Matriliny, Mining, and Displacement:
The Effects of Colonialism on Social Organization and Relationship to Physical Place in Zambia

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Introduction

In the summer of 2013 I travelled to Lusaka, Zambia to interview Yolanta Chimbamu Chona, wife of the late Mainza Chona, a prominent yet overshadowed Zambian politician, for the original research component of a Master's degree I completed at York University in 2014. I wanted to learn, from her perspective, what the shift from colonialism to postcolonialism meant for women, and especially for her. She told me stories about her childhood, and what it was like growing up in her Tonga village in Southern Province of what was then Northern Rhodesia. She told me about the mission school she attended, and her courtship, wedding, and marriage to Mainza. She reminisced about her days as the wife of the Prime Minister, Vice President, and ambassador in the United States, France, and China. She had lived an extraordinary life, but in many ways it seemed as though this was her husband's work – his mandate – and she was merely along for the ride. When I asked her, though, why fighting for national independence from British colonialism was so important to her, she explained that as long as her father was farming someone else's land, they would never be free.

Land. Her answer came down to land. Not tradition, religion, education, economics, racial tensions, or resource extraction, but land. Of course, all of those issues are intrinsically tied to one another, and to the presence of the British on Zambian land. This comment was so simple, so unencumbered with nationalist rhetoric or propaganda; it was her clear and intimate reasoning for partaking in the years-long struggle for independence. It told me that land was at the heart of why she did what she did. It told me that her connection to land, and all that it meant to her and for her, was vitally important to her very existence as a person, and as a freedom fighter. The priority voiced by this Tonga individual, who had had the privilege of living all over the world, was land.

The central thesis which I assert herein is that by reexamining the historiographical literature on gendered social relations and traditional relationships to physical place, we can understand more clearly how Zambian people renegotiated these relationships and made meaning of their experiences. I am

interested in how the colonial project worked to disrupt Southern African relationships to space, both physical and social, by framing these issues through the discursive paradigm of understanding social space as place, and observing the importance of physical place on social spaces. I hope to explore how this framework illuminates Zambian historical events by examining the historical scholarship focused on kinship relations in Southern Africa, specifically matriliny, and the forced displacement of people in large groups. I will do this by first providing some context to the Zambian geographical and colonial circumstances for the issues I want to discuss; and second, by dividing the historiography into two temporal chapters: twentieth-century historiography (looking roughly at the 1930s until the end of the twentieth century), and twenty-first century historiography. I have chosen to break up the literature into these eras because the earlier literature reflects certain shifts in language and mindsets specific to colonial mentalities, while the more contemporary scholarship is critical of the earlier literature, as it draws together seminal texts and draws upon methodologies, discourses, and literature not previously examined for these purposes.

The authors included herein parse out the functions of matrilineal kinship organization, largely in juxtaposition to patriliny, which is more extensively and thoroughly understood within Western scholarship. The colonial misunderstanding of matriliny as a mode of societal organization caused the interruption of social spaces through colonial reordering of power dynamics within ethnic groups. Further, an engagement with the literature on the forced migration associated with the construction of the Kariba Dam on the border between southern Zambia (colonially, Northern Rhodesia) and Zimbabwe (colonially, Rhodesia), represents a disruption of physical space. By conjoining physical place and social space within the same discussion of colonial interruption, we can understand how the two sites of identity-making were crucially important, and mutually co-constituting, forces within Southern African ethnic groups.

The existing literature on the nature of matrilineal organization in Southern Africa demonstrates two noteworthy processes: first, the limitations of anthropologists' and historians' abilities to conceive of the traditional modes of social organization, as they represented them in their work; secondly, the process of colonization of knowledges that accompanied the representations of traditional societies and their cultural practices. By examining some of the literature written about matriliny and kinship organization in Southern Africa, several key observations become clear. The language used to discuss the peoples of Africa changes over time, as historians become aware of the implications of the some of the terms at play. The focus from a structural functionalist anthropological perspective that is invested in the social institutions of a society shifts toward a focus that is invested in the historical processes that led to such institutions existing the way they do. A brief overview of some of the seminal literature on matriliny in Southern Africa will demonstrate these historiographical changes, beginning with some of the early ethnographic work conducted during the colonial period in Northern Rhodesia, through to contemporary times in the twenty-first century.

Chapter 1: Zambian Historical and Colonial Context

Prior to colonization, Zambia was inhabited by the Bemba, Lenje, Lunda, Soli, Chokwe, Lozi, and Tonga peoples, as well as a number of other, smaller groups of people. Each group had its own language and customs, leadership structures, and beliefs: the Bemba were largely subsistence farmers that moved around once the fertility of the land was exhausted; the Lunda had a king and a hierarchical political structure; the Chokwe had no recognizable dominant leader or leadership structure. The Tonga people live predominantly in the Gwembe Valley and on the Plateau in what is now Zambia's Southern Province. The Gwembe Valley is located between the Zambezi River (to the south and east) and the Kafue River (to the north) in the Southern Province of Zambia; the Zambezi River provides a border between the two Rhodesias. Some Tonga people live on the Zimbabwe side of the Zambezi River, and the Lozi live to the south around Livingstone.

Map of Zambia[1]

[1] Angela King and Brad Cole, "Zambia Map and Satellite Image," *Geology.com*, copyright 2008, http://geology.com/world/zambia-satellite-image.shtml

Colonization of what we now call Zambia, (formerly known as Northern Rhodesia), was linked to the establishment of a vast empire of privately owned mines in Southern Africa. This resulted in the privatization of land that had hitherto been held in common. For the purpose of taxation, communities were organized into a series of administratively created bureaucratic units under chiefs and headmen who reported to the colonial state. As men were drawn into wage labour in mines in part to meet the new cash economy, there were changes in the gendered division of labour between men and women which impacted subsistence farming. When a large dam was constructed to generate power for the mines, some of the Gwembe Tonga were displaced from their ancestral lands and severely impoverished. All this did not take place without resistance, but in the long term it nevertheless impoverished Africans in the context of the expansion of global capital, creating new racialized classes and new relationships, and ultimately making the Tonga subordinate in their own land.

Colonization was initiated by the British South Africa Company (henceforth BSAC) under Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902). Later on, the British state supported imperial expansion of mining interests: BSAC was a private, imperialist company which began the process of colonizing the Rhodesias. The discovery of wealth in the form of minerals (such as copper) and other resources incentivized the British government to move in.[2] Founded in 1889, BSAC sought to exploit the mineral resources of the region, in a "more visionary, less practical" way than its pre-existing counterpart, the National Africa Company.[3] BSAC was intent on extracting labour from native peoples of the region, sometimes forcing migration, and often causing resistance in the form of uprisings.[4]

Of course BSAC did not stay in power in Northern Rhodesia forever. According to Kenneth P. Vickery, "Three closely interrelated processes propelled the imperial system...in the late nineteenth century. First was the surge of global expansion and colonial conquest by the major Western European

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2 Stephen Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions,* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1966,) 308.
3 Ibid.
4 Henry S. Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism: A prelude to the politics of independence in northern Zambia 1893-1939*. (Manchester, UK: The University Press, 1971,) 192.

powers. Second was the transformation of the southern African sub-continent into a vast mining complex. Third was the northward movement of the frontier of European settler communities."[5] Since "...the British government did establish a Protectorate in" Southern Africa in 1885 after the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885, the region belonged solely to British interests.[6] Vickery reinforces that, "All three elements – British imperialism, mining capital, and white settlement – were embodied to some extent in the person of Cecil Rhodes."[7] But his imperialistic sympathy could only be effective for so long up against competing powers in the region, without governmental support: the Portuguese endeavoured to connect their east coast (Mozambican) and west coast (Angolan) territories, while native kings, the Germans, and the Afrikaners all presented opposition. "For these reasons, too, Rhodes needed a governmental framework which would guarantee sympathy with his interests and allow him a wide latitude in pursuing them; a British government, needless to say, was best."[8] Once the Rhodesias became subject to British colonial rule, things changed all over again.

Since the "British Government recognized headmen and chiefs," these would be created by British colonial officials after formal British colonization took place.[9] Where some informal leadership may have existed in the form of respected community members, the British made the leadership of their appointed chiefs official. Chiefs were used as a means of controlling local populations in the interests of the colonizing powers. It was the duty of the chief and his headmen to exert the administrative orders.[10] The Copperbelt region of Northern Zambia was of huge interest to imperial and colonial powers, but required large amounts of labour; the British attempted to incentivize local labourers with economic means but, as Meebelo suggests, this was little motivation to Tonga men.

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5 Kenneth P. Vickery, *Black and White in Southern Zambia: The Tonga Plateau Economy and British Imperialism, 1890-1939.* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1986,) 35.

6 Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions*, 308.

7 Vickery, *Black and White in Southern Zambia*, 38.

8 Ibid.

9 Dan O'Brien, "Chiefs of Rain, Chiefs of Ruling: A Reinterpretation of Pre-Colonial Tonga (Zambia) social and Political Structure," *Journal of the International African Institute* Vol. 53, No. 4 (1983): 23.

10 M.A. Jaspan, *The Ila-Tonga Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia*, (London, UK: International African Institute, 1953,) 50.

Labour scarcity has been blamed on this disinterest in Western-style remuneration. “This unwillingness to become wage-earners seems to have been common amongst most African communities, and the reason for its existence is not far to seek,” according to Meebelo.[11] Since Tonga people did not use a cash system, they were hesitant to accept wages that were useless within their own economic system.

Meebelo also alludes to speculation that the local people were wary of slavery and distrustful of Europeans with promises of compensation. This led “...the B.S.A.C. Administration, like other colonial governments, [to recruit] labour through chiefs and [use] it on the strength of the custom of communal labour which seems to have been general among African societies.”[12] Likewise, the British used the chiefs for collecting taxes which were imposed on local people. Colson suggests that “Northern Rhodesia began collecting tax...in 1904...”[13] whereas, according to Meebelo, “In 1901, a hut tax was introduced in North-eastern Rhodesia.”[14] Regardless, the cash provided by labouring for the British was necessary in paying these mandatory taxes. “The imposition of the hut tax in 1901 on the people...together with the activities of recruiting agents, ushered in an era of labour emigration unknown during the province's two decades of European influence, and it appeared as if the Administration had achieved its objective of galvanising the supposedly indolent and indulgent African male population into taking up paid employment in white farming and industrial centres.”[15] Life as Zambians knew it had changed forever.

BSAC found it effective to divide the nation into districts to aid in controlling it. Meebelo writes about the nine districts into which north-eastern Rhodesia was divided, and Colson writes specifically about the Northern Rhodesian Gwembe district within the Southern Province. The Gwembe Valley and Plateau are the regions within Southern Province (as it is known still today) where the Tonga people dwell. Each district is divided into chieftaincies; “These for the most part are

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11 Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism*, 85.
12 Ibid, 86.
13 Elizabeth Colson, *Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga (*Manchester: The University Press, 1960,) 11.
14 Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism*, 86.
15 Ibid, 88.

administrative creations rather than indigenous units."[16] Referring to the works of Elizabeth Colson, Dan O'Brien states that the Tonga were an "amorphous", "stateless" people, who are actually "a creation of British bureaucracy" for the purpose of colonial administration and organization: "It would seem then that the Tonga were the antithesis of their neighbours the Lozi,who had, prior to European contact, a king ruling a geographical area."[17] According to Jaspan, "Villages are known by the names of the headmen; formerly the name changed with each headman but now the successor takes the name of the last headman", which is why the town of Monze has Chief Monze's name.[18]

In the early days of British intervention in Northern Rhodesia, men generally had more contact with Europeans. The introduction of wage labour in the form of farming and mining, brought on by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and later the British Colonial government, disrupted the social balance and left women to pick up the pieces of caring for their families and keeping their communities together. Of course wage labour was necessary in paying the mandatory taxes imposed by the British; men had little choice but to participate. Since women still supported themselves with subsistence agriculture, they maintained some autonomy in the absence of the men.

De-territorialization began for the Gwembe Tonga people in 1956, when a dam project was initiated at the Kariba Gorge, "...convert[ing] 2,000 square miles of the Gwembe into a vast lake and forc[ing] the resettlement of some 57,000 of its inhabitants."[19] This resettlement, which began in 1957 and continued into 1958, caused many problems for the Tonga people – those displaced, and those not – because residual land was sufficient for their farming practices and they did not want to move too far away from their kin (ibid, 7). There was also a lack of trust in the colonial government's communication surrounding the project. "Their resentment was exacerbated since few believed that the resettlement was due to the creation of a lake within the Valley. They did not believe that Kariba Dam

16 Colson, *Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga*, 15.
17 O'Brien, "Chiefs of Rain, Chiefs of Ruling," 23.
18 Jaspan, *The Ila-Tonga Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia*, 50.
19 Colson, *Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga*, 1.

could flood the region for any distance above the dam. Their experience of dams had been of small earth dams which flooded only a few acres...which displaced no one. They were convinced that the talk of the lake was a blind under which the Europeans were planning to seize the area for European farms."[20] The displacement negatively affected those who were forced to move, but also those whose land was moved onto, as now their land was more crowded than in previous generations, and their resources were strained because of it.

This chapter has provided some contextual background to the circumstances of Zambian colonial history, in which the following discussions of social reorganization are set. The literature review in the following two chapters focuses on the ways that the social reorganization of the Zambian people at the hands of the colonizers, which included the creation of chiefdoms as an example, caused the people to renegotiate their social relationships. Additionally, it focuses on the resettlement that accompanied colonial projects, such as mining labour and forced migration due to building projects, to examine how these processes also caused the people to renegotiate their social relations, especially with regards to gendered labour.

[20] Ibid, 2.

Chapter 2: Twentieth Century Historiography

The early anthropological works examined herein construct Western scholars' understandings of kinship systems, specifically with regards to matriliny. They are based upon Western paradigms of framing knowledge production, and are predicated on Western academic discourses, such as structural functionalism and Freud's theories of familial relationships. The works examined here set the stage for later scholarship by outlining the functions of kinship systems in Southern Africa and delineating concepts of matriliny and matrilocality as they relate to one another. The later works take up these concepts and build on them, or work to amend them through further research. Additionally, Elizabeth Colson's works in elaborating on social organization delve into economic systems and concepts of property ownership. The authors here do not focus on place as a central character within the Southern African ethnic groups they examine per se, but discussions of location after marriage, specifically tied to familial organizational systems, property ownership, and inheritance structures, open up this field of study to further discussion.

Colonial-era Historiography

Audrey I. Richards' 1932 text, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe: A Functional Study of Nutrition Among the Southern Bantu,* is the culminating result of her doctoral dissertation at London University, where she studied under Bronislaw Malinowski.[21] This early work is a seminal intervention into the anthropological literature on the peoples of Southern Africa, as she was among the first Western anthropologists to study in this region. Richards examines kinship relations and familial organization within some of the various ethnic groups in Southern Africa within her chapter entitled, "Kinship Sentiment and Economic Organization."[22] Coming from the functionalist school of thought, she is concerned with how social institutions shape human behaviour and life. While nutrition and food supply are her main concerns within the larger text, this chapter focuses on how these ethnic groups

[21] Audrey I. Richards, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe: A Functional Study of Nutrition Among the Southern Bantu* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1932), vii.
[22] Ibid, 115.

negotiate familial networks, which then influences how food supply is distributed: the social formations of the family dictate how a child relates to its parents, and therefore whose responsibility it is to provide for that child.

Explaining how familial ties are constructed within kinship groups, Richards is concerned with "...how the emotional bonds of early childhood are modified, as the family household assumes the new functions as a unit for the direct production of food."[23] She takes up the question of matriliny and patriliny in a matter of a short section within the chapter, explaining that, "The most distinctive characteristic of the kinship sentiment of primitive peoples is the marked difference in attitude towards the relatives of the paternal and maternal line."[24] Richards explains that within a patrilineal group, to which she attributes the Thonga,[25] the subject's attitude toward its father's family members is that of respect and austerity; the subject's attitude toward its mother's family is more familiar and affectionate. In matrilineal examples, the opposite is true. Richards does point toward the Bantu groups in Northern Rhodesia as being somewhat more "balanced" than these stark differentiations.[26] Overall, her discussion of matriliny is enclosed within a conversation that juxtaposes it against patriliny at every turn.

In her contributing chapter to Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman's edited volume, *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, Richards builds upon her previous scholarship by focusing on "The Bemba of Northern Rhodesia."[27] Within this chapter, Richards deals with kinship systems as they regard inheritance, household authority, succession, and descent.[28] Specifically, she notes that the

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23 Ibid.

24 Ibid, 118.

25 *Thonga* (more commonly spelled 'Tonga') refers to the larger group of Tswa-Ronga people that inhabit southern Africa; this group can be broken down to include the Tsonga, Tonga, Shona, Tswa, Chopi, and Ndau peoples. This is elaborated upon in Henri A. Junod, "Preliminary Chapter: The Thonga Tribe," in *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Second Edition (London: MacMillan and Co, Ltd., 1927), 13-35.

26 Richards, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe,* 118.

27 Audrey I. Richards, "The Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia," in *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, ed. Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) 164-193. The chapter was originally published in the September 1935 issue of *Bantu Studies*.

28 Ibid, 173.

Bemba are a matrilineal group, wherein, "A man takes his mother's clan (*mukoa*), traces back his ancestors on his mother's side, and speaks of his village of origin (*cifulo*) as the place where his mother and matrilineal uncles were born."[29] Within this text, Richards devotes more attention to matriliny than in her previous work, outlining how matriliny functions within the Bemba ethnic group. She demonstrates how matrilineal succession operates, wherein chieftancy is passed to matrilineal nephews and great-nephews; she discusses how inheritance also passes through maternal relations, although in her contemporary era, Richards notes that a man's wealth is often inherited by his children rather than his nephews.[30] She also discusses the authority a father has in the home, explaining that, "Nowadays the authority of the father is immeasurably increased," although she does not point to any influencing reasons for such change.[31] The nature of the Bemba as a matrilineal as well as a matrilocal society dictates that children are raised by their maternal grandmothers after the age of three, and that fathers are often overpowered in their authority within the wife's village. She notes that the practices of shifting from one village to another, and marriages functioning as matrilocal, are less common in her contemporary moment as well.[32]

Richards takes up the question of matrilocality even further in the chapter "Local and Kinship Groupings," within *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe.* She explains, "The principles of local association among the Bemba are two in number – the rule of primary matrilocal marriage and that of matrilineal descent."[33] With regards to the first, she writes that the epicentre of the Bemba village is the extended matrilocal family which consists of the headman, his daughters, their husbands, and their children. Men remain associated with their own matrilineal lineages, and are heirs to their maternal grandfather and uncles; they also have the right to relocate their families to their own matrilineal villages after several years of marriage. Since men

[29] Ibid, 173-174.
[30] Ibid, 174.
[31] Ibid, 175.
[32] Ibid, 175-176.
[33] Audrey I. Richards, "Local and Kinship Groupings," in *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe* (Hamburg: International African Institute, 1939) 111.

relocate to live in their wives' communities of origin, a man is considered wealthy if he has many daughters, as their husbands will join their village and contribute to the economic empowerment of the father.[34] With regards to matrilineal descent, however, Richards writes that it, "...can never be the chief principle of local association in a society that practises matrilocal marriage, permanent or temporary," because, "Among the Bemba a man is legally identified with his mother's lineage group," and "...the rule of matrilocal marriage naturally divides the men of the matrilineal descent group from the women..."[35] The relocation of men to their wives' communities, even temporarily, interrupts the relations they have to their own matrilineal communities of origins, according to Richards.

In yet another chapter, entitled, "Some Types of Family Structure Amongst the Central Bantu," in A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde's edited collection, *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, Richards explains that the matrilineal nature of the Central African Bantu peoples, including those of the Congo and Northern Rhodesia, is what differentiates them from Bantu peoples of East and South Africa.[36] She notes a striking amount of similarities between the various matrilineal groups in the region, specifically with regards to their approaches to descent, as bloodlines are passed through women, and succession, as the mother's role is considered more prominent than the father's.[37] However, she also points to the problematic confusion that can arise with the use of the terms 'matrilineal' and 'patrilineal', as she considers them outdated: the differences by which the variety of matrilineal societies operate makes any discussion about them difficult, and the subjectivity of the identity in question when referring to 'mother' or 'mother-in-law' makes the terms confusing.[38] These concepts are further confused by the variances that matrilocality contributes, as noted in her previous work.[39] Richards proposes distinguishing between several types of family structures in order to discuss how kinship

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34 Ibid, 112.
35 Ibid, 114.
36 Richards, Audrey I. "Some Types of Family Structures Amongst the Central Bantu: Characteristics of Matrilineal Kinship Organization in Central Africa," in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 207.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid, 208-209.
39 Ibid, 209.

operates within Central African Bantu groups adequately.[40] Such difficulties and disruptions are, according to Richards, not attributable primarily to colonialism but rather to the fluid functions of matrilineal and matrilocal practices. She does not cite processes of colonial intervention as reasons for change.

The works of Elizabeth Colson, looking particularly at the Tonga people of Northern Rhodesia's Southern Province, are seminal works in the colonial-era anthropological literature of Southern Africa, as Colson has become a very well-known figure to scholars of the region. She originally set out to study the Copperbelt region of the north, shortly after the Second World War, but found herself living among the Tonga people of Southern Province. She does not dialogue directly with Richards, although many of the concepts within her observations of the Tonga are reflective of Richards' work.

Although Richards asserted that the Thonga were patrilineal, Colson's engagement with the Plateau Tonga and the Gwembe Tonga demonstrates that these groups that fall within the larger Thonga group are, instead, matrilineal. Colson outlines the nature of Tonga matriliny in her chapter, "The Structure of Society," in *Marriage and the Family Among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia.* Here she states, "Every Tonga is a member of some clan, and the clans are the most enduring units in the society... The clans are named, dispersed, exogamous units in which membership is derived through matrilineal descent."[41] She explains that clans are not corporate entities, as they do not own property, have official leadership, or gather for occasions. The matrilineal kinship groups, on the other hand, are corporate bodies that exist within the clans, having legal leadership and organized systems of succession, inheritance, shared bridewealth provisions, and communal responsibility.[42] These forms of organization and interaction are reflective of the local economies that existed prior to colonial capitalist

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[40] Richards elaborates even further upon the affectionate relationships between brothers and sisters within the matrilineal Bemba, as well as how marriage contracts are established, within Audrey I. Richards, "The Cultural Setting," in *Chisungu: A girls' initiation ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia*, (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1956), 40-41.

[41] Elizabeth, Colson, *Marriage and the Family Among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: The University Press, 1958), 15.

[42] Ibid, 15-16.

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Colson elaborates on the flexible nature of matrilineal grouping, explaining how membership is more theoretical than codified, and relationships are fluid and temporary: “Matrilineal groups are dispersed, though not to the same degree as clans. They are unnamed. Theoretically membership rests on actual descent through females from a common ancestress, but exact genealogical ties are usually irrelevant either for ensuring membership or for assignment of position within the group.”[43] She states that the names of the ancestresses may be forgotten, as may their actual relationship to living family members. She continues by writing, “Matrilineal groups of the same clan are not linked together in any fashion save by their common clan membership. Thus there are no perpetual kinship relationships within the clan or between clans to give a rigid structure phrased in kinship terms to Tonga society...”[44] Colson's discussions of the functions of Tonga matriliny, both as they exist and as they do not exist, are predicated on her own expectations of social relationships as a Western person.

Colson's work confirms much of what was previously written by anthropologists of the region, with regards to how matrilocality functions. She explains that although the Tonga people are matrilineal, they are not matrilocal. “On marriage, the bride moves to her husband's home wherever this happens to be, even if it is in another neighbourhood.”[45] Colson expands on this by stating that, “Usually therefore a woman moves into a village where she already has some tie with various of its residents. If she marries within her own village, she still moves to her husband's homestead.”[46] Tonga families tended to reside in what Colson terms 'homesteads', which consisted of a hut or two for a single family, or a cluster of multiple huts housing several families; each village contains several homesteads.[47] Whilst polygyny was common amongst the Gwembe Tonga, Colson highlights certain regulations and prohibitions regarding intermarriage and co-wife kin relationships.

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43 Ibid, 16.
44 Ibid.
45 Elizabeth Colson, *Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga (*Manchester: The University Press, 1960,) 96.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid, 94.

In her ethnography, Colson explains the Tonga practices regarding property ownership: "'Wealth' as defined by the word *lubono* is individually owned and so is arable land, food and household structures."[48] She continues, explaining that the Tonga applied individual ownership rights to land which had been cultivated by the lineage within recent memory, as well as livestock; most other things were subject to public ownership within the community.[49] Based on her extensive discussions of how land is divided and owned, how lineages and immigrants can access land, and how land is to be used, it becomes clear to the reader that land is an important component of Tonga society.[50]

Early Postcolonial Historiography

In 1971, Elizabeth Colson published *The Social Consequences of Resettlement: The Impact of the Kariba Resettlement Upon the Gwembe Tonga*, wherein she writes about the plans to build the Kariba Dam, which affected the Gwembe Tonga. This text represents a shift in her work away from ethnographic observation of the historical nature of the Tonga people toward an examination of her current circumstances of the people she had come to know since the 1940s. This shift allows Colson to situate the colonial circumstances of the Tonga within the larger anthropological frameworks she had created in previous publications: after delineating the nature of their kinship organizational systems of matriliny and matrilocality, she can problematize the circumstances of forced displacement and relocation associated with a colonial building project.

Colson explains that in 1953, colonial Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland (later known as Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Malawi, respectively) were joined in a Federation, presided over by a Prime Minister; in 1955 the decision was made to build the world's largest human-made lake, and a large hydroelectric dam at Lake Kariba in order to power the Zambian Copperbelt region.[51] The dam was ultimately built in 1956-1957. Had the dam been built upon the Kafue River, as originally

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48 Ibid, 38. Italics in original.
49 Ibid, 39.
50 Ibid. Chapter 3: Neighbourhood, Land and Lineage focuses very specifically on these matters (pages 57-93).
51 Elizabeth Colson, *The Social Consequences of Resettlement: The Impact of the Kariba Resettlement Upon the Gwembe Tonga* (Manchester: The University Press, 1971,) 4.

planned, it would have only affected the Tonga of Zambia, but the Kariba Dam also affected the people of Zimbabwe, according to Colson.

To complicate matters, the Tonga people who were forced to evacuate the region had to find somewhere to relocate to, thus disrupting the lives of their neighbours in the Gwembe Valley by causing the region to be more densely populated. Colson explains that the region had previously only been home to a sparse population, and the region to which the people resettled was foreign to them.[52] Even as Northern Rhodesia's colonialism was not settlement-driven, settlement became a byproduct of its extractive nature – not in the form of mass immigration from Europe, but rather in the form of internally displaced people.

This colonial project did not involve the input of the Gwembe Tonga people: Colson writes, "The Gwembe Tonga had had no part in the creation of the Federation or the decision to build the dam. They had no vote and no influence with political leaders who headed the Federal and Territorial Governments."[53] She states that the Tonga saw their displacements as land theft, perpetrated by a European government that would not protect their interests; while they had previously been exposed to similar difficulties at the hands of the colonial government, such a crisis took a long time to recover from.

Colson explains that as the displacement process drew near, people expressed their dissatisfaction, but she never clearly states their intimate reasons: "As preparations for resettlement mounted and it became clear that the move would take place, the people throughout the Valley became more and more indignant. They had no wish to move and made this clear."[54] She discusses the conflict that occurred between the local people, their representatives, and the colonial government, explaining that while most Tonga were opposed to the displacement, the colonially-appointed local chiefs

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52 Ibid, 196.
53 Ibid, 5.
54 Colson, *Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga*, 193.

eventually conceded to the project.[55] Because of the hardship associated with the prospect of trying to relocate to arable land, the people were not keen on moving.

There is a notable gendered outcome to the forced displacement, as Colson discusses the relocation's affects on colonial policy and traditional divisions of labour. “Everywhere, many villagers neither wanted change for themselves nor envisaged life away from the familiar environment. These included the majority of women, whom Government usually ignored in its discussions with the people.”[56] Women, their work, and their opinions were scant regarded by the governing bodies that made decisions that affected the Tonga. Colson states that, “The majority of those living in a neighbourhood had been born there. Most men and women married in their own neighbourhood and expected their children in turn to live out their lives in the same spot.”[57] Forced displacement interrupted the traditional practices of kinship locality with regards to marital exchanges. The unfamiliarity with bordering regions was particularly unsettling to women, as men had often sought labour in neighbouring areas, but women had remained in their traditional neighbourhoods to tend to their agricultural labour. Women were generally opposed to the resettlement, but were not consulted in the matter.

The resettlement was disorienting, as the Tonga people were required to forge new relationships to their new place. Colson writes, “The resettled people came from an area of old settlement, where all the features of the landscape were named and people were easily oriented in space...In the first several years after the move, people had to learn the new environment and bring it within their social universe by providing it with names and human markers.”[58] The social spaces were affected intrinsically by their physical displacement. By understanding physical place as a central actor within Tonga society, it becomes clear that a disruption to their physical place created a disruption to their social spaces.

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[55] Colson, *The Social Consequences of Resettlement*, 5.
[56] Ibid, 28.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid, 50.

Colson elaborates on the disruptions to kinship alliances upon the relocation, explaining that as people dispersed, they could no longer rely on the old lineage members and alliances.[59] She also expands upon the economic changes that occurred during the years following the relocation; such changes were based on the scarcity associated with overcrowded land, and others were based on the larger changes in the cash economy as it developed in the colony as it approached independence. These economic developments included access to labour and the cash economy, as well as voluntary labour migration, mostly for men. In turn, young men's bridewealth opportunities and martial options were also altered by these colonial interventions. The years after the forced resettlement saw a move toward urban centres, thereby changing yet again the Tonga relationship to physical place.[60]

In her 1978 publication, Maud Shimwaayi Muntemba writes about agricultural development in the early postcolonial Zambian economy. While mining remained a key economic activity, agriculture bore the brunt of economic downturn and the effects of the underdevelopment that occurred on the continent. Referring as far back as the Great Depression era of the 1930s, Muntemba explains, "African productivity decreased accordingly and most producers were reduced to production for consumption only. In fact, many of the soils to which they were moved could not even produce food crops. Men left for wage labour; women went to the urban centres; African society was stripped of much of its productive labour."[61] Muntemba elaborates on the multiple governmental attempts to revive the agricultural industry and bring economic viability to peasant farmers in the pre- and early postcolonial times.

One such effort was a commission which made recommendations with regards to "...the technology and techniques employed" in agricultural production.[62] The recommendation that farmers take advantage of mechanized farming technologies, such as tractors, is a major point on which

[59] Ibid, 82.
[60] Ibid, 155.
[61] Maud Shimwaayi Muntemba, "Expectations Unfulfilled: The Underdevelopment of Peasant Agriculture in Zambia: The Case of Kabwe Rural District, 1964-1970," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Special Issue on Themes in Agrarian History and Society, (Oct 1978), 60.
[62] Ibid, 63.

Muntemba focuses. She elaborates on the economic difficulties associated with farmers procuring the capital in order to invest in such machinery. Further, the problem of adequate labour force was an additional issue. She explains how farmers banded together in cooperatives to assist one another, especially where kinship ties were available: “First, men belonging to a co-operative society supplied labour to the member whose turn it was to have the services of the instruments, thus revealing the importance of societies as a means of increasing output through collectives tools and labour.”[63] Farmers assisted one another, taking turns with the communal equipment, to get the work done. “Work parties based on kinship ties became less important in areas of higher production, where each member of the kin group was involved in production for the market.”[64] Where workers were more self-sufficient and economically stable, they relied less upon kinship-based cooperative assistance.

Another of the governmental attempts to revive the agricultural sector included training programs and classes for farmers. Muntemba points to a systemic flaw within such programs, however, as they were almost exclusively geared toward men, while women made up the bulk of the peasant farming population. She writes, “In that year [1965], 220 farmers were sent to Keembe Farm Institute for training...None of the producers sent for courses were women. Yet women constituted a higher percentage of the most productive group in agricultural activities: of the 15-34 age group, 15,102 were females against 13,088 males.”[65] Furthermore, Muntemba discusses the limited economic opportunities for women within urban centres, save for sex work, while left women relegated to rural agricultural work. The lack of a gendered lens in the policy recommendations contributed to the underdevelopment of the agricultural sector in postcolonial Zambia.

Karla O. Poewe, a European anthropologist trained in the United States, seeks to clarify some of the gaps in her predecessor Ian Cunnison's 1959 work on the kinship systems in Luapula province in Northern Zambia by adding to this conversation a discussion of matriliny, which she claims is

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63 Ibid, 68.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid, 78.

neglected in Cunnison's work.[66] Nearly twenty years after Cunnison's publication, Poewe identifies some of the major changes that have occurred in the function of matriliny in Luapula as the result of colonial interventions and postcolonial development. Two of the major changes to the practices of matrilineal kinship and descent that she points to are the incorporation of Protestant practices, specifically Seventh-Day Adventist and Jehovah's Witness influences, and capitalist business practices such as trade and the urbanization of the labour force.[67] She states that these changes have led to "...the consequent acceptance of alternative ideologies (alternative, that is, to matriliny...)"[68] Economic development and societal change have led to changes in the way that matrilineal Luapulans organize themselves.

To be sure, Poewe asserts that Luapulans use matrilineal kinship "...in their effort to maintain or improve their standard of living."[69] To substantiate this point, she explains that people living near the Luapula River valley practice matriliny more consistently and predominantly than those living near Lake Mweru, which is to the north. She cites the economic stability of these two regions as the main factor for this difference: "This differential reliance on kin ties is closely related to the difference in the health of the economics in the two areas, although both are part of the same open valley fish-trading economy. But the lake area is more prosperous and exports fish throughout the year, while the river area is stagnating and fish are exported for only three months of the year."[70] Trading relationships built upon kinship systems denote that fishermen must sell any excesses to kin and close neighbours, but they are not required to sell to outsiders. However, no trade can occur when fish are scarce. The matrilineal practices still in perpetuity within the Luapula River valley require those with enough food to share with their kin, therefore continuing these practices is in the best interest of those who might

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66 Karla O. Poewe, "Matriliny in the Throes of Change: Kinship, Descent and Marriage in Luapula, Zambia, Part One," *Africa*, *Journal of the International African Institute,* Vol. 48, No. 3 (1978): 205. Referring to Ian Cunnison, *The Luapula Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959).

67 Ibid, 206-207.

68 Ibid, 207.

69 Ibid, 211.

70 Ibid, 212.

otherwise go hungry.

Poewe confirms the inherent conflicts within matrilineal ideology that previous scholars have pointed out. In "Matriliny in the Throes of Change: Kinship, Descent and Marriage in Luapula, Zambia, Part Two," she explains how the market economy and other development practices have exacerbated these issues. With regards to inheritance practices and labour, she writes, "Not unexpectedly, participation in the industrial-market complex has aggravated the contradiction and consequent conflicts among individuals. Unable to resolve these conflicts by traditional witchcraft practices, Luapulans look to alternative ideologies and institutions to support their emerging and differentiating interests."[71] In stating this, she explains that matriliny, as a system of political economy, favours women's power over land, descendants, and resources, and downplays the power men have over such things. The interjection of Western colonial and postcolonial developmental influences has led to a nuanced renegotiation of these power dynamics, which Poewe is observing in the late 1970s. Her summation of matriliny is such that it is alternative to Protestant and capitalistic practices, and with the incorporation of these two external systems, matrilineal practices in Luapula have changed over time.[72] Poewe elaborates on the ways that matriliny is oppositional to capitalism in her 1981 monograph.

Poewe, in her 1981 text *Matrilineal Ideology: Male – Female Dynamics in Luapula, Zambia*, argues that the ways matrilineal relations function, and are structured, in Zambia's northern province of Luapula, are antithetical to capitalist relations. She writes, "The principles which underpin capitalism, namely scarcity and restricted access to resources, conflict with those which underpin matriliny, namely abundance and unrestricted access to resources, (be those resources human, material, or symbolic)."[73] She continues, explaining that matrilineal economic systems benefit from the presence of

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[71] Karla O. Poewe,"Matriliny in the Throes of Change: Kinship, Descent and Marriage in Luapula, Zambia, Part Two," *Africa*, *Journal of the International African Institute,* Vol. 48, No. 4 (1978): 363.

[72] Ibid, 364.

[73] Karla O. Poewe, *Matrilineal Ideology: Male – Female Dynamics in Luapula, Zambia* (New York: Academic Press Inc., 1981), 76.

more commodities for more people, whereas capitalism is predicated on limited supply as compared to demand, in order to drive up prices.[74]

Further, she states that capitalism is predicated on a "'free' and mobile labour force," which is inconsistent with the ways that matrilineal kinship ties organize labour.[75] She argues that this renegotiation and compromise between economic systems has led to the development of separate economic classes within Luapulan society. She explains, "To affirm and justify their separate identity, and to reduce pressures of sharing and duress from witchcraft, capitalists adopt an alternative ideology in the form of Protestantism, especially that of Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists."[76] Re-stating what she had written two years prior, Poewe asserts that Luapulans who favoured capitalist wealth accumulation, which was beneficial to men where the matrilineal system was not, adopted Western religious affiliations to justify their ideological shift.

This gendered economic system functions differently than Western economic systems. The conflict that arose out of the coincidence of two opposing economic systems was a direct result of the presence of the capitalist market economy within matrilineal communities.[77] All this to say, where capitalist colonial forces encountered matrilineal economic organizations, there would be opposition: traditional modes of self-organizing were at risk of being undermined by capitalist restructuring, which suited colonial interests. Such restructuring efforts jeopardized traditional social formations and economic organization.

Jane L. Parpart is an American historian who builds on the works of Audrey Richards and others as she writes about the Copperbelt region of Northern Zambia. In her 1983 publication, *Labor and Capital on the African Copperbelt*, she examines the labour migration that occurred in response to opportunities in the mining sector during the colonial era.[78] Drawing a contrast from the labour

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74 Ibid, 77.
75 Ibid, 80.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 Jane L. Parpart, *Labor and Capital on the African Copperbelt,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983,) 29.

conditions featured in South Africa, Parpart explains that the Copperbelt had different dynamics. She writes, “Conditions in central Africa ruled out replicating the South African compound system. As a result, the South African pattern of labour mobilization and control had to be altered to fit specific circumstances on the Copperbelt.”[79] She goes on to explain that copper mining required higher skill levels than did gold mining, but the unfavourable conditions of the Copperbelt region did not attract the types of skilled workers that flocked to South Africa, North America, and Europe. She cites poor facilities and substandard health conditions as some of the disadvantageous conditions that failed to attract the types of workers needed. To combat these conditions, the mines brought in experts to eliminate the health concerns and to build decent facilities for housing and recreation; they also increased wages.[80] Where they could, the mines hired unskilled and semiskilled African labourers to offset the costs of hiring skilled Whites. The construction of the mines themselves could utilize unskilled labourers, so demand was fairly high.

Mine work attracted young, single men, and did not do well to accommodate families. Parpart explains that housing facilities for African workers were substandard compared to European accommodations.[81] She describes windowless single-room homes, with thatched roofs and dirt floors, and barracks for single men, consisting of only rudimentary furnishings, lacking running water and electricity. Many barracks slept eight men to a room. While she does note some contrast between the different mining companies' facilities, she explains that even after a building program in 1931, where one company built brick houses for its workers, these units were still insufficient for more than a small family or a group of single men.

Parpart explains how labour migration, mostly by men, to the mining sector affected gendered relations, and women in particular. As men moved toward the mines, most women remained in their villages, although some relocated in search of opportunities, both for economic gain and for

[79] Ibid, 30.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid, 41.

relationships. Some men migrated without their families, leaving their wives at home, and did not see them for extended periods of time.[82] Others brought their wives with them, which affected the aforementioned housing accommodations situations. Marriage was encouraged by the administrators of the mining compounds. Parpart writes, “Women could live with temporary 'husbands' as long as they pleased. Although unattached women could make a living as prostitutes, only registered dependants were permitted to live in the compounds. Most women preferred to live with a man, and since women were in short supply, changing partners in the compounds was easy, even for older women.”[83] Women had their pick of men, since they were so outnumbered by the amounts of single men living in the mining compounds. Men with higher skills and therefore higher wages were able to attract the more desirable women.

Parpart references Richards in stating that women seemed to prefer town life.[84] European living standards were becoming more pervasive, and by 1940, Copperbelt wives were decorating their modest homes with curtains and wall hangings, and accumulating better furnishings. They were striving to dress according to European styles as well. As time progressed, the living conditions for mining workers changed, as the result of European influence, and the presence of women in the compounds, even though women were not involved with mining labour.

In a later publication, Parpart delves deeper into how these gender relations affected life in the Copperbelt. Her article, “The Household and the Mine Shaft: Gender and Class Struggles on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1926-64,” focuses on women and their contributions to the mining sector, in unofficial and indirect ways, which she claims is often omitted in earlier scholarship. She writes, “The study of labour and trade unions in southern Africa has generally focused on male waged workers rather than their families or communities. This is no doubt partly due to the importance of migrant

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82 Ibid, 88.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid, 89.

labour, which highlights male worker exploitation while obscuring the role of women and children."[85] She explains that scholars in her contemporary moment are acknowledging the contributions made by migrant families; these previous oversights led to an underestimation in the literature of how women contributed to class struggles within the region. She works to rectify this issue with this piece.

Taking up what she wrote about women improving the living conditions for their husbands in the mining compounds in her previous publication, she explains that the involvement of women in the quality of life was an intentional action on behalf of the mining administration. She states, "Although labour historians have generally ignored Zambian mineworkers' wives and families, copper industry management, unlike its South African counterparts, believed resident wives would both reduce the costs of daily (and later generational) labour reproduction and ensure a more tractable labour force."[86] Essentially, by encouraging family stability and improved living conditions, management realized they would retain workers, and therefore save money in recruiting and training new ones. She continues by explaining that management strategically enacted various programs and policies to this end, from "...training women in homecraft and childcare, to placing checks on economic activities for women on the assumption that dependent wives (whether legal or common-law) would be more apt to provide reproductive services and reliable family-oriented workers."[87] Parpart seeks to explore how women used these skills, and their relative scarcity as compared to men in the compounds, to renegotiate their gendered power relations, in a way that reexamines women's contributions to class formation in the Copperbelt.

In her 1994 article, "'Where is Your Mother?': Gender, Urban Marriage, and Colonial Discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945," Parpart challenges observations made by preceding anthropologists and historians about the nature of rural marriage as compared to urban marriage in the

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[85] Jean Parpart, "The Household and the Mine Shaft: Gender and Class Struggles on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1926-64," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Oct 1986): 36.
[86] Ibid, 36-37.
[87] Ibid, 37.

Copperbelt.[88] She begins by challenging earlier anthropological observations of the stability of urban marriages, citing Richards as one of the scholars who argued against urban marriage stability. Since these 1930 works, other scholars have cited the patriarchal nature of indirect colonial rule and customary law as the reason. Parpart, on the other hand, asserts that research shows an increase in marriage stability post-1945, yet she attributes this shift to factors more complicated than patriarchy. She argues that women took advantage of opportunities to renegotiate urban family life, and that the factors at play included social, political, and economic change that occurred within gendered relations as they were negotiated in towns.[89] She cites the temporary marriages she described in her previous works as one site wherein women garnered power.[90] She explains that one "...district officer reported a sex ratio of two males to one women [sic], claiming that 'the women are not slow to take full advantage of this.' Tight-fisted men soon lost their partners to more generous mates."[91] Women had the ability to advocate for the treatment they wanted within their relationships, again due to their scarcity in the Copperbelt, which certainly affected marital stability.

Parpart describes how these power dynamics affected life in the mining compounds. She writes, "Women's growing autonomy and assertiveness caused considerable unrest between the sexes. Women who came to town with their husbands could compare their lives with those of their more independent sisters... Marital problems flared up as young women realized they could easily find more generous partners."[92] By taking into account the economic and social changes in gendered relations, most specifically due to men outnumbering women, Parpart is able to parse out a different understanding of what led to the marital instability written about by her predecessors. In essence, women were taking advantage of the opportunities that afforded them power, and were not afraid to negotiate for lives that satisfied their own needs. To be sure, Parpart states, "As we have seen, women and some men in the

88 Jane Parpart, "'Where is Your Mother?': Gender, Urban Marriage, and Colonial Discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1994): 242.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid, 253.
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid, 254.

Copperbelt towns did not simply accept the dictates of colonial and rural African authorities. To understand urban marriage one must examine the role of human agency in social change."[93] This human agency to which she refers is the product of women examining and reinterpreting their own social advantages and altering the societal constructs to fit themselves. Parpart continues, "They discovered spaces and contradictions in urban life that opened up opportunities to develop marriage forms never dreamed of by colonial or customary lawmakers. And they made good use of these opportunities, both to challenge the status quo and to redefine and reconstruct their lives."[94] The gendered dynamics of life in the Copperbelt towns led to changes in the gendered social relations of the people inhabiting them.

Furthering the conversation on gendered kinship relations, Jean Davison provides a comprehensive discussion of ethnicity and social formation in her work, *Gender, Lineage, and Ethnicity in Southern Africa*. Davison explains that, "The term 'ethnic group' is often used by Europeans and Westerners and Western-educated Africans to refer to a group that differentiates itself or is differentiated by others based on certain characteristics of language, belief, and behaviour."[95] She clarifies that 'ethnic group' is preferred over the formerly used term 'tribe,' which carries with it pejorative and hierarchical implications as applied by its colonial usages. Many of the terms used by colonial-era anthropologists, such as 'savage' and 'primitive,' are now antiquated and have fallen into disuse.

Clans function as a subcategory within ethnic groups, wherein practices of inheritance and linage structures are enacted.[96] Within these clans are even smaller groups of relationship networks. Davison refers to the works of Colson to provide an example of how the Plateau Tonga structured clan ideology. She explains that Colson had written in 1951 and 1962 that the Plateau Tonga consisted of

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93 Ibid, 270.
94 Ibid.
95 Jean Davison, *Gender, Lineage and Ethnicity in Southern Africa,* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997,) 20.
96 Ibid, 15.

matrilineal groups through which members traced their descent and enjoyed shared lineages, but these heritages were of lesser importance than what she calls the more corporate characteristics of matriliny, which include bridewealth traditions, succession, and inheritances.[97] Within the literature, there is debate about the origins of ethnic groups in pre-colonial African society, with regards to how fixed or fluid the groups were, and how they viewed themselves.

While scholarship still maintains that the majority of African ethnic groups are patrilineal, there are several matrilineal groups to speak of, many of which exist in Southern Africa. Davison states that patriliny is the dominant lineage ideology in Africa, although matriliny has always existed in written record; while most groups are patrilineal in nature, central and southern Africa was home to a substantial number of matrilineal groups in precolonial times, according to anthropologists and ethnographers.[98] Among this group of matrilineal ethnicities, Davison includes, "...the Bemba, Bisa, Bima, Plateau and Gwembe Tonga, Lakeside Tonga, Chewa, Yao, Tumbuka, Mang'anja, Ndau, and Kaonde."[99] Given the extent of the ethnographic work conducted by Western and Western-educated anthropologists within the colonial era, there is literature available on the practices of these such matrilineal groups, not just across sub-Saharan Africa, but specifically within the region of southern Africa. Davison's text makes use of a great many of these texts to inform her own.

Of particular interest to my purposes here are the examples of matrilineal groups, and the ways they were understood (or not) by the British colonial forces. Davison argues that matriliny is still practiced, but in varying degrees, as it was made vulnerable by how effectively capitalism infiltrated the area and affected the local social organization of the people. The infusion of the capitalist cash economy into rural and urban African societies in the context of colonialism is one way that colonialism perpetrated the restructuring of gendered relations. Davison points out that matriliny is not well understood within Western epistemologies. British colonizing forces, including missionaries and

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97 Ibid, 16.
98 Ibid, 18.
99 Ibid.

administrators, as well as Islamic traders, had more clearer understandings of patriliny because of the structures of their own social groups, and this marginalization of matriliny has continued into the present era.[100]

Davison argues that the misunderstanding by the British colonial administration led to the imposition of 'tribe' identities, that codified ethnic difference, and allowed for tax collection and the implementation of indirect rule.[101] By formalizing the structures of social organization, the colonizers were able to subjugate and adjudicate in effective ways. Where scholars disagree on the formalization of ethnic identities prior to colonial intervention, it can be seen that, at the very least, ethnic identities became solidified when British colonial hegemony set in. Davison references Robert Papstein's argument, "...that what changed with British occupation was the institutionalization of 'tribal' designations where once ethnicity based on affinities of language, lineage and clan had existed."[102] In many cases, the British preferred certain ethnic groups over others, and elevated their preferences over their neighbours. This led to imbalanced power asymmetries between neighbouring ethnic groups within a region.[103] The colonial administration offered preferential treatment to the groups it understood, and forced reorganization onto the groups that it did not.

One such example that stands out in Davison's text is that of the Bemba of northeastern Zambia. The Bemba, as an ethnic group, have a long history of a strong, militant presence in the region. "With the imposition of Pax Britannica, such armed forts were no longer necessary, and Bemba-speaking peasants rapidly dispersed to take up once again the practice of *citemene*, a specific form of cut-and-burn cultivation that required periodically shifting from one place to another."[104] This otherwise sedentary society returned to its practice of farming that meant moving around within the Bemba territory. This is an example of a way that the colonial intervention affected this ethnic group's

[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid, 23.
[102] Ibid, 22.
[103] Ibid, 24.
[104] Ibid, 25.

relationship to its physical space.

Davison continues by explaining that this physical mobility was not conducive to the colonizing efforts of indirect rule, which benefited more from the presence of small villages. The British South Africa Company (BSAC) outlawed the practice of *citemene*, and continued to oppose it, as it became a symbol of the Bemba economy. Davison points out that scholars such as Audrey Richards assert that the Bemba identity became dependent on *citemene* as its cultural symbol, which required male labour in the form of felling trees in order to grow millet.[105] This colonial intervention into Bemba society, its economy, labour, and social formation was gendered, as the codification of ethnic groups under colonialism worked to colonize gendered and social power relations. The prohibition of the practice of *citemene* affected men's work within the communities, which disrupted their contributions to their communities. Again, as colonialism affected relationships to physical and social space, they also affected the gendered power relations within these communities.

Kate Crehan, in her work *The Fractured Community: Landscapes of Power and Gender in Rural Zambia*, does the work of problematizing notions of 'tribe' within the anthropological literature on Africa. She points to various prominent anthropologists at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (RLI), including Colson and Gluckman, and their task of observing an individual tribe as the base unit of African society and community.[106] She focuses more specifically on Gluckman's work, *Politics, Law, and Ritual in Tribal Society*, which she notes was written in 1964, as Northern Rhodesia was gaining its independence and becoming Zambia, and was published in 1965. Given the importance of this historical moment, Gluckman uses the text to justify his structural functionalist anthropological approach, defending his use of the word 'tribe' by explaining that the word was used to describe pre-capitalist feudal life in Europe. Crehan summarizes that Gluckman's use of 'tribe' points to a specific form of social organization that is reflective of a certain historical moment in European history; it

[105] Ibid, 26.
[106] Kate Crehan, *The Fractured Community: Landscapes of Power and Gender in Rural Zambia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997,) 57.

denotes a certain "egalitarian economy," inclusive of power and wealth hierarchies; and lastly that it includes simple technologies such as tools.[107] Crehan critiques Gluckman's justification of his word choice, noting that, "...the question of *how* 'tribal' societies become transformed into nontribal societies is not addressed."[108] Crehan's work provides a retrospective critique on how structural functionalist anthropology ignored historical processes in favour of analyzing societies as they exist within the anthropologist's contemporary moment. She writes, "By the time Gluckman was writing *Politics, Law, and Ritual* he was sensitive to the growing criticism of the functionalist paradigm, criticism which he saw as essentially misguided..."[109]

This critique is useful because of how the ethnographic literature positioned tribes and created scholars' understandings of these communities, as well as in how notions of tribe were pervasive and problematic in the ways the colonial administration understood and governed them. Crehan explains, "For the anthropologists associated with the RLI and the colonial officials, the concept of tribe helped map the reality of the colonized world. It gave a particular shape to what they saw as the problems of 'law and disorder' in British Central Africa..."[110] She explains that the practice of colonial hegemony ascribing tribal identities homogenized and restricted these communities, isolating them from the global capitalist economy as well as from history.[111] The ahistoric construction of 'tribe' was problematic not just within academic theory, but also within colonial practice.

The literature reviewed here focuses upon explanations of the functions of matriliny and matrilocality, and gendered social relations within pre-colonial and colonial Zambia. It also elaborates upon some of the ways that colonial administration and projects interrupted traditional lifestyles, forcing the people to renegotiate their social formations and gendered relations. From the introduction of the cash and wage labour economy, which affected voluntary migration, to the building of the Kariba

[107] Ibid, 59.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid, 72-73.
[111] Ibid, 73.

Dam, which affected forced migration, the Zambian people adapted their social relations to fit their newfound circumstances. The colonial project interrupted their relationships to their physical places in many instances, and their relationships to their traditional social spaces, both directly and indirectly, as well.

The texts examined herein represent colonial and postcolonial understandings and observations of scholars who were able to reflect upon the earlier literature and analyze it, critiquing it in ways that made sense within the contemporary moments. Some of the terminology used to describe certain cultural phenomena changed through this era, as did many of the understandings of the *hows* and *whys* described in earlier literature. The later scholars herein built upon early anthropological observations, contributing their own analyses and complicating narratives put forth from the colonial era.

Chapter 3: Twenty-First Century Historiography

The twenty-first century literature represents a shift toward even more thorough analysis of texts, as scholars are able to put to use a wide array of scholarship. Postmodernist critiques allow for more nuanced understandings of gendered relationships, as concepts like intersectional feminism become more accessible and pervasive during this time. Scholars such as Elizabeth Colson are able to reflect upon their decades of scholarship and reexamine events and concepts through retrospective lenses that bring certain issues into new focus.

In her 2001 text, *Africanizing Anthropology: Fieldwork, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa*, Lyn Schumaker reflects upon early anthropological practices, problematizing the ways that knowledge was constructed during the colonial era. Focusing specifically on the Rhodes-Livingston Institute (RLI), she outlines how the institute functioned, and who the major players were during specific eras. She writes about the works of Max Gluckman, not only in terms of analytically critiquing his publications, but also in examining this career as an anthropologist in Southern African. She describes Gluckman as, "...a young South African Jew from a well-off family..." who "...did research in Zululand in 1936-1938 after receiving his D.Phil. at Oxford..."[112] She explains that he, like his contemporaries, had been influenced by Bronislaw Malinowski and his functionalist approaches to anthropology, which was typical in British colonial scholarship in the interwar period.[113] Schumaker explains, "Malinowski echoed these concerns in his promotion of the 'culture contact' approach – an anthropological approach that examined changes in African societies that came about due to exposure to Western influences and that stressed African maladjustment."[114] She notes that Gluckman supported and utilized this observational method, but he had also been influenced by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown's brand of structural-functionalism, which focused on studying social structures.[115]

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[112] Lyn Schumaker, *Africanizing Anthropology: Fieldwork, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa*, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2001), 43; 42.
[113] Ibid, 44.
[114] Ibid, 44-45.
[115] Ibid, 45.

According to Schumaker, Gluckman was interested not only in the behaviours of the African subjects, but in those of the colonial administrators as well, which informed much of his work.[116] Gluckman supported the notion that anthropological work was part of the colonial project, and therefore a public service to the empire, and his work was fraught with a romanticization of the colonies.[117] This tone is reflected in his work, according to Schumaker. She outlines the working relationships between Gluckman, Audrey Richards, and Elizabeth Colson, as they contributed to the RLI's research endeavours together.

Schumaker devotes a whole chapter to Colson's career and work with the RLI, explaining that Colson served as the RLI's director from 1947 to 1951.[118] She paints Colson as a trailblazer for women in the discipline, stating that, “In a number of important ways, Elizabeth Colson's career and the careers of other women anthropologists in central Africa critically challenge the often-heard assumptions about gender and anthropology...”[119] Schumaker, however, critiques the myopic focus, and Eurocentric constructions, of gender and women within scholarship in Colson's early days. Problematizing Colson as a female anthropologist working in Southern Africa, she explains that, “...this literature fails to capture the complexity of the fieldwork situation itself – and its authors fail to appreciate the importance of the interaction between local ideas of gender and more general local practices for the management of outsiders.”[120] She continues by stating that the gendered, class-based, and racial complications in Africa at this time were the result of complex intersections of precolonial and colonial mindsets. Players like missionaries, colonial administrators, anthropologists, and traders all had a hand in shaping the gendered power relations that existed within the colonial and early postcolonial eras. “These Europeans interpreted African societies in terms of Western gender categories and, through their interpretations and impositions, created gendered behavior in areas of social interaction where it

[116] Ibid, 48.
[117] Ibid, 45; 48-49.
[118] Ibid, 117.
[119] Ibid, 120.
[120] Ibid.

may not have existed before, while missing entirely other forms of gendered behavior that were alien to Western experience."[121] According to Schumaker, these inflexible gender constructions, imposed and described by Western anthropologists, ignored other social factors such as race and class. This intersectional analysis demonstrates a much more contemporary approach to, and understanding of, identity politics that supersedes those of the colonial era.[122]

Colson reflects upon the anthropological approach to studies on forced migration in her 2003 article, "Forced Migration and the Anthropological Response." Here, she discusses the various problems with studying refugees, involuntary migrants, and other forms of displaced people, explaining that, "Ethnographic work has also been carried out on uprooting and resettlement due to the building of large dams or other large-scale projects designed to forward regional or national economic development," specifically referring to her earlier works on the Kariba Dam.[123] Tying together the events of forced displacement and more theoretical disruptions of social spaces, Colson explains that adaptations included the continuation of old cultural practices as well as the development of new practices. She states that research demonstrates that the period immediately following the Gwembe Tonga resettlement exhibited shock and adjustment to the environmental change as well as its social implications. She writes, "Since people define themselves in terms of the roles they play and it is thus that they are evaluated and valued, the loss of role structures means that they cannot know who they are or who anyone else is until new roles are constructed and people assigned to them... It takes time to renegotiate relationships."[124] This displacement interrupted not only the Gwembe Tonga's relationship to their physical spaces, but their social spaces as well.

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[121] Ibid, 120-121.

[122] The concept of intersectionality, with regards to identity politics, was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw. See: Kimberlé Crenshaw. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* Vol. 43, No. 6 (Jul 1991): 1241-1299.

[123] Elizabeth Colson, "Forced Migration and the Anthropological Response," *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2003): 2.

[124] Ibid, 8.

Stephan F. Miescher and Lisa A. Lindsay provide an important contribution on the subject of changing gender relations as the result of colonial intervention with their co-written introduction to their edited volume, *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa*. While none of the contributing chapters deal with Zambia in particular, their premise of examining masculinity is constructive for a conversation on gender relations. Miescher and Lindsay begin by mentioning Chinua Achebe's famous novel, *Things Fall Apart*, explaining that the story is about, among other things, the construction of masculinity in a colonial African society.[125] They explain that, "The example of *Things Fall Apart* suggests that the major transformations in African history in the last hundred years (and presumably before) profoundly affected male status and opportunities as well as relationships between men and women, men and men, and women and women."[126] They argue that the recent research focus of gender in Africa has largely focused on women, posing men and masculinity as a mere "backdrop" to the experiences of women.[127] They intend to examine masculinity in the same contexts that scholars have examined femininity, analyzing how colonialism and other social factors have led to changing constructions of maleness.

In approaching African history through a gendered lens that highlights masculinity, Miescher and Lindsay work to reinterpret historical events and processes. They write, "Gender constructions are embedded in a dialectic. How men and women see and represent themselves, and how gender relations are organized and promoted, are shaped by larger socioeconomic, cultural, and religious transformations."[128] Historical literature focusing on processes such as the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Christian and Islamic missionization, and urbanization have all been examined through gendered lenses that promote examination of women's roles, but Miescher and Lindsay argue that a reexamination that focuses on men and masculinity can also provide new understandings. "This exercise is compatible

[125] Stephan F. Miescher and Lisa A. Lindsay, "Introduction: Men and Masculinities in Modern African History," in *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa,* ed. Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephan F. Miescher (Portsmouth, Hienemann, 2003,) 1.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid, 2.

with feminist-inspired histories of women and goes beyond them as well. If so much of African history has been written with men as an unmarked category, then destabilizing the male subject can yield insights into processes previously understood to be outside the realm of gender."[129] What they advocate for is not the prioritization of men and masculinity over femininity in a way that negates or erases the strides made by feminist literature; instead, what they argue is that by understanding masculinity as a category worthy of study, instead of the norm against which femininity is studied, we might learn more about how gender is socially constructed, and works to construct other social relations and historical events. A gendered lens does not merely promote women above the rest of historical discourse, but it can also examine how men are affected by gender and how masculinity influences other aspects of society.

By framing masculinity as a subject worthy of study, one can acknowledge that masculinity is not monolithic. Miescher and Lindsay write, "Scholars of women have pointed out that most Africanist (and other) historiography has centred on men's experiences and assumed that they are universal. Political history has tended to be the history of men in politics, economic history has centred on men's economic activities, and so on. This volume emphasizes that histories of men, as well as those of women, must foreground gender."[130] Their introduction explains that while colonial intervention brought changes to the social, economic, and political structures that governed African life, and much scholarship has been devoted to how these changes affected women, they also affected men, often in equal and opposite ways.[131] A changing gendered power dynamic within a matrilineal village that shifted power away from women shifted power toward men, and this is just as much a site for study. Their introduction, and indeed their edited volume, situate masculinity as a valid way to reexamine gender and understand the converse side of how colonial intervention affected gendered relations in Africa.

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[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid, 4.
[131] Ibid, 11-12.

Zambian scholar Patience Mususa contributes a chapter to Alastair Fraser and Miles Larmer's 2010 edited volume, *Zambia, Mining and Neoliberalism: Boom and Bust on the Globalized Copperbelt*. Her chapter, entitled "Contesting Illegality: Women in the Informal Copper Business," highlights the struggles of women in the peripheries of the mining industry in Zambia, attempting to earn wages through the illegal scavenging of mine dump sites in the Copperbelt, even in the twenty-first century.[132] By examining the privatization of the mining sector, Mususa takes a closer look at how women are negatively affected, economically and socially. She asserts that, "...economic shifts are driving changes in gender relations on the Copperbelt," which is not necessarily a new argument, but her post-2008 research exemplifies the new and different ways these changes continue to occur.[133] The global financial crisis took a toll on the privatized copper industry, which in a domino-effect, impoverished women, even though women, largely, did not work in the mining sector.

Mususa explains, "Before privatization, women would not have been compelled to eke out a living in the harsh working conditions of the copper dump sites."[134] Previously, women in the mining compounds contributed to their families' economic viability through sales of used clothing and small agricultural produce like vegetables; Mususa confirms previous scholars' observations that many mining households relied upon women's agricultural labour to subsidize salaries. However, layoffs due to the financial crisis led to women needing to find new and creative ways to supply the household income. "The current decline in formal employment has pushed more and more women into the informal economy... Women and children are increasingly expected to produce income for the household," writes Mususa.[135] So, many women have been found to scour dump sites looking for copper ore to sell. She explains that this work is preferable to the sex trade industry, and, "Women also typically prefer dump site work to microfinance initiatives aimed at starting up other informal trades...

[132] Patience Mususa, "Contesting Illegality: Women in the Informal Copper Business," in *Zambia, Mining and Neoliberalism: Boom and Bust on the Globalized Copperbelt*, ed. Alastair Fraser and Miles Larmer (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010,) 185.
[133] Ibid, 187.
[134] Ibid, 194.
[135] Ibid, 197.

All in all, dump site work offers an opportunity to earn an income with no startup capital costs and a significant degree of autonomy."[136] This type of labour becomes necessary in the face of losing one's home: "For women whose husbands died following the privatization of the mines, several lost even the safety of their home. Cultural practices of property grabbing by the relatives of the deceased...in many cases forced the sale or rental of the house, in order to facilitate the sharing of the inheritance among the beneficiaries..."[137] These changing economic situations continue to cause the renegotiation of social relations, as they pertain to kinship traditions, even to this day.

Signe Arnfred's text, *Sexuality and Gender Politics in Mozambique: Rethinking Gender in Africa*, provides some helpful insights into traditional constructions of gender identities, and their interruption by colonial forces. She explains, referring to Crehan's work, that the kinship terminology used to discuss female roles (mother, wife, sister, daughter, etc.) are gendered in the English language, while some terms such as 'cousin,' 'parent,' and 'spouse' are not, but this is not necessarily the case within the traditional ethnic languages of the people being observed.[138] She integrates the works of Nigerian feminist Oyèrónké Oyewùmí, explaining that in her native language Yoruba, pronouns and nearly all names are without gender.[139] This is significant because the language used to discuss gender difference worked to construct gender relations differently. Arnfred cites Oyewùmí explaining that the essentialist categories of 'man' and 'woman' did not exist in traditional Yoruba society, and therefore there was not hierarchical difference, as there is in Western gender constructions, that elevated 'man' to the 'norm,' and 'woman' to be 'other.' Arnfred writes, "It is along this line of reasoning that Oyewùmí talks of a 'process of patriarchalizing Yorùbá history and culture' through Western social science, the patriarchalizing gaze."[140] Arnfred highlights the ways that colonialism interfered with gendered

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136 Ibid, 198.
137 Ibid, 196.
138 Signe Arnfred, *Sexuality and Gender Politics in Mozambique: Rethinking Gender in Africa*. (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, Inc. 2011,) 113.
139 Ibid. Referring to Oyèrónké Oyewùmí, *The Invention of Women: Making an African sense of Western gender discourses*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997,) 40.
140 Ibid, 115.

relations and power dynamics not only by ascribing power to the persons they conceived of as deserving it (ie, men, male chiefs, etc.) but by Westernizing and solidifying gendered binaries in ways that were not always pertinent to the ethnic traditions of the people.[141] No doubt, the colonial-era anthropological work had a hand in constructing these gender roles.

The works examined here demonstrate the trajectory of anthropological and historical literature as it focuses on Southern African traditional forms of social and kinship organization, as well as their relationships to land. Colonial forces worked to interrupt the ways that matrilineal groups structured gender dynamics by ascribing power to men through administrative roles, labour, and the cash economy, and by offering preferential treatment to groups who organized themselves in ways they, as Europeans, understood and identified with.

Recent scholars are cognizant of the problematic language present in colonial-era literature that ascribed pejorative connotations to indigenous people groups. The literature produced within the colonial period is reflective of colonial-era mentalities toward indigenous African peoples, and worked to perpetuate such mentalities. These processes worked to reify one another in a positive feedback loop that co-constituted attitudes toward colonized peoples. Such discursive frameworks as structural functionalism worked to interpret the cultural attributes of ethnic groups in Southern Africa in ways that reflected and affirmed colonial attitudes toward, and understandings of, these groups. In this way, scholars such as ethnographers and historians colonized the literature by allowing their Western paradigms to dictate how they represented their observations within the literature.

The absence of indigenous voices within the literature also speaks to a colonization of knowledge production. The mere discussion of kinship relations in the English language, which cannot accurately represent the intrinsic gender dynamics, or lack thereof, complicates the narrative of matrilineal relations in problematic ways. Arnfred's discussion of ascribing gender to non-gendered pronouns, and bringing gendered hierarchies to relationships where such hierarchies did not exist – by

[141] Ibid, 254.

both the colonial administrations and the scholars writing about them – demonstrates the ways that Western academic paradigms colonized knowledges. In order to make this information accessible to a Western academic audience, anthropologists and historians translated concepts and ideas into English, and the discursive language that was accessible to their readership, which worked to alter these concepts. As a result, the Zambian people were left to renegotiate their gendered and hierarchical roles within their societies, which were subverted by colonial administrative and anthropological processes, as Colson points out.

The contributions of these publications coming out of the twenty-first century represent the strides that scholarship has made away from functionalist anthropological approaches toward postmodernist and nuanced understandings of gender constructions. These scholars are cognizant of the ramifications of the terminology they apply, understanding that their words have meaning, and often the language used in anthropological literature was demeaning and condescending. They demonstrate a willingness to understand traditional African epistemologies on their own terms, rather than by trying to make them fit into Western paradigms. By viewing gender constructions as social creations inherently connected to the rest of the cultural and society norms, they are able to set aside Western understandings as helpful but not omniscient. Without negating the importance of the early anthropological contributions to Western understandings of African societies, it is important to critique the ways that this knowledge was constructed, and the frameworks these scholars applied in situating this knowledge. Contemporary scholars have the advantage of reading the early literature, and benefiting from the knowledges they contribute, while making use of modern concepts to reexamine the literature, thereby learning new things from them that the original authors may not have even intended.

Conclusion

Within this paper, I have examined some of the literature on kinship organization and colonially-induced displacement within Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) to explore how scholars understood these issues, and how those understandings changed over time. By engaging first with some historical context on traditional modes of self-organization and the Zambian colonial circumstance, I set the backdrop for a historiographical review of traditional kinship organization and the effects of colonial interruptions. Then, by reviewing the literature published during Zambia's colonial era, I examined how colonial mindsets, and contemporary anthropological methodologies, contributed to the colonization of knowledge through the authors' descriptions of their observations as well as the language they used. Discursive paradigms such as functionalism and structural functionalism informed anthropologists and their methods of deconstructing the institutions they observed within their ethnographic work. They employed terms such as 'tribal,' 'savage,' and 'primitive,' to discuss their research subjects. These authors used the tools available to them at the time to make sense of what they observed, which we can now understand as part of the colonizing process. Instead of having written works by the Zambian subjects themselves, we, as modern-day scholars, have the writings of these early anthropologists to rely upon. While we can be grateful for their hard work and contributions to the field, we can also be critical of these contributions as we utilize their works within our own.

The works coming out of the early postcolonial era demonstrate a shift away from the functionalist anthropological methodologies employed by early ethnographers, toward descriptions of current events and circumstances, which were informed by the earlier works. For example, Elizabeth Colson's contributions to the colonial-era literature is typical of the anthropological works of her time, but her post-independence works are reflective of the current circumstances of the Tonga people, whom she had already studied for two decades. Her early ethnographies set the frameworks for discussing the later events of the Tonga displacement and its social consequences. In essence, this era's scholarship

builds necessarily on the earlier works, although they chart a new path informed by the postcolonial circumstance. They are much more cognizant and reflective of colonialism's interruptions in the subjects' lives.

The twenty-first century literature examined here works to synthesize and critique the earlier works, acknowledging how they contributed to the colonization of knowledge. Using postmodernist paradigms, which attribute complexity of identity construction and seek to value the historical situations that led to the constructions of the institutions that the functionalist anthropologists studied, these scholars use contemporary critical lenses to reexamine the literature. Many of them take into account the scholars' backgrounds and positionalities as well, making sense of their contributions by studying their personal backgrounds, mentalities, and choices. They are also informed by modern understandings of identity construction, and seek to understand the traditional constructions of gendered identities without merely placing them into Western paradigmatic boxes. An example of this is Oyèrónké Oyewùmí's discussion of gendered and non-gendered pronouns within her own mother tongue of Yoruba, as featured in Signe Arnfred's *Sexuality and Gender Politics in Mozambique: Rethinking Gender in Africa*. By understanding how gender is constructed and negotiated within a certain African ethnicity, we can better understand the relationships that exist in that society.

I have reviewed literature on kinship systems, matrilineal ones in particular, and circumstances of physical displacement, in order to understand how the two affect one another. I have been specifically interested in how colonialism, with its administrative reconfiguring of social and ethnic groups, its interjection of a cash economy, and its projects that influence mobility and migration, worked to affect how the indigenous people of Zambia negotiated their relationships to their physical places, identities and social ties. Instances such as the construction of the Kariba Dam created circumstances of forced migration, wherein entire groups of people had to relocate and integrate into other communities. This displacement necessitated social reorganization. Other examples such as the

mining industry in the Copperbelt created circumstances of migration that were partly due to the need to adapt to the cash economy and labour systems, and partly the result of voluntary mobility and the search for opportunity. The degree to which this migration was forced is less black-and-white than the previous example. Gendered population imbalances and the work opportunities afforded to men and women led to the creation of new social rules. It certainly affected gendered relationships and the ability for people to adapt to new social circumstances.

Contemporary scholarship demonstrates the interconnectedness of land, place, identity, autonomy, and relationships. The literature reviewed here shows how the disruption of social relationships can lead to the relocation of people, and how the displacement of people leads to the renegotiation of relationships and identities. Understanding land and location as central components in society is crucial to conceiving of how these circumstances within Zambian history, as an example, are interconnected processes, not merely separate historical events.

Further, as contemporary literature works to decolonize the knowledge by using terms that are more appropriate than the ones deemed antiquated in the early scholarship, I wish to reemphasize the need for African voices. Western anthropologists and historians travelled to Africa to observe and convey what they could about African societies. I, myself, have travelled to Zambia in an effort to learn about, and record, certain historical events. However, the more that African voices can contribute to these works, the more the rest of the world will fully understand. Taking a queue from Arnfred by relying on the works of Oyewùmí, I stress that listening to the African voices who are disseminating their own works is crucial. Academia benefits from making space for indigenous voices.

Although I have offered some critiques of the works examined herein, and have reiterated some of the critiques offered by these scholars on each other's works, I believe that all of these texts are important to my own work as a historian. Through reviewing this literature, I have sought to demonstrate how the Zambian people (re)negotiated their social identities and relationships in the midst

of the colonial era that disrupted their existing social relations and connections to their land. By highlighting a discursive connection between their physical locations and the ways they organized themselves socially, I have explored how various colonial projects worked to interrupt their identities, and how they managed to adapt and reconstruct them.

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