-Western Province.
[2567] Turner, *Drums of affliction.*

morally binding and indissoluble.'[2568] One setting in which norms would be discussed, defined and altered was the *chota.*

The *chota* (open palaver hut, village council, law court) was a forum where men could interact with one another.[2569] In the *chota* men would sit together, drink beer, consume their meals, chat and discuss village affairs. In the *chota* male children would be taught about norms and values, through stories of famous ancestors or tales about successful hunters. Not only good precedents would be discussed in the *chota*. Bad examples would equally be narrated as a discouragement to the youth. Lazy persons would be denounced and pressure would be applied to deviant members of society to conform to rules.[2570] The *chota* could have an administrative and judicial role as well. Elders would:

> make public pronouncements concerning the administrative requirements of the village (…) One might say that the village is short of salt, or another that the cassava should be fenced against the ravages of wild pigs. If a pronouncement of this kind is received favourably, it is echoed round the village, and the Village Head is constrained to summon a meeting. The matter is debated before him, and he gives an executive pronouncement embodying the will of the majority (…) an executive decree is the expression of public opinion clothed in the pragmatic sanction of religion. It is not possible to be disobedient without flouting public opinion and causing offence to the Departed Spirits.[2571]

Within the *chota* communal norms were given expression. Nonetheless, 'rules and rights were less prominent than the continuing flow of inter-lineage relationships.'[2572] Yet the *chota* was not merely a platform to craft village cohesion and enhance communalism. Expressions of individualism equally occurred. Through persuasive rhetoric individuals could earn respect and prestige, question or redefine communal norms, and so 'men and women vie for prominence and assert their worthiness for leadership.'[2573] The *chota* could serve as a debating ground where conflicts within the village would be discussed and resolved. Through the *chota* people could confirm and strengthen norms and morals, codifying these into laws, or they could question long-standing paradigms through diverging practices, gradually effecting value transformation.[2574] Within the *chota* social change was domesticated and tradition redefined. Conflict, rather than challenging social relationships, could in fact strengthen these. This becomes evident by looking at rituals.

Rituals, conflict and reconciliation

Some of the earliest European observers in the area of Mwinilunga emphasised the importance of ritual, noting a general 'spirituality'. Livingstone remarked that the Lunda 'seem to possess a more vivid conviction of their relation to the Unseen world than any of the Southern tribes.'[2575] He described the practice of *kupesha* (to propitiate spirits, to perform rites) at a small clearing where the forked branch of the *muyombu* tree is inserted in the ground:[2576] 'Here they go, when anxious for anything, to pray to the gods (…) If what they desired comes to pass, the worshipper takes some food and presents it to the tree or gods.'[2577] Next to soliciting fortune and good luck, rituals might be performed as a consequence of afflictions, such as disease, death, witchcraft, grudges (*chitela*) or quarrels

[2568] Crehan, 'Of chickens and guinea fowl', 212, 219.
[2569] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 24, 35
[2570] This is based on my own observations, numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Jackson Jinguluka, May 2010, Nyakaseya, and readings of archival sources, such as (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks and (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2571] (NAZ) SEC2/402, Harry Vaux Report on Sailunga Kindred, 1936.
[2572] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order,* 184.
[2573] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 48.
[2574] Chanock, *Law, custom and social order*; Melland, *In witch-bound Africa;*
[2575] D. Chamberlain (ed.), *Some letters from Livingstone, 1840-1872* (London etc., 1940), 249.
[2576] See: Turner, *Drums of affliction*; Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Mushipi Musungumuki, 12 May 2010, Nyakaseya.
[2577] Schapera, *Livingstone's African journal,* 275.

(*ndombu*) within society.[2578] Turner argued that the performance of 'rituals of affliction' could relieve tension, solve conflict by healing the afflicted individual and could even unify society: 'Ndembu ritual (…) may be regarded as a magnificent instrument for expressing, maintaining, and periodically cleansing a secular order of society without strong political centralization and all too full of social conflict.'[2579] Ritual could be a means of redress, restoring the order which had been breached and resulting in health, prosperity and fertility:

> in order that any village life should be possible, it is necessary that members of a village should observe certain common values, and that the norms governing behaviour between village members (…) should be upheld. Where customary values are deeply entrenched it is usual to find institutionalized machinery of redress. Each instance of breach in social relations is made the occasion of a restatement of their regulative norms.[2580]

Rather than evoking village fission, conflict could lead to village cohesion and could strengthen norms of communality through ritual redress. Although Turner predicted that ritual would 'lose its efficacy' under the influence of 'aggressive individualism' and a desire to earn cash,[2581] ritual performances persist into the present and have successfully transformed themselves.[2582]

Turner suggested that ritual could be a means of communal cohesion: 'Ritual is the social mechanism by which a group is purged of the anarchic and disruptive impulses which threaten its crucial norms and values.'[2583] Next to being a mechanism of redress and promoting continuity, rituals could equally be 'revolutionary movements capable of supplanting old paradigms of disease causation and treatment and of generating new (…) knowledge to deal with problems arising from social change.'[2584] After revisiting Mwinilunga in 1985, Edith Turner observed that although the form of ritual had changed considerably, and 'the imperialism of the missions on the one side and of the Marxist humanist government on the other has flooded and killed many aspects of Ndembu culture', nonetheless 'healing rituals are becoming more frequent.'[2585] Rituals and medical knowledge could transform themselves over time, being receptive to outside knowledge and influences: 'the assimilation of foreign symbolic resources into pre-existing medical culture provided an idiom through which the Lunda restructured their social relations and identities.'[2586] Ritual elements would be borrowed from neighbouring population groups, but also from Europeans and Christian missionaries. Turner described the *Tukuka* and *Masandu* cults. In these cults 'treatment consists of giving the patient European foods, served by a "houseboy," miming European dancing in couples, wearing European dress, and singing up-to-date songs such as "We are going in an airplane to Lumwana."'[2587] Even if 'the symbolic elements may be novel in themselves (…) the framework of meaning in which they are embedded is a long-standing one.'[2588] Apparently, new symbolic elements gained meaning and importance within long-standing frameworks which retained significance by adapting to changing circumstances. Rather than being a corollary of village fission or perishing over time, ritual could provide village cohesion and vitality.

[2578] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; W.T. Kalusa, 'A history of disease, missionary medicine and African medical auxiliaries in North-Western Zambia: The case of Mwinilunga District, 1893-1964' (PhD thesis, John Hopkins University, 2003).

[2579] Turner, *Drums of affliction,* 21.

[2580] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 92.

[2581] Turner, *Drums of affliction,* 22-3.

[2582] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Kalusa, 'A history of disease'; Turner, 'Philip Kabwita'.

[2583] Turner, *Schism and continuity,* 124.

[2584] Kalusa, 'A history of disease', 31; J. Comaroff, 'Healing and cultural transformation: The Tswana of Southern Africa', *Social science and medicine* 15:3 (1981), 367-78; S. Feierman, 'Struggles for control: The social roots of health and healing in modern Africa', *African studies review* 28:2/3 (1985), 73-147.

[2585] Turner, 'Philip Kabwita', 16-7.

[2586] Kalusa, 'A history of disease', 34.

[2587] Turner, *Forest of symbols,* 15.

[2588] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 309.

Creating a sense of commonality, all Lunda youths go through initiation ceremonies at puberty.[2589] The initiation ceremonies for girls (*nkanga*) and those for boys (*mukanda*) differ in many respects. Whereas boys are initiated in groups, girls undergo initiation as individuals; whereas boys are taught communal values, hunting skills and are given sexual instruction, girls are absolved from productive activities whilst in seclusion, focus on sexual aspects and are prepared for marriage; whereas the initiation of boys is located in the bush, the initiation of girls is associated with the domestic and village spheres.[2590] The act of initiation unifies the Lunda and marks them off from others: 'The circumcised form a group whose physical state transcends their tribal differences in contrast with all uncircumcised tribes.'[2591] This *rite de passage* transforms children into active members of society. Turner claimed that the circumcision of boys represents:

> the unity and continuity of the widest society (…) By emphasizing these in the sacred context of a great public ritual, the divisions and oppositions between corporate groups and between the total social system (…) are "played down" and forced out of the center of ritual attention (…) From being "unclean" children (…) boys are converted by the mystical efficacy of ritual into purified members of a male moral community, able to begin to take their part in the jural, political, and ritual affairs of Ndembu society.[2592]

Turner associated initiation ceremonies with conformity to social norms and communal cohesion, being a 'mechanism "built-in" to the system of customs which give a measure of form and repetitiveness to Ndembu social interactions. It is a mechanism that temporarily abolishes or minimizes errors and deflections from normatively expected behaviour (…) redressing breaches of norms.'[2593] Through an initiation ceremony, 'the legitimacy of certain crucial principles of Ndembu society is most fully and publicly endorsed.'[2594] In this manner, norms in Lunda society could be constituted and transmitted. After *mukanda* boys were expected to be men and to take on the full responsibility of their new roles: 'they must obey their elders, fulfill the norms governing each category of kinship relationship, and may be punished for disobedience by any male senior to them.'[2595] Because through initiation children become aware of the rights and responsibilities of adult status, initiation rituals are constitutive of social identity.[2596] Next to communal elements, initiation equally provided room for expressions of individuality.

Initiation rites in the North-Western Province have been described in terms of vitality, reflecting 'the elasticity of these people to adapt their customs to new conditions and ideas rather than abandon[ing] them.'[2597] This vitality brought out the tension between the communal elements and acts of individual expression in initiation rites: 'Ritual custom itself was modified and even distorted from the "ideal pattern" (…) It was modified by the purposive activities of persons and groups organized according to the very principles repressed by overt ritual custom.'[2598] In the area of Mwinilunga there were 'powerful expressions of individualism' coupled with 'notions of individual autonomy, freedom of choice, and control over one's own body.'[2599] This individualism was embodied in male initiation by the hierarchy between the initiates. There was competition over the positions of *Kambanji* ('war leader', the first to be circumcised), *mwanta waMukanda* ('master of *mukanda*',

---

[2589] C.M.N. White, 'Notes on the circumcision rites of the Balovale tribes', *African studies* 12:2 (1953), 43; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 263, 189; Turner, *Drums of affliction,* 199.
[2590] This view is based on numerous oral interviews; See: Turner, *Forest of symbols,* 7-8.
[2591] White, 'Notes on the circumcision rites', 43.
[2592] Turner, *Forest of symbols,* 265-6.
[2593] Turner, *Forest of symbols,* 269-70.
[2594] Turner, *Drums of affliction,* 198.
[2595] Turner, *Forest of symbols,* 268.
[2596] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; See: C.A. Kratz, '"We've always done it like this … except for a few details": "Tradition" and "innovation" in Okiek ceremonies', *Comparative studies in society and history* 35:1 (1993), 30-65.
[2597] White, 'Notes on the circumcision rites', 50.
[2598] Turner, *Forest of symbols,* 272.
[2599] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 84.

second in order), *kaselantanda* ('he of the rising morning star', third in order), *mulopu* ('the heir', fourth in order) and *Kajika* ('the dunce', last in order). Whereas *Kambanji* would generally be the oldest, ablest and most developed boy, *Kajika* would be the last boy to physically arrive, the slowest in answering questions or the one who cried out the loudest when cut.[2600] For all the emphasis placed on communal values, there was room for personal differentiation in initiation rites. Able boys could earn a name for themselves during the rites and this was also the case for girls.[2601] For each *kankanga*: 'an outlet is given to her suppressed individuality on the day of her 'coming-out' dance, when she becomes the observed of all observers.'[2602] Through expressions of individuality, the rituals of initiation changed whilst preserving much of their previous form and values.[2603]

The political aspects of initiation rituals could be important.[2604] Initiation ceremonies would be collaborative events, in which members of many different villages could participate. Large amounts of beer would be brewed by women and crowds would gather from afar. This was a time to strengthen alliances between kin and to plot for a rearrangement of power relations.[2605] It was 'a time for powerfully presenting a particular worldview.'[2606] Elderly men would compete for positions of prominence within the organisational hierarchy of *mukanda*, bringing out the tensions between individualism and communalism:

> Individuals and groups saw in *Mukanda* not only a means of correcting and adjusting the wider framework of their social relationships, but also of augmenting their own prestige or establishing their claim to certain rights in subsequent secular and ritual situations (…) the same persons were at one and the same time motivated to act for the general good of the vicinage and to compete with one another for scarce values.[2607]

Men competed with one another over the labour and allegiance of young boys, over the ritual and political prominence which came with hosting a successful *mukanda*. Interpersonal rivalries and competition could be expressed within initiation ceremonies. Initiation transcended the particular case and gained broad societal and political importance, propelling changes in the form of ritual itself.[2608]

Over time, initiation ceremonies have been reproduced and transformed, they have persisted albeit in an altered form.[2609] The form of initiation ceremonies has been influenced by the tension between the personal and the collective, between the individual and society. General guidelines and norms of the ceremonies have been transformed by individual actions and creativity.[2610] Influenced by the shifting socio-economic and political setting of Lunda society, change has occurred. Changing circumstances have been domesticated and incorporated into initiation ceremonies, leading to 'innovations in (…) ceremonial practices which bring some of these new domains of experience and differentiation into the initiation process, thereby relating them to those of continued relevance and

---

[2600] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Kenneth Kalota, July 2010, Kanongesha; See: Turner, *Forest of symbols*, 216; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 147-8.

[2601] Interview with Gibby Kamuhuza, March and April 2010, Ikelenge.

[2602] Turner, *Drums of affliction,* 266.

[2603] Kratz, 'We've always done it like this'; Turner, 'Zambia's kankanga dances', 57-71.

[2604] V.W. Turner, 'Ritual aspects of conflict control in African micropolitics' and '*Mukanda* boys' circumcision: The politics of a non-political ritual', *On the edge of the bush: Anthropology as experience* (Tucson, 1985), 43-51, 53-69.

[2605] This view is based on numerous oral interviews, for example, Mr Kabanda, 22 May 2010, Nyakaseya.

[2606] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 148.

[2607] Turner, *Forest of symbols,* 270.

[2608] See: F. De Boeck, 'Of bushbucks without horns: Male and female initiation among the Aluund of Southwest Zaire', *Journal des africanistes* 61:1 (1991), 37-71.

[2609] Turner, 'Zambia's kankanga dances'; Kratz, 'We've always done it like this'; De Boeck, 'Of bushbucks without horns'.

[2610] De Boeck, 'Of bushbucks without horns', brings out the tension between individualism and communalism.

power from past times.'[2611] Far from remaining static, Lunda initiation ceremonies appeared highly dynamic. They could incorporate new elements, as described in the 1950s:

> The full rites have (…) not been without changes due to modern conditions; bandages may now be used instead of leaves to put on the wound; the duration of the seclusion has been shortened and the age of the novices lowered to meet modern conditions (…) In short the rites have shown no disposition to decay under present conditions, and have shown many features in which they can adapt themselves to the modern era, and still be highly prized by society.[2612]

Small changes have been incorporated through personal choices and styles, yet the initiation ceremonies – irrespective of their transformed nature – have persisted until this day, despite the influences of education, Christianity and government policies.[2613] In 1985 Edith Turner returned to Mwinilunga after 30 years absence and noted the changes in female initiation. Dances and dress practices had been altered to meet Christian norms of decency, there had been widespread borrowing of elements from neighbouring people and money had pervaded the most intimate aspects of the rites, yet 'the tradition has never in fact been stable and (…) it was able to alter according to circumstances.'[2614] Despite change, 'the democratic, communal, and even spiritual character of the rite has been maintained.'[2615] Initiation was and is a powerful means to relate the individual to the community, negotiating change through the tension between private and public.

Continuity and change in village life

In the 1950s Turner predicted pervasive change in the social fabric of village life throughout Mwinilunga District. He identified that 'there was clearly "a wind of change," economic, political, social, religious, legal, and so on, sweeping the whole of central Africa and originating *outside* all village societies.'[2616] Yet despite profound social change, villages have continued to exist, whereas categories of kinship, age and gender or patterns of authority and discourses of witchcraft have retained their significance, even whilst transforming and incorporating change. The changes which Turner predicted appear less clear-cut or linear when viewed within a long-term historical perspective. This might be because 'people experience and channel change through pre-existing ideas, ways and practices.'[2617] Therefore, change tends to be gradual and incremental, rather than rapid or transformative. Change is mediated through existing categories, as 'values are the social sub-system most resistant to change in society, but when they do change their impact is more pervasive than that of changes in any other sub-system.'[2618] Even whilst social forms and relationships have profoundly changed, paradoxically, the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District assert that they have maintained their traditions and they discursively propose continuity with the past. This 'contrast between rocklike stability in conceptions alongside radical change in practice' needs to be explained.[2619]

Individuals appropriate change by 'following the rules yet creating new forms at the same time', both continuing and modifying cultural categories.[2620] Through 'a deeply rooted habitus, a past, a bedrock of moral matrixes' the present might be renegotiated and invested with meaning, and by looking at this process 'the significance and the rhythms of reciprocity, commensality, conjugality and gender relations are most fully explored and defined.'[2621] Rather than resulting in a disintegration of the social fabric, change propelled the continual negotiation and redefinition of existing categories and

[2611] Kratz, 'We've always done it like this', 50.
[2612] White, 'Notes on the circumcision rites', 44-5.
[2613] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu,* 189; Confirmed by numerous oral interviews.
[2614] Turner, 'Zambia's kankanga dances', 57.
[2615] Turner, 'Zambia's kankanga dances', 71.
[2616] V.W. Turner, *Dramas, fields, and metaphors: Symbolic action in human society* (Ithaca, 1974), 31-2.
[2617] Peters, 'Revisiting the puzzle of matriliny', 140.
[2618] Price and Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family', 528.
[2619] Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals,* 5.
[2620] Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals,* 13.
[2621] De Boeck, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars', 806.

social relationships. Thus, 'long-term continuity and active creation are in fact compatible', as individuals 'follow their own trajectories and choose their own paths within the historically conditioned range of possibilities.'[2622] Cultural categories and social relationships were not fixed but contested, being sites of struggle rather than bedrocks of an established normative order. As this chapter has argued, social relationships were subject to definite but gradual change. Although prominent individuals could uphold the moral premises and communal norms of the village, they could equally deviate from these norms and establish new patterns, for example by displaying exceptional hunting skill, by achieving status through an initiation ceremony or perhaps through witchcraft. Such exceptional individuals caused change in society, in the form of rituals and in patterns of belief. Yet change built upon established norms and a pre-existing order: 'The material conditions of life and the facts of intimate socialization (…) produce a homogenization of dispositions and interests, leading people to improvise in regulated ways.'[2623]

Continuity and change could thus coincide. Existing social structures changed continuously, yet in such a manner that a discursive continuity could still be upheld. Although norms, moralities and patterns of social relationships were contested, they formed the foundation from which action took off. Whilst there was continuous change, change was gradual. Rather than forming a sharp breach with past practices, change would be domesticated and familiarised: 'We can thus speak of both the continuity of tradition *and* its transformation as part of a single unending process of renovation, innovation and transformation.'[2624] *Chisemwa* could both change and endure. Enterprising individuals, who sought to make a name for themselves by establishing a large and prosperous household or by exhibiting rhetorical ability in the *chota*, might deviate from social norms and thereby establish their own rules, creating a precedent which others might follow. Traditions might change whilst remaining intact, providing 'individuals with a rich corpus of pre-established (traditional) forms *and* with the opportunity to "swing free" in creative endeavours that inevitably transform those forms.'[2625]

Conclusion

Beyond doubt villages in the area of Mwinilunga today look different and are organised in a different way than those at the start of the twentieth century. Despite profound social change, villages persist and have not disintegrated as Turner predicted in the 1950s. Villages and the social relationships which form the core of village life have changed over the course of the twentieth century, but this change did not always follow a clear, preconceived or linear course. Change was the outcome of active and purposive (re)production. Change could result in the rearticulation of existing discourses or the reconfiguration of previous practices, rather than in the emergence of wholly new forms.

Linear transitions from communalism to individualism, from extended kinship to family nucleation or from sharing to accumulation did not materialise. Binary oppositions were more discursive than real, as competition and contestation had always been part of village life. The establishment of 'farms', which Turner observed, was not a sign of individualisation, but matched long-established trends of inter-village competition and underlined aspects of wealth in people. Wealth in people was what underpinned the continued importance of social relationships. A *mukwakuheta* (rich person) could not become powerful without simultaneously being considered a *mukwakwashi* (one who helps others). Although capitalism might have exacerbated existing rivalries within villages, this did not evoke radical change in social relationships, which remained pivoted around webs of interdependence and personal allegiance. Becoming a 'Big Man' involved investing in the village rather

[2622] Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals,* 3, 21.
[2623] Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals,* 28.
[2624] T.T. Spear, *Mountain farmers: Moral economies of land and agricultural development in Arusha and Meru* (Oxford etc., 1997), 238-9.
[2625] R. Handler and J. Linnekin, 'Tradition, genuine or spurious', *The journal of American folklore* 97:385 (1984), 287.

than distancing oneself from it. This explains the persistence of village residence and the paramount importance of social relationships.

5.1: Chief discussing village affairs with the male population
Source: (NAZ) SEC2/964, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, Accompanying Photographs

5.2: Women and children welcoming District Commissioner
Source: Dennis Brubacher

Conclusion

When mining enterprises commenced in Lumwana in 2008, plans were made for prospecting throughout Mwinilunga District. Journalists, policy makers and academics instantly heralded an 'epochal divide', predicting that Mwinilunga would become part of Zambia's 'New Copperbelt'.[2626] Through mining the district would be lifted out of poverty and this would have a profound influence, not only on the economy but also on popular modes of thought: 'the development of an entirely new town by the Lumwana company in what was until very recently "bush" has led to new "expectations of modernity" in the region.'[2627] Much like colonialism previously, mining was expected to propel profound, transformative and unidirectional change. It is against such narratives of linear, transformative and externally generated social change that this thesis has argued. Narratives of linear social change are clearly not obsolete relics, as they continue to be actively reproduced at present.[2628] Undoubtedly, the opening of mines will have a profound impact on the area, yet it is the question whether change will follow a linear course and whether societal transformation will necessarily result.[2629] The dominant narrative within which social change in Mwinilunga District has hitherto been described is one of linear and transformative change. This thesis has attempted to move away from and beyond this narrative, arguing that such a narrative obscures rather than illuminates the course of history. Instead of paying attention to ruptures or discontinuity, an emphasis has been placed on long-term trends, local negotiation and gradual change, in order to understand how the process of social change (exemplified by issues of production, mobility, consumption and social relationships) has been negotiated in the area of Mwinilunga between 1870 and 1970. That narratives of linear change have been questioned does not mean that change did not occur throughout Mwinilunga. To the contrary, continuous and at times profound change has been locally negotiated and appropriated within existing frameworks of thought, action and historical consciousness.[2630] It is the tension between continuity and change which has been at the heart of this work. No matter how '"new" a situation may be, it will have to be appropriated to a certain extent in terms of a set of practices and discourses that are already known.'[2631]

Each thematic chapter of this thesis has set out, tested, assessed and adjusted one hypothesis about the course of social change. These hypotheses have been formulated within the metanarrative of social change, which has prevailed among officials, scholars and the local population throughout much of the twentieth century. Running against trends of capitalist penetration, state integration or family nucleation, events in Mwinilunga District appear to have taken a different course. Predictions of linear transitions from subsistence to market production, from self-sufficiency to consumerism, from immobility to mobility or from kinship to individualisation have proven far from

[2626] A remark about an 'epochal divide' due to the mining boom in Zambia's North-Western Province was made by Margaret O'Callaghan, at the 'Narratives of Nationhood' Conference in Lusaka, Zambia, in September 2012. She referred back to the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute scholars, most notably Godfrey Wilson, yet such views are equally expressed in much recent journalism.

[2627] R. Negi, 'The mining boom, capital, and chiefs in the "New Copperbelt"', in: A. Fraser and M. Larmer (eds.), *Zambia, mining, and neoliberalism: Boom and bust on the globalized Copperbelt* (New York, 2010), 209.

[2628] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity: Myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley etc., 1999), 16.

[2629] J. Van Alstine, 'Community and company capacity: The challenge of resource-led development in Zambia's 'New Copperbelt'', *Community development journal* 48:3 (2013), 360-76.

[2630] J.A. Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, change, and social transformation in South Central Africa* (Madison, 2001); See also: T.T. Spear, *Mountain farmers: Moral economies of land and agricultural development in Arusha and Meru* (Oxford etc., 1997).

[2631] H.L. Moore and M. Vaughan, *Cutting down trees: Gender, nutrition, and agricultural change in the Northern Province of Zambia 1890-1990* (Portsmouth etc., 1994), 233.

straightforward.[2632] Categories were messy from the outset, and linear narratives fail to capture the ambiguous course of historical practice. Rather than analysing change through ideas of 'development' or 'modernisation', the course of history in Mwinilunga District might be better understood by adopting terms such as the 'internal foundation of production', 'culture of mobility', 'self-realisation' or 'wealth in people'. These terms point towards long-term trends and continuities, arguing that change was domesticated within existing patterns of thought, action and daily life.[2633] Change was incremental, building on existing foundations rather than transforming these.[2634] It has been asserted that society in Mwinilunga District exposed a distinct ability to incorporate change continuously, yet that it did so in such a way as to accord with existing methods of production, ideology and interpersonal relationships, thereby projecting an image of continuity towards the outside world.[2635]

To return to the metaphor of moving along the roadside. The inhabitants of Mwinilunga District moved incessantly. In the 1950s a trend of movement towards the roadside could be witnessed, yet this movement did not entail a straightforward step towards 'development' or 'modernity', as contemporary observers might have expected. Turner's predictions of village disintegration, individualisation and capitalist penetration did not unequivocally hold true.[2636] Rather, people in Mwinilunga continued to live in villages, to attach importance to ties of extended kinship and to produce cassava next to cash crops. This evidenced an ability to incorporate change within existing frameworks and historical practice. Instead of being driven by external forces, individuals were able to reconfigure influences of colonialism and capitalism so that these would fit into familiar conceptualisations and ways of doing.[2637] Individuals would move towards the roadside to take advantage of opportunities, but this did not necessarily involve abandoning existing forms of social organisation, patterns of livelihood procurement or modes of thought. The movement towards the roadside was not a step towards government control or market involvement. Instead, existing forms of village residence, social organisation and tradition retained importance and served to negotiate, appropriate and domesticate change. Social change did not follow the course predicted by officials, experts or scholars, but became incorporated into flexible and changing patterns of historical practice.[2638]

The study of Mwinilunga District has argued for the local specificity of social change. Social change cannot be adequately understood within universal frameworks. Carefully located case studies are necessary to 'accurately describe *African* historical trajectories and contemporary realities, rather than simply forcing these to conform to theoretical templates carved from Western history.'[2639] Perhaps exactly because of its location on the margins of the state and major markets, Mwinilunga District was able to more freely negotiate change.[2640] The case of Mwinilunga illustrates the impact of 'large forces', such as colonialism, capitalism or globalisation, by stressing their internally negotiated, rather than external or transformative nature. Idiosyncracies and anomalies might be illustrative of

---

[2632] See: L.M. Thomas, 'Modernity's failings, political claims, and intermediate concepts', *The American historical review* 116:3 (2011), 727-40; F. Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for? An African historian's perspective', *African affairs* 100:399 (2001), 189-213.

[2633] For a similar argument, see: J. Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world: African consumerism and the genealogies of globalization* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2008).

[2634] S. Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals: Anthropology and history in Tanzania* (Madison, 1990).

[2635] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Spear, *Mountain farmers*; See also: Feierman, *Peasant intellectuals.*

[2636] V.W. Turner, *Schism and continuity in an African society: A study of Ndembu village life* (Manchester etc., 1957).

[2637] See parallels in: Spear, *Mountain farmers.*

[2638] Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

[2639] K. Crehan, *The fractured community: Landscapes of power and gender in rural Zambia* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1997), 229.

[2640] Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for?'; Compare with: C. Piot, *Remotely global: Village modernity in West Africa* (Chicago and London, 1999).

the working of markets, states and capital.[2641] Through a specific case 'on the one hand, we can begin to understand something of the role of overarching global relationships in creating local heterogeneity; and, on the other, also begin to rethink some of those broad narratives.'[2642] Markets, state policies and development schemes could not operate through 'one size fits all' measures. Rather, the outcome of interactions depended on individual agency and local specificity. However small or trivial a case might appear, 'it is in the intimate context of lives lived (…) that larger processes and policies have their effects, and indeed, to a certain extent, their origins.'[2643]

Historical practice has been placed at the centre of analysis. Historical practices have been continuously and creatively reworked and are therefore essential to an understanding of processes of social change. Historical practice has been juxtaposed to narratives of social change. The two have been studied in conjunction, as they stand in a dialectical relationship: 'hegemonic accounts are, to however small a degree, shaped by the concrete conditions that they attempt to explain.'[2644] Descriptions of historical practice 'are formulated in terms of existing discourses, and they take shape in the light of previous histories; as such, they are grafted onto a version of the past to be remade in the present.'[2645] Social change, far from being external or transformative, was locally negotiated in accordance with established forms of historical practice, which underwent continuous but gradual change. This gradually changing basis of historical practice generated a sense of long-term continuity in Mwinilunga District.

Village life, social organisation and idioms of tradition retained their salience, whilst continuously incorporating change. Struggles within society over new forms of wealth generated through labour migration could lead to contestations of categories of gender, age and social hierarchy. Even if such contestations evoked a negotiation and rearticulation of existing categories, these categories were not necessarily transformed, but could be revitalised. Labour migration and mass-manufactured consumer goods, such as bicycles, radios or cloth, could lead to new tensions and power relations, which could nevertheless be channelled through familiar patterns of action, thought and social organisation. Concepts of 'wealth in people' and 'self-realisation' lay at the basis of labour migration and motivated the acquisition of consumer goods and their social usage. Consumption revolved around the human factor and did not lead to an axiomatic dependence on the market. Contrary to expectations, market involvement in Mwinilunga proved fluctuating rather than linear. The desire to generate a stable basis of subsistence could figure more prominently in producer deliberations than objectives of profit-maximisation. The internal foundation of production, which encompasses repertoires, values and rationales, is therefore imperative to an understanding of market involvement or non-involvement in Mwinilunga. Capitalist models of market integration fail to explain why the shift of settlements towards the roadside did not automatically lead towards market production or scientific methods of farming.[2646] Alternative concepts and frameworks are thus called for, and these have been proposed throughout the chapters of this work.

The case study of Mwinilunga District has sought to contribute to three general debates within Zambian and African historiography, namely those on labour migration, capitalism and kinship. It has been argued that universal claims about the course of history should be substituted with local specificity. Labour migration, rather than being analysed within a 'modernist narrative', can be better understood by looking at life histories and the variety of migrant trajectories.[2647] In the area of Mwinilunga labour migration built on a culture of mobility, which shaped both the incentives and

[2641] See: Thomas, 'Modernity's failings'; Cooper, 'What is the concept of globalization good for?'
[2642] Crehan, *The fractured community*, 233.
[2643] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* 232.
[2644] Crehan, *The fractured community,* 226.
[2645] Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees,* 233.
[2646] See the previous chapters, especially Chapter 2 and 4.
[2647] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; J.A. Andersson, 'Informal moves, informal markets: International migrants and traders from Mzimba, Malawi', *African affairs* 105:420 (2006), 375-97.

objectives of migration. Rather than fitting into fixed stages of migration, leading to either rural prosperity or breakdown, labour migration had a variety of possible outcomes, depending on individual trajectories, aims towards self-realisation and the specificity of the local setting.[2648] Capitalism should equally be approached with local specificity.[2649] Capitalist penetration did not lead to either development or underdevelopment, but could have a variety of effects, being negotiated through an internal foundation of production and through notions of wealth in people and self-realisation. Kinship, likewise, should not be viewed within a framework of breakdown or individualisation, as kinship proved flexible and adaptive to change, retaining importance over time.[2650] Dominant narratives, advanced by officials, policy-makers or academics, suggest linear and transformative processes of social change. Yet such representations obscure historical practice, which is ambiguous, diffuse and gradually changing.[2651] In order to understand processes of social change it is necessary to adopt an analytical framework which more closely reflects the course of historical practice.

Even as this work has applied a broad-ranging thematic approach, a number of topics have been left largely untouched. Much more could be explored with regard to themes of religion or formal politics. Turner's seminal studies laid the basis for our understanding of religion and ritual in Mwinilunga District, whereas Pritchett and Kalusa have built on and expanded Turner's work.[2652] Historical research into religious subjects would most definitely prove valuable, yet existing sources and my own expertise have not allowed such an analysis. The topic of formal politics, as opposed to the everyday micro-politics which have been explored in Chapter 5, will be addressed in more detail in a separate article.[2653] Many themes touched upon throughout this work deserve further elaboration, notably the role of initiation ceremonies and changes in marriage patterns. Overall, it has been argued that changes within the spheres of production, mobility, consumption and social relationships did not occur at the same pace, but cut across each other. Social, economic and political change did not concur within a 'total social field'.[2654] In order to reach conclusions about the nature, pace and direction of social change, an attempt has been made to counterpoise linear narratives of social change with the historical and local specificity of Mwinilunga District. Yet there remains much scope for future research, which might refine or challenge the line of argument proposed here.

Mwinilunga District has been embedded within a broader regional and historical context. The case of Mwinilunga might hold comparative potential, generating insight into broader trends and historical developments. Nonetheless, arguments have been advanced about the specificity of historical events, personal experiences and processes of social change in Mwinilunga District. Although certain aspects of the general argument might be extrapolated to other areas or settings, suggesting for example the feeble nature of colonial rule in the opening decades of the twentieth century in Central Africa or the inadequacy of prevailing periodization into pre-colonial, colonial or post-colonial periods, no claims of general applicability can be made. The account provided here might not apply to Zambia's Southern or Northern Province. It has been argued that linear narratives – adopting ideas of

[2648] See: J.A. Andersson, 'Re-interpreting the rural-urban connection: Migration practices and socio-cultural dispositions of Buhera workers in Harare', *Africa* 71:1 (2001), 82-112.
[2649] See: Crehan, *The fractured community.*
[2650] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*; S.S. Berry, *No condition is permanent: The social dynamics of agrarian change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison, 1993).
[2651] See: Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees.*
[2652] Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; W.T. Kalusa, 'Disease and the remaking of missionary medicine in colonial northwestern Zambia: A case of Mwinilunga District, 1902-1964' (PhD thesis, John Hopkins University, 2003).
[2653] This article focuses on the interaction between national and local politics, by analysing the rivalry between UNIP and ANC from the 1950s to the 1970s: I. Peša, ''We have killed this animal together, may I also have a share?': Local-national political dynamics in Mwinilunga District, Zambia, 1950s-1970s', *Journal of Southern African studies* (2014).
[2654] See the Introduction for the RLI discussion on the 'total social field'.

'development' or 'modernity' and postulating a clear direction of historical change – should be nuanced by accounts of local specificity.[2655] Broad generalisations should be reassessed through specific case studies, for only then can historical understanding be advanced.

Current practices in the area of Mwinilunga have constantly adapted to changing circumstances and a complex setting, involving local, regional and (inter)national factors and actors. Over the course of the twentieth century village organisation and social relationships have changed profoundly. Influenced by social change, categories of kinship, age and gender have been questioned, authority has been redefined and tradition has been negotiated. Yet change did not lead to a demise of previous practices, which could prove flexible and resilient. Tradition has changed and adapted, yet it has retained its salience and it has provided the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District with the power to domesticate and make sense of change.[2656] In this sense, tradition offers 'to modern people a reservoir, a shared past, which they might draw on to face problems in the present.'[2657] Due to the incorporation of change, past practices continued to be significant and that is why the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District might still avow that they have kept hold of their traditions. In 'tradition' the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District oppose themselves against the 'modernist narrative', proposed by RLI scholars and replicated in much later historiography.[2658] In such an understanding of a flexible tradition lies the key to solving the paradox between continuity and change. A tradition which incorporates change yet retains its form and importance over time enables a different understanding of the process of social change in Mwinilunga District.

[2655] See: Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; Crehan, *The fractured community*; Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*.
[2656] J. Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests: Toward a history of political tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, 1990).
[2657] D.L. Schoenbrun, *A green place, a good place: Agrarian change, gender and social identity in the Great Lakes region to the 15th century* (Portsmouth etc., 1998), 3.
[2658] Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu.*

Sources

I: Archival Sources

National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), Lusaka, Zambia

British South Africa Company Papers

A1/1/12 Loc. 3975	Slave Trading North Western Rhodesia 1909-1910
A1/2/17 Loc. 3979	BSA2 Boundary Commission 1911
A2/1/1 Loc. 3980	Barotse Representative Indunas – Kasempa 1907-1908
A2/1/4 Loc. 3981	BSA 2 Tax Evasion
A2/2/2	
A3/7/1 Loc. 3985	North Western Rhodesia Correspondence Boundaries General 1909-11
A3/28/2 Loc. 3996	Rubber Legislation 1903-1909
A5/1/5 Loc. 4002	Land Department Annual Report 1908-1910
A5/2/1 Loc. 4003	Balunda District Annual Report 1908-1909
A5/2/9 Loc. 4005	Lunda District Annual Report 1910-1911
BS2/199 IN2/1/3	Balunda District Monthly Reports
HC1/2/43 Loc. 130	MacGregor's Conduct

Manuscripts, Diaries and Personal Papers

HM6/CO3/3/1	Edward Arden Copeman Papers
HM6/CO3/4/1	Edward Arden Copeman Papers
HM6/CO3/4/3-4	Edward Arden Copeman Papers
HM8/FI2/6/1/1	Walter and Anna Fisher Correspondences and Diaries, Folios 1485-1857
HM8/FI2/6/2	Eileen Darling Correspondences
HM8/FI4/2/1	Singleton Fisher Papers
HM17/MI5/1	Frederick Vernon Bruce-Miller Papers
HM17/MI5/2	Frederick Vernon Bruce-Miller Papers
HM70/9	NRANC Newsletters, 1953-57
HM77/PP/1	Peter Matoka Papers
HM77/PP/2	Peter Matoka Papers
HM84/PP/1	Andrew Sardanis Papers

District Notebooks and Reports

KDD4/1/1	Kasempa District Inspection of Mwinilunga District 1925-1929
KDD5/1	Kasempa District Notebook
KDE8/1/1	Barotseland Annual Reports 1906-1907
KSE Files	Mwinilunga Sub-District 1908-1929
KSE1/1/1	Mwinilunga Sub-District Correspondence Recruitment of Labour 1914-1917
KSE1/2/1	Mwinilunga Sub-District Correspondence Native Authorities, 1929-30
KSE1/3/1	Mwinilunga Sub-District Correspondence Roads and Routes, 1916-1923
KSE3/1/2/1	North Western Rhodesia, Native Cases Civil
KSE3/2/1/1	Mwinilunga Sub-District Magistrate's Court Criminal Records, 1922-23
KSE3/2/2/1	Mwinilunga Sub-District Magistrate's Court Criminal Records, 1909-11
KSE3/2/2/2	Mwinilunga Sub-District Native Commissioner and Assistant Magistrate Court Criminal Cases 1915
KSE3/2/2/7	Mwinilunga Sub-District Criminal Cases 1928-29

KSE4/1 Mwinilunga District Notebook
KSE5/1 Mwinilunga Sub-District, Native Commissioner's Court Register, 1914-19
KSE5/4/1+2 Mwinilunga Sub-District, Tax Register 1925-1929
KSE6/1/1 Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Reports 1908-1911
KSE6/1/2 Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Reports 1911-1914
KSE6/1/3 Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Reports 1914-1920
KSE6/1/4 Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Reports 1920-1925
KSE6/1/5 Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Reports 1925-1927
KSE6/1/6 Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Reports 1928-1929
KSE6/2/1 Mwinilunga Sub-District Half Yearly and Quarterly Reports 1911-1917
KSE6/2/2 Mwinilunga Sub-District Half Yearly and Quarterly Reports 1918-1929
KSE6/3/1 Mwinilunga Sub-District Report Indaba 1916
KSE6/3/2 Mwinilunga Sub-District Report Indaba 1927-1929
KSE6/4/1 Mwinilunga Sub-District Reports Lunda Tribe 1917
KSE6/5/1 Mwinilunga Sub-District Monthly Reports 1908-1910
KSE6/6/1 Mwinilunga Sub-District Tour Reports 1909-1910
KSE6/6/2 Mwinilunga Sub-District Tour Reports 1924-1929

Secretariat files
SEC2/41 Development of Mwinilunga – Benguela Railway 1937
SEC2/46 Redistribution of Districts Western Province
SEC2/64 Kasempa Quarterly Reports
SEC2/131 Kasempa Province Annual Reports 1929-1930
SEC2/133 Mwinilunga District Annual Reports 1935-1937
SEC2/135 North Western Province Annual Reports 1951-52
SEC2/136 North Western Province Annual Report 1953
SEC2/137 North Western Province Annual Reports 1954-55
SEC2/151 Western Province Annual Report 1937
SEC2/153 Western and Kaonde-Lunda Provinces Annual Report 1939
SEC2/154 Western Province Annual Report 1947
SEC2/155 Western Province Annual Report 1948
SEC2/156 Western Province Annual Report 1949
SEC2/157 Western Province District and Provincial Organisation Annual Reports 1950-51
SEC2/177 Western Province District Commissioners' Conferences 1936-39
SEC2/185 Kaonde-Lunda Province District Commissioners' Conferences 1946-56
SEC2/193 Kaonde-Lunda Province Newsletters 1941-46
SEC2/222 Native Government Re-organisation Kaonde-Lunda Province
SEC2/230 Kaonde-Lunda Province Regional Councils 1944-47
SEC2/257 Native Industries – Restrictions on the Sale of Foodstuffs 1934-47
SEC2/258 Industries and Trade–Agriculture–General Development and Improvement 1931-44
SEC2/279 Kaonde-Lunda Province: Five Year Development Plan 1943
SEC2/304 Chiefs and Headmen Recognition Kaonde-Lunda Province
SEC2/326 Native Land Tenure 1947-48
SEC2/336 Peasant Farm Blocks: Experimental Schemes 1947-48
SEC2/346 Native Tax Ordinance 1938
SEC2/402 Proposal for Sailunga Native Administration
SEC2/952 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1932-33

SEC2/953 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1933-39
SEC2/954 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1939-40
SEC2/955 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1940-48
SEC2/956 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1948
SEC2/957 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1949
SEC2/958 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1950-51
SEC2/959 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1951
SEC2/960 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1952
SEC2/961 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1953
SEC2/962 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1954
SEC2/963 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1955
SEC2/964 Photographs as Attachments to Tour Reports
SEC2/965 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1956
SEC2/966 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1958
SEC2/967 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1959
SEC2/968 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1960
SEC2/1126 Native Newspapers 1930-36
SEC2/1127 Native Newspapers 1936
SEC3/192 Provincial Roads Advisory Committee, Kaonde-Lunda Province
SEC3/289 Anglo-Belgian Boundary Commission Vol.I
SEC3/290 Anglo-Belgian Boundary Commission 1928-29
SEC3/291 Anglo-Belgian Boundary Commission Vol.I
SEC3/320 Native Reserves – Land Commission Mwinilunga District
SEC5/136 Development Area Schools, North Western Province
SEC5/153 District Commissioners Conference Western Province
SEC5/214 Land Policy North Western Province
SEC5/217 Land North Western Province, Native Trust Land
SEC5/242 Misconduct of Chiefs, Chief Chibwika
SEC5/320 Native Courts North Western Province
SEC5/364 Native Trust Land North Western Province, Fisher's Farm
SEC5/420 Provincial and District Organisation North Western Province
SEC5/431 Provincial Native Treasury Funds North Western Province
SEC6/422 Western Province Solwezi Reports Game Ranger
SEC6/894 Mwinilunga Boma Water Supply 1959

North Western Province Reports and Papers
NWP1/1/7 Loc.4887 Development Team Minutes 1950-52
NWP1/1/15 Loc.4889 District Development Teams 1952-54
NWP1/1/25 Loc.4892 Development Team Minutes 1954
NWP1/2/2 Loc.4897 Mwinilunga District Travelling Reports 1934-39
NWP1/2/7 Loc.4898 Mwinilunga District Travelling Reports, Native Case: Tax & Labour 1937-40
NWP1/2/10 Loc.4898 Mwinilunga District Travelling Reports 1939
NWP1/2/12 Loc.4899 Mwinilunga District Travelling Reports 1940-46
NWP1/2/17 Mwinilunga District Travelling Reports 1946-49
NWP1/2/21 Loc.4901 Mwinilunga District, Agricultural Instructors Reports 1949-50
NWP1/2/26 Loc.4901 Mwinilunga District Travelling Reports 1949
NWP1/2/29 Angola – Reports and General 1950

NWP1/2/33 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1950
NWP1/2/37 Loc.4903 Mwinilunga District Annual Report 1950
NWP1/2/38 Loc.4903 Tour Reports by African Staff
NWP1/2/40 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1950-52
NWP1/2/43 Loc.4905 North Western Province Annual Reports by Departmental Officers 1951-53
NWP1/2/51 North Western Province Tours by Ministers and Heads of Departments 1956-58
NWP1/2/52 Mwinilunga District Annual Report 1952
NWP1/2/57 Loc.4908 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1953
NWP1/2/63 Loc.4910 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1954
NWP1/2/65 Loc.4910 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1954 Overflow
NWP1/2/68 Loc.4911 North Western Province Departmental Annual Reports 1954-55
NWP1/2/75 Loc.4913 Mwinilunga District Tour Reports 1955
NWP1/2/78 Loc.4913 North Western Province Annual Reports 1955-61
NWP1/2/83 Loc.4914 North Western Province Departmental Annual Reports 1956-58
NWP1/2/90 Loc.4916 Reports and Returns: Labour in Mwinilunga District, 1955-61
NWP1/2/101 Loc.4919 Northern Rhodesia Annual Reports 1960s
NWP1/2/102 Loc.4919 North Western Province Annual Reports 1960-62
NWP1/2/105 Loc.4920 North Western Province Annual Report 1963
NWP1/3/2 Loc.4921 Native Authority and Chief's Policy
NWP1/10/2 Loc.4941 Chiefs and Headmen
NWP1/12/1 Loc.4947 Native Affairs General
NWP1/12/18 Loc.4951 African Land Tenure General
NWP1/12/23 Sailunga Kindred Native Administration Harry Vaux

Magisterial Papers and Reports
MAG1/10/1 Loc.76 North Western Province Agricultural Development 1946-60
MAG1/18/6 North Western Province Tour Reports, Ministry of Agriculture 1959-65
MAG1/20/4 Cassava 1960-68
MAG2/2/25 Loc.114 North Western Province, Provincial Team Minutes 1953-58
MAG2/2/45 Loc.118 North Western Province, Provincial Team Minutes 1958-61
MAG2/3/41 Provincial Young Farmers Club Council Minutes
MAG2/5/9 Loc.131 Native Agriculture – North Western Province Tour Reports 1939-40
MAG2/5/91 Loc.144 North Western Province Tours Agriculture, 1964-71
MAG2/9/3 Loc.170 Ecological Survey Reports
MAG2/9/4 Loc.170 J.N. Clothier Ecological Survey Report 1932-33
MAG2/9/6 Loc.170 Ecological Survey General
MAG2/9/9 Loc.170 Ecological Survey General
MAG2/9/11 Loc.171 Economic Survey and Agricultural Statistics
MAG2/17/86 Loc.199 Pineapples
MAG2/18/3 Stock Taking North Western Province
MAG2/21/86 North Western Province General
MAG4/3/24 Agricultural Productivity Committee North Western Province 1968

Ministry of Community Development
MCD1/3/12 North Western Province, Native Treasury Committee

MCD1/3/13 Loc. 4440 Provincial Team Minutes North Western Province
MCD1/3/21 Area Team Minutes, Mwinilunga, North Western Province
MCD1/3/29 Rural Development, Provincial Team Minutes North Western Province

Ministry of Commerce and Industry
MCI2/2/18 Norton Company Limited
MCI2/2/27 Pioneer Stores Limited

Ministry of Land and Works
ML1/16/6 Loc.4575 Beeswax and Honey Co-Operatives
MLW1/1/21 Loc.5693 Provincial Team Minutes, North Western Province 1964
MRD1/8/27 Loc. 4272 Regional Development Committee, North Western Province 1969-70

Ministry of Local Government and Housing
LGH1/17/1 Loc.3498 Ministry of Agriculture Correspondence
LGH1/18/97 Provincial Team North Western Province
LGH5/1/3 Loc.3604 Minutes of the Mwinilunga Rural Council
LGH5/1/8 Loc.3605 Provincial Local Government Service Board, North Western Province
LGH5/1/10 Loc.3608 Mwinilunga Rural Council, 1967-72
LGH5/2/1 Provincial Four Year Development Plan, North Western Province 1956
LGH5/2/2 Loc.3611 District Commissioners Conferences, North Western Province
LGH5/2/4 Loc.3611 Mwinilunga Areas and Boundaries
LGH5/2/5 Loc.3612 North Western Province Rural Economic Development, 1960-68
LGH5/2/7 Loc.3612 North Western Province Development, 1964-68
LGH5/2/8 Loc.3613 Resident Secretaries Conferences
LGH5/2/9 Loc.3613 The National Convention Committee, 1967
LGH5/3/2 Loc.3614 Mwinilunga Rural Council, Rules and Orders
LGH5/4/2 Loc.3615 Internal Security Scheme, Mwinilunga
LGH5/4/5 Loc.3616 Mwinilunga District Chiefs
LGH5/4/12 Loc.3618 House of Chiefs
LGH5/5/5 Loc.3620 Tours by the Governor
LGH5/5/6 Health, Taxation, Miscellaneous
LGH5/5/7 Loc.3621 Women's Work, North Western Province
LGH5/5/8 Mwinilunga District Development Plan, 1956
LGH5/5/11 Loc.3621 African Land Tenure
LGH5/5/12 Agriculture General, 1968-70
LGH5/5/14 Loc.3619 Tours by Governor, 1957

Cabinet Office
CO3/1/36 Census of Population 1963-67
CO4/1/3 National Development Plans North Western Province 1965-67

Library, Government Publications and Reports
Northern Rhodesia – Agriculture Annual Reports 1913-1920
Northern Rhodesia – Agriculture Annual Reports 1920-1934
Northern Rhodesia – Agriculture Annual Reports 1935-1956
Mwinilunga District Show June 15th 1956 (Box No. 5A, Shelf No.9)

African Provincial Council, North Western Province 1954-1958
Ministry of Agriculture, Monthly Economic Bulletin, 1966-1970
Annual Report of the Ministry of Agriculture, 1964-1965
Agricultural Marketing Committee, 1965-68
First National Development Plan, 1966-70
Department of Co-Operatives Annual Report 1969
Report of the Second National Convention on Rural Development, 1969
A New Strategy for Rural Development in Zambia, 1970
Department of Marketing Annual Report 1970-77
R.C. Kamanga Address to the District Governor's Workshop, 1971
Pineapple Production Questions and Answers, Radio Farm Forum, 1973
Programme for the Nation, Rural Development Seminar, 1974
Yearbook of the Ministry of Rural Development, 1975
Quarterly Agricultural Statistical Bulletin, 1975
Department of Community Development, Annual Reports, 1968-80

Newspapers

Mutende	1936, 1937, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950
Times of Zambia	1966

United National Independence Party Archives (UNIPA), Lusaka, Zambia

African National Congress (ANC)

ANC2/1	Arrangements of Visits and Tours, 1954-1962
ANC2/4	ANC Statistical Records, General, 1959
ANC2/7	Correspondences North Western Province, 1960-1965
ANC2/11	ANC Reports, 1961-1963
ANC2/18	General Correspondence, 1956-1963
ANC3/7	Chiefs and Tribal History, 1954-1961
ANC3/8	Native Authority Rules and Orders, Anti-ANC, 1954-1961
ANC3/10	Education and Schools, 1953-1959
ANC3/20	Federal Scheme, 1952-1958
ANC3/21	General Correspondence, 1957-1962
ANC3/24	Government Anti-Congress Propaganda, 1953-1961
ANC3/26	New Branches Registration, 1957-1962
ANC3/30	ANC Correspondence with Government, 1960-1961
ANC4/4	Annual General Conference, 1956-1964
ANC4/9	Minutes, 1962-1969
ANC5/18	Correspondence on Labour, 1953-1961
ANC5/19	Minutes, 1956-1969
ANC7/14	Minutes and Circulars, 1968-1972
ANC7/15	Correspondence, 1964-1970
ANC7/23	Independence Constitution, 1964
ANC7/24	Local Government Elections, 1964-1972
ANC7/30	Correspondence, 1965-1972
ANC7/32	General, 1960-1972
ANC7/34	Correspondence, 1964-1972

ANC7/45 Minutes, 1962-1969
ANC7/88 Zambezi River Transport, 1962-1967
ANC9/51 Registers from Provinces, 1962-1964

United National Independence Party (UNIP)
UNIP1/1/2 1961-63: National Council Minutes
UNIP1/1/6 1963-67: National Council Minutes
UNIP1/1/7 1964-65: National Council Minutes
UNIP1/1/8 1964-67: National Council Minutes
UNIP1/1/9 1965-66: National Council Minutes
UNIP1/1/10 1965-71: National Council Minutes
UNIP1/1/11 1967: First National Convention Zambia
UNIP1/1/15 1969-71: National Council Minutes
UNIP1/1/18 1967-72: National Council Minutes
UNIP1/2/5 1969: National Council, North Western Province Report
UNIP1/2/12 1973-74: National Council and Province Reports
UNIP1/2/13 1975: National Council, North Western Province Report
UNIP1/2/21 1977: National Council, North Western Province Report
UNIP1/2/30 1978: National Council and Province Reports
UNIP1/2/31 1974: National Council, Annual Report
UNIP1/2/33 1974: National Council, Reports from Provinces
UNIP1/2/35 1974-75: National Council, Reports
UNIP1/2/39 1978: National Council, Provincial Reports
UNIP1/2/42 1979: National Council, Annual Reports
UNIP1/3/23 1979: Blue Print for Economic Development
UNIP5/3/1/T/8 1967-69: Mwinilunga District Transport
UNIP5/3/1/1 1961-63: UNIP Regional Headquarters Solwezi-Mwinilunga Correspondence
UNIP5/3/1/5 1962: UNIP Regional Headquarters North Western Province Registers
UNIP5/3/1/8 1962-63: UNIP Regional Headquarters Solwezi-Mwinilunga Correspondence
UNIP5/3/1/13 1962-65: UNIP Regional Headquarters Solwezi-Mwinilunga Correspondence
UNIP5/3/1/17 1963: UNIP Regional Headquarters Mwinilunga Correspondence
UNIP5/3/1/20 1963-66: UNIP Regional Headquarters Correspondence Mwinilunga
UNIP5/3/1/26 1964-66: UNIP Regional Headquarters Correspondence Mwinilunga
UNIP5/3/1/28 1966: UNIP National Headquarters Mwinilunga Correspondence
UNIP5/3/1/30 1966-69: UNIP National Headquarters Mwinilunga Correspondence
UNIP5/3/1/40 1967-69: UNIP Regional Headquarters Mwinilunga Correspondence
UNIP5/3/1/48 1969-73: UNIP Regional Headquarters Mwinilunga Correspondence
UNIP5/3/1/52 1970-73: UNIP Regional Headquarters Mwinilunga Correspondence
UNIP5/3/1/57 1964-70: Chief's Correspondences with UNIP, Mwinilunga
UNIP5/3/1/60 1977: Provincial Political Committee North Western Province Minutes
UNIP5/3/1/62 1962: Regional Headquarters Solwezi-Mwinilunga Correspondence
UNIP5/3/2/1/1 1964-69: District Secretaries North Western Province Independence Celebrations
UNIP5/3/2/1/2 1969-73: District Governor Mwinilunga
UNIP5/3/2/1/10 1977: District Governor Mwinilunga
UNIP5/3/2/2/1 1965-66: Correspondence Resident Minister North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/2/2 1967-69: Minister of State Correspondence North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/2/3 1967-69: Minister of State Correspondence North Western Province

UNIP5/3/2/2/4 1969-73: Minister of State Correspondence North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/2/5 1970-72: Cabinet Minister Minutes North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/2/6 1972-73: Cabinet Minister Minutes North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/2/7 1973-77: Minister of State Minutes North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/2/8 1973: Minister of State Correspondence North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/2/9 1978: Cabinet Minister Report North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/4/1 1972: Provincial Development Committee North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/4/2 1977-78: Provincial Development Committee North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/5/1 1962: Elections Correspondence North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/6/2 1963: Elections Correspondence North Western Province
UNIP5/3/2/6/2 1974-84: District Councils North Western Province
UNIP5/9/24 1974-76: Provincial Administration Tour Reports, Local & Foreign Tours by MCC
UNIP5/9/26 1975: Provincial Administration Tour Reports, North Western Province
UNIP5/9/28 1975-76: Provincial Administration Tour Reports, North Western Province
UNIP7/5/13 1976-77: Ministry of Finance Correspondence
UNIP7/10/1 UNIP Policy on Economy and Agriculture
UNIP7/10/10 1968: National Agricultural Marketing Act
UNIP7/25/3 1963: Proposed Feasibility Scheme for Poultry Projects, Northern Rhodesia
UNIP7/25/5 1965: Co-Operatives Correspondence
UNIP8/1/66 1974-76: Rural Development Committee Reports
UNIP8/1/107 1976-80: Central Committee, Visits and Tours within Zambia
UNIP8/3/30 1975: Third National Development Plan
UNIP8/3/43 1976-78: Central Committee, Correspondence from Provinces
UNIP8/3/44 1976-78: Economics & Finance Committee
UNIP8/5/2 1974: The Role of the Rural Development Committee, Minutes
UNIP8/5/5 1974-75: MCC Rural Development Committee, Memoranda
UNIP8/5/17 1978-80: Rural Development Committee Reports
UNIP8/5/18 1975-81: Rural Development Committee
UNIP8/5/20 1976: Provincial Meetings Rural Development
UNIP8/5/21 1976: Tour Reports Rural Development
UNIP8/5/22 1976-77: Rural Development Committee Minutes
UNIP8/7/3 1974: Achievements to Social and Cultural Committee Resolutions
UNIP8/9/7 1969: Central Committee Provinces, North Western Province Report
UNIP8/9/8 1975: Central Committee Provinces, Reports and Meetings, North Western Province
UNIP8/9/27 1976: Central Committee Provinces, MCC North Western Province Correspondence
UNIP8/9/36 1980: Central Committee Provinces, MCC North Western Province
UNIP8/9/46 1978: Central Committee Provinces, North Western Province Minutes
UNIP8/11/26 1977: Co-Operative Movement
UNIP8/12/2 1978: Central Committee Decentralisation, Report Seminars North Western Province
UNIP10/1/25 1964-66: Youth League Solwezi-Mwinilunga
UNIP11/1/1 1961-63: Women's League Solwezi-Mwinilunga
UNIP11/1/69 1968: Women's League Mwinilunga
UNIP12/1/34 1968-69: Zambia African Traders Union
UNIP15/1/15 1969: Census of Population

Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Archives (ZCCM), Ndola, Zambia

Northern Rhodesia African National Trade Unions, Rations	100.20.24, Loc.1.8.5B
Second Report on Urban African Budget Survey, 1960	Loc. 1.9.2C
Post-Retirement Plans of the Mine Labour Force	Loc. 3.1.5B
African Housing	300.40.12, Loc. 11.6.7A
African Housing, 1964-65	300.40.14, Loc. 11.6.7A
Local Employees Housing, 1965	300.40.15, Loc. 11.6.7B
Commission of Enquiry, Housing and Social Services, 1966	300.40B.1, Loc. 11.6.7B
Roan/Mpatamatu Management Board, 1968-70	300.74.2.5, Loc. 11.6.7C
Roan/Mpatamatu Management Board, 1973	300.74.2.7, Loc. 11.6.7C
Mpatamatu Township Management Board, 1962-64	300.74.2, Loc. 11.6.7C
African Feeding, Malnutrition	205.11.1, Loc. 12.8.9F
African Labour – Compound Manager's Committee General	202.14, Loc. 14.2.9B
African Education – Luanshya Schools, 1930-55	203.3.1, Loc. 15.1.7B
African Education General – 1953-56	203.3.1, Loc. 15.1.7B
African Welfare – Luanshya	203.5, Loc. 15.1.7B
African Welfare – Beer Halls and Canteens	203.6, Loc. 15.1.7B
First Report on Urban African Budget Survey, 1960	Loc.17.2.5A
The Structure of the Labour Force in the Copper Mining Industry	Loc.18.4.7E
Conditions of Service, 1967-71	2.6C.1, Loc. 22.8.5C

Personal Files, Nchanga Mine, Chingola, Lunda Workers from Mwinilunga, 18 Files

Rhodes House (BOD), Oxford, United Kingdom

Mss Afr. S 776 Theodore Williams Diaries 1912-1914
Mss Afr. S 777 Theodore Williams Diaries 1913-1914
Mss Afr. S 778 Theodore Williams Diaries 1915-1921
Mss Afr. S 779 Theodore Williams Correspondences 1912-1914
Mss Afr. S 780 Theodore Williams Correspondences 1915-1918

Richard Cranmer Dening, Personal Papers, Uncatalogued, 15 Boxes

Echoes of Service (EOS), John Rylands Library, Manchester, United Kingdom

Personal Files
Miss Grace O. Adlington
Mr N.S. and Mrs O.R. Arnot
Mr Samuel and Mrs Jean Arnot
Miss Winifred D. Arnot
Mr Sydney Walter Buckland
Mr A.R. Chapman
Mr H. Cunningham and Mrs J. Cunningham
Mr Harry J.T. Faulkner and Mrs Ada Faulkner
Mr Wilfrid W. Revington Fisher and Mrs Georgina Fisher
Mr W. Singleton Fisher and Mrs M. Kitty Fisher

Mr A. Charles Fisher
Mr Alfred Digby Fisher
Dr Walter Fisher and Mrs Anna Fisher
Mr Walter ffolliott Fisher and Mrs Ethelynne Downing Fisher
Miss Annie E. Fulton
Miss Peggy E. Gilmour
Miss Adelaide Hobbs
Dr H. Julyan Hoyte
Mrs Ruth Hurrell
Dr Laura M. Jacobs
Dr David W.S. Kaye and Mrs Roseannah Kaye
Miss Hilda Kelly
Miss Agnes A. Laird
Miss Catherine Anderson McGregor
Mrs Elsie Burr-Milligan
Mr Charles Rowland Nightingale and Dr Evelyn A. Nightingale
Mr Thomas Rea
Mrs Agnes Lind Riddell
Mr Gordon Suckling and Mrs Peggy Suckling

Echoes of Service Magazine, An Illustrated Record of Labour in the Lord's Name in Many Lands, 1906-1915, No. 593-814

Public Records Office (PRO), Kew, United Kingdom

AY 4/2786	Beeswax: Trade evaluation UK markets – Northern Rhodesia Office of the Chief Conservator of Forests
CO 1015/1168	The Conduct of European Surveyors in the Mwinilunga District of Northern Rhodesia
CO 1018/54	Western Province, Northern Rhodesia
DO 35/385/5	Benguela Railway – Railway Connection to Kansanshi Copper Mine in N. Rhodesia, 12 June 1931
FO 371/24063	Anglo-Portuguese Boundary Demarcation 1934
OD 6/653	Air Photography and Topographical Survey N. Rhodesia

II: Secondary Sources: Books and articles

'The Barotse boundary award', *The geographical journal* 26:2 (1905), 201-4.

Abraham, G., '"Lines upon maps": Africa and the sanctity of African boundaries', *African journal of international and comparative law* 15:1 (2007), 61-84.

Adas, M., *Machines as the measure of men: Science, technology, and ideologies of Western dominance* (Ithaca and London, 1989).

Adenaike, C.K. and J. Vansina (eds.), *In pursuit of history: Fieldwork in Africa* (Portsmouth NH and Oxford, 1996).

Allan, W., *The African husbandman* (Edinburgh etc., 1965).

Allina-Pisano, E., 'Borderlands, boundaries, and the contours of colonial rule: African labor in Manica District, Mozambique, c. 1904-1908', *The international journal of African historical studies* 36:1 (2003), 59-82.

Allman, J.M. (ed.), *Fashioning Africa: Power and the politics of dress* (Bloomington etc., 2004).

Alpern, S.B., 'What Africans got for their slaves: A master list of European trade goods', *History in Africa* 22 (1995), 5-43.

Alstine, J. van, 'Community and company capacity: The challenge of resource-led development in Zambia's 'New Copperbelt'', *Community development journal* 48:3 (2013), 360-76.

Amin, S., 'Underdevelopment and dependence in black Africa: Historical origin', *Journal of peace research* 9:105 (1972), 105-19.

Andersson, J.A., 'Re-interpreting the rural-urban connection: Migration practices and socio-cultural dispositions of Buhera workers in Harare', *Africa* 71:1 (2001), 82-112.

Andersson, J.A., 'Administrators' knowledge and state control in colonial Zimbabwe: The invention of the rural-urban divide in Buhera District, 1912-80', *Journal of African history* 43:1 (2002), 119-143.

Andersson, J.A., 'Informal moves, informal markets: International migrants and traders from Mzimba, Malawi', *African affairs* 105:420 (2006), 375-97.

Appadurai, A., 'Introduction: Commodities and the politics of value', in: A. Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge etc., 1986), 3-63.

Appadurai, A., 'The production of locality', in: R. Fardon (ed.), *Counterworks: Managing the diversity of knowledge* (London, 1995), 208-29.

Appadurai, A., *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization* (Minneapolis, 2003).

Apter, A., 'Matrilineal motives: Kinship, witchcraft, and repatriation among Congolese refugees', *Journal of the royal anthropological institute* 18 (2012), 22-44.

Arnot, F.S., *Garenganze, or, seven year's pioneer mission work in Central Africa* (London, 1969).

Arnot, F.S., *Missionary travels in Central Africa* (Ann Arbor, 1987).

Arrighi, G., 'Labour supplies in historical perspective: A study of proletarianization of the African peasantry in Rhodesia', *The journal of development studies* 6:3 (1969/70), 197-234.

Atkins, K.E., ''Kafir time': Preindustrial temporal concepts and labour discipline in nineteenth-century colonial Natal', *Journal of African history* 29:2 (1988), 229-44.

Austen, R.A. and D. Headrick, 'The role of technology in the African past', *African studies review* 26:3/4 (1983), 163-84.

Austen, R.A., 'The moral economy of witchcraft: An essay in comparative history', in: J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff (eds.), *Modernity and its malcontents: Ritual and power in postcolonial Africa* (Chicago and London, 1993), 89-110.

Austin, G., 'Reciprocal comparison and African history: Tackling conceptual Eurocentrism in the study of Africa's economic past', *African studies review* 50:3 (2007), 1-28.

Austin, G., 'Resources, techniques and strategies South of the Sahara: Revising the factor endowments perspective on African economic development, 1500-2000', *Economic history review* 61:3 (2008), 587-624.

Bahuchet, S., 'Food sharing among the Pygmies of Central Africa', *African study monographs* 11:1 (1990), 27-53.

Bakewell, O., 'Refugees repatriating or migrating villagers: A study of movement from North West Zambia to Angola' (PhD thesis, University of Bath, 1999).

Bakewell, O., 'Repatriation and self-settled refugees in Zambia: Bringing solutions to the wrong problems', *Journal of refugee studies* 13:4 (2000), 356-73.

Bakewell, O., 'Repatriation: Angolan refugees or migrating villagers?', in: P. Essed, G. Frerks and J. Shrivers (eds.), *Refugees and the transformation of society: Agency, policies, ethics and politics* (New York and Oxford, 2004), 31-41.

Bakewell, O., 'The meaning and use of identity papers: Handheld and heartfelt nationality in the borderlands of North-West Zambia', *International migration institute working paper 5,* University of Oxford (2007).

Bakewell, O., ''Keeping them in their place': The ambivalent relationship between development and migration in Africa', *Third world quarterly* 29:7 (2008), 1341-58.

Barber, K., 'Money, self-realization and the person in Yoruba texts', in: J.I. Guyer (ed.), *Money matters: Instability, values and social payments in the modern history of West African communities* (Portsmouth etc., 1995), 205-24.

Barrett, M., 'The social significance of crossing state borders: Home, mobility and life paths in the Angolan-Zambian borderland', in: S. Jansen and S. Löfving (eds.), *Struggles for home: Violence, hope and the movement of people* (Oxford, 2009), 85-107.

Barrett, M., ''Walking home majestically': Consumption and the enactment of social status among labour migrants from Barotseland, 1935-1965', in: R. Ross, M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša (eds.), *The objects of life in Central Africa: The history of consumption and social change, 1840-1980* (Leiden etc., 2013), 93-113.

Bates, R.H., 'Some conventional orthodoxies in the study of agrarian change', *World politics* 36:2 (1984), 234-54.

Bates, R.H., 'Capital, kinship, and conflict: The structuring influence of capital in kinship societies', *Canadian journal of African studies* 24:2 (1990), 151-64.

Beinart, W., *The political economy of Pondoland, 1860-1930* (Cambridge etc., 1982).

Beinart, W. and P. Coates, *Historical connections: Environment and history, The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa* (London and New York, 1995).

Beinart, W., 'African history and environmental history', *African affairs* 99:395 (2000), 269-302.

Beinart, W., K. Brown and D. Gilfoyle, 'Experts and expertise in colonial Africa reconsidered: Science and the interpenetration of knowledge', *African affairs* 108:432 (2009), 413-33.

Berman, B.J. and J.M. Lonsdale, *Unhappy valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London, Nairobi and Athens, 1992).

Berry, S.S., 'The food crisis and agrarian change in Africa: A review essay', *African studies review* 27:2 (1984), 59-112.

Berry, S.S., 'Social institutions and access to resources', *Africa* 59:1 (1989), 41-55.

Berry, S.S., 'Hegemony on a shoestring: Indirect rule and access to agricultural land', *Africa* 62:3 (1992), 327-55.

Berry, S.S., *No condition is permanent: The social dynamics of agrarian change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison, 1993).

Berry, S.S., 'Stable prices, unstable values: Some thoughts on monetization and the meaning of transactions in West African economies', in: J.I. Guyer (ed.), *Money matters: Instability, values and social payments in the modern history of West African communities* (Portsmouth, 1995), 299-313.

Binsbergen, W.M.J., 'Chiefs and the state in independent Zambia: Exploring the Zambian national press', *Journal of legal pluralism and unofficial law* 25/6 (1987), 139-201.

Binsbergen, W.M.J. van, *Tears of rain: Ethnicity and history in Central Western Zambia* (London etc., 1992).

Binsbergen, W.M.J. van, 'Globalization and virtuality: Analytical problems posed by the contemporary transformation of African societies', *Development and change* 29:4 (1998), 873-903.

Binsbergen, W.M.J. van, 'Manchester as the birth place of modern agency research: The Manchester school explained from the perspective of Evans-Pritchard's book 'The Nuer', in: M. de Bruijn, R.

van Dijk and J-B. Gewald (eds.), *Strength beyond structure: Social and historical trajectories of agency in Africa* (Leiden etc., 2007), 16-61.

Birmingham, D., *Frontline nationalism in Angola and Mozambique* (London etc., 1992).

Boeck, F. de, 'Of bushbucks without horns: Male and female initiation among the Aluund of Southwest Zaire', *Journal des africanistes* 61:1 (1991), 37-71.

Boeck, F. de, ''When hunger goes around the land': Hunger and food among the Aluund of Zaire', *Man* 29:2 (1994), 257-82.

Boeck, F. de, 'Domesticating diamonds and dollars: Identity, expenditure and sharing in Southwestern Zaire (1984-1997)', *Development and change* 29:4 (1998), 777-810.

Boeck, F. de, 'Borderland breccia: The mutant hero in the historical imagination of a Central-African diamond frontier', *Journal of colonialism and colonial history* 1:2 (2000).

Bohannan, P., 'The impact of money on an African subsistence economy', *Journal of economic history* 19:4 (1959), 491-503.

Bohannan, P.J. and G. Dalton (eds.), *Markets in Africa* (Evanston, 1962).

Bond, G.C. and D. Ciekawy (eds.), *Witchcraft dialogues: Anthropological and philosophical exchanges* (Athens, 2001).

Bonneuil, C., 'Development as experiment: Science and state building in late colonial and postcolonial Africa, 1930-1970', *Osiris* 2:15 (2000), 258-81.

Boone, C., *Political topographies of the African state: Territorial authority and institutional choice* (Cambridge, 2003).

Booth, W.J., 'On the idea of the moral economy', *The American political science review* 88:3 (1994), 653-67.

Boserup, E., 'Economic and demographic interrelationships in sub-Saharan Africa', *Population and development review* 11:3 (1985), 383-97.

Bowman, A., 'Ecology to technocracy: Scientists, surveys and power in the agricultural development of late-colonial Zambia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 37:1 (2011), 135-53.

Brewer, J., 'Microhistory and the histories of everyday life', *Cultural and social history* 7:1 (2010), 87-109.

Bruijn, M.E. de, R.A. van Dijk and D. Foeken (eds.), *Mobile Africa: Changing patterns of movement in Africa and beyond* (Leiden etc., 2001).

Bryceson, D.F., 'Ganyu casual labour, famine and HIV/AIDS in rural Malawi: Causality and casualty', *The journal of modern African studies* 44:2 (2006), 173-202.

Burke, T., *Lifebuoy men, Lux women: Commodification, consumption and cleanliness in modern Zimbabwe* (Durham etc., 1996).

Burke, T., 'Unexpected subversions', in: F. Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of consumption* (Oxford etc., 2012), 467-84.

Burr, E., *Kalene memories: Annals of the old hill* (London, 1956).

Burton, A., ''The eye of the authority': 'Native' taxation, colonial governance and resistance in inter-war Tanganyika', *Journal of Eastern African studies* 2:1 (2008), 74-94.

Bush, B. and J. Maltby, 'Taxation in West Africa: Transforming the colonial subject into the "governable person"', *Critical perspectives on accounting* 15 (2004), 5-34.

Bustin, E., *Lunda under Belgian rule: The politics of ethnicity* (Cambridge etc., 1975).

Cameron, V.L., *Across Africa* (London etc., 1885).

Capelo, H.C.B and R. Ivens, *De Benguela às terras de Iaca – Descrição de uma viagem na África central e ocidental, 1887-1890 Vol. 1* (Coimbra, 1996).

Carswell, G., 'Food crops as cash crops: The case of colonial Kigezi, Uganda', *Journal of agrarian change* 3:4 (2003), 521-51.

Carswell, G., 'Multiple historical geographies: Responses and resistance to colonial conservation schemes in East Africa', *Journal of historical geography* 32 (2006), 398-421.

Carswell, G., *Cultivating success in Uganda: Kigezi farmers & colonial policies* (Oxford, Athens and Kampala, 2007).

Chabatama, C.M., 'Peasant farming, the state, and food security in the North-Western Province of Zambia, 1902-1964' (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1999).

Chamberlain, D. (ed.), *Some letters from Livingstone, 1840-72* (London, 1940).

Chanock, M.L., *Law, custom and social order: The colonial experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge etc., 1985).

Chanock, M.L., 'A peculiar sharpness: An essay on property in the history of customary law in colonial Africa', *Journal of African history* 32:1 (1991), 65-88.

Chauncey, G., 'The locus of reproduction: Women's labour in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1927-1953', *Journal of Southern African studies* 7:2 (1980/81), 135-64.

Chipungu, S.N. (ed.), *Guardians in their time: Experiences of Zambians under colonial rule 1890-1964* (London etc., 1992).

Cohen, J.H. and I. Sirkeci, *Cultures of migration: The global nature of contemporary mobility* (Austin, 2011).

Colson, E., *Social organization of the Gwembe Tonga* (Manchester, 1960).

Colson, E., 'The impact of the colonial period on the definition of land rights', in: V.W. Turner (ed.), *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, Vol. 3, Profiles of change: African society and colonial rule* (Cambridge, 1971), 193-215.

Colson, E., 'The father as witch', *Africa* 70:3 (2000), 333-58.

Comaroff, J., 'Healing and cultural transformation: The Tswana of Southern Africa', *Social science and medicine* 15:3 (1981), 367-78.

Comaroff, J. and J. Comaroff, 'The madman and the migrant: Work and labor in the historical consciousness of a South African people', *American ethnologist* 14:2 (1987), 191-209.

Comaroff, J. and J. Comaroff, *Ethnography and the historical imagination* (Boulder, San Francisco and Oxford, 1992).

Comaroff, J. and J. Comaroff (eds.), *Modernity and its malcontents: Ritual and power in postcolonial Africa* (Chicago and London, 1993).

Comaroff, J. and J. Comaroff, *Of revelation and revolution: The dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier, Volume two* (Chicago and London, 1997).

Cooper, B., 'Women's worth and wedding gift exchange in Maradi, Niger, 1907-89', *Journal of African history* 36:1 (1995), 121-40.

Cooper, B.M., 'Oral sources and the challenge of African history', in: J.E. Philips (ed.), *Writing African history* (Rochester NY, 2005), 191-215.

Cooper, F., 'Africa and the world economy', *African studies review* 24:2/3 (1981), 1-86.

Cooper, F. (ed.), *Struggle for the city: Migrant labor, capital, and the state in urban Africa* (Beverly Hills, London and New Delhi, 1983).

Cooper, F., 'Africa's pasts and Africa's historians', *Canadian journal of African studies* 34:2 (2000), 298-336.

Cooper, F., 'What is the concept of globalization good for? An African historian's perspective', *African affairs* 100:399 (2001), 189-213.

Copeman, E.A., 'The violence of Kasanza', *The Northern Rhodesia journal* 1:5 (1952), 64-7.

Costa, A.A., 'Chieftaincy and civilisation: African structures of government and colonial administration in South Africa', *African studies* 59:1 (2000), 13-43.

Crehan, K., 'Mukunashi: An exploration of some effects of the penetration of capital in North-Western Zambia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 8:1 (1981/82), 82-93.

Crehan, K., 'Women and development in North Western Zambia from producer to housewife', *Review of African political economy* 27/8 (1983), 51-66.

Crehan, K. and A. von Oppen, 'Understandings of 'development': An arena of struggle: The story of a development project in Zambia', *Sociologia ruralis* 28:2 (1988), 113-45.

Crehan, K. and A. von Oppen (eds.), *Planners and history: Negotiating 'development' in rural Zambia* (Lusaka, 1994).

Crehan, K., *The fractured community: Landscapes of power and gender in rural Zambia* (Berkeley etc., 1997).

Crehan, K., 'Of chickens and guinea fowl: Living matriliny in North-Western Zambia in the 1980s', *Critique of anthropology* 17:2 (1997), 211-227.

Crehan, K., ''Tribes' and the people who read books: Managing history in colonial Zambia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 23:2 (1998), 203-18.

Cronon, W., 'A place for stories: Nature, history, and narrative', *Journal of American history* 78:4 (1992), 1347-76.

Crosby, A.W. Jr., *The Columbian exchange: Biological and cultural consequences of 1492* (Westport, 1972).

Cullather, N., 'Miracles of modernization: The green revolution and the apotheosis of technology', *Diplomatic history* 28:2 (2004), 227-54.

Davies, M.E., 'The locality of chieftainship: Chiefly authority in colonial Malawi, 1932-1974' (PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2014).

Doevenspeck, M., 'Constructing the border from below: Narratives from the Congolese-Rwandan state boundary', *Political geography* 30 (2011), 129-42.

Donaldson, J.W., 'Pillars and perspective: Demarcation of the Belgian Congo-Northern Rhodesia boundary', *Journal of historical geography* 34 (2008), 471-93.

Donge, J-K. van, 'Understanding rural Zambia today: The relevance of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute', *Africa* 55:1 (1985), 60-76.

Doorne, J.H. van, 'Situational Analysis: Its potential and limitations for anthropological research on social change in Africa', *Cahiers d'études africaines* 21:84 (1981), 479-506.

Douglas, M., 'Is matriliny doomed in Africa?', in: M. Douglas and P.M. Kaberry (eds.), *Man in Africa* (1969), 121-33.

Douglas, M., 'Deciphering a meal', *Daedalus* 101:1 (1972), 61-81.

Douglas, M. and B. Isherwood, *The world of goods: Towards an anthropology of consumption* (London and New York, 1979).

Douglas, M. and J. Gross, 'Food and culture: Measuring the intricacy of rule systems', *Social science information* 20:1 (1981), 1-35.

Doyle, S.D., *Crisis and decline in Bunyoro: Population and environment in Western Uganda 1860-1955* (Oxford, Kampala and Athens, 2006).

Duysters, L., 'Histoire des Aluunda', *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale* 12:40 (1958), 75-98.

Eisenstadt, S.N., *Tradition, change, and modernity* (New York, 1972).

Ellis, S., 'Writing histories of contemporary Africa', *Journal of African history* 43:1 (2002), 1-26.

Englebert, P., 'Patterns and theories of traditional resurgence in tropical Africa', *Mondes en développement* 30:118 (2002), 51-64.

Englund, H., 'Witchcraft, modernity and the person: The morality of accumulation in Central Malawi', *Critique of anthropology* 16:3 (1996), 257-79.

Englund, H., 'The self in self-interest: Land, labour and temporalities in Malawi's agrarian change', *Africa* 69:1 (1999), 139-59.

Englund, H. and J. Leach, 'Ethnography and the meta-narratives of modernity', *Current anthropology* 41:2 (2000), 225-48.

Englund, H., 'The village in the city, the city in the village: Migrants in Lilongwe', *Journal of Southern African studies* 28:1 (2002), 137-54.

Englund, H., 'Witchcraft and the limits of mass mediation in Malawi', *Journal of the royal anthropological institute* 13:2 (2007), 295-311.

Epstein, A.L., *Politics in an urban African community* (Manchester, 1958).

Epstein, A.L., 'Urbanization and social change in Africa', *Current anthropology,* 8:4 (1967), 275-95.

Falola, T., 'Mission and colonial documents', in: J.E. Philips (ed.), *Writing African history* (Rochester NY, 2005), 266-84.

Feierman, S., 'Struggles for control: The social roots of health and healing in modern Africa', *African studies review* 28:2/3 (1985), 73-147.

Feierman, S., *Peasant intellectuals: Anthropology and history in Tanzania* (Madison etc., 1990).

Feierman, S., 'African histories and the dissolution of world history', in: V.Y. Mudimbe, J.F. O'Barr and R.H. Bates (eds.), *Africa and the disciplines: The contributions of research in Africa to the social sciences and humanities* (Chicago and London, 1993), 167-212.

Ferguson, J., 'The bovine mystique: Power, property and livestock in rural Lesotho', *Man* 20:4 (1985), 647-74.

Ferguson, J., *The anti-politics machine: "Development", depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho* (Cambridge etc., 1990).

Ferguson, J., 'Mobile workers, modernist narratives: A critique of the historiography of transition on the Zambian Copperbelt, Part One & Two', *Journal of Southern African studies* 16:3-4 (1990), 385-412 and 603-21.

Ferguson, J., 'The country and the city on the Copperbelt', *Cultural anthropology* 7:1 (1992), 80-92.

Ferguson, J., 'The cultural topography of wealth: Commodity paths and the structure of property in rural Lesotho', *American anthropologist* 94:1 (1992), 55-73.

Ferguson, J., *Expectations of modernity: Myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley etc., 1999).

Ferguson, J., 'Of mimicry and membership: Africans and the "New World Society"', *Cultural anthropology* 17:4 (2002), 551-69.

Fetter, B. (ed.), *Demography from scanty evidence: Central Africa in the colonial era* (Boulder etc., 1990).

Fields, K.E., 'Political contingencies of witchcraft in colonial Central Africa: Culture and the state in Marxist theory', *Canadian journal of African studies* 16:3 (1982), 567-93.

Fisher, M.K., *Lunda-Ndembu dictionary* (Rev. edn., Ikelenge, 1984).

Fisher, W.S., 'Burning the bush for game', *African studies* 7:1 (1948), 36-8.

Fisher, W.S., 'Black magic feuds', *African studies* (1949), 20-2.

Fisher, W.S. and J. Hoyte, *Ndotolu: The life stories of Walter and Anna Fisher of Central Africa* (Ikelenge, Rev. Ed., 1992).

Fisiy, C.F. and P. Geschiere, 'Sorcery, witchcraft and accumulation: Regional variations in South and West Cameroon', *Critique of anthropology* 11:3 (1991), 251-78.

Flint, L.S., 'State building in Central Southern Africa: Citizenship and subjectivity in Barotseland and Caprivi', *The international journal of African historical studies* 36:2 (2003), 393-428.

Flynn, D.K., '"We are the border": Identity, exchange, and the state along the Benin-Nigeria border', *American ethnologist* 24:2 (1997), 311-30.

Fourshey, C.C., '"The remedy for hunger is bending the back": Maize and British agricultural policy in Southwestern Tanzania 1920-1960', *The international journal of African historical studies* 41:2 (2008), 223-61.

Freund, P.J. and K. Kalumba, 'Spontaneously settled refugees in Northwestern Province, Zambia', *International migration review* 20:2 (1986), 299-312.

Friedman, J., 'Consuming desires: Strategies of selfhood and appropriation', *Cultural anthropology* 6:2 (1991), 154-63.

Gabel, C., 'Terminal food-collectors and agricultural initiative in East and Southern Africa', *The international journal of African historical studies* 7:1 (1974), 56-68.

Gabrilopoulos, N., C. Mather and C.R. Apentiik, 'Lineage organisation of the Tallensi compound: The social logic of domestic space in Northern Ghana', *Africa* 72:2 (2002), 221-44.

Gann, L.H., *The birth of a plural society: The development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1894-1914* (Manchester, 1958).

Geschiere, P., 'Working groups or wage labour? Cash-crops, reciprocity and money among the Maka of Southeastern Cameroon', *Development and change* 26:3 (1995), 503-23.

Geschiere, P. and J. Gugler, 'The urban-rural connection: Changing issues of belonging and identification', *Africa* 68:3 (1998), 309-19.

Gewald, J-B., 'Researching and writing in the twilight of an imagined conquest: Anthropology in Northern Rhodesia 1930-1960', *History and anthropology* 18:4 (2007), 459-87.

Gewald, J-B., M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, many histories: Towards a history of post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden etc., 2008).

Gewald, J-B., 'People, mines and cars: Towards a revision of Zambian history, 1890-1930', in: J-B. Gewald, S. Luning and K. van Walraven (eds.), *The speed of change: Motor vehicles and people in Africa 1890-2000* (Leiden etc., 2009), 21-47.

Gibbons, A.St.H., *Africa from South to North through Marotseland* (London and New York, 1904).

Gluckman, M., *Analysis of a social situation in modern Zululand,* Rhodes-Livingstone papers No.28 (Lusaka, 1958).

Gluckman, M., 'Tribalism in modern British Central Africa', *Cahiers d'études africaines* 1:1 (1960), 55-70.

Gluckman, M., *Politics, law and ritual in tribal society* (Oxford, 1965).

Goody, J., *Cooking, cuisine and class: A study in comparative sociology* (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne, 1982).

Gordon, D.M., 'Rites of Rebellion: Recent anthropology from Zambia', *African studies* 62:1 (2003), 125-39.

Gordon, D.M., 'The abolition of the slave trade and the transformation of the South-Central African interior during the nineteenth century', *The William and Mary quarterly* 66:4 (2009), 915-38.

Gordon, D.M., *Invisible agents: Spirits in a Central African history* (Athens, 2012).

Gordon, D.M., 'Wearing cloth, wielding guns: Consumption, trade, and politics in the South Central African interior during the nineteenth century', in: R. Ross, M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša (eds.), *The objects of life in Central Africa: The history of consumption and social change, 1840-1980* (Leiden etc., 2013), 17-40.

Goucher, C.L., 'Iron is iron 'til it rust: Trade and ecology in the decline of West African iron smelting', *Journal of African history* 22:2 (1981), 179-89.

Gould, J., 'On the genealogy of the post-colonial state: Lugard and Kaunda on cooperatives and authority in rural Zambia', in: H.S. Marcussen (ed.), *Improved natural resource management: The role of formal organisations and informal networks and institutions* (Roskilde, 1996), 232-57.

Grant, W.D., *Zambia then and now: Colonial rulers and their African successors* (London etc., 2008).

Gray, C.J., *Colonial rule and crisis in Equatorial Africa: Southern Gabon, ca. 1850-1940* (Rochester, 2002).

Gray, R. and D. Birmingham (eds.), *Pre-colonial African trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900* (London etc., 1970).

Green, E., 'A lasting story: Conservation and agricultural extension services in colonial Malawi', *Journal of African history* 50:2 (2009), 247-67.

Guyer, J.I., 'Naturalism in models of African production', *Man* 19:3 (1984), 371-88.

Guyer, J.I., 'Wealth in people and self-realization in Equatorial Africa', *Man* 28:2 (1993), 243-65.

Guyer, J.I. (ed.), *Money matters: Instability, values and social payments in the modern history of West African communities* (Portsmouth etc., 1995).

Guyer, J.I., 'Wealth in people, wealth in things – Introduction', *Journal of African history* 36:1 (1995), 83-90.

Guyer, J.I. and S.M. Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge: Accumulation and composition in Equatorial Africa', *Journal of African history* 36:1 (1995), 91-120.

Haan, A. de, 'Livelihoods and poverty: The role of migration – a critical review of the migration literature', *The journal of development studies* 36:2 (1999), 1-47.

Haggblade, S. and B. Zulu, 'The recent cassava surge in Zambia and Malawi', *Successes in African agriculture*, Conference in Pretoria, 1-3 December 2003.

Hahn, H.P. and G. Klute (eds.), *Cultures of migration: African perspectives* (Münster, 2007).

Hahn, H.P. (ed.), *Consumption in Africa: Anthropological approaches* (Berlin, 2008).

Hall, R.S., *Zambia* (London, 1965).

Hamer, J., 'Commensality, process and the moral order: An example from Southern Ethiopia', *Africa* 64:1 (1994), 126-44.

Handler, R. and J. Linnekin, 'Tradition, genuine or spurious', *The journal of American folklore* 97:385 (1984), 273-90.

Hansen, A., 'Once the running stops: The social and economic incorporation of Angolan refugees into Zambian border villages' (PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1977).

Hansen, A., 'Once the running stops: Assimilation of Angolan refugees into Zambian border villages', *Disasters* 3:4 (1979), 369-74.

Hansen, A., 'Refugee dynamics: Angolans in Zambia 1966 to 1972', *International migration review* 15:1/2 (1981), 175-94.

Hansen, A. and D.E. MacMillan (eds.), *Food in sub-Saharan Africa* (Boulder, 1986).

Hansen, K.T., *Keeping house in Lusaka* (New York etc., 1997).

Hansen, K.T., 'Second-hand clothing encounters in Zambia: Global discourses, Western commodities, and local histories', *Africa* 69:3 (1999), 343-65.

Hansen, K.T., *Salaula: The world of secondhand clothing and Zambia* (Chicago etc., 2000).

Harries, P., *Work, culture, and identity: Migrant laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860-1910* (Portsmouth etc., 1994).

Harries, P., 'Imagery, symbolism and tradition in a South African Bantustan: Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkhata, and Zulu history', *History and theory* 32:4 (1993), 105-25.

Havik, P.J., 'Motor cars and modernity: Pining for progress in Portuguese Guinea, 1915-1945', in: J-B. Gewald, S. Luning and K. van Walraven (eds.), *The speed of change: Motor vehicles and people in Africa, 1890-2000* (Leiden etc., 2009), 48-74.

Hay, M.J., 'Material culture and the shaping of consumer society in colonial Western Kenya', *Working papers in African studies* (Boston University, 1994).

Heisler, H., *Urbanisation and the government of migration: The inter-relation of urban and rural life in Zambia* (London, 1974).

Hellen, J.A., *Rural economic development in Zambia, 1890-1964* (München, 1968).

Hendrickson, H. (ed.), *Clothing and difference: Embodied identities in colonial and post-colonial Africa* (Durham, 1996).

Henige, D., 'Oral tradition as a means of reconstructing the past', in: J.E. Philips (ed.), *Writing African history* (Rochester NY, 2005), 169-90.

Herbert, E.W., *Iron, gender, and power: Rituals of transformation in African societies* (Bloomington etc., 1993).

Herbst, J.I., *States and power in Africa: Comparative lessons in authority and control* (Princeton etc., 2000).

Heusch, L. de, 'What shall we do with the drunken king?', *Africa* 45:4 (1975), 363-72.

Heywood, L.M., 'Slavery and forced labor in the changing political economy of Central Angola, 1850-1949', in: S. Miers and R.L. Roberts (eds.), *The end of slavery in Africa* (Madison, 1988), 415-35.

Higginson, J., 'Disputing the machines: Scientific management and the transformation of the work routine at the Union-Miniere du Haut Katanga, 1918-1930', *African economic history* 17 (1988), 1-21.

Higginson, J., *A working class in the making: Belgian colonial labour policy, private enterprise, and the African mineworker, 1907-1951* (Madison etc., 1989).

Hinfelaar, M. and G. Macola (eds.), *A first guide to non-governmental archives in Zambia* (Lusaka, 2004).

Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger (eds.), *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge etc., 1983).

Hobsbawm, E., *The age of empire 1875-1914* (London, 1987).

Hodge, J.M., *Triumph of the expert: Agrarian doctrines of development and the legacies of British colonialism* (Ohio, 2007).

Hogendoorn, J.S. and K.M. Scott, 'The East African groundnut scheme: Lessons of a large-scale agricultural failure', *African economic history* 10 (1981), 81-115.

Hoover, J.J., 'The seduction of Ruwej: Reconstructing Ruund history (The nuclear Lunda: Zaïre, Angola, Zambia)' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1978).

Hopkins, A.G., 'The new economic history of Africa', *Journal of African history* 50:2 (2009), 155-77.

Hoppers, W.H.M.L., *Education in a rural society: Primary pupils and school leavers in Mwinilunga, Zambia* (The Hague, 1981).

Howard, A.M., 'Nodes, networks, landscapes, and regions: Reading the social history of tropical Africa 1700s-1920', in: A.M. Howard and R.M. Shain (eds.), *The spatial factor in African history: The relationship between the social, material, and perceptual* (Leiden etc., 2005), 103-30.

Hughes, M., 'Fighting for white rule in Africa: The Central African federation, Katanga, and the Congo crisis, 1958-1965', *The international history review* 25:3 (2003), 592-615.

Hyden, G., *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an uncaptured peasantry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980).

Hyden, G., *No shortcuts to progress: African development management in perspective* (London etc., 1983).

Iliffe, J., *Africans: The history of a continent* (Cambridge etc., 1995).

Ingold, T., *The perception of the environment: Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill* (London, 2000).

Isaacman, A., 'Peasants and rural social protest in Africa', *African studies review* 33:2 (1990), 1-120.

Jackman, M.E., *Recent population movements in Zambia: Some aspects of the 1969 census* (Manchester, 1973).

Jaeger, D., *Settlement patterns and rural development: A human-geographical study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia* (Amsterdam, 1981).

Jamal, V. and J. Weeks, 'The vanishing rural-urban gap in sub-Saharan Africa', *International labour review* 127:3 (1988), 271-92.

Johnson, D.S. (ed.), *Handbook to the North-Western Province* (Lusaka, 1980).

Jones, W.O., *Manioc in Africa* (California, 1959).

Jules-Rosette, B., 'Decentering ethnography: Victor Turner's vision of anthropology', *Journal of religion in Africa* 24:2 (1994), 160-81.

Kakoma, B.C., 'Colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia: A case study of colonial policy in the Mwinilunga District of Zambia, 1901-1939' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1971).

Kalusa, W.T., 'Disease and the remaking of missionary medicine in colonial Northwestern Zambia: A case study of Mwinilunga District, 1902-1964', (PhD thesis, John Hopkins University, 2003).

Kalusa, W.T., 'Language, medical auxiliaries, and the re-interpretation of missionary medicine in colonial Mwinilunga, Zambia, 1922-51', *Journal of Eastern African studies* 1:1 (2007), 57-78.

Kalusa, W.T., *Kalonga Gawa Undi X: A biography of an African chief and nationalist* (Lusaka, 2010).

Kalusa, W.T., 'Death, Christianity and African miners: Contesting indirect rule in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1935-1962', *International journal of African historical studies* 44:1 (2011), 89-112.

Kaufmann, J.C., 'The sediment of nomadism', *History in Africa* 36 (2009), 235-64.

Kay, G., 'Social aspects of village regrouping in Zambia' (University of Hull, 1967).

Keverne, G., *A man cannot cry: The towering saga of passion, violence and love* (London, 1985).

Klein, M.A., 'The slave trade and decentralized societies', *Journal of African history* 42 (2001), 49-65.

Kodesh, N., 'Renovating tradition: The discourse of succession in colonial Buganda', *The international journal of African historical studies* 34:3 (2001), 511-41.

Konings, P.J.J., 'Chieftaincy, labour control and capitalist development in Cameroon', *Journal of legal pluralism and unofficial law* 37/8 (1996), 329-46.

Kopytoff, I., 'The cultural biography of things: Commoditization as process', in: A. Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge etc., 1986), 64-94.

Kopytoff, I., 'The internal African frontier: The making of African political culture', in: I. Kopytoff (ed.), *The African frontier: The reproduction of traditional African societies* (Bloomington etc., 1987).

Kratz, C.A., '"We've always done it like this … Except for a few details": "Tradition" and "innovation" in Okiek ceremonies', *Comparative studies in society and history* 35:1 (1993), 30-65.

Kreike, E., 'De-globalisation and deforestation in colonial Africa: Closed markets, the cattle complex, and environmental change in North-Central Namibia, 1890-1990', *Journal of Southern African studies* 35:1 (2009), 81-98.

Kriger, C.E., *Pride of men: Ironworking in nineteenth century West Central Africa* (Portsmouth, Oxford and Cape Town, 1999).

Kuper, A., *Wives for cattle: Bridewealth and marriage in Southern Africa* (London, 1982).

Kuper, A., *Anthropology & anthropologists: The modern British school* (3rd edn., London and New York, 1996).

Lander, R.P., 'The British South Africa Company: An essay on its commercial history', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* 11 (1992), 1-40.

Larmer, M. and G. Macola, 'The origins, context, and political significance of the Mushala rebellion against the Zambian one-party state', *The international journal of African historical studies* 40:3 (2007), 471-96.

Larmer, M., *Rethinking African politics: A history of opposition in Zambia* (Farnham and Burlington, 2011).

Leenstra, M., *Beyond the façade: Instrumentalisation of the Zambian health sector* (Leiden, 2012).

Lemarchand, R., 'African peasantries, reciprocity and the market: The economy of affection reconsidered', *Cahiers d'études africaines* 29:113 (1989), 33-67.

Lewinson, A.S., 'Domestic realms, social bonds, and class: Ideologies and indigenizing modernity in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', *Canadian journal of African studies* 40:3 (2006), 462-95.

Long, N., *Social change and the individual: A study of the social and religious responses to innovation in a Zambian rural community* (Manchester, 1968).

Lovejoy, P.E., 'The business of slaving: Pawnship in western Africa, c.1600-1810', *Journal of African history* 42 (2001), 67-89.

Low, D.A. and J. Lonsdale, 'Introduction' in: D.A. Low and A. Smith (eds.), *Oxford history of East Africa, Vol. 3* (Oxford, 1976), 1-63.

Lucassen, J. and L. Lucassen, 'The mobility transition revisited, 1500-1900: What the case of Europe can offer to global history', *Journal of global history* 4:3 (2009), 347-77.

Luchembe, C., 'Ethnic stereotypes, violence and labour in early colonial Zambia, 1889-1924', in: S.N. Chipungu (ed.), *Guardians in their time: Experiences of Zambians under colonial rule, 1890-1964* (London and Basingstoke, 1992), 30-49.

Lukanty, J. and A.P. Wood, 'Agricultural policy in the colonial period', in: A.P. Wood et al (eds.), *The dynamics of agricultural policy and reform in Zambia* (Ames, Iowa, 1990), 3-18.

Luna, K.M. de, 'Collecting food, cultivating persons: Wild resource use in Central African political culture, c. 1000 B.C.E. to c. 1900 C.E.' (PhD thesis, Evanston IL, 2008).

Luna, K.M. de, 'Affect and society in precolonial Africa', *International journal of African historical studies* 46:1 (2013), 123-50.

Lusaka times, 2 October 2007, http://www.lusakatimes.com/2007/10/02/chisemwa-chalunda-a-symbol-of-unityamong-lundas/.

MacGaffey, J., *The real economy of Zaire: The contribution of smuggling and other unofficial activities to national wealth* (London etc., 1991).

MacGaffey, W., 'Changing representations in Central African history', *Journal of African history* 46:2 (2005), 189-207.

MacGaffey, W., 'Kongo slavery remembered by themselves: Texts from 1915', *International journal of African historical studies* 41:1 (2008), 55-76.

MacGaffey, W., 'The blacksmiths of Tamale: The dynamics of space and time in a Ghanaian industry', *Africa* 79:2 (2009), 169-85.

MacKenzie, J.M., *The empire of nature: Hunting, conservation and British imperialism* (Manchester etc., 1988).

Macmillan, H., 'The historiography of transition on the Zambian Copperbelt: Another view', *Journal of Southern African studies* 19:4 (1993), 681-712.

Macmillan, H., 'Return to the Malungwana drift – Max Gluckman, the Zulu nation and the common society', *African affairs* 94:374 (1995), 39-65.

Macola, G., *The Kingdom of Kazembe: History and politics in North-Eastern Zambia and Katanga to 1950* (Münster etc., 2002).

Macola, G., 'Reassessing the significance of firearms in Central Africa: The case of North-Western Zambia to the 1920s', *Journal of African history* 51:3 (2010), 301-21.

Macola, G., *Liberal nationalism in Central Africa: A biography of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula* (Basingstoke, 2010).

Macpherson, F., *Anatomy of a conquest: The British occupation of Zambia, 1884-1924* (Essex, 1981).

Makambe, E.P., 'The mobilisation of African labour across the Zambezi for the Zimbabwean colonial market before the Chibaro era, 1898-1903', *African studies* 51:2 (1992), 277-94.

Mamdani, M., *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism* (Princeton, 1996).

Mandala, E., *The end of chidyerano: A history of food and everyday life in Malawi, 1860-2004* (Portsmouth, 2005).

Marks, S.A., *Large mammals and a brave people: Subsistence hunters in Zambia* (New Brunswick etc., 2005).

Martin, P.M., 'Contesting clothes in colonial Brazzaville', *Journal of African history* 35:3 (1994), 401-26.

Mbembe, A., 'At the edge of the world: Boundaries, territoriality and sovereignty in Africa', *Public culture* 12:1 (2000), 259-84.

McCann, J.C, 'Agriculture and African history', *Journal of African history* 32:3 (1991), 507-13.

McCann, J.C., *People of the plow: An agricultural history of Ethiopia, 1800-1900* (Madison, 1995).

McCann, J.C., *Green land, brown land, black land: An environmental history of Africa, 1800-1990* (Portsmouth and Oxford, 1999).

McCann, J.C., *Maize and grace: Africa's encounter with a New World crop, 1500-2000* (Cambridge etc., 2005).

McCann, J.C., *Stirring the pot: A history of African cuisine* (Ohio, 2009).

McCracken, J., 'Experts and expertise in colonial Malawi', *African affairs* 81:322 (1982), 101-16.

McCulloch, M., *The Southern Lunda and related peoples (Northern Rhodesia, Belgian Congo, Angola)* (London, 1951).

Melland, F.H., *In witch-bound Africa: An account of the primitive Kaonde tribe and their beliefs* (London, 1967).

Mendes Ferrão, J.E., *The adventure of plants and the Portuguese discoveries* (n.p., 1994).

Miller, D., *Material culture and mass consumption* (Oxford and New York, 1987).

Miller, D., 'Consumption and commodities', *Annual review of anthropology* 24 (1995), 141-61.

Miller, J.C., 'Cokwe trade and conquest in the nineteenth century', in: R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.), *Pre-colonial African trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900* (London etc., 1970), 175-201.

Miller, J.C., *Way of death: Merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade 1730-1830* (Madison, 1988).

Miller, J.C., 'History and Africa/Africa and history', *The American historical review* 104:1 (1999), 1-32.

Minter, D., *Apartheid's contras: An inquiry into the roots of war in Angola and Mozambique* (Johannesburg etc., 1994).

Miracle, M.P., *Agriculture in the Congo basin: Tradition and change in African rural economies* (Madison etc., 1967).

Mitchell, J.C., *The Kalela dance: Aspects of social relationships among urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester, 1956).

Mitchell, J.C. and A.L. Epstein, 'Occupational prestige and social status among urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia', *Africa* 29:1 (1959), 22-40.

Mitchell, J.C., 'The causes of labour migration', *Inter-African labour institute bulletin,* 6:1 (1959), 12-47.

Mitchell, J.C. (ed.), *Social networks in urban situations: Analyses of personal relationships in Central African towns* (Manchester, 1969).

Moore, H.L. and M. Vaughan, *Cutting down trees: Gender, nutrition, and agricultural change in the Northern Province of Zambia 1890-1990* (Portsmouth etc., 1994).

Moore, H.L. and T. Sanders (eds.), *Magical interpretations, material realities: Modernity, witchcraft and the occult in postcolonial Africa* (London etc., 2001).

Morapedi, W.G., 'Demise or resilience? Customary law and chieftaincy in twenty-first century Botswana', *Journal of contemporary African studies* 28:2 (2010), 215-30.

Mudimbe, V.Y., *The invention of Africa: Gnosis, philosophy and the order of knowledge* (Bloomington, 1988).

Mulford, D.C., *Zambia: The politics of independence, 1957-1964* (London etc., 1967).

Mulumbi Datuuma II, 'Customs of the Lunda-Ndembu, Volume I, The Kanong'esha chieftainship succession in Zambia' (Unpublished manuscript, 2010).

Musambachime, M.C., 'Escape from tyranny: Flights across the Rhodesia-Congo boundary', *Transafrican journal of history* 18 (1989), 147-59.

Mvusi, T.R.M., 'The 'politics of trypanosomiasis' revisited: Labour mobilization and labour migration in colonial Zambia: The Robert Williams Company in Lubemba, 1901-1911', *Transafrican journal of history* 23 (1994), 43-68.

Myers, G.A., 'Sticks and stones: Colonialism and Zanzibari housing', *Africa* 67:2 (1997), 252-72.

Negi, R., 'The mining boom, capital, and chiefs in the "New Copperbelt"', in: A. Fraser and M. Larmer (eds.), *Zambia, mining, and neoliberalism: Boom and bust on the globalized Copperbelt* (New York, 2010), 209-36.

Negi, R., 'The micropolitics of mining and development in Zambia: Insights from the Northwestern Province', *African studies quarterly* 12:2 (2010/11), 27-44.

Newman, D. and A. Paasi, 'Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: Boundary narratives in political geography', *Progress in human geography* 22:2 (1998), 186-207.

Ngwane, Z., ‘‘Christmas time’ and the struggles for the household in the countryside: Rethinking the cultural geography of migrant labour in South Africa’, *Journal of Southern African studies* 29:3 (2003), 681-99.

Nugent, P. and A.I. Asiwaju (eds.), *African boundaries: Barriers, conduits and opportunities* (London etc., 1996).

Nweke, F.I., D.S.C. Spencer and J.K. Lynam, *The cassava transformation: Africa’s best-kept secret* (East Lansing, 2002).

Obadare, E. and W. Adebanwi, ‘Transnational resource flow and the paradoxes of belonging: Redirecting the debate on transnationalism, remittances, state and citizenship in Africa’, *Review of African political economy* 36:122 (2009), 499-517.

Ohadike, P.O., *Demographic perspectives in Zambia: Rural-urban growth and social change* (Lusaka, 1981).

O’Laughlin, B., ‘Proletarianisation, agency and changing rural livelihoods: Forced labour and resistance in colonial Mozambique’, *Journal of Southern African studies* 28:3 (2002), 511-30.

Oliver, R. and J.D. Fage, *A short history of Africa* (Harmondsworth etc., 1962).

Onselen, C. von, *Chibaro: African mine labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933* (London, 1976).

Onslow, S. (ed.), *Cold war in Southern Africa: White power, black liberation* (London etc., 2009).

Oomen, B., ‘‘“We must now go back to our history”: Retraditionalisation in a Northern Province chieftaincy’, *African studies* 59:1 (2000), 71-95.

Oppen, A. von, ‘‘“Endogene agrarrevolution” im vorkolonialen Afrika?: Eine fallstudie’, *Paideuma* 38 (1992), 269-96.

Oppen, A. von, *Terms of trade and terms of trust: The history and contexts of pre-colonial market production around the upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster etc., 1994).

Oppen, A. von, ‘Cassava, “The lazy man’s food”? Indigenous agricultural innovation and dietary change in Northwestern Zambia (ca. 1650-1970)’, in: C. Lentz (ed.), *Changing food habits: Case studies from Africa, South America and Europe* (New York, 1999), 43-72.

Oppen, A. von, ‘Cinderella province: Discourses of locality and nation state in a Zambian periphery (1950s to 1990s)’, *Sociologus* 52 (2002), 11-46.

Oppen, A. von, ‘Bounding villages: The enclosure of locality in Central Africa, 1890s to 1990s’, (Habilitationsgeschrift, Humboldt University of Berlin, 2003).

Oppen, A. von, 'A place in the world: Markers of the local along the upper Zambezi', in: P. Probst and G. Spittler (eds.), *Between resistance and expansion: Explorations of local vitality in Africa* (Münster, 2004), 175-92.

Oppen, A. von, 'The village as territory: Enclosing locality in Northwest Zambia, 1950s to 1990s', *Journal of African history* 47:1 (2006), 57-75.

Palmer, R.H. and N. Parsons (eds.), *The roots of rural poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London etc., 1977).

Palmer, R.H., 'Land tenure insecurity on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1998: Anyone going back to the land?', *Social dynamics* 26:2 (2000), 154-70.

Papstein, R.J., 'The Upper Zambezi: A history of the Luvale people, 1000-1900' (PhD thesis, University of California, 1978).

Parpart, J.L., '"Where is your mother?": Gender, urban marriage, and colonial discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945', *The international journal of African historical studies* 27:2 (1994), 241-71.

Parry, J. and M. Bloch (eds.), *Money and the morality of exchange* (Cambridge etc., 1989).

Peša, I., 'Cinderella's cassava: A historical study of agricultural adaptation in Mwinilunga District from pre-colonial times to independence' (Mphil thesis, Leiden University, 2009).

Peša, I., ''Cassava is our chief': Negotiating identity, markets and the state through cassava in Mwinilunga, Zambia', in: J-B. Gewald, A. Leliveld and I. Peša (eds.), *Transforming Innovations in Africa: Explorative studies on appropriation in African societies* (Leiden etc., 2012).

Peša, I., 'Buying pineapples, selling cloth: Traders and trading stores in Mwinilunga District, 1940-1970', in: R. Ross, M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša (eds.), *The objects of life in Central Africa: The history of consumption and social change, 1840-1980* (Leiden etc., 2013), 259-80.

Peša, I., ''We have killed this animal together, may I also have a share?': Local-national political dynamics in Mwinilunga District, Zambia, 1950s-1970s', *Journal of Southern African studies* (2014).

Peters, P.E., 'Revisiting the puzzle of matriliny in South-Central Africa', *Critique of anthropology* 17:2 (1997), 125-46.

Phiri, B.J., *A political history of Zambia: From colonial rule to the third republic 1890-2001* (Trenton NJ etc., 2006).

Piot, C., 'Of persons and things: Some reflections on African spheres of exchange', *Man* 26:3 (1991), 405-24.

Piot, C., 'Of slaves and the gift: Kabre sale of kin during the era of the slave trade', *Journal of African history* 37 (1996), 31-49.

Piot, C., *Remotely global: Village modernity in West Africa* (Chicago etc., 1999).

Plange, N., ''Opportunity cost and labour migration: A misinterpretation of proletarianisation in Northern Ghana', *The journal of modern African studies* 17:4 (1979), 655-76.

Polanyi, K., C.M. Arensberg and H.W. Pearson (eds.), *Trade and market in the early empires: Economies in history and theory* (Glencoe, 1957).

Ponte, S., 'Trapped in decline?: Reassessing agrarian change and economic diversification on the Uluguru mountains, Tanzania', *The journal of modern African studies* 39:1 (2001), 81-100.

Popkin, S.L., *The rational peasant: The political economy of rural society in Vietnam* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1979).

Posner, D.N., 'The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi', *American political science review* 98, 4 (2004), 529-45.

Pottier, J., *Migrants no more: Settlement and survival in Mambwe villages, Zambia* (Manchester, 1988).

Potts, D., 'Shall we go home? Increasing urban poverty in African cities and migration processes', *The geographical journal,* 161:3 (1995), 245-64.

Potts, D., 'Worker-peasants and farmer-housewives in Africa: The debate about 'committed' farmers, access to land and agricultural production', *Journal of Southern African studies* 26:4 (2000), 807-32.

Potts, D., 'Counter-urbanisation on the Zambian Copperbelt? Interpretations and implications', *Urban studies* 42:4 (2005), 583-609.

Powdermaker, H., *Copper town: Changing Africa: The human situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt* (New York etc., 1962).

Prestholdt, J., 'On the global repercussions of East African consumerism', *The American historical review* 109:3 (2004), 755-81.

Prestholdt, J., *Domesticating the world: African consumerism and the genealogies of globalization* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2008).

Prestholdt, J., 'Africa and the global lives of things', in: F. Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of consumption* (Oxford etc., 2012), 85-107.

Price, N. and N. Thomas, 'Continuity and change in the Gwembe Tonga family and their relevance to demography's nucleation thesis', *Africa* 69:4 (1999), 510-34.

Pritchett, J.A., *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, change and social transformation in South Central Africa* (Madison, 2001).

Pritchett, J.A., *Friends for life, friends for death: Cohorts and consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu* (Charlottesville etc., 2007).

Prowse, M., 'Becoming a bwana and burley tobacco in the Central Region of Malawi', *Journal of modern African studies* 47:4 (2009), 575-602.

Raeymakers, T., 'The silent encroachment of the frontier: A politics of transborder trade in the Semliki Valley (Congo-Uganda)', *Political geography* 28 (2009), 55-65.

Ranger, T., 'Growing from the roots: Reflections on peasant research in Central and Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African studies* 5:1 (1978/79), 99-133.

Ranger, T., 'The invention of tradition in colonial Africa', in: E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge etc., 1983), 211-62.

Reefe, T.Q., 'Traditions of genesis and the Luba diaspora', *History in Africa* 4 (1977), 183-206.

Reid, R., 'Past and presentism: The 'precolonial' and the foreshortening of African history', *Journal of African history* 52:2 (2011), 135-55.

Richards, A.I., *Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1939).

Richards, P., *Indigenous agricultural revolution: Ecology and food production in West Africa* (London etc., 1985).

Roberts, A.D., *A history of Zambia* (New York, 1976).

Roberts, A.D., 'Notes towards a financial history of copper mining in Northern Rhodesia', *Canadian journal of African studies* 16:2 (1982), 347-59.

Rockell, S.J., *Carriers of culture: Labor on the road in nineteenth century East Africa* (Portsmouth etc., 2006).

Roitman, J.L., 'The politics of informal markets in sub-Saharan Africa', *The journal of modern African studies* 28:4 (1990), 671-96.

Ross, R.J., *Clothing: A global history* (Cambridge and Malden, 2008).

Ross, R., M. Hinfelaar and I. Peša (eds.), *The objects of life in Central Africa: The history of consumption and social change, 1840-1980* (Leiden etc., 2013).

Rostow, W.W., *The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto* (Cambridge, 1960).

Sack, R.D., *Human territoriality: Its theory and history* (Cambridge etc., 1986).

Sardanis, A., *Africa, another side of the coin: Northern Rhodesia's final years and Zambia's nationhood* (London, 2003).

Schapera, I. (ed.), *Livingstone's missionary correspondence 1841-1856* (London, 1961).

Schapera, I. (ed.), *Livingstone's African journal 1853-56* (London, 1963).

Schecter, R.E., 'History and historiography on a frontier of Lunda expansion: The origins and early development of the Kanongesha' (PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin Madison, 1976).

Schecter, R.E, 'A propos the drunken king: Cosmology and history', in: J.C. Miller (ed.), *The African past speaks: Essays on oral tradition and history* (Dawson etc., 1980), 108-25.

Schneider, D.M and K. Gough (eds.), *Matrilineal kinship* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1961).

Schneider, L., 'The Maasai's new clothes: A developmentalist modernity and its exclusions', *Africa today* 53:1 (2006), 101-31.

Schoenbrun, D.L., *A green place, a good place: Agrarian change, gender and social identity in the Great Lakes region to the 15th century* (Portsmouth etc., 1998).

Schoenbrun, D.L., 'Conjuring the modern in Africa: Durability and rupture in histories of public healing between the Great Lakes of East Africa', *The American historical review* 111:5 (2006), 1403-39.

Schumaker, L., *Africanizing anthropology: Fieldwork, networks, and the making of cultural knowledge in Central Africa* (Durham and London, 2001).

Scott, J.C., *The moral economy of the peasant: Rebellion and subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London, 1976).

Scott, J.C., *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance* (New Haven and London, 1985).

Scott, J.C., *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed* (New Haven and London, 1998).

Scott, J.C., *The art of not being governed: An anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London, 2009).

Shipton, P. and M. Goheen, 'Introduction: Understanding African land-holding: Power, wealth, and meaning', *Africa* 62:3 (1992), 307-25.

Short, R., *African sunset* (London, 1973).

Siegel, B., 'The "wild" and "lazy" Lamba as ethnic stereotype on the Central African Copperbelt', in: L. Vail (ed.), *The creation of tribalism in Southern Africa* (London etc., 1989), 350-71.

Silberfein, M., *Rural settlement structure and African development* (Boulder etc., 1998).

Slinn, P., 'Commercial concessions and politics during the colonial period: The role of the British South Africa Company in Northern Rhodesia 1890-1964', *African affairs* 70:281 (1971), 365-84.

Spear, T.T., *Mountain farmers: Moral economies of land and agricultural development in Arusha and Meru* (Oxford etc., 1997).

Spear, T.T., 'Neo-traditionalism and the limits of invention in British colonial Africa', *Journal of African history* 44:1 (2003), 3-27.

Spring, A. and A. Hansen, *Women's agricultural work in rural Zambia: From valuation to subordination* (Waltham, 1979).

Spring, A. and A. Hansen, 'The underside of development: Agricultural development and women in Zambia', *Agriculture and human values* 2:1 (1985), 60-7.

Steel, E.A., 'Zambezi-Congo watershed', *The geographical journal* 50:3 (1917), 180-93.

Stoler, A.L., *Along the archival grain: Epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense* (Princeton NJ, 2009).

Sunseri, T., 'Labour migration in colonial Tanzania and the hegemony of South African historiography', *African affairs* 95:381 (1996), 581-98.

Taaffe, E.J., R.L. Morrill and P.B. Gould, 'Transport expansion in underdeveloped countries: A comparative analysis', *Geographical review* 53:4 (1963), 503-29.

Teeffelen, T. van, 'The Manchester School in Africa and Israel: A critique', *Dialectical anthropology* 3:1 (1978), 67-83.

Thomas, L.M., 'Modernity's failings, political claims, and intermediate concepts', *The American historical review* 116:3 (2011), 727-40.

Thompson, E.P., 'The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century', *Past and present* 50 (1971), 76-136.

Thornton, J., 'Precolonial African industry and the Atlantic trade, 1500-1800', *African economic history* 19 (1990/1), 1-19.

Thornton, J., 'European documents and African history', in: J.E. Philips (ed.), *Writing African history* (Rochester NY, 2005), 254-65.

Tilley, H., 'African environments & environmental sciences: The African research survey, ecological paradigms & British colonial development, 1920-40', in: W. Beinart and J. McGregor (eds.), *Social history & African environments* (Oxford, Athens and Cape Town, 2003), 109-30.

Tosh, J., 'The cash-crop revolution in tropical Africa: An agricultural reappraisal', *African affairs* 79:314 (1980), 79-94.

Trapnell, C.G. and J.N. Clothier, *The soils, vegetation, and agricultural systems of Northwestern Rhodesia: Report of the ecological survey* (2nd edn., Lusaka, 1957).

Trentmann, F., 'Beyond consumerism: New historical perspectives on consumption', *Journal of contemporary history* 39:3 (2004), 373-401.

Trentmann, F., 'Crossing divides: Consumption and globalization in history', *Journal of consumer culture* 9:2 (2009), 187-220.

Trentmann, F. (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of consumption* (Oxford etc., 2012).

Trentmann, F., 'The politics of everyday life', in: F. Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of consumption* (Oxford etc., 2012), 521-47.

Tsing, A.L., 'From the margins', *Cultural anthropology* 9:3 (1994), 279-97.

Tsuruta, T., 'Between moral economy and economy of affection', in: I.N. Kimambo, G. Hyden, S. Maghimbi and K. Sugimura (eds.), *Contemporary perspectives on African moral economy* (Dar es Salaam, 2008), 35-52.

Tuck, M.W., '"The Rupee disease": Taxation, authority, and social conditions in early colonial Uganda', *International journal of African historical studies* 39:2 (2006), 221-45.

Tuck, M.W., 'Woodland commodities, global trade, and local struggles: The beeswax trade in British Tanzania', *Journal of Eastern African studies* 3:2 (2009), 259-74.

Turkon, D., 'Modernity, tradition and the demystification of cattle in Lesotho', *African studies* 62:2 (2003), 147-69.

Turner, E., 'Philip Kabwita, ghost doctor: The Ndembu in 1985', *The drama review* 30:4 (1986), 12-35.

Turner, E., 'Zambia's Kankanga dances: The changing life of ritual', *Performing arts journal* 10:3 (1987), 57-71.

Turner, E., *Experiencing ritual: A new interpretation of African healing* (Philadelphia, 1992).

Turner, V.W., 'The spatial separation of generations in Ndembu village structure', *Africa* 25:2 (1955), 121-37.

Turner, V.W. and E.L.B. Turner, 'Money economy among the Mwinilunga Ndembu: A study of some individual cash budgets', *Rhodes-Livingstone journal* 18 (1955), 19-37.

Turner, V.W., 'A Lunda love story and its consequences', *Rhodes Livingstone journal* 19 (1955), 1-26.

Turner, V.W, *Schism and continuity in an African society* (Manchester etc., 1957).

Turner, V.W., 'Themes in the symbolism of Ndembu hunting ritual', *Anthropological quarterly* 35:2 (1962), 37-57.

Turner, V.W., *The drums of affliction: A study of religious processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Oxford and London, 1968).

Turner, V.W., *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure* (Chicago and London, 1969).

Turner, V.W., *The forest of symbols: Aspects of Ndembu ritual* (Ithaca etc., 1970).

Turner, V.W., 'Lunda rites and ceremonies', *The occasional papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone museum* (Reproduction nos. 1-16, 1974), 335-88.

Turner, V.W., *Dramas, fields, and metaphors: Symbolic action in human society* (Ithaca etc., 1974).

Turner, V.W., *On the edge of the bush: Anthropology as experience* (Tucson: 1985).

Ubink, J., 'Traditional authority revisited: Popular perceptions of Chiefs and chieftaincy in peri-urban Kumasi, Ghana', *Journal of legal pluralism* 55 (2007), 123-61.

Ubink, J., 'Traditional authorities in Africa: Resurgence in an era of democratisation' (Leiden, 2008).

Urry, J., *Mobilities* (Cambridge and Malden, 2007).

Vail, L. (ed.), *The creation of tribalism in Southern Africa* (London etc., 1989).

Vansina, J., 'Long-distance trade-routes in Central Africa', *Journal of African history* 3:3 (1962), 375-90.

Vansina, J., *Les anciens royaumes de la savane: Les états des savane méridionale de l'Afrique central des origines á l'occupation coloniale* (Léopoldville, 1965).

Vansina, J., *Paths in the rainforests: Toward a history of political tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, 1990).

Vansina, J., 'Histoire du manioc en Afrique centrale avant 1850', *Paideuma* 43 (1997), 255-79.

Vansina, J., *How societies are born: Governance in West Central Africa* (Charlottesville etc., 2004).

Vansina, J., 'Linguistic evidence for the introduction of ironworking into Bantu-speaking Africa', *History in Africa* 33 (2006), 321-61.

Vansina, J., *Being colonized: The Kuba experience in rural Congo, 1880-1960* (Madison, 2010).

Vaughan, M., 'Which family?: Problems in the reconstruction of the family as an economic and cultural unit', *Journal of African history* 24:2 (1983), 275-83.

Vellut, J-L., 'Notes sur le Lunda et la frontière luso-africaine (1700-1900)', *Études d'histoire africaine* 3 (1972), 61-166.

Vellut, J-L., 'Diversification de l'économie de la cueillette: Miel et cire dans les sociétés da la forêt claire d'Afrique centrale (c. 1750-1950)', *African economic history* 7 (1979), 93-112.

Vellut, J-L., 'Mining in the Belgian Congo', in: D. Birmingham and P.M. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa II* (London etc., 1998), 126-62.

Vellut, J-L., 'Angola-Congo. L'invention de la frontière du Lunda (1889-1893)', *Africana studia* 9 (2006), 159-84.

Velsen, J. van, 'Labour migration as a positive factor in the continuity of Tonga tribal society', in: A. Southall (ed.), *Social change in modern Africa* (London etc., 1961), 230-41.

Vickery, K.P., 'Saving settlers: Maize control in Northern Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 11:2 (1985), 212-34.

Vickery, K.P., *Black and white in Southern Zambia: The Tonga plateau economy and British imperialism, 1890-1939* (New York etc., 1986).

Vries, J. de, *The industrious revolution: Consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present* (Cambridge etc., 2008).

Waters, T., 'A cultural analysis of the economy of affection and the uncaptured peasantry in Tanzania', *The journal of modern African studies* 30:1 (1992), 163-75.

Waters, T., 'The persistence of subsistence and the limits to development studies: The challenge of Tanzania', *Africa* 70:4 (2000), 614-52.

Watson, W., *Tribal cohesion in a money economy: A study of the Mambwe people of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester, 1958).

Webb Jr., J.L.A., 'Toward the comparative study of money: A reconsideration of West African currencies and neo-classical monetary concepts', *The international journal of African historical studies* 15:3 (1982), 455-66.

Wele, P.M., *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion: The untold story* (Lusaka, 1987).

Wele, P.M., *Zambia's most famous dissidents: From Mushala to Luchembe* (Solwezi, 1995).

Werbner, R.P., 'The Manchester School in South-Central Africa', *Annual review of anthropology* 13 (1984), 157-85.

White, C.M.N., 'Notes on the circumcision rites of the Balovale tribes', *African studies* 12:2 (1953), 41-56.

White, C.M.N., 'Clan, chieftainship, and slavery in Luvale political organization', *Africa* 27:1 (1957), 59-75.

White, L., *Magomero: Portrait of an African village* (Cambridge etc., 1987).

White, L., *Speaking with vampires: Rumor and history in colonial Africa* (Berkeley etc., 2000).

Wilson, G. and M.H. Wilson, *The analysis of social change: Based on observations in Central Africa* (Cambridge etc., 1945).

Wilson, G., *The economics of detribalization in Northern Rhodesia I & II,* Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 5-6 (Manchester, 1942; reprinted 1968).

Wilson, M.H., 'Zig-zag change', *Africa* 46:4 (1976), 399-409.

Wood, A.P. et al (ed.), *The dynamics of agricultural policy and reform in Zambia* (Ames, Iowa, 1990).

Yusuf, S.T., 'Stealing from the railways: Blacksmiths, colonialism and innovation in Northern Nigeria', in: J-B. Gewald, A. Leliveld and I. Peša (eds.), *Transforming innovations in Africa: Explorative studies on appropriation in African societies* (Leiden etc., 2012), 275-95.

III: Oral Sources: Interviews

Mwinilunga (2008)
Mrs Julian Chiyezhi, 5 September 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr and Mrs Katoka, 5 September 2008, Mwinilunga
Mrs Ethel Muvila, 5 September 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr and Mrs Samugole, 6 September 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr Kawangu, 6 September 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr Ian Ntambu, 7 September 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr Solomon Kanswata, 8 September 2008 and 18 October 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr Kamwana, 18 October 2008.
Mr Chitambala, 12 December 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr Mapulanga, 12 December 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr Mwangala, 8 September 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr Alfred Lupinda, 12 December 2008, Mwinilunga
Mrs Luvua, 30 September 30 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr Ambrose Musanda, 1 October 2008, Mwinilunga
Mr Paul Chitadi, 8 September 2008, Kampemba
Mr Damson Kazeya, 9 September 2008, Kampemba
Mr Brian Kandamba, 9 September 2008, Kampemba
Mr Boaz Chitokola, 10 September 2008, Kampemba

Kanongesha (2008)

Mr John J. Chiyuka, 10 September 2008, Kanongesha
Chief Kanongesha's mother and uncle, 11 September 2008, Kanongesha
Mr Daimon Sambongi, 11 September 2008, Kanongesha
Mr Spoon Kapanga, Headman of Wenga village, 12 September 2008, Kanongesha
Headman Kazovu and Headman Kashiku, 12 September 2008, Kanongesha
Mr Maimbo and Mr Katongo, 13 September 2008, Kanongesha

Ikelenge (2008)
Mr Mutale and Mr Mbewe, 15 September 2008, Ikelenge
Chieftainess Ikelenge, 16 September 2008, Ikelenge
Headman Samahina and his wife, 16 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mrs Margaret Mulopa, Mr Harry Ventina and Mr Larson Samahina, 16 September 2008, Ikelenge Mr John Kapaypi, 16 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mr Benson Kema, 17 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mr M. Keshala, 17 September 2008, Ikelenge
Headman, Mr Felix Ntemba, 17 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mr Konsul Chinyama, 17 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mr Paul Soneka, 17 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mr Morris Chipoya, 18 September 2008, Ikelenge
Headman Chimbila and Mr Skin Chimbila, 18 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mr Martin Muzeya, 19 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mr Fordson Deyau, 19 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mrs Judy Mudimina, 19 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mrs Alfonsina Kusaloka, 19 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mrs Argret Otela, 19 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mrs Florence Mukona, 22 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mr Venus Kalusa, 22 September 2008, Ikelenge
Mr Edson Pondala, 22 September 2008, Ikelenge
Headman Frank Chipoya, 22 September 2008, Ikelenge

Nyakaseya (2008)
Mr Zaza, 23 September 2008, Nyakaseya
Mr Aaron Chiyuma, 23 September 2008, Nyakaseya
Mr Paddy Samakai, 23 September 2008, Nyakaseya
Mr and Mrs Sawita, 24 September 2008, Nyakaseya
Mr William Zavwiyi, 24 September 2008, Nyakaseya
Mr Frank Kafolesha, 24 September 2008, Nyakaseya
Mr Gibson, 25 September 2008, Nyakaseya
Mr Ngelekwa Kapenda, 25 September 2008, Nyakaseya
Mr Paul Lemba, 25 September 2008, Nyakaseya
Mr. Paul Poidevin, Headmaster Sakeji School, 20 September 2008, Hillwood Farm
Mrs Mel Ferguson, 26 September 2008, Hillwood Farm
Mrs Esther and Hilda, Hillwood farm orphanage, 28 September 2008, Hillwood Farm
Mr Paul Fisher, 27 September 2008, Hillwood Farm

Chibwika (2008)
Mr Phiri, Mr Kalusa and Mr Kayama, 2 October 2008, Chibwika

Chief Chibwika, 2 October 2008, Chibwika
Headman Kadoka, 2 October 2008, Chibwika
Headman Kasapatu, 2 October 2008, Chibwika
Mr Benwa, 2 October 2008, Chibwika
Mr Elias Kalenga, 3 October 2008, Chibwika
Mr Muhemba, 4 October 2008, Chibwika
Mr Kamiji, 4 October 2008, Chibwika
Mr Samanjombi, Chief Chibwika's brother, 4 October 2008, Chibwika
Mrs Maria Samanjombi, Chief Chibwika's sister, 4 October 2008, Chibwika
Mr Godfrey, 4 October 2008, Chibwika
Mr Chiyesu, 5 October 2008, Chibwika
Mr Mangalasa, 5 October 2008, Chibwika
Mrs Bibiana, 5 October 2008, Chibwika
Mrs Agnes Kasweulu, 6 October 2008, Chibwika

Ntambu (2008)
Mr Chinshe, 13 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Masamba, 8 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Helford Masamba, 9 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Han Manyingu, 9 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Benja Sampoko, 9 October 2008, Ntambu
Mrs Yesta Muyutu and her mother, 9 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Kasonda, 10 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Harrison Makina, 10 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Andrew Kambowa, 10 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Paul Mapende, 10 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Harrison Zimba, 10 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Lorence Floranga, 10 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Royman Chimanasa, 11 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Venus Makariki, 11 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Jonas Luvey, 11 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Tedson Kanjima, 12 October 2008, Ntambu
Mrs Alfonsina Chingangu, 15 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Charles Walanga, 15 October 2008, Ntambu
Mr Benwell, 16 October 2008

Kanyama (2008)
Mr Ngambi, 9 December 2008, Kanyama
Headman Kakeza, 9 December 2008, Kanyama
Mr Godfrey Masambwisha, 9 December 2008, Kanyama
Chief Kanyama, 9 December 2008, Kanyama
Mrs Grace Mulusa, 10 December 2008, Kanyama
Headman Mr Noah Ipoza, 10 December 2008, Kanyama
Mr and Mrs Lukwesa Kajimoto, 10 December 2008, Kanyama

Lusaka (2010)
Mr Andrew Sardanis, 14 December 2009, Lusaka

Mr Peter Matoka, 9 January 2010, Lusaka
Mrs Metheryn Katoka, 10 January 2010, Lusaka
Mr Wilson Nswana Kanyembo, 16 January 2010, Lusaka
Mrs Ada Ikombu, 17 January 2010, Lusaka
Mr Brighton Matoka, 18 January 2010, Lusaka
Dr Kabwiku, 19 January 2010, Lusaka
Mr Philip Lemba, 27 January 2010, Lusaka
Mrs Fesa Kaumba, 28 January 2010, Lusaka
Mr Leonard Kantumoya, 29 January 2010, Lusaka

Copperbelt (2010)
Mama Mapesa, 2 February 2010, Ndola
Mrs Georgina, 4 February 2010, Ndola
Mrs Lucy and Mrs Gladys, 6 February 2010, Kalulushi
Mr Sambaulu, 10 February 2010, Ndola
Mrs Everyn, 13 February 2010, Kakolo, Kitwe
Mrs Jane Chibote, 14 February 2010, Kalulushi
Pastor Jacob, 14 February 2010, Chibuluma Mine Township
Mr Setty Chitukutuku, 17 February 2010, Kitwe
Mr and Mrs Chiyengi, 17 February 2010, Kitwe
Mrs Lilian Chiyesu, 25 February 2010, Ndola
Mr William Ngangu, 26 February 2010, Ndola

Ikelenge (2010)
Mr Makajina Kahilu, 8 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Goodwell Masomba and Mrs Fibby Chinjambo, 8 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Ngomi Kamafumbu, 8 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Mandamu Sapotu, 10 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Anyes Samukoko, 10 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Lontina Chilengi, 10 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Peter Machai, 10 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Yines Solwezi, 10 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Fesa, 11 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Rose Matafwali, 13 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Kona Ilunga, 15 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Thomas Makondo, 15 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Ilunga, 16 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr John Kapayipi, 17 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Larson Samahina and his wife, 17 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Joshua Kapiya, 18 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Elyss Chinjamba, 18 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Alick Nfweta, 19 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Kambolokonyi Chingonyu, 19 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Saipilinga Kahongo, 22 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Alick Ndumba, 23 March 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Kephas Sakwimba, 24 March & 9 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr John Kakoma, 2 April 2010, Ikelenge

Mr Fred Chisenga Tambo, 6 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Beth Kanungulu, 6 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Alfonsina, 7 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Rosina Sakandula, 8 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr William Chiyanzu, 9 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Yiness Ikelenge, 10 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Wilson Kasochi Kabanda, 12 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Sahandu Fwalice, James Kinga and Damson Chihamba, 13 April 2010
Mrs Nakineli, 14 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mrs Josephine Sokawuta, 15 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Jackson Samakai, 16 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Louis Kasongu, 17 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Ngomi and Mrs Nanci Kamafumbu, 19 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Donas Katanda, 19 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Moris Sakakomba, 20 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Sokawuta, 22 & 23 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Benwa Lukama, 23 April 2010, Ikelenge
Mr Shame Kamundongu, 24 April 2010, Ikelenge

Nyakaseya (2010)
Mr Zakewa Kahangu, 26 April 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Aaron Chikewa, 27 April 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Wombeki, 27 April, 11 May & 24 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Samuel Nshindwa, 28 April 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Sefukah Kazomba, 28 April 2010, Nyakaseya
Mrs Marciana and Suzana, 29 April 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Fanwel, Mrs Reece Samakai and Mrs Andele Maciana, 30 April & 5 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Pierre Shimishi, 1 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Bernard, 3 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Goldwel Mushindi, 3 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mrs Mandama, Mrs Nyota Chingaji, Mrs Evelina Chidimi and Mrs Donia Mahongo, 4 May 2010, Nyamuweji, Nyakaseya
Mr William Zavwiji, 5 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mrs Suze Savita, 7 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Chilaudi Chiyanzu, 7 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mrs Zabetha Nkemba, 8 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Mischek Alfons Maseka, 11 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Mushipi Musungumuki, 12 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mrs Paulina Kahemba, 12 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mrs Christina Kalumbu, 13 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Venus Petrol Kayombo, 15 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Maladi Mukomena Ntanda, 16 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Levu Mongu, 17 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Mazondu Sanyikosa, 17 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Paul Maseka, 18 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Group Interview, Kayuka Village, 19 May 2010, Nyakaseya
Mr Smata Chimbimbi Muchayila, 19 May 2010, Nyakaseya

Mr Kabanda, 22 May 2010, Nyakaseya

Kanongesha (2010)
Mr Spoon, 26 July 2010, Kanongesha
Headman Kazovu, 26 July 2010, Kanongesha
Headman Kachacha, 27 & 31 July 2010, Kanongesha
Mrs Margaret Kachai, 27 July 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Mamfwela Moris, 28 July 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Kasongu Mapulanga, 29 July & 17 August 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Ridgeway, 30 July 2010, Kanongesha
Mrs Nsombi, 30 July 2010, Kanongesha
Mrs Mandosa Kabanda, 2 August 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Fred Mpenji, 3 August 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Shimishi, 4 August 2010, Kanongesha
Brother Joe Weisling, 4 August 2010, Kanongesha
Mrs Lukaki Salukenga and Mrs Lutaya, 6 August 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Robert Sakawumba, 6 August 2010, Kanongesha
Mrs Mandosa, 10 August 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Jesman Sambaulu, 10 August 2010, Kanongesha
Ex-Chief Ntambu Lukonkesha, 11 August 2010, Kanongesha
Chief Kanongesha's mother, 12 August 2010, Kanongesha
Headman Chinkonja, 13 August 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Windson Mbimbi, 14 August & 6 September 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Amon Sawila, 7 September 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Juda Sapetulu, 8 September 2010, Kanongesha
Chief Kanongesha from Angola, 10 September 2010, Kanongesha
Mr Suckling, Representative of Chief Chibwika, 14 September 2010, Kanongesha

Ntambu (2010)
Mr Peter Ndumba, 27 September 2010, Ntambu
Mrs Enia, 28 September 2010, Ntambu
Mr Amon Kakisa, 28 September 2010, Ntambu
Mr Thomas, 29 September 2010, Ntambu
Mr Martin Kahangu, 30 September 2010, Ntambu
Mr Kasonda, 1 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Andrew Kambowa, 2 October 2010, Ntambu
Headman Mpurumba and Kamena, 4 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr James Kasonga, 4 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Mukosayi Mujunga, 5 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Kadansonu Mukeya, 7 October 2010, Ntambu
Mrs Doris Kandumba, 9 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Tepson Kandungu, 11 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Fascen Ndoji, 12 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Bigwan Masondi, 13 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Steven Chikwili, 14 October 2010, Ntambu
Headman Kayongi, 15 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Elias Kapokosu, 15 October 2010, Ntambu

Mr Peter Luberenga, 18 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Bandwell Mulandu, 20 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Karekanya Katanvwa, 21 October 2010, Ntambu
Mr Justin Kambidima, 22 October 2010, Ntambu

Mwinilunga Boma (2010)
Group Interview, Kakuula Machai, 29 March 2010, Mwinilunga
Group Interview, Kampemba, 30 March 2010, Mwinilunga
Mr and Mrs Ntanga, 4 March & 27 October 2010, Mwinilunga
Mr Julius Musesa, 28 October 2010, Mwinilunga
Mr Filip Chiyangi Kayawu, 29 October 2010, Mwinilunga
Mr Jacob Chiyengi, 29 October 2010, Mwinilunga
Headman Mwinilunga, 31 October 2010, Mwinilunga
Mr Beston Mapulanga, 1 November 2010, Mwinilunga
Chief Mukangala, 3 November 2010, Mwinilunga

Miscellaneous
Mrs Betty Dening, 1 July 2011, United Kingdom

Samenvatting

Een sociale geschiedenis van Mwinilunga District, 1870-1970

Dit proefschrift heeft als doelstelling om te onderzoeken hoe het proces van sociale verandering in het gebied van Mwinilunga, een district in noord-west Zambia, uiting vond tussen de jaren 1870 en 1970. Het proces van sociale verandering zal onderzocht worden door in detail te kijken naar vier aspecten, te weten productie, mobiliteit, consumptie en sociale verhoudingen. Terwijl rond 1870 dorpen in Mwinilunga zich nog uitgestrekt over het landschap bevonden en soms uit defensief oogpunt verborgen waren in de bossen of omringd waren door een omheining, bevonden de meeste dorpen zich rond 1950 langs de weg. De aanleg van wegen trok de vestiging van dorpen langs de weg aan, maar het is de vraag of deze verandering van nederzettingspatronen ook leidde tot andere sociale veranderingen. Nederzettingspatronen zijn een uitermate geschikte lens om sociale verandering door te bestuderen. Leidde vestiging langs de wegen ook tot andere vormen van landbouwproductie, het gebruik van andere goederen of tot individualisering? Door een aantal empirische voorbeelden als uitgangspunt te nemen, tracht dit proefschrift het proces van sociale verandering te doorgronden in het gebied van Mwinilunga.

Processen van sociale verandering hebben in de Zambiaanse historiografie veel aandacht gekregen, vooral door toedoen van het Rhodes Livingstone instituut. (Post-)koloniale observatoren gingen er over het algemeen van uit dat er verandering plaats zou vinden van 'primitieve' naar 'moderne' samenlevingen, vooral onder invloed van het kolonialisme en het kapitalisme. Waar samenlevingen eens zelfvoorzienend waren in hun behoeftes, zouden zij in toenemende mate gaan participeren in de markteconomie, bijvoorbeeld door gewassen te verbouwen en deze te verkopen voor geld. Dit proefschrift beweert dat er inderdaad grondige sociale veranderingen hebben plaatsgevonden in het gebied van Mwinilunga, maar dat deze geen eenduidig pad hebben gevolgd. Dit is in tegenstelling tot de verwachtingspatronen die Victor Turner, een antropoloog van het Rhodes Livingstone Instituut die in de jaren '50 onderzoek deed in Mwinilunga, uiteen zette. Turner beweerde dat veranderende nederzettingspatronen, van grote concentrische dorpen naar kleine nederzettingen langs de weg, ook automatisch andere sociale veranderingen teweeg zouden brengen, zoals een overgang van zelfvoorziening in landbouwproductie naar marktgerichte landbouwproductie, of van uitgebreide familiestructuren naar individualisering. Dit proefschrift toetst de hypothesen over sociale verandering die door Turner naar voren zijn gebracht tegen historisch bewijsmateriaal. Het proefschrift beweert dat externe veranderingen, zoals het kolonialisme of het kapitalisme, niet zozeer hebben geleid tot een transformatie van de samenleving. Daarentegen werden veranderingen binnen een bestaande en interne 'traditie' geïncorporeerd en toegeëigend. Deze traditie was zelf uitermate flexibel en heeft hierdoor het proces van sociale verandering gemediëerd en bemogelijkt. Door in te gaan op ideeën van een 'traditie van verandering', gaat dit proefschrift in tegen historiografische stromingen die suggereren dat het kolonialisme of het kapitalisme externe, vergaande en soms zelfs gewelddadige verandering teweeg hebben gebracht. Omdat het denken in overgangen van 'traditie' naar 'moderniteit' en in radicale breuken in de Zambiaanse historiografie nog altijd dominant is, stelt dit proefschrift door te kijken naar een specifieke case van een specifieke lokaliteit zulke theorieën aan de kaak. Deze studie presenteert sociale verandering als intern gegenereerd en onderhandeld, in plaats van als extern opgelegd of noodzakelijkerwijs transformerend.

Het eerste hoofdstuk biedt een historisch overzicht voor het gebied van Mwinilunga vanaf de periode 1750 tot aan de jaren 1970. Omdat er voor het gebied van Mwinilunga nog geen gedetailleerde geschiedenissen bestaan en omdat de volgende hoofdstukken thematisch van aard zijn, biedt dit hoofdstuk een rode draad opgetrokken rondom bepaalde historische mijlpalen. Door in te gaan op de geschiedenis van het Lunda rijk, de vestiging van chiefs in het gebied van Mwinilunga, de langeafstandshandel en de slavenhandel, de vestiging van de koloniale macht, de periode van bloei en arbeidsmigratie rond 1950 en ten slotte de periode na de onafhankelijkheid, zullen vragen met

betrekking tot continuïteit en verandering gesteld en beantwoord worden. Anders dan de historiografie tot nu toe gesuggereerd heeft, bewerkstelligde de komst van het kolonialisme of het behalen van de onafhankelijkheid geen absolute breuk met het verleden. Dit hoofdstuk legt liever de nadruk op continuïteit en langetermijn processen. Door deze aanpak te verkiezen, kan het gesuggereerd worden dat sociale veranderingen in het gebied van Mwinilunga niet zozeer extern opgelegd maar liever intern onderhandeld werden. Door de traditie van verandering in Mwinilunga konden de bewoners sociale veranderingen begrijpbaar en eigen maken, in de lijn met bestaande gebruiken.

Nadat het historische kader in het eerste hoofdstuk geschetst is, zijn de daaropvolgende hoofdstukken thematisch van aard. Hoofdstuk twee kijkt in detail naar processen van (agrarische) productie. Koloniale ambtenaren, zendelingen en post-koloniale ontwikkelingswerkers gingen er van uit dat met de komst van het kapitalisme er een overgang zou plaatsvinden van bestaande (vaak aangeduid als 'traditionele') productiemethoden, gericht op zelfvoorziening, naar 'moderne' productiemethoden gericht op de markt. Dit hoofdstuk stelt dat zo een verandering noch vanzelfsprekend, noch eenduidig was. Eerst wordt in dit hoofdstuk het officiële discours onder de loep genomen. Ambtenaren en landbouw 'experts' hebben gesuggereerd dat in het gebied van Mwinilunga de bestaande methoden van 'shifting cultivation' vervangen zouden moeten worden door permanente landbouw, waarbij sorghum, gierst en cassave vervangen zouden moeten worden door mais, pindas en rijst, verbouwd met behulp van mest en commerciële zaden. Dit hoofdstuk stelt zo een discours aan de kaak, door te suggereren dat productie voor zelfvoorziening (van bijvoorbeeld cassave) in feite marktproductie mogelijk maakte. Een scherpe scheiding tussen zelfvoorziening en marktproductie wordt zo in twijfel getrokken, omdat productie van gewassen zoals cassave (door haar arbeidsbesparende functie en hoge opbrengst) de productie van gewassen voor de markt mogelijk maakte. Verder minimaliseerde cassave de risico's van marktproductie, in de lijn met theorieën over de 'morele economie'. Productieprocessen in Mwinilunga waren afgestemd op de ecologische omstandigheden, arbeidsvraag en waren wel degelijk rationeel. Verder wordt de historische overgang van jagen naar veehouderij aan de kaak gesteld. Het wordt gesuggereerd dat de jacht voldeed aan de arbeidsvraag in het gebied, eiwitbronnen leverde en statusverwerving binnen de samenleving mogelijk maakte. Veehouderij, daarentegen, was moeilijk door de aanwezigheid van de tsetste vlieg en werd bemoeilijkt door het rondtrekkende karakter van dorpen. Veehouderij, welke werd aangemoedigd door ambtenaren en experts, vereist nederzettingsstabiliteit, onbekende technieken en veel arbeidsinput, welke de onderneming bemoeilijkten. Het hoofdstuk sluit af met twee cases, namelijk van ananasproductie en de honing en bijenwasproductie in het gebied van Mwinilunga. Dit waren beiden ondernemingen die marktparticipatie in het gebied faciliteerden, en door deze ondernemingen te bestuderen wordt het duidelijk wat de moeilijkheden maar ook wat de potenties van marktparticipatie waren. Terwijl de lange en slecht onderhouden wegen, de onzekere en fluctuerende markten alsmede de ecologische omstandigheden marktproductie bemoeilijkten, waren er wel enkele gewassen (met name producten met een laag gewicht maar een hoge marktwaarde) die de moeite van het produceren waard waren. Dit hoofdstuk beweert dat productie in Mwinilunga zijn eigen logica had en uiterst marktgedreven kon zijn, maar dat er van een automatische overgang van zelfvoorziening naar marktproductie geen sprake was.

Het derde hoofdstuk kijkt naar twee aspecten van mobiliteit, namelijk enerzijds naar de relaties tussen Mwinilunga en de gebieden over de grens in Angola en Congo en anderzijds naar arbeidsmigratie naar de steden in de regio. Anders dan het moderniteitsdenken doet vermoeden, nam mobiliteit in het gebied van Mwinilunga niet simpelweg toe. Dit hoofdstuk stelt liever een inherente 'mobiliteitscultuur' voor – de bewoners van Mwinilunga waren al ver voor de koloniale periode zeer mobiel en onderhielden banden met de brede regio, banden die door het kolonialisme en grensdemarcatie juist bemoeilijkt werden. Deze mobiliteitscultuur, die de langetermijn continuïteit in het gebied onderstreept, maakte de incorporatie van veranderingen mogelijk. Toen bijvoorbeeld de grenzen werden gedemarceerd, of toen belasting werd geïntroduceerd, maakte beweging over de

grenzen heen naar Angola of Congo en weer terug naar Mwinilunga, onderhandelingen met de koloniale staat mogelijk. Verder stelde grenshandel de hegemonie van de Zambiaanse staat aan de kaak. In plaats van uitsluitend handel te drijven binnen Zambia, kon Mwinilunga haar marginale positie gebruiken door handelsbanden met Angola en Congo aan te halen en zo een relatief autonome en welvarende positie voor zichzelf te creëeren. Deze handelsbanden, migratiestromen en vluchtelingenstromen hadden ook hun gevolgen voor de identiteit van de bewoners van Mwinilunga. Oude Lunda banden werd nieuw leven ingeblazen en liever dan zich te alliëren aan de centrale staat van Noord Rhodesië en later Zambia, ten opzichte van welke Mwinilunga altijd marginaal zou blijven, haalde Mwinilunga de regionale banden met Angola en Congo aan. Dit uitte zich in politieke aanhang voor de oppositiepartij ANC, in plaats van voor de regerende UNIP partij. Juist in haar marginaliteit en door gebruik te maken van mobiliteit kon het gebied van Mwinilunga macht vinden.

Het tweede gedeelte van dit hoofdstuk kijkt naar processen van arbeidsmigratie. Binnen de Zambiaanse historiografie is arbeidsmigratie dikwijls geïnterpreteerd binnen een 'moderniseringsnarratief'. Door naar de steden te trekken en daar te werken, zouden dorpelingen moderne stedelijke inwoners worden. Tevens stelden zulke gedachtegangen dat arbeidsmigratie voornamelijk gedreven zou zijn door economische (push- en pullfactoren) en politieke factoren (overheidsdruk). Dit hoofdstuk stelt daarentegen dat arbeidsmigratie geen deel was van een onomstreden moderniseringsproces, maar liever voortbouwde op een bestaande 'mobiliteitscultuur'. Tevens waren sociaal-culturele factoren even belangrijk om de arbeidsmigratie te verklaren, als economische en politieke factoren. Dit hoofdstuk compliceert ook de these van 'ruraal verval' door toedoen van arbeidsmigratie. Inderdaad, veel mannen trokken weg om banen te zoeken in de mijnen en de steden, maar dit leidde niet automatisch tot verval. Arbeidsmigratie leek zelfs tot een economische en sociale bloeiperiode te leiden. Ook al was er misschien minder arbeidskracht aanwezig in de dorpen om de velden te bewerken, individuen konden door arbeidsmigratie oude aspiraties van 'zelfrealisatie' verwezenlijken. Deze aspiraties leidden niet tot eenduidige 'ontwikkeling', maar onderstrepen wel de continuïteit van arbeidsmigratie met sociaal-culturele ideeën. Arbeidsmigratie was geen simpele transformerende kracht, maar werd geïncorporeerd in bestaande ideeën en strevens. Mobiliteit had eeuwenoude wortels in dit gebied en was gebaseerd op een interne cultuur.

Het vierde hoofdstuk gaat over consumptie. Ook al was er een uiterlijke overgang van bijvoorbeeld strohuizen naar bakstenen huizen, of van kleren gemaakt van dierenhuid of boomschors naar geïmporteerde kleedij die industrieel gefabriceerd wordt, toch was dit niet een eenduidige stap van 'zelfvoorziening' naar 'marktgerichtheid'. Dit hoofdstuk stelt dat ondanks de uiterlijke 'consumptierevolutie' ideeën achter consumptie en het belang van goederen veel meer continuïteit kenden. De concepten 'wealth-in-people' en 'zelfrealisatie' spelen hierbij een belangrijke rol. Door dieper in te gaan op drie cases, namelijk van ijzersmeden, kleding en huisvesting, worden de complexiteit en langetermijntrends in consumptie duidelijker gemaakt. In het ijzersmeden was er een overgang van lokaal geproduceerde ijzeren voorwerpen naar geïmporteerde en industrieel geproduceerde ijzeren werktuigen. Deze overgang bracht veranderingen te weeg, maar past niet in het plaatje van onderontwikkeling of modernisering. Ijzeren voorwerpen werden en worden vooral geconsumeerd binnen ideeën van zelfrealisatie, die eerst de smid en daarna de consument van ijzeren goederen bevorderden. Kledingconsumptie had ook veel te maken met ideeën van degelijkheid, status en onderscheiding. Het consumeren van westerse kleding was niet een geval van 'imitatie', maar diende ertoe om de aandacht en aanhang van andere mensen aan te trekken. Kleding, door de status die het uitbeeldde, kon een hulpmiddel zijn om een 'Big Man' te worden binnen het systeem van 'wealth-in-people'. Dat consumptie een lokale logica kreeg en niet de logica volgde van de Westerse handelaren die consumptiegoederen introduceerden, wordt uitermate duidelijk als het gaat om huizen. Bakstenen huizen werden door ambtenaren gepropageerd om vestigingsstabiliteit te bevorderen, maar rond de jaren '50 kwamen er steeds meer klachten binnen dat mensen wel bakstenen huizen bouwden, maar deze alsnog in de steek lieten na 5 of 10 jaar. Huizenconsumptie paste binnen het beeld van 'wealth-in-people'. Een groot en goed gebouwd huis leidde tot aanzien in

het dorp en kon aantrekkingskracht uitoefenen op anderen. Een groot huis kon het centrum worden van een hele groep huizen, en door mensen aan te trekken werd de eigenaar een 'Big Man'. Om consumptiepatronen te begrijpen is het dus belangrijker om te kijken naar concepten van zelfontplooiing en rijkdom, dan om te denken in een westerse logica van traditie en moderniteit of ontwikkeling en onderontwikkeling.

Het vijfde hoofdstuk onderzoekt of de voorgaande veranderingen in productie, mobiliteit en consumptie, ook leidden tot sociale veranderingen. Het Rhodes Livingstone instituut, en met name de antropoloog Victor Turner, gingen er namelijk van uit dat er onder invloed van het kolonialisme en het kapitalisme een overgang plaats zou vinden van familiale solidariteit en grote dorpen naar een toenemende individualisering en het uiteenvallen van dorpen in zogeheten 'farms'. Of deze individualisering en de nuclearisering van de familie er echt is gekomen, valt echter te betwijfelen. Door te kijken naar voorbeelden van 'farms', de authoriteit van chiefs en hoofdmannen, werkpartijen en gemeenschappelijke voedselconsumptie, hekserij, gender en huwelijk, alsmede sociale verandering in rituelen en waardepatronen, zal het onderzocht worden of er inderdaad een overgang is geweest van reciprociteit en communale solidariteit naar toenemende individualisering en competitie tussen dorpsbewoners. Gemeenschappelijke voedselconsumptie, bijvoorbeeld, is niet in de vergetelheid geraakt maar wordt nog steeds beoefend als symbool van 'wealth-in-people' en status. Hekserij en hekserijbeschuldigingen zijn niet zozeer toegenomen door individuele competitie, maar zijn daarentegen altijd deel geweest van spanningen tussen individuen. Sociale verandering heeft zeker plaatsgevonden, maar zoals de voorbeelden laten zien, was er van eenduidig verval of individualisering geen sprake.

Door gebruik te maken van een scala aan geschreven, orale en secundaire bronnen heeft dit proefschrift beoogd om een gedetailleerde uiteenzetting van de geschiedenis van Mwinilunga te presenteren. Het proefschrift suggereert dat sociale verandering geen eenduidig proces is. Sociale verandering brengt geen transformatie teweeg en is ook niet extern opgelegd, maar wordt toegeëigend in bestaande opvattingen en ideeën over traditie, welke zelf voortdurend veranderen. Hierdoor is verandering voortdurend maar geleidelijk. Door bestaande ideeën en denkwijzen over 'grote vraagstukken' zoals het kolonialisme en het kapitalisme aan de kaak te stellen, poogt dit proefschrift te demonstreren dat zelfs de geschiedenis van een relatief onbekend en marginaal gebied kennis kan bijdragen over de gang van de geschiedenis.

Curriculum Vitae

Iva Peša was born on 3 July 1987 in Zadar, Croatia. In 2004 she enrolled at the Institute for History at Leiden University, where she obtained her Bachelor's degree in 2007. After having followed courses in Global History and African History, she enrolled for the Research Master's programme at the African Studies Centre and Leiden University. She specialised in African History and wrote a thesis entitled, 'Cinderella's cassava: A historical study of agricultural adaptation in Mwinilunga District from pre-colonial times to independence'. She was fortunate to receive the opportunity to continue her research at Leiden University in 2009, when she started her PhD research. Since completing her doctoral research Iva has started a post-doctoral research at the African Studies Centre within the Centre for Frugal Innovation in Africa, which joins Leiden, Delft and Erasmus Universities. This research will focus on innovation, technology and entrepreneurship on the Zambian and Congolese Copperbelts, from a historical and comparative perspective.