

FIFTY YEARS OF THE KASEMPA DISTRICT, ZAMBIA

1964 – 2014

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY.

A case study of the ups and downs within a remote rural Zambian region during the fifty years since Independence. A descriptive analysis of its demography, geography, infrastructure, agricultural practice and present and traditional cultural aspects, including an account on the traditional ceremony of the installation of regional Headmen and the role and functions of the Kaonde clan structure.

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PART I

PREFACE – A WORD OF THANKS BY THE AUTHOR

I visited the district for several months in 2002, 2006, 2011, 2012, 2013, with a longer period of work and research taking place in 1967 -1969, 1972, and 1978,. Many people assisted and provided me with hospitality and valuable information during these periods and many (life-long) friends were made. I am grateful for the hospitality and open conversations enjoyed with so many KiKaonde speaking persons. This manuscript is based on the observations and inquiries during my visits to the district in the years mentioned above.

A special thanks goes to Mr. Nathan Kubikisha, who, for nearly 50 years, has been a good friend, counterpart and translator, and the hospitality of the family Kubikisha in Lusaka. It is with great regret that Brasswell Kubikisha died in a tragic accident, he was always very interested in my studies and I miss in him a good friend.

Also missed greatly is the late Mr Maseka Najapawu; for some years he was Rural Council Secretary at Kasempa and deeply interested in the history of the District.

I had the great honour to have good contact with His Royal Highness Senior Chief Kasempa and also with his councillor Mr Harriwell Lubinga, for many years.

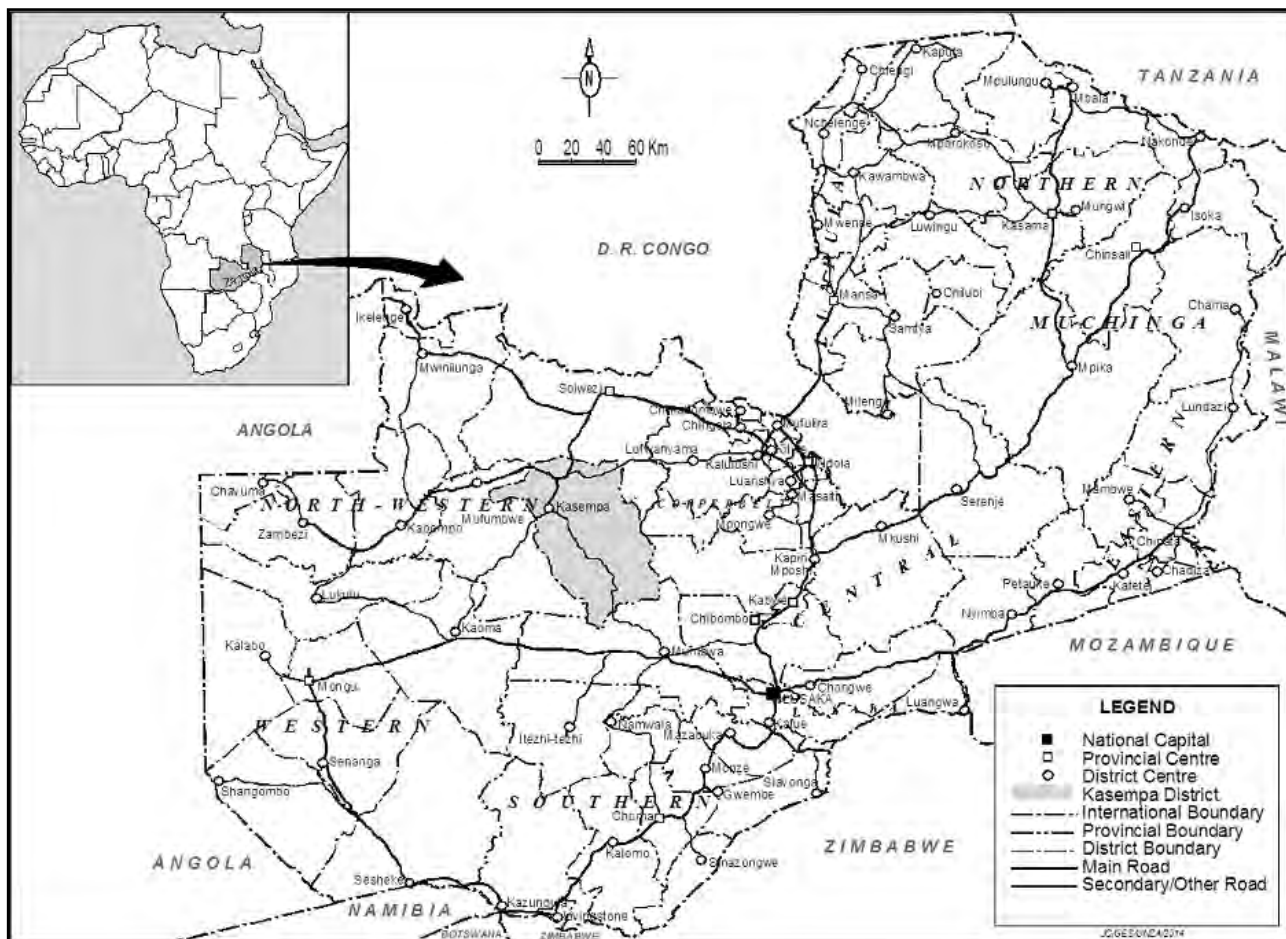
Many people provided me with valuable information; I mention in particular my old friend and translator (in those cases where my Kikaonde language knowledge was not enough to communicate properly) Mr Labison Kalilombe, and Mr Duncan Kangwa for his regular email correspondence.

I would like to extend thanks to Mr Gabriel Chitambo, District Agricultural Coordinator (DACO). Mr Kalub Mwandezi, townplanner, Mr J. Chiweza, Mr D. Chinyama, and Headman Kiboko and Headman Kalasa, also to the many farmers or relatives of former farmers among others Mr. Tolopa, Mr Makalino, Mr Paulino, Mrs Mutwale, Mrs Mundambo, Mr Matunga Bonfire for valuable information in the field of agricultural activities. Much assistance was provided to me by the family Wim and Ready Berendsen, I always enjoyed the hospitality I received at their farm 'Kilele' in the Lubofu region.

In Lusaka the author received great help from Mr Joshep Chalila, who competently drew all the maps in this article and became a close friend, and Mr Patrick Sapallo who provided advice and editing. Prof G.P.J. Banda and Dr G.M. Kajoba of the UNZA Department of Environmental studies and Geography are due grateful thanks for their hearty welcome and the assistance they provided, as well the deputy director CSO, for the additional census information provided. Mrs Marja Hinfelaar, and Sharon and Arie Kwaastieniet gave freely of their help in many aspects. I am grateful for the editorial assistance on an earlier draft by Dr H. Stronkhorts and Dr Iva Pesa of the African Study Centre University of Leiden in the Netherlands.

The photos in the text were largely taken by the author, except where otherwise indicated. My thanks to Mrs M.O' Callaghan, Dr H.F.W., Bantje, the late Mr Henk van Rinsum of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, and Mr Robin Short of Jersey for their pictorial contributions.

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Map 1 KASEMPA DISTRICT in the North –Western Province of ZAMBIA

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Zambia belongs to the group of Landlocked Low/Middle income Development Countries (LLDC), in the middle of the southern part of Africa. Market outlets depend on the seaports of Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa and recently Namibia, distances of over 1500km. Over the last decade the economy has been booming, with a BNP growth rate of over 6%, mainly through export of copper and also some agriculture produce. An economic decline however took place in 2015.

Half of Zambia's population lives in urban areas, the towns of the so called 'line of rail' – the Copper belt, Kabwe, Lusaka (the capital) and Livingstone (adjacent to the well-known Victoria Falls – 'Moshi o Tunya' – the smoke that thunders), also a number of the provincial capitals grow rapidly (Solwezi, Kasama, Choma, Chipata). However, large rural areas are remote, with limited connections to the main urban areas and a large part of the population still live under the poverty line, although often at subsistence level with a reasonable own food supply (except in years of severe drought). The following description of the Kasempa District is an example of such a region. This write up is intended as an account over the fifty years since Independence of Zambia in 1964.

Kasempa District is a thinly populated, rural setting, located in the south-western part of the North-Western Province. It is populated mostly by the Bakaonde people. Many of its old traditional customs are kept and with a revival in the country for its own heritage cherished again. There are only a few studies on the population and district, the most well-known is by Melland (1923/1967) 'In witch bound Africa', Clay (1952) published a short article on Kasempa District 1901-1951, covering the colonial period, Watson (1954) on the generational division in a Kaonde village, Robin Short (1971) gives an account on his memories as a colonial cadet/officer, Jaeger published on historical migrations and clan structure (1972) and a geography of the district (1981), and Kate Crehan (1985 and 1998) i-published in depth anthropological studies on village life, position of woman and the farmers in Mukunashi area and the Mufumbwe district. This District is a split from Kasempa District in 1978. In some of the above studies predictions are made on the course of development in the future but often change took its own direction (refer note 1 and 2) For a long time the North-Western Province was known as the 'Cinderella' province of the country, an isolated, quiet, rural region, located far away from the main economic and industrial areas of the country. This province has been starved for long of any significant developmental infrastructures in form of good roads, social, health and educational services, as well as meaningful industrial activities of any nature.

This description applied even more to the quiet district of Kasempa wedged in an isolated, tropical region, off the main Solwezi-Chavuma highway (T5), and linked by a seemingly reasonable gravel road (now tarred) running for 50 kilometers south-west, from the Solwezi-Chavuma highway. The other links have been, for a long time, a rutty track running from Mumbwa in the south-east (in Central Province of Zambia) and another bush track, running from Kaoma in the south (in Western Province). One would be forgiven to drive past the Kasempa junction, on the Solwezi-Chavuma highway, oblivious of the existence of the district, let alone Kasempa town.

In many respects, there have been numerous changes that have taken place in the province, like the booming mining activities in the Solwezi and Mwinilunga Districts. For Kasempa District it has been the growth of small scale commercial agriculture, and the region has become known as the 'corn belt' of the province.

Although the region is still sparsely populated, there has been a huge population increase over the last decades with a high birthrate and since the out-migration to the urban areas (Copperbelt and the line of rail) have diminished in-migration takes place from other regions. Namely Lambas (from Solwezi and Chingola), Chokwes (from Kabompo and Zambezi), Kaonde-Ilas and Tonga (from Mumbwa and Southern province), mainly attracted by the availability of space and good

soils, and the fact that animal husbandry activities are possible, due to the disappearance of the tsetse fly- for long a threat for humans and domesticated animals- in the district.

Over the years there has been a considerable change in agricultural practices. The staple food of the population has since changed from sorghum (known as mebele in Kikaonde) to maize. Hunting, once the most beloved activity of Kaonde men, has almost disappeared. Maize cultivation and its sale has become the main occupation for men and women, both for household consumption and sale. Availability of large tracts of fertile red clay soils and good rainfall patterns have been the main drivers of the farming activities; marketing outlets remain however a constraint.

The Government of Zambia, in a frantic effort over the first decades after Independence (1964) to bring development to the district and the country, attempted to introduce new agricultural policies and large scale programmes that were aimed at changing the status quo. Some of these policies were marginally successful, others were totally unsuccessful. Village Regrouping and Resettlement Programmes and Farmers Settlement Schemes, to move village clusters and individual farmers from the peripheral areas, nearer to the District centre with the intention to deliver better services at a more economic and effective way, failed. Large scale government and foreign donor efforts to delivery mechanization methods of farming and provision of pumped water by mechanical means were not successful. Also the timely delivery of farm inputs, credit and provision of market outlets, and formation of farmers' cooperative unions, were often not successful.

Other schemes introduced by government attempted to improve the agricultural sector in the district, province and the country at large in recent years on a more modest scale, as the Farmers Input Support Programme (FISP), which provides delivery of limited subsidized inputs (fertilizers and seed) to small-scale farmers, and establishment of seasonal marketing outlets via the Food Reserve Agency (FRA), prove to be more successful.

An important change occurred also in the field of animal husbandry. The Tsetse fly (*Glossina morsitans*), which was a menace to humans and animal husbandry activities, almost disappeared over nearly the whole district. Due to the depletion of game through legal and illegal hunting the region became a tsetse fly free area. It is possible today to rear cattle, goats, sheep and pigs in the region, done both by men and women. It also forms an attraction for the in-migration by other tribes, already long acquainted with cattle keeping.

Aquaculture became also a growing economic activity, with about 500 fish ponds spread all over the District.

Despite seemingly well -established agricultural activities in many respects, an affluent and stable middle class of commercial farmers is still absent. Over the years a number of medium scale farming enterprises (over 10 ha.) have come and gone; the economical and sociological causes for this are analysed in the chapter on agriculture.

In former days village groups and individual villages moved regularly over large areas, for various reasons (such as shifting cultivation-chitemene-, sickness and witchcraft in a village). Today there is a stabilization of village locations along the main roads and areas with fertile red clay soils. Larger villages with a distinguished section for the senior generation and the younger generation are scarcely found any more. Villages split up in smaller units, in which many homesteads are built of sunbaked or burnt bricks, with corrugated roofing sheets. In some occasions, even a neatly laid-out garden can be observed, with various decorations on the walls of a home. All these are indications of a permanent settlement pattern.

However, the semi-annual shifting type of agriculture of the maize fields often creates long distances between the fields and the homesteads. Sometimes villagers are forced to live nearby their fields to tend crops for a fairly long time, resulting in sojourn far away from services, and poor school attendances often result for a couple of months in a year.

Kasempa town itself has grown steadily, with a settled 'urban' population. The town has a busy market, shops, well maintained infrastructure and regular time bus connections to Solwezi. The number of schools, rural health centres and agricultural extension camps, have increased considerably over the years and are located all over the district.

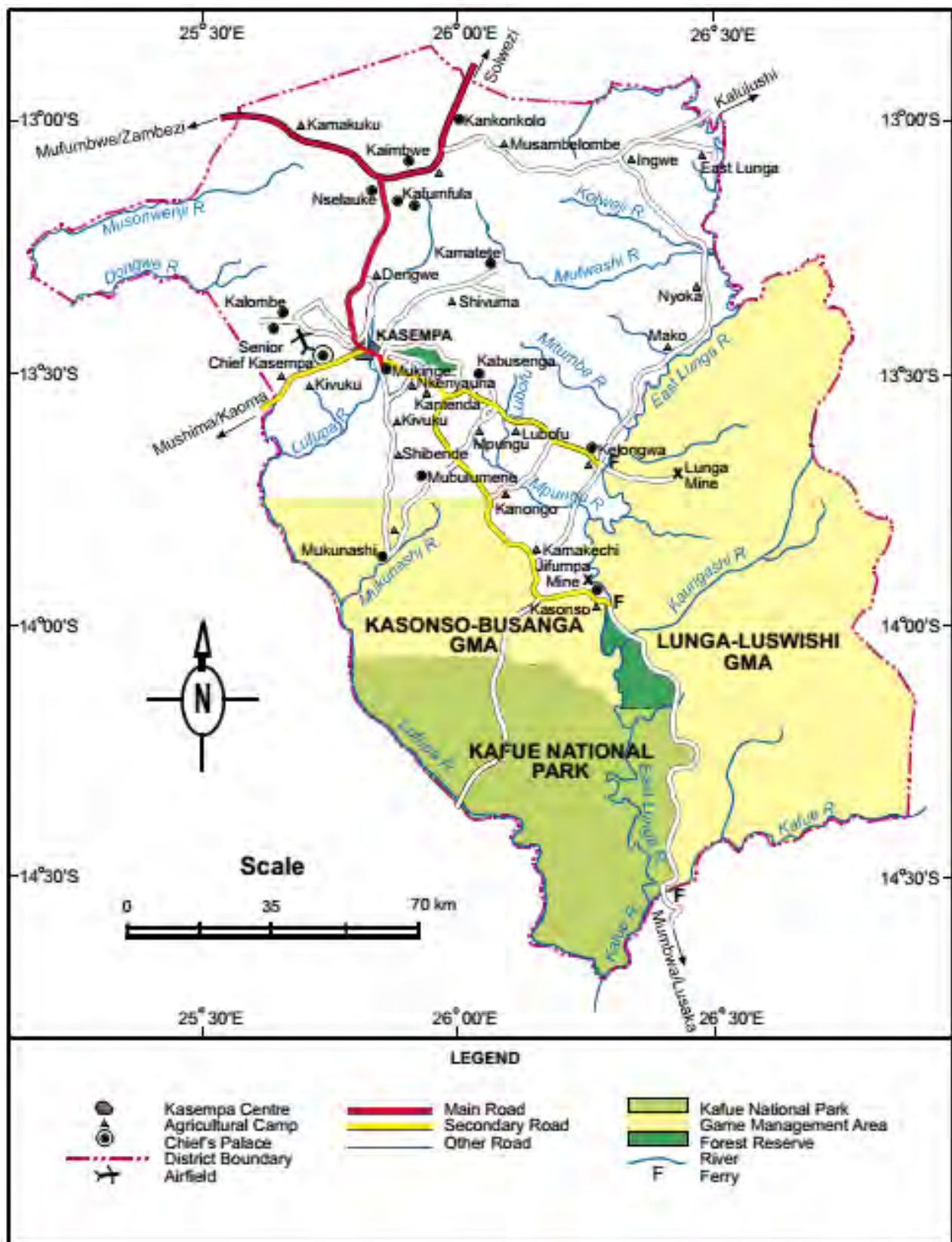
There are many churches in Kasempa district, both in the centre and all over the district, from a large diversity of denominations with an active community church life.

Nowadays, three nodal centres can be distinguished in the District:

1. Kasempa Centre and surroundings
2. The area around the junction with the Solwezi/Chavuma Highway (T5);
3. To a lesser extent, village clusters at the road to Kalulushi near the Lunga-East river bridge.

The region outside a radius of about 40 km from the district centre has, however, still to be considered as peripheral and marginal for marketing and is costly for service supply. Of the total district population of 70,000 inhabitants, 45% still lives in these remoter and peripheral areas. Similar to the pre-independence days the contrast between the centrally and peripherally inhabited areas remains problematic. It causes a heavy burden on the national subsidizing schemes to cover equivalence of all Zambian inhabitants, wherever they live; a dichotomy, that like in many other remote parts of rural Africa, is not easily to resolve.

The last two chapters of this manuscript deal with various cultural aspects, then and now, and in particular the installation ceremony of a Regional Headman and the functions and importance of the Kaonde clanship structure. Traditions are still alive.



Map 2 Kasempa District, village groups and agricultural camps

CHAPTER 1. DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

ZAMBIA

The total population of Zambia is just over 13 million people (2010). In 2000 the total population was nearly 10 million. The population density of the country is 17 persons per square km. At the national level, the growth rate of the population was 3.0% per annum in the period 2000-2010, while it was 2.1% in the preceding decade (see note 2). At a provincial level, growth rates were substantially higher in Lusaka, the Northern and Muchinga Provinces, and slightly higher in the Southern Province. Stagnation, or even outmigration (see note 3), occurred in the Western Province, in particular, and, to a lesser degree, in the North Western, Luapula and Copperbelt Provinces (the latter due to slowing down in mining activities in that region in the 1990s). In all provinces the major urban places (especially provincial and district centres) have grown substantially, while the growth rates have been lower in the peripheral areas (so-called “peri-urban” areas). Today, the urban population of the country is over 5 million or 40%, with an annual growth rate of 4.2 %. During the year of Independence, 1964, Zambia had a population of around 5 million, with 1 million living in urban areas. Currently, the rural population totals nearly 8 million, with a growth rate below the national average, namely 2.1 percent.

The total population of the North Western Province is 727,000 inhabitants (CSO enumeration 2010), with an annual growth rate, in the last decade, of 2.2%.

With 5.8 persons per square kilometre, it is the most thinly populated province in the country.

KASEMPA DISTRICT

Kasempa District has a population of nearly 70,000 (2010), about 10 % of North-Western Province, with a growth rate of 3.0 percent and a density of 3.3 per square km (Central Statistics Office –CSO- Atlas, 2013, p.109). In 2000 the district population was 52,000. The neighbouring District of Mufumbwe, which is of nearly the same size, has a population of 58,000. Till 1978 Mufumbwe, then known as Chizera, was a part of the Kasempa District. The land surface of both districts is about 20,000 square kilometers. Both districts are the largest regions in the province, each covering about one-sixth of the provincial area.

It is worth noting that the population growth rates for the Kasempa and Mufumbwe districts are both higher than the provincial growth rate. This can be related to a lower rate of outward migration from these two districts and some in-migration from neighbouring regions (note 3). In turn, this may be connected to the fairly good soil and agricultural production and export opportunities in these regions and animal husbandry opportunities (refer to Chapter 2 on Agriculture).

The total number of households in the Kasempa District is around 12,000. On average, the household size is 5.8 persons. This is slightly higher than the national average of 5.2 persons per household and more than the 5.3 persons per household for rural Zambia. The 5.8 figure may be an indication of a slightly more traditional way of life. As in the country as a whole, the number of females is slightly higher than the males. The percentage of female headed households is also about the same as the national average of 23 %. A high figure in comparison with the situation fifty years ago. Similar to the national level, there is a high percentage of young population in the district: in the age category of 0-14 years there are 34,600 youngsters, which means that nearly half of the total district population is under the age of 15 years.

Turning to the last century, the population for the Kasempa District - including Mufumbwe District - was estimated at 15,000 persons for 1910 and 19,000 for 1927. At the dawn of independence in 1963, the population was estimated at 33,890. The census of 1980 gives a population for Kasempa District (without Mufumbwe) of 30,000 people. The population figures for the last decades are, 1990: 37,000; 2000: 52,000; and 2010: 70,000. This indicates the recent rapid growth in population in the district.

In earlier years the population of Kasempa was spread fairly evenly, in small village clusters situated along dambos and streams, covering the whole district (see Chapter 3). However, since Independence, and especially during the last three decades, a transformation took place towards the centre of the district and along the main roads (the tarred road from Solwezi to Kasempa and the Kasempa to Kalulushi road, via the East-Lunga Bridge).

When a radius of 40 km around the Kasempa District Capital is taken as an area fairly easily accessible (even by bicycle), and benefiting from the services and marketing opportunities at the central place of Kasempa, - this radius includes the settlement areas at the Kasempa -Solwezi turnoff (Kamfumfula) and the area in the south east (Mpungu and Lubofu) - the percentage of people outside that area (the so called peripheral areas of the district), was over one half around 1970, and is currently still about 45% (see appendix 5). This means that a slight population contraction around and within the core areas has taken place.

However, suffice to say that a substantial number of households and villages are still located in the peripheral areas, meaning high costs for service delivery, less marketing opportunities and high cost for marketing arrangements by government agencies. Still, these peripheral areas offer a fairly good daily food supply to inhabitants due to ample opportunities for shifting cultivation, food gathering and other products from the forest, and some hunting of small game and fishing in the numerous streams and rivers.

CHAPTER 2. AGRICULTURE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the changes that have taken place in agricultural activities and policies, in the Kasempa District, which has been the main economic stay of the district for the last 50 years. It takes into account the importance and influence of the changing national approach to, and planning of, the agricultural sector and describes its vulnerability and dependency on national policies. In some respects, it is also the well-known story of failed large scale, top-down, government interventions, the ambitions of foreign donors and planners which end unsuccessfully and the policy changes that occur due to successive ruling political parties. However, it also reflects the successful introduction of (semi-) permanent agricultural practices and land use and, at the same time, the continuation of farming activities of the local people relying on their own well-adapted agricultural practices, in balance with the environment and local situation.

Today the staple food crop and main crop for sale and export by the district and among the Kaonde population is maize, both local brands, and hybrid maize. The dominance of this crop has existed for the last twenty to thirty years. The original staple food crops in the area were sorghum and, to a lesser extent, finger millet. This transition in staple food crops can be regarded as a major change in the region. However, for a number of years, beginning at the end of last century, when maize production declined rapidly for a while, sorghum and cassava cultivation increased. By contrast to most of the other districts in the province, where cassava is cultivated on a large scale and is the main staple food, this crop is again of minor importance in the Kasempa District (see note 4).

There has been substantial variation, over the years, in agricultural output and production in Kasempa district: there was a heavy decline in the production and output of maize in the district in the nineties and early this century (refer table 1 below). Today there is a marked production growth in the district and Kasempa is often called the 'corn belt' of the North-Western Province. Notably, there is an obvious monoculture based on maize, resulting in devastating effects on the soil structure. The Zambian government's current agricultural policy emphasizes the importance of crop diversification, but this policy is still not very successful.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION HISTORY

This section addresses the market-oriented agricultural activities in Kasempa over the last fifty years. At the end of the section, traditional agricultural practices and the role of men and women are also mentioned, although not described in detail. For a more detailed description of traditional subsistence farming, refer Jaeger 1981, and on the role of men and women in agricultural activities, Crehan 1985, 1997.

In the late nineteen fifties and early nineteen sixties, during the colonial era, agricultural extension work and marketing-oriented services were promoted by the Peasant Farming Scheme (Allan 1970). The programme was intended to promote small scale commercial farming, with the use of proper soil conservation practices. It promoted cultivation of a variety of crops as well as the introduction of small scale husbandry and establishment of fish ponds.

In Kasempa District the Peasant Farming Scheme was introduced in the Nkenyauna area, south of Kasempa Boma (Jaeger 1981, p. 176), and became the nucleus of emerging small scale commercial farmers in the district. The scheme was stopped before independence, but the area and the example of a group of emergent farmers who were doing well accelerated spontaneous migration of villages to that region, favouring a location near, and connected to, a good road to Kasempa centre and its market, including the potential market at Mukinge hospital, mission station and girls secondary school. This development became the core of small scale commercial farming around Kasempa (specifically the Nkenyauna Kantenda, Kivuku and Dengwe areas).

An important national initiative at the brink of Independence was the establishment of the Mpungu State farm, located about 30 km from the Kasempa centre, situated in a fairly flat plateau area with excellent red clay soils. Highly mechanized, and using intensive fertilizer and hybrid breed seeds, it delivered a high maize output for several years. Maize production was a national priority to feed the nation and to curb imports in those years. The once government owned Mpungu State Farm was handed over to local farmers during a visit by President Kenneth Kaunda to Kasempa in 1968, and plots of ten hectares each were given out to new settlers. People from all over the district, as well as returning mine workers from the Copperbelt, could apply for plots in this area.

Agricultural activities were based on inputs of hybrid maize, fertilizer and tractor mechanization. The location of farmsteads on the higher plateau region, far from streams and rivers, was made possible with the delivery of pumped water supply, using bore-holes, windmills and water supply pipes. A group of about 100 farmers did very well on the scheme for a couple of years. The successful implementation of the Mpungu Farmers Settlement Scheme lead to similar schemes elsewhere, such as the Nkenyauna Settlement Scheme during the early seventies, and further extensions towards Kanjibiji, Kabukafu, Kabusenga, Sota and Lubofu (refer map 3 for the layout). Fairly large plots of up to 20 hectares each were offered to new settlers, of which two hectares was already stumped by the scheme management. The remaining part had to be done by the farmer himself at his own costs; unfortunately, as it would turn out, only a few settlers managed to do this.

To avoid complete reliance on tractor mechanization, which often failed or was implemented with considerable delays, oxen and ox-driven ploughs were introduced instead, following the 'oxidization' schemes in other parts of Zambia and the shift in emphasis of Kaunda's agricultural policies: 'from engine to animal power' (Wood, 1990). A well organized and well equipped cattle breeding scheme was established at the Kanjibiji section in the late nineteen seventies.

The settlement of over 200 emergent and small scale farmers was based on a well organised and fair selection process by the department of agriculture and farmers settlement staff. A considerable number of people who returned from the mines or other jobs in town showed interest and settled at a farm plot. Settlers were serviced with the provision of tractor mechanization, high fertilizer

inputs, pumped water supply and provision of marketing outlets, as well as agricultural extension services. A well-equipped Farmers Training Centre was established in the region as well. Besides the financing by GRZ, considerable inputs and loans came from foreign donors, such as the Netherlands (SNV), Germany (GTZ), Norway (NORAD), IFAD and the World Bank.

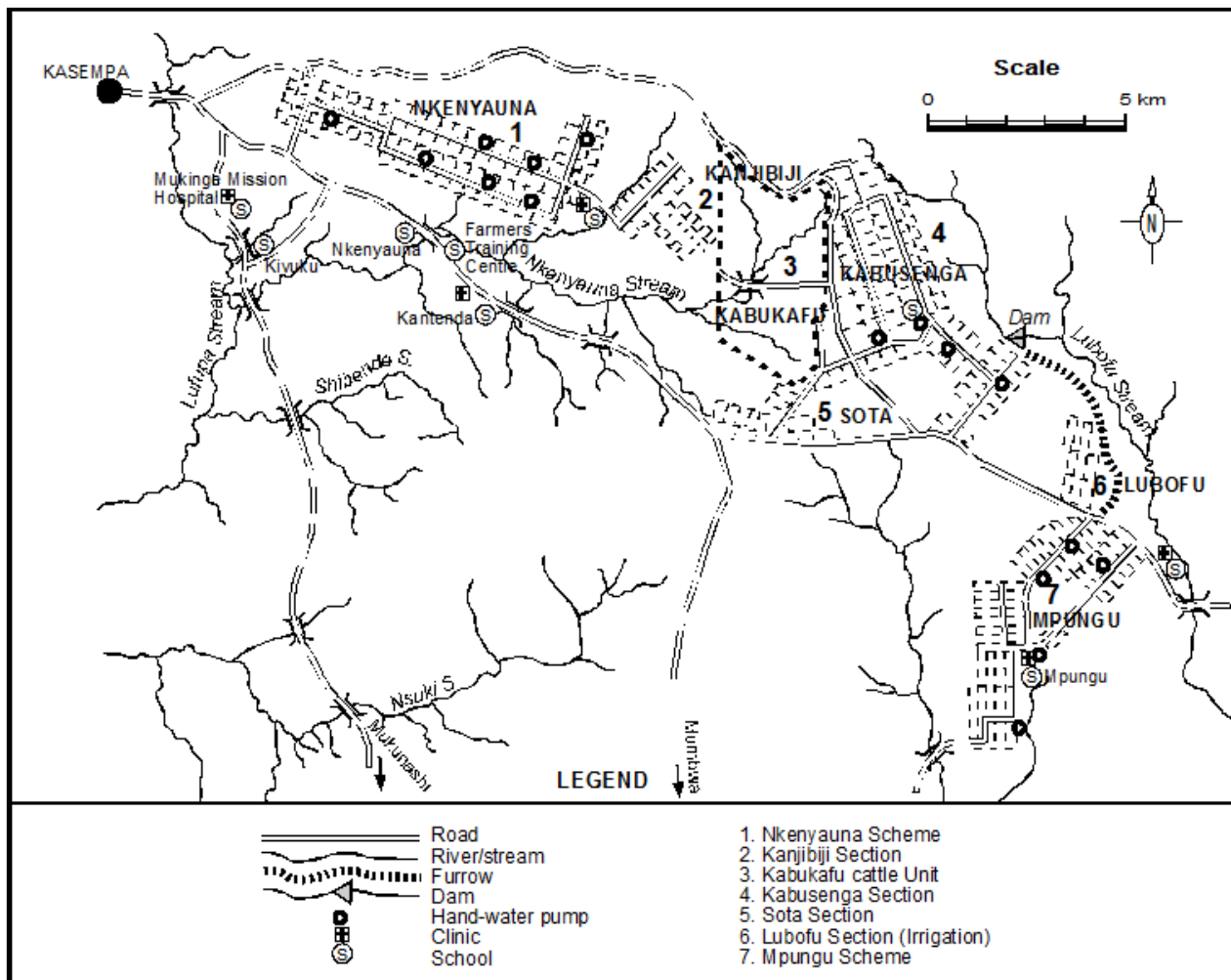
Changes in the national agricultural subsidy systems, dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), under the Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP), to liberalize the economy at the end of the eighties and in the nineties, caused a tremendous change and rapid decline in agricultural production all over Zambia (Mickels, 1997, Gould, 2010).

The cutting of fertilizer and seed subsidies, the failing mechanization systems, untimely delivery of inputs, and liberalization of markets, meant a downward spiral in agricultural activities and collapse of the once promising settlement schemes. Moreover, pumped water supplies that did not operate, and long walking distances for the farmers' families to streams to collect water, induced most of the farmers to leave the schemes and move their homesteads back to near streams and rivers, much further away from the settlement schemes.

The Kanjibiji cattle breeding scheme was vandalized and partly removed to Solwezi, arguing, and possibly on the pretext, that the whole North-Western province should benefit from oxen ploughing (Crehan and von Oppen, 1994, p.257).

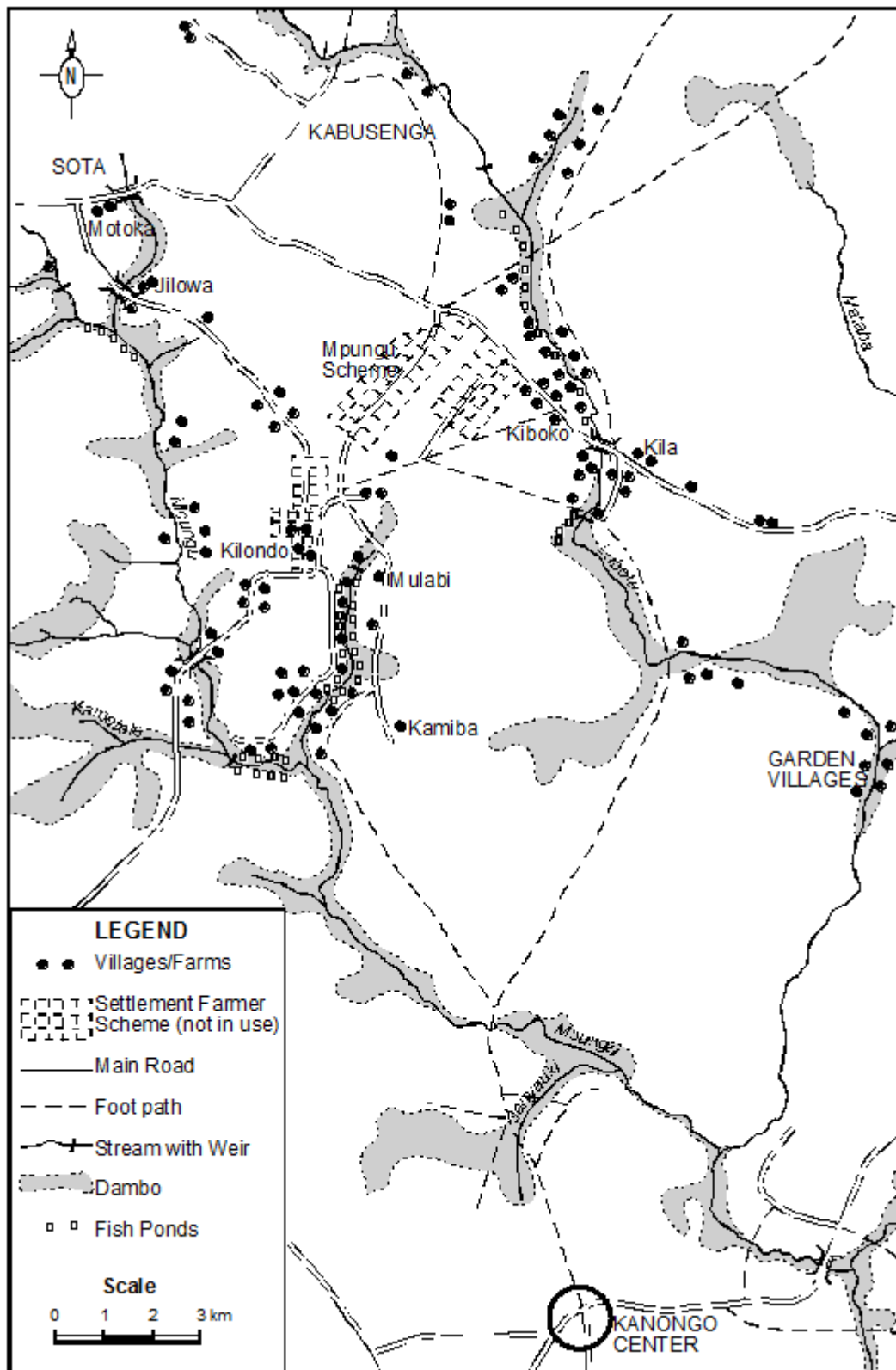


Dilapidated farmers settlement schemes photo 2002



Map 3 Farmers settlement schemes 1978

Map 4 (overleaf) shows the changing pattern around the Mpungu scheme, with villages located again near streams and dambos, while abandoning the farmsteads and maize plots on the higher plateau. In some cases, some of these plots remained in use on a small scale. The use of these plots was, and is, also severely hampered by the high soil acidity caused by intensive use of chemical fertilizer, as already mentioned above. Within a few years, the total neglect of farmland and the infrastructures, such as workshops, boreholes and windmills, pumped water supply and the cattle breeding schemes, was clearly visible.



Map 4 Villages from the Mpungu Farmers Settlement left the scheme and settled again along streams and dambos. Large stumped fields are abandoned and left fallow, 2002.



Introduction of oxen ploughing on the farmers schemes 1978

Today, large areas of stumped open land, on the higher plateau in the core areas of the district, stand unused. Much of that soil is acidic, and it is costly to apply lime on the farms to redress this situation. It will take many years of fallow and bush regeneration before these areas are restored to natural fertility again.

During the seventies and eighties of the last century, in the same period as the above mentioned schemes, a number of promising small scale commercial farmers were active in the Nkenyauna and Kantenda areas. They settled along the well maintained road towards the Kasempa centre.

The Integrated Rural Developments Programmes (IRDP) was implemented with the assistance of foreign donor inputs (Rauch, 1988). In those years the 'LIMA' ($\frac{1}{4}$ hectare) agricultural extension programme for maize cultivation operated and agricultural loans could be obtained on easy terms, and the marketing facilities were arranged via the establishment of agricultural cooperatives (Crehan/von Oppen, 1994, Kajoba 1993).

As mentioned above, all of these developments came to a standstill in the early 1990s (Mickels 1997, Gould 2010). As the market systems were liberalized subsidies on hybrid maize seed and fertilizer minimized, and credit became difficult to obtain (Geisler 1992). Moreover, the dysfunction and politicization of the cooperative marketing system and non-repayment of loans became major constraints. Taken together, all of this caused a serious decline in agricultural production. Nearly all farmers, the larger commercial farmers, as well as the emergent small scale commercial farmers and farmers on the settlement schemes, opted out of the maize production.

The 1990s and early part of this century represent a period of declining food production, rising food prices and hunger for many, all over Zambia. As Vaughan (1998) says, "The rural poor continued to get poorer, Zambia's life was harder than it had ever been".

Agricultural production figures all over the district fell dramatically at the end of last century and early this century (table 1). Significant parts of the population returned to subsistence gardening. Subsistence agriculture on the basis of shifting cultivation and the use of stream gardens (to cultivate early local maize) along the valleys and dambo's (black clay soils) was again the main food production for the households, without much harvest to sell. Apart from that, these years saw the emergence and expansion of cassava fields on a substantial scale, a crop hardly cultivated in former years in the district (note 4).

Table 1

**Kasempa District Maize production figures from 1970-2014
(figures rounded off, bags of 50kg)**

Period	Production	Production commentary
End 1970s	20,000	
End 1980	200,000	(mainly production by the settlement scheme farmers)
Middle 1990	70,000	
Early 2000	24,000	
Middle 2000	60,000	
End 2000	240,000	(production by small scale farmers spread over entire district)
During 2010-2014	440,000	(i.e. 440,000; 380,000 and 427,000 in consecutive years)

NB. A good rainfall pattern was also helpful for the bumper harvests over the years 2010-2014.

THE CURRENT AGRICULTURAL SITUATION, AND THE REVIVAL OF SUBSIDY SYSTEMS

During the last decade a respectable increase in maize production emerged all over the district again. Zambia even became capable of exporting maize to neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe and Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). This was the result of new national agricultural policies, the reintroduction of fertilizer and seed subsidies through the Farm Input Support Program (FISP), and the marketing of crops through the Food Reserve Agency (FRA), with a fixed guaranteed national maize price, at the depots of the FRA.

These depots were established at many locations in the district. Subsidies are made available for each registered farmer for a maximum of two lima (half hectare). Agricultural cooperatives were revived and agricultural camps reactivated. Various aspects of the former 'LIMA' system returned, now with state subsidy. Farmers had to register as a 'farmer' and were entitled to subsidized hybrid maize seeds and fertilizer up to two lima. The reintroduction of the subsidy system drove the sale of maize to a higher level than before (refer table 1 above)

The production of maize today is from small scale farms spread all over the district. About 14,000 farmers cultivate on average two lima (half hectare) with an average yield of 15 bags per lima. Part of this produce is kept for household consumption (note 6), the rest for sale.

The land use patterns described by Kajoba (1990, 1995) for the Mumena area in Solwezi District, also applies to Kasempa District. There is a pattern of dual land use: part of the fields of a farmer and his family are under permanent cultivation with external inputs (e.g. fertilizer) for maize. It is this availability of fertilizer that played a significant role in assisting the farmer in the transition to sedentary farming. However these "commercial" fields cannot be used endlessly. Periods of fallow and crop rotation are a necessity, and the compensation for acid soils by 'over-liming' is rarely applied, due the extra costs and the scarcity of lime deposits in the region.

Next, there are the fields used without any inputs for local maize, finger millet and sorghum and, sometimes, cassava; these fields (except for cassava), need to shift fairly regularly (shifting cultivation-chitemene). The smaller stream-side/dambo plots of black clay soils (known as 'Mapoka', 'Mashamba', 'Kikobo') for local maize and vegetables cultivation can be used year after year. The nutritional importance of these small garden plots, mainly tended by the women, is often underestimated.



At the end of the rain season women arrive with loads of various nutritious vegetables and fruits from their various vegetable gardens in the valley.

These various types of small local gardens, can deliver in principle a wide a variety of other crops, such as ground-nuts, beans, sunflower, soya beans, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, tomatoes, rape (kale), cabbage, cotton, onion, garlic; as well as fruits such as bananas, oranges, citron, guava, mango, avocado, pawpaw, mainly at small scale for own consumption but also with market value.

There are also valuable products from the bush such as mushrooms and honey. The latter two products can be 'domesticated', and yields can be increased with the help of various government programmes. The marketing of all these products remains a problem, mainly because of the small quantities produced and scattered over vast often remote areas. This hampers increase in production and also crop diversification to counter the mono-cropping of maize. For instance, there was an active cotton stimulation program (2002), but marketing failed, due to the small amounts of supply in a widely scattered area. There is virtually no cotton production in the district anymore.

A strategy towards the small (subsistence) farmers, for a more intensive production of the more commercial crops mentioned before, and the more intensive use of the various types of local stream bed gardens or wetland farming could very well contribute to crop diversification and counteract the mono-cropping of maize.

In that respect National programmes like Adaptive Research Planning and Dambo Utilization Surveys (IFAD 1997) and the recently promoted 'conservation agricultural' methods deserve full attention (note 5).

As mentioned before, over the last decade the staple food for the populace became maize, replacing sorghum as a staple food. This can be regarded as a major change over the past years, for better or for worse. From a point of nutrition it is not necessarily an improvement. However maize is more vulnerable to drought than sorghum, and the family labour consuming task of bird scaring in the reaping months is not necessary. Also the time consuming labour for women to pound their daily sorghum (to prepare the daily 'nshima' meal) is not required any more. There are hammer mills all over the district to grind maize into mealie meal. Today it is rare to find a *kina*, a large wooden mortar (and pestle), in a village. However, it also means that the brewing of local beer from sorghum (known locally as *kasonge*) has become rare. This was done by the women and meant earning an extra income for themselves.

Today men and women tend to work more together with respect to farming. With the registered farmers' system, women are also more involved in small scale production of agricultural maize for sale (besides the crops that were always in the realm of women, like ground-nuts, beans, vegetables etc.).

The total number of male and female farmers in the district in 2012 was 21,800, according to the Kasempa Agriculture Department. Of these, around 16,000 farmers were registered as eligible for the Food Reserve Agency (FRA) fertilizer and seed subsidy, for up to 2 lima per farmer (note 6). The total number of households in the district is 12,000 (2010 census); which means that per household, there is often more than one registered farmer.

Quite a number of people living in the Kasempa Centre (often with paid jobs or as pensioners) are also registered with the FRA, since many of them do have a small or larger farm plot outside the centre and are involved in farming. They have a substantial harvest for their own consumption and for sale. Most of those "farmers" do employ part time workers/piece workers to do the actual farm work.

The sale of maize, to the FRA, at a fixed price determined by government, takes place at a number of depots spread throughout the district. In the peripheral areas, in particular, villagers often have to transport their bags of maize over a considerable distance. Often this is done bag by bag, by bicycle, over distances of 10 to 15 kilometres. Sometimes ox carts are available or a truck is hired. After deduction of seed and fertilizer costs, transport costs, labour and wages for part-time workers, there is only a marginal profit realized on the sale of each bag of maize. However a supply for household consumption is available. Some farmers, under careful management, are able to raise higher yields, with a yield of over 15 bags per lima, and the portion for sale can then be much higher.

A common complaint among farmers is that more depots are needed closer to farmsteads. However, for economic reasons, the FRA rather prefers to cut down on the number of depots.



Maize depot, each farmer guards his bags –day and night- till collection takes place

Another marketing problem arises from the fact that it is often not known precisely when the collection of maize at a depot will take place. Farmers have to wait (and sleep and cook) often for weeks, next to their bags of maize at the depots, to prevent theft. (Refer photo above)

When the maize is collected a coupon is given to the farmer, indicating the number of bags delivered. Payment takes place several months later, via the bank. This means that after an announcement on radio about payment dates, farmers have to travel long distances to the bank in Kasempa Centre. There is still a chance that the money has not yet arrived, and farmers have to wait again for some time. Altogether the sale of maize for many farmers, specifically for those in the peripheral areas, is very cumbersome.

The revenue for selling maize outside the official channel, is marginal. In this case maize is sold to the so-called 'brief case buyers', who visit remote areas and offer low prices. The only advantage with 'brief case buyers' is that the farmer is paid cash on the spot, as opposed to waiting for a long time for the FRA payments. Some farmers arrange to sell their maize outside the country, over the border of Democratic Republic of the Congo or Angola, and manage to get a good price for their farm produce there.

The district is divided into five major agricultural blocks. These blocks are divided into 25 agricultural camps, where agricultural extension officers are posted (refer map 2 of the district). Ten of these camps, with around 6,500 farmers, are situated outside a radius of 40 kilometres from the centre, indicating that, it is economically costly to supply services and marketing facilities to a large part of the population in the district.

The movement of those population groups to the core area of the district is, however, unlikely (village resettlement programs and farmers settlement schemes have failed, refer above, and chapter 4). One of the solutions for further economically efficient growth in the peripheral areas is the construction of more and better maintained feeder roads to those areas.



The hammermill – an important change for women in the rural household

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

During the past three decades, there has been a gradual increase in livestock populations in many villages. A major advantage, compared to years before 1970, is the fact that most parts of the district are free of tsetse fly. Due to the diminishing wild animal populations in the district, except for the bordering Kafue National Park and the other adjacent game reserve areas, the tsetse fly has almost been eradicated, and the chance of infection with trypanosomiasis (infection by the *Glossina morsitans* tsetse fly) is virtually non-existent for both humans and livestock.

This has opened up opportunities to keep cattle, pigs and goats, an important change compared to former years. Several animal husbandry programs and projects promote animal husbandry. Today it is a common sight to see some animal stock at villages, and sometimes oxen are used for transport and ploughing. Fifty years ago this was unthinkable.

Over the last decade (2002-2012), the number of oxen (bulls, cows, calves) in the Kasempa District has doubled from 850 to 1,700. This is still a modest number and growth, but it represents a new economic activity which deserves all efforts and service inputs to stimulate. Various veterinary problems, such as disease control, vaccination, the use of dip tanks and the erection of breeding schemes need full attention. The district certainly has a huge potential to develop the animal husbandry sector further. Large areas are still available for cattle keeping and also for game farming.

AQUA CULTURE

Equally, the same attention is required to develop irrigation systems for planting crops along streams and in dambo's (valleys-the catchment areas for streams), as well as fish farming in fish ponds.

The construction of dams has been taking place, but only on a small scale. Much more could be done (with proper attention to soil erosion), considering the numerous perennial streams. With the assistance of a government aqua-farming program, coupled with the monitoring of some Peace Corps volunteer program around 500 fish ponds have been established by individual households or small cooperatives all over the district over the last two decades.

In 2012 only around 100 ponds were operational. The main problems encountered were the lack of supply of fingerling, theft by locals, as well as otters and barbed wire which enter the fish ponds. For villagers outside a radius of 30 km from the marketing opportunities at Kasempa Centre, the timely delivery of fresh fish by bicycle is also a problem.



Extra food pellets and household garbage is brought to the ponds. Women fish pond club at the Lubofu region. Fenced against theft and otters. 2012.

MIDDLE CLASS FARMERS

The number of farmers with farms larger than 10 hectares did not increase over the last years and remained around one hundred, at most, of which many do not use all their land intensively. A number of farmers and business people or officials, with a well-paid job in the urban areas, applied for demarcation and title deeds on their land (for a lease period of 99 years) in the core areas of the district. The collapse of the maize marketing system in the 1990s, caused the number of people applying for title deeds to diminish in the last decade. Today's agricultural subsidy of two lima per registered farm is too low to be of interest to the large scale farmer, even with the possibility of combining with other members in a household or farmstead to obtain a collectively larger share.

There are no indications of the evolvement up of a middle class of established and permanent larger scale farmers in the district. In fact the number of larger farm enterprises had actually declined since the end of last century. The autonomous growth of a farming community of middle sized farmers in the Mpungu, Nkenyauna, Kantenda and Kivuku regions in the seventies did not continue, even the number of larger scale farmers diminished (refer note 7).

A number of factors hamper the continuation of a larger farming enterprise in the district. These factors also impede the emergence of a stable middle class farming community in the district. Observations and interviews, held in 2002 and 2012, with farmers or with relatives of deceased farmers who had larger farms in former years, revealed the following points:

1. Often the success of a farming enterprise depends on an active and enterprising family head. In many cases these were persons who started their career with work in the mines or jobs in town, who brought some capital back home with them and started a farming enterprise. In due course the farming activities of the family head dwindle, as a result of sickness, divorce, family instability or ageing. The younger generation is not interested in continuing the enterprise.
2. The economic wealth of the family has provided the opportunity for the next generation to receive a good and advanced education, which leads to job opportunities in town. The ambition of the next generation to take over and to assist in the hard work and the uncertainties of a farming enterprise, does not emerge.
3. In general, farming carries lower esteem than a more secure paid job in town or with government, both of which provide higher status. The potential offered by a business enterprise is also valued more. Farmers who do well with farming often switch their capital to business work by starting a shop or buying a truck for transport and gradually favour other work above their farming work.
4. Today's subsidy system is focused on the advancement of the small farmer, i.e. a maximum subsidy for two lima per registered farmer. Although more farmers can be registered within a household, this system offers no incentive for the middle and large scale commercial farmer (farms of 10 or more hectare). Moreover, the market price of maize does not cover the production costs, without subsidized supplies. The costs of buying fertilizer and seed are high and the nationally set price per bag of maize is low. These factors make it unattractive for the larger commercial farmer to grow maize. Other crops do have a better profit, but as said before, the market facilities for other produce are meagre and the transport costs to the distant, larger urban regions in the country are great. Therefore, large scale farming is still not attractive in the district. The few farmers who do so focus mainly on cattle farming.
5. There is also the question of succession rules. In the case of the Bakaonde people, the traditional matrilineal succession customs play an adverse role. First the younger brother/s is/are the customary inheritors, but after that generation, the nephews (the children of the sister) are the inheritors. This creates friction with the sons of the farmer, since they were often the ones who worked with the farmer to develop the farming enterprise. They feel they are the rightful people to continue owning the farm, but tradition says they should hand over to the nephew. Despite this factor, current official inheritance indicates differently (refer next chapter).
6. A customary aspect that did, and still, plays a role in the rural areas is the adverse attitude towards the accumulation of wealth around one person or nucleus household. Wealth raises suspicion (refer Crehan's research (1997) on villagers and farmers in the Mufumbwe region). Those who don't distribute their wealth are a threat to the broader kinship relation system. A farmer who is doing well, and obviously has more power, money and influence than others, is very soon accused of having magical medicines and witchcraft (bulozhi) means.

There was and (partly) still is, a very strong equalizing system in Kaonde society with a focus on the wider lineage group, instead of the individual nuclear family. The only escape is migration to towns. Only a few find ways to maintain a wealthy position in the village environment by either possessing an accepted position like headman or by possessing a well acknowledged position in a church environment (specific examples are found for example among the Jehovah Witnesses, Jaeger 1981, Crehan 1985, 1997).

The above factors impede the establishment and growth of a middle class farming community in a rural area like Kasempa.

In relation to the small scale commercial farming situation the following may be said: with the introduction of a subsidy system for all registered farmers, anywhere in the district, and wide spread marketing depots for maize (despite existing bottlenecks mentioned above), an opportunity exists for all inhabitants to participate in small scale commercial farming. This allows any individual to earn an income through farming, anywhere in the district. The low population density, and relatively small cultivated areas mean moreover, that shifting and semi-permanent cultivation can continue without severe environmental problems.

With the Kaonde shifting cultivation system, where trees are cut at 'knee height' and trunks are left in the ground, soil erosion is diminished and bush regenerates quickly. Enough potentially arable soil is available on the plateau areas (red R1 clay soils) and along the rivers and valleys (black clay soil). To date, the fairly flat topography of the region has limited severe erosion problems. The demographic situation, with the high population growth (refer to chapter 2) may cause a reverse situation in the long term future.



Chitemene garden near a village



Middle class farmer with his tractor, 1978, after his death the farm activities went down

CHAPTER

AUTONOMOUS AND PLANNED CHANGES IN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

3.

CHANGES OF VILLAGES LOCATION

Over a period of fifty years there has been a substantial change in village settlement patterns in the district

In the last century the Bakaonde village clusters consisted of a group of villages under the leadership of a headman or chief, around 20 to 40 villages, each village having 20 to 30 inhabitants. The villages were located along the many small streams in the district and moved regularly. A specific clan (the clan of the headman) was dominant in those clusters (Jaeger 1981).

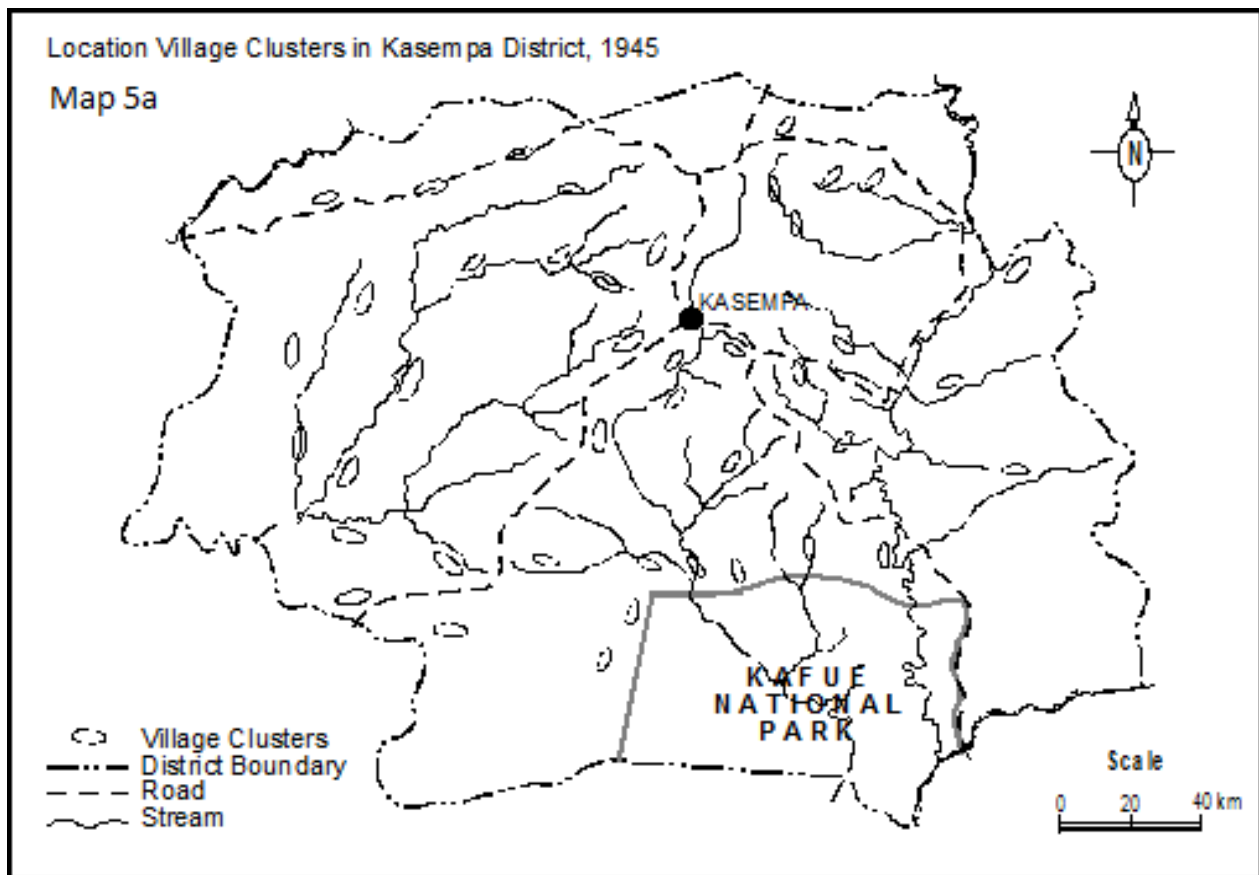
In colonial times village movements were not forbidden by the colonial administration, but they were discouraged. The villages had to be of a reasonable size (at least of 10 -15 living huts and a central meeting place). The division of villages into smaller units was forbidden. Authorisation was required for the establishment of a new village.

Map 5a (overleaf) gives an overview of the location of the village groups in 1945, spread over the whole area of the district and located near streams/rivers.

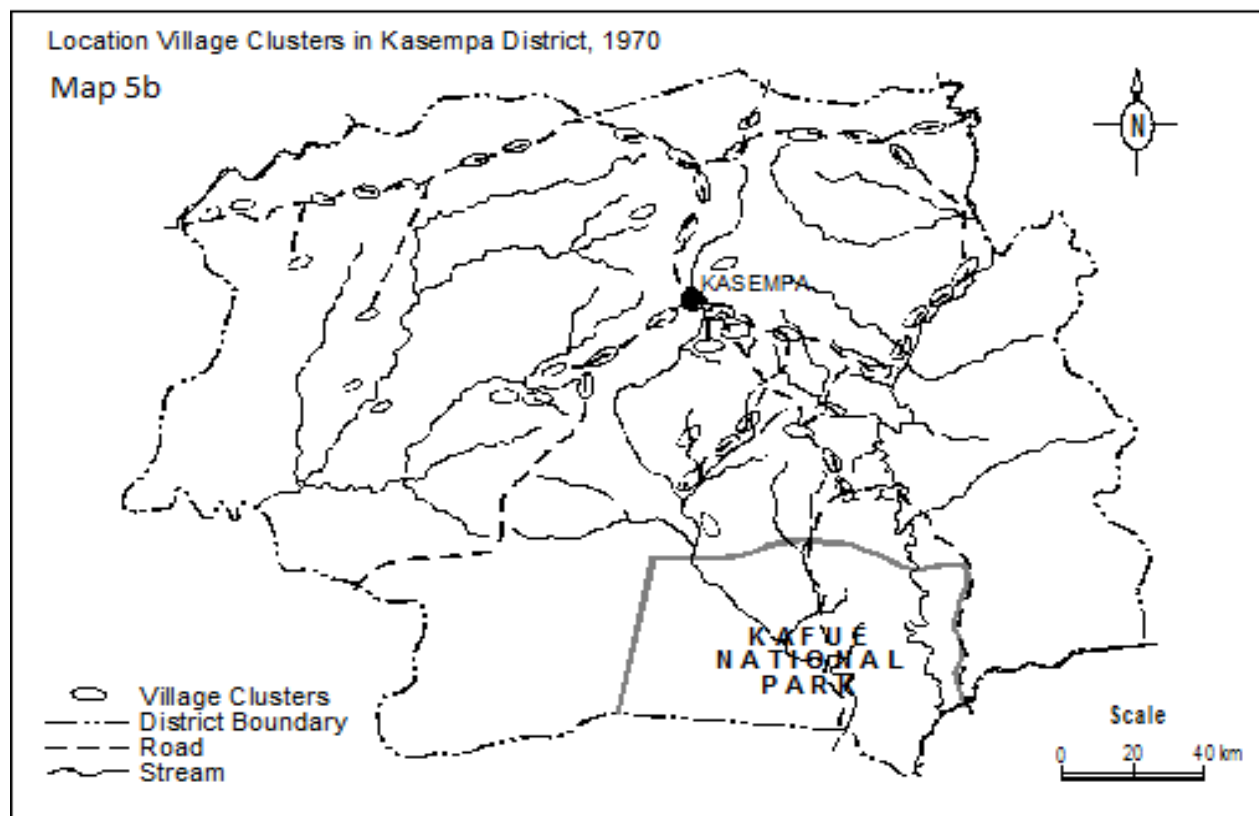
In the years at the dawn of independence, and specifically since 1964, restriction of size and movement were abolished and a clear change in the settlement pattern of the district started. Many village groups moved towards the main roads, which became the important arteries in the region, and very often villages split into smaller units.

Map 5b (overleaf) shows the settlement pattern in the seventies, the movement of villages clusters towards and along the main roads in the district clearly visible. This change towards the roads, and partly to the main nodal area in the district was an autonomous change and did not lead in the first instance to a split up of the traditional village set up.

In her study on the history of Mwinilunga District (2013) Iva Pesa notes that older anthropological studies predicted disintegration of villages and their lineage bonds occurring with development and commercialisation as a linear process. She convincingly argues that there is not a linear process along predicted lines of change and development, but that changes take their own way and directions based, and closely connected as they are, on existing regional family structures and century old traditional customs.

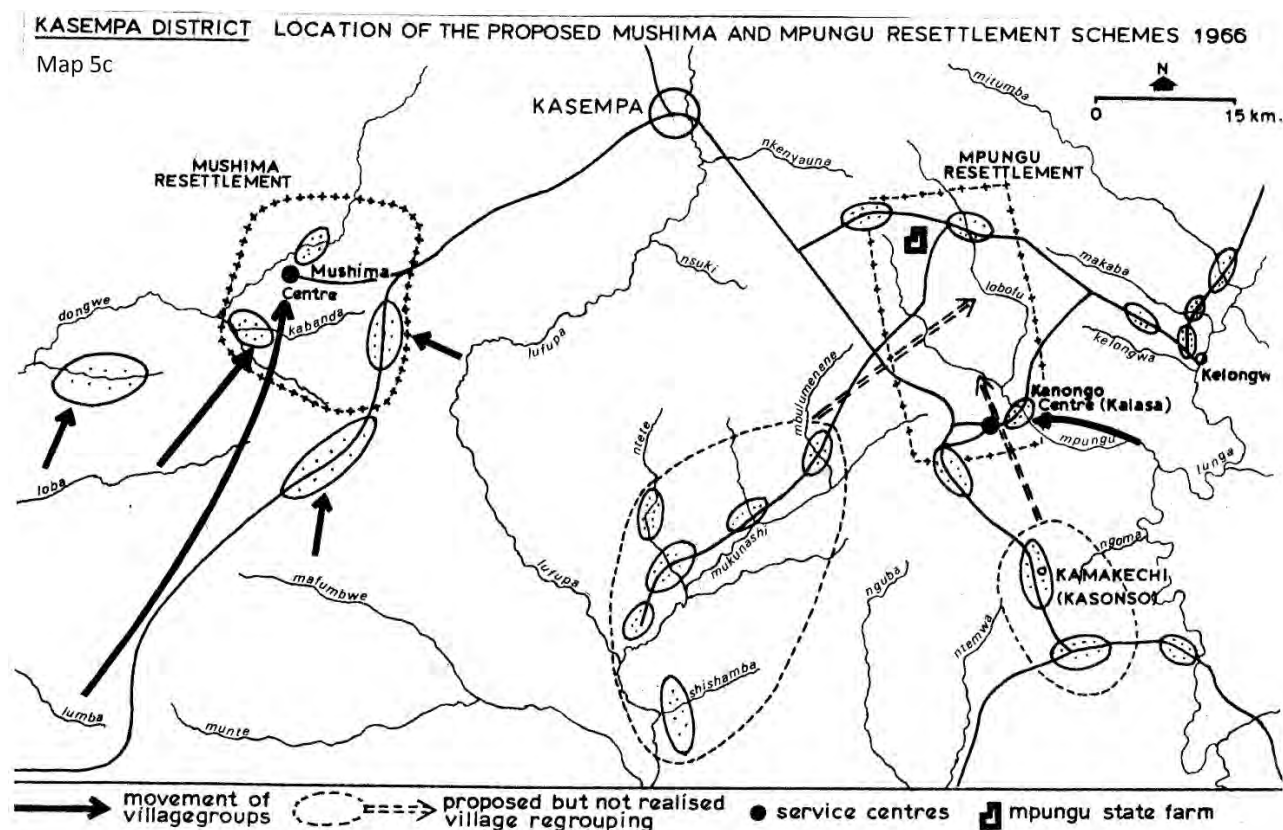


Map 5a Location village clusters in 1945



Map 5b Location of village groups mainly along the roads

To redress the inefficient and difficult task of administering a situation with an extremely spread pattern of village groups all over the district, large scale plan board schemes (refer also the Tanzanian village regrouping schemes), were drawn up to concentrate and resettle a large part of the district population in areas nearer to the core of the district in the early sixties, with the aim of providing better services and marketing opportunities. The intent during that period was also to move villages out of the thickly invested tsetse fly areas. The rapid increase of sleeping sickness cases in the district in those years added urgency to the plans to remove villagers to or nearer tsetse free zones in the centre of the District, areas with a higher altitude. In less densely populated regions and large open agricultural fields the presence of tsetse flies and the threat sleeping sickness cases is reduced.



However, the village groups of former Chief Kasonso, (refer photo of Chief Kasonso Kiwezhi, installed in 1937,) much larger in size than the Kalasa group, flatly refused to move to that area.

Government pressure through explanatory meetings and the extra services provided had no influence. The village groups argued that they were not willing to be moved again as they had been forced twice in the 1940s and the 1950's to move out of the Kafue National Park. Moreover they were not willing to move to, and mix with, an area where another chief of a different clan group was already living. They strongly insisted on keeping their own identity (Jaeger, 1981). The same applied to the village groups in the Mukunashi region. Local tradition and own identity were much stronger than (uncertain) government promises.



Chief Kasonso Kiwezhi (1967)

In the case of the Mushima resettlement, only one group of villages with Chief Mushima resettled in an area around 30 km southwest of Kasempa Centre. They received a pumped water supply and other services. But most of the other villages in that region also remained farther away from the planned scheme.

Gradually, the intentions to pursue the plans for these village resettlement schemes disappeared, and government attention changed towards individual farmers' settlement schemes (refer chapter 2).



Pumped water supply at the Mushima resettlement scheme, 1968

In the same period an unplanned, autonomous migration took place around the centre of the district. Individual villagers (or sections of a village separating from a larger village) moved to regions nearer Kasempa, such as the Nkenyauna/Kantenda and Kivuku areas. Apart from that, there was the return migration of individual farmers and their nucleus families from towns and the mines, often with a small capital and/or pension, to the newly established farmers' settlement schemes at Mpungu and Nkenyauna.

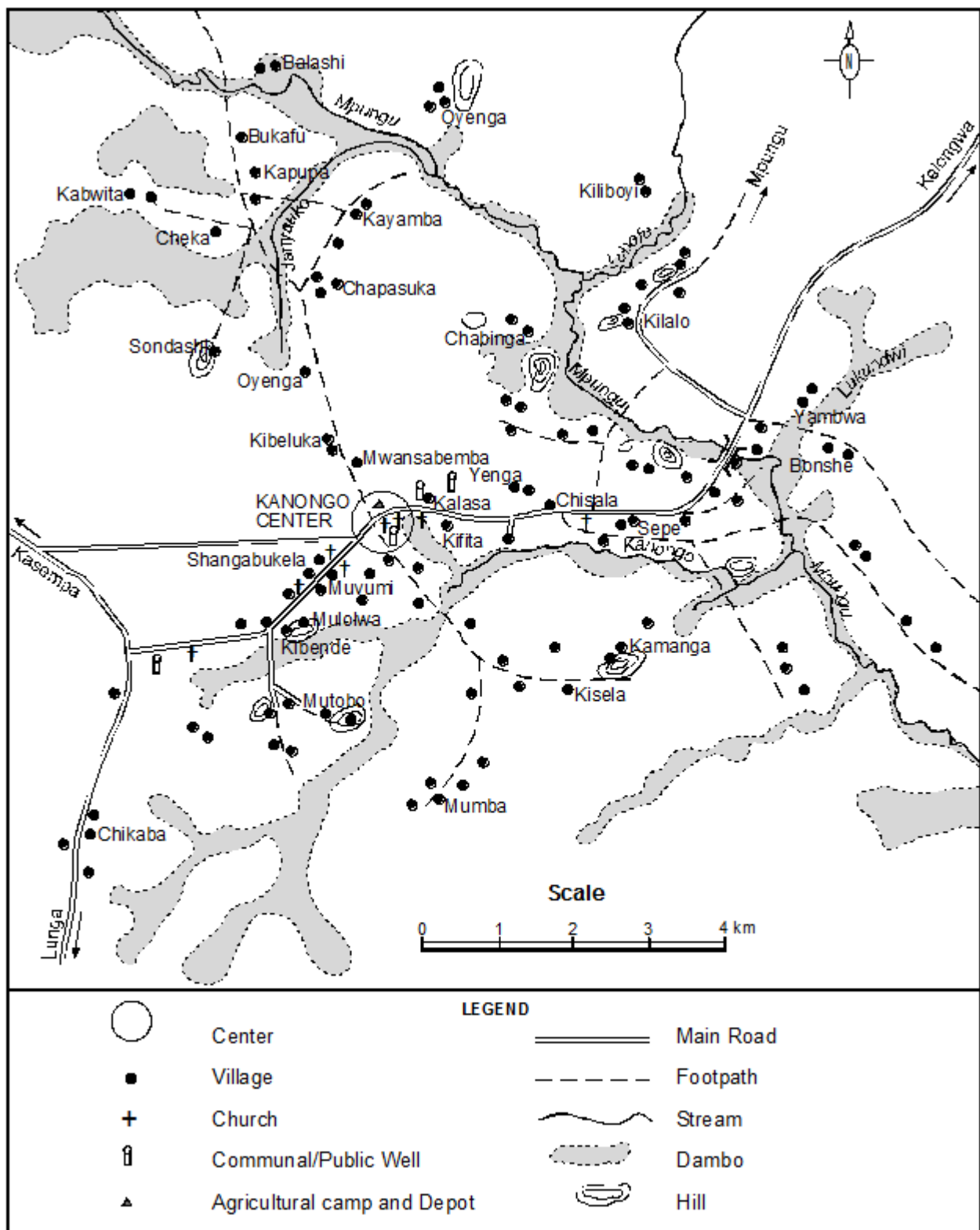
Altogether, in the sixties and seventies there was quite a change in the district's settlement pattern. After those years, the pattern stabilized with fewer major changes occurring, although a gradual further concentration of villages and homesteads of individual farmers continued along the main roads and the main nodes in the district, namely to the Kasempa Centre and the area near the junction of the Kasempa-Solwezi road (Kamfulafula and Kaimbwe regions) and near the Kalulushi road and Lunga Bridge (map 2). The main settlement choices were those locations where a road crosses a stream, i.e. places with both transport facilities and water supply opportunities.

However, a substantial number of people still live outside of a 40 km radius from the Kasempa Centre, in peripheral areas, with all the problems of less marketing opportunities, higher transport costs and greater distances to service deliveries.

In these areas, villages are often spread fairly extensively in a radius of about 5 km around a service centre. Map 6 (overleaf) of the Kanongo area presents an example of today's spread of villages, in this case the Kalasa village cluster group, around the Kanongo service centre.

In the centre are the school, clinic, local court, agricultural extension camp, agricultural cooperative depot, water pumps, and some shops, churches of various Christian denominations and the palace of the local chief. The villages are spread over an area of around 5 km radius, mainly along the valleys/dambos. Here the dual land use system is widely practised (as mentioned above in the paragraph on agriculture) of many (semi-) permanent small commercial maize fields (2 till 4 limas) ,which deliver a substantial production to the maize market, and continuation of shifting cultivation (chitemene) and the various small gardens along dambo or river.

The vast surrounding bush areas in these peripheral areas deliver moreover a variety of products from the forest, like timber, charcoal, honey, mushrooms, edible roots, insects, medicines and opportunities for fishing and small game hunting.



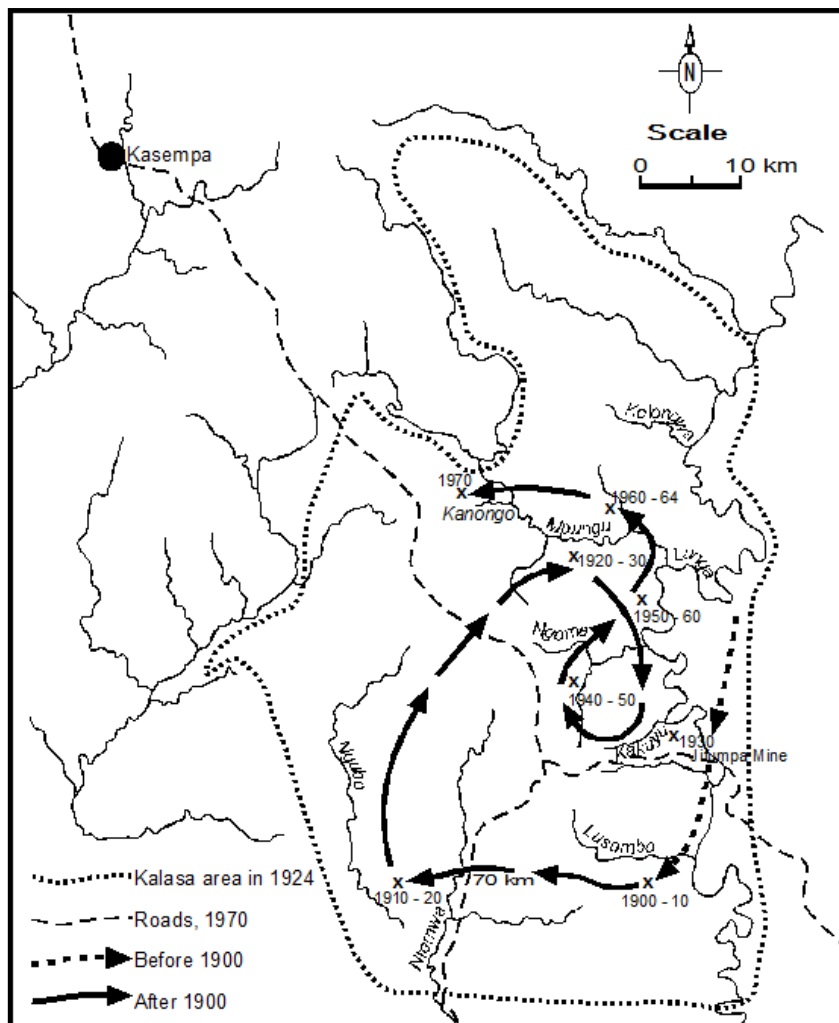
Map 6 Kalasa village region and Kanongo service centre

VILLAGE MORPHOLOGY

Another major change over the last fifty years and, especially during the last decades, is the disintegration of the larger traditional village layout of a headman with his extended family.

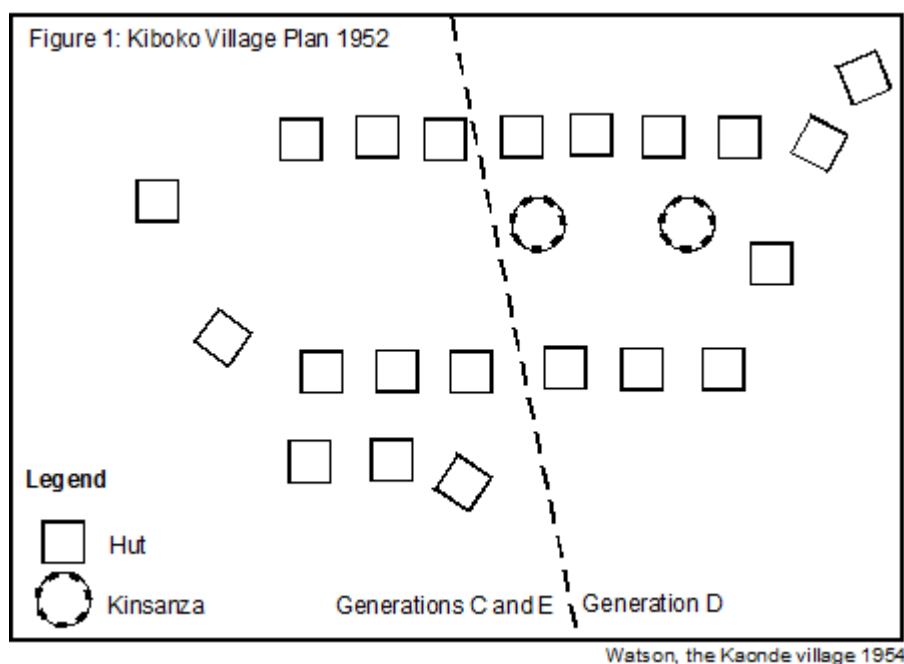
Previously, traditional villages had over 30 people, today villages have been split into individual homesteads of one or two households (10 to 15 people or less). In the 19th century and before, people lived in fairly large villages, with a stockade around, 'Nsakwa', as a protection against wild animals, slave raiding attacks and war. Outside the stockade there were temporary grass huts, nearby the gardens, used during times of cultivation activities.

Since colonial times with the establishment of international boundaries, large scale migration came to an end, and a pattern of fixed and recognized chiefdom areas came into existence, with the administration drawing up the approximate boundaries. Within these areas the chief and his followers still continued to move their village clusters. For example, see the movements of the Kalasa village group over a period of seventy years (1900-1970) (map 7).



Map 7 Movement Kalasa village cluster 1900-1970

In colonial times the village headman were urged by colonial officers to build their houses in two long rows (like a street), the so called 'dandanda system' (refer fig 1) .This village lay out was the main overall pattern at the dawn of Independence.



According to old customs, the villages had two 'generational' sections. A spatial separation of generations, between a senior and a junior section, was of major importance in olden times. The village consisted of a senior section, with the headman and his brothers and a junior section of the nephews, (the children of his sisters) and the grandparents i.e. 'mutenge wa bakulumpe' and 'mutenge wa banyike'. After the death of a headman and succession by a nephew, the status of these sections would reverse (refer Watson, 1958 'The Kaonde village' and Jaeger 1981). In the village both sections had their own 'kinsanza' open meeting hut (and place for men to drink and eat).The kinsanza of the senior section of the Headman was the main meeting hut; men from the junior section were not allowed to sit inside, they joined the meeting by sitting at the edge of the hut.

The disintegration of the larger traditional village layout of a headman living together with his extended family in villages of over 30 to 50 people, into individual homesteads of one or two households (10 to 15 people or less) is shown in the maps of the layout of a well-known village in the Lubofu area, Kiboko, closely related to the Kasempa chieftainship. The 'dandanda' layout in 1950 is clearly visible (Watson 1950), (figure1, above).

Since independence this gradually disappeared. For Kiboko village in 1968, the old homes in line are still partly visible (figure 2, overleaf). By 1980 there is a pattern of a cluster of separate homesteads (figure 3, overleaf). The village is today composed of separate groups of houses. The whole cluster of these housing groups are, however, still known under their original village name and recognize the position of their village headman, who lives also on his own compound consisting of a few buildings.

Figure 2: Kiboko Village Plan 1968

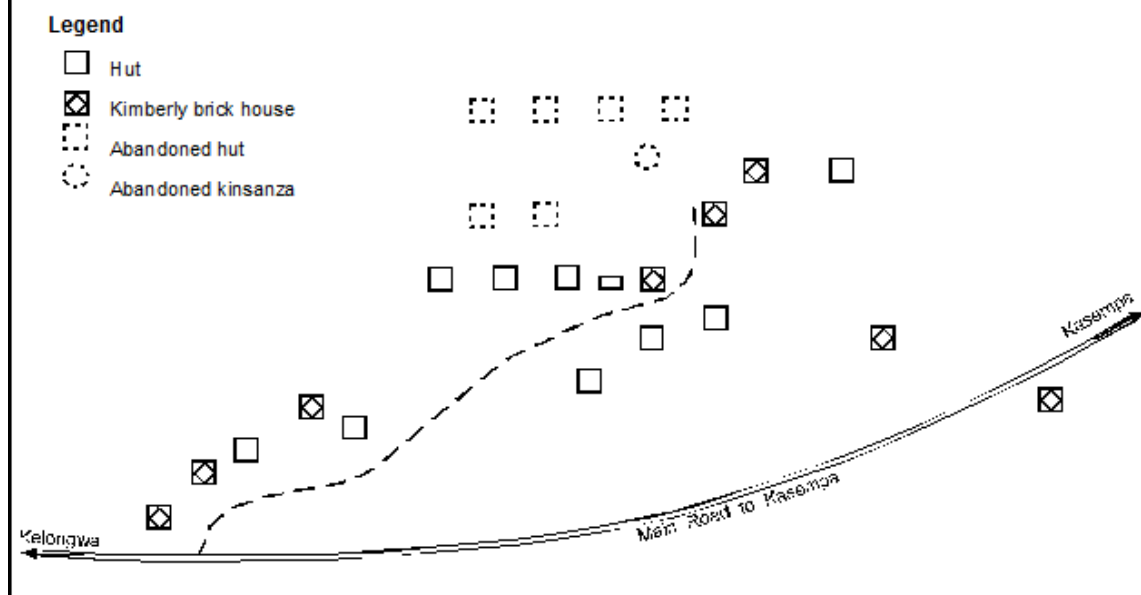
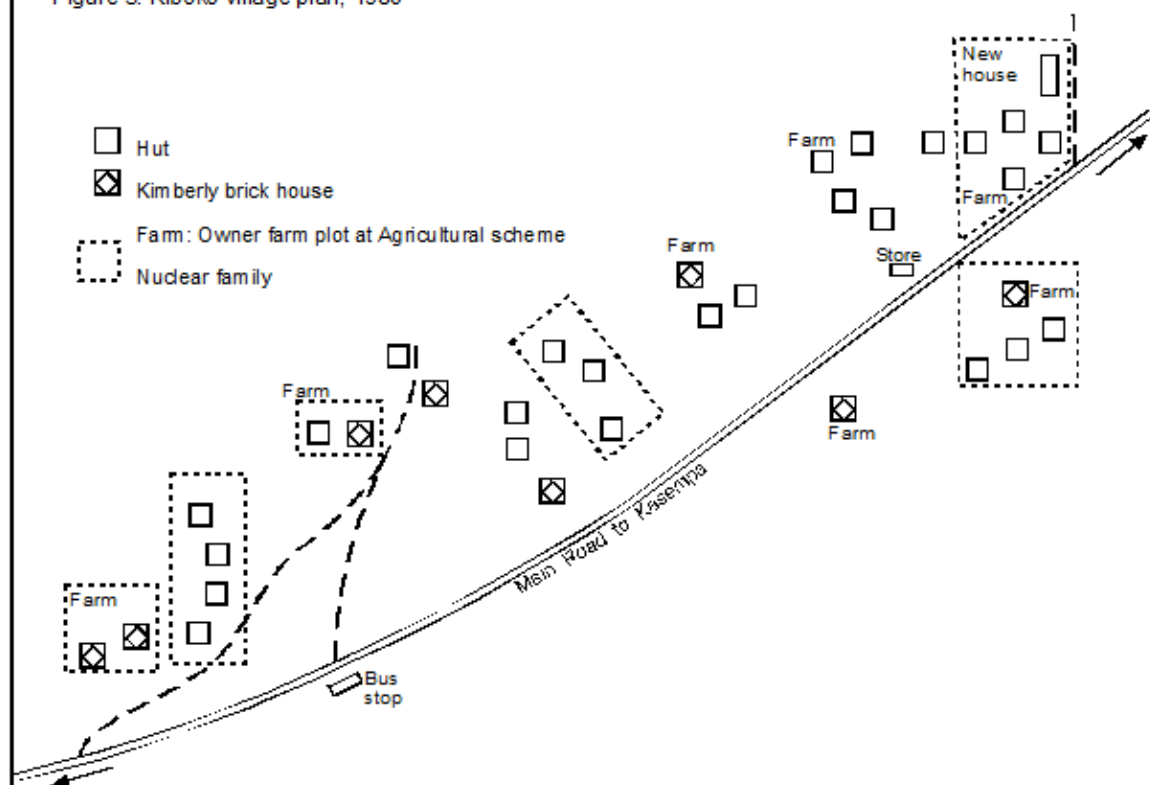


Figure 3: Kiboko village plan, 1980



Each family unit, consisting of one or two households, run their own farm and sometimes some other enterprises, like carpentry workshop, grinding mill, sewing business, or hiring out transport facilities such as an oxen cart. In contrast to the olden days, nowadays houses often have decorations on the walls and have hedges and trees and sometimes a lawn around. These are clear indications of a permanent and stabilised settlement pattern.



Happy with their garden and decorations on wall of the house

CHAPTER 4. INFRASTRUCTURE

Over the last five decades there has been a substantial growth in service availability in Kasempa District, such as schools, clinics, water supply, agricultural extension services and other projects spread all over the district . Most of the villages, even in the peripheral areas, are serviced by at least a primary school and a clinic, within a distance of five to ten kilometres.

Prior to, and at, independence (1964), there were a small number of native and mission schools in Kasempa District, totalling roughly ten, and one higher primary school at Kasempa Boma (Wilkin 1983). After fifty years of Independence, there are now 75 schools with a total enrolment of 25,662 pupils and a teaching staff of 585 (figures 2012). There are seven secondary schools of which three in Kasempa centre, namely Kasempa Day Secondary School, Kasempa Boys' Secondary School and Mukinge Girls' Secondary School, 51 primary and middle basic schools and 17 community schools. The community schools usually consist of one or two classes and, with the help from locals and government, are in the process of becoming full basic schools.



A view of a primary school area in the rural surroundings.

This means that, by and large, the young generation in the district is enrolled at some school. In the peripheral areas there are problems with inadequate class rooms, meaning that teaching is often done in two or even three shifts per day. There is also a lack of sufficient teachers and their long absences from schools is a drawback. Non-attendance of classes by pupils during periods when families shift to live near their fields, for several months, during farming season is also common in these peripheral areas. Teenage girls' attendance of school is usually low, due to early marriages, pregnancies and household tasks assigned to them in families.

The population of Kasempa centre has been growing steadily, from around 2,000 in 1964 to an estimated 10,000 in 2010 (refer annex 5). The growth of Kasempa, though, has been a gradual process, which cannot be compared with the spectacular, booming, growth of the provincial capital, Solwezi. There has been also a notable proliferation of a variety of improved living quarters around the centre (low, medium and high cost houses), commercial areas and churches, as well as an area for government and local administration offices, mainly in the area of the former Kasempa Boma.

Like most districts in the Province, since 1974 Kasempa centre has been supplied with electricity generated by a diesel engine. However, early in this century the district was connected by the Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO) to the national electricity grid, which also serves areas around Kasempa, including the Farmers Training Centre in Nkenyauna.

The important advancement in telecommunication facilities in the district, made possible by the erection of a telecommunications tower by the Zambia Telecommunications Corporation (ZAMTEL) and other mobile phone providers, such as MTN and Airtel, have made cellular phone communication in the surroundings of the centre and along their main tared road possible. About one third of the population has a cellular phone (CSO Atlas, 2013 p133). To charge the phones small solar panels are present at many locations, even on the thatched roofs of simple pole and daga homes.

Radio broadcasting has also been improved through FM broadcasting from the Kasempa Community Radio Station. The FM radio station provides useful local and current affairs information and news. Broadcasts are carried out in Kikaonde and also in English. Nearly half of the population in Kasempa has a radio set, and those without radio sets access the broadcasts through cellular phones equipped with radios. The district is also able to receive television signals from three television stations.

The shopping area of Kasempa centre has grown in recent years, from one row of five shops, in the sixties, to an extensive area with over 100 bigger and smaller shops, marketplace, beer halls, restaurants and rest houses.



Kasempa market 2012

At the brink of independence there were, ten pharmaceutical dispensaries. Today there are 22 health centres spread over the district, in some cases with radio contact with the main hospital in the town centre. Most of these health centres have facilities to admit patients for hospitalisation.

Many of the illnesses treated today in these health centres are the same as those handled fifty years ago: malnutrition, malaria, coughs, diarrhoea, tuberculosis and over the last decades cases related to HIV/AIDS. Cases of sleeping sickness are rare these days. One well equipped and staffed hospital, Mukinge Hospital was established as a mission hospital in 1952, by the South African General Mission (SAGM), which is today called the Evangelical Church of Zambia (ECZ). It is today a General Hospital run by the government of Zambia, with a 200 bed capacity. For a long time, this hospital was famous for its specialization in the treatment of sleeping sickness and eye surgery.

Well known is also the Mukinge Zambia Enrolled Nurse Training School at the hospital. The school has been offering training of high standard to students coming from over Zambia. Located in the same area is the Mukinge Girls Secondary School (already mentioned above) I, one of the oldest and only girls' secondary school in the province, attracting pupils from all over the province and the country.

Today numerous churches are spread throughout the district. At the time of Independence there were a few active denominations with foreign orientation, some of which changed names at independence to: Evangelical Church of Zambia (ECZ), (before the (SAGM-South Africa General Mission), United Church of Zambia (UCZ) (an amalgamation of the Church of England and other foreign churches). Jehovah's Witnesses (Watch Tower) have long been active in the district. More recently the Roman Catholic Church (1978) opened a cathedral.

Currently there are at least thirty different denominations spread throughout the district, even in the most remote parts of the district church activities are intensive (see also next chapter and appendix 4), and new churches appear on a regular basis.



New churches are established at many places

An important development has been the provincial Rural Water for Health Project (D'WASHE supported by SNV) (Hinfelaar 2011). The project established well-constructed bore holes and hand pumps in the Solwezi and Kasempa Districts. The Kasempa district scores the highest in terms of the highest number of households using safe water sources, standing at 66%, while the average for the province is only 30% (CSO atlas 2013, p.142).

Today most of these bore holes and hand pumps operate very well, thanks to a small maintenance fee paid by the villagers. The good functioning of these bore holes also depends on the active involvement and ability of the community, ward councillors and area headmen. The high cost housing regions in Kasempa centre have a pumped water supply, the low cost areas make use of water kiosks.

There are a number of farmers who have erected dams on small rivers and irrigation channel systems which connect to fish ponds and vegetable gardens. In this regard, much more can still be developed, with the abundance of perennial streams and small rivers in the district.



Water kiosk in Kasempa centre, Mushelepete section, a low cost housing area, eastside of the Lobofu River (photo O'Callaghan)

The district has designated one area near the district centre as a Forest Reserve Area and for some time there has been a gum extraction project. To date, however, there have been no operational forest or timber production projects. Across the district, a visible increase in the production of charcoal and its sale along the main roads can be noticed. In the long run, this is developing into an environmental threat; deforestation is noticeable in main areas near the district centre, caused by the demand for charcoal.

Previous generations collected wood in the bush to use in the villages for cooking. These days a lot of cooking is done on charcoal. For the urban households in the centre, cooking on charcoal is also the main practice. There is also an increase in timber cutting in parts of the district for carpentry and sale in Lusaka and other parts of the country to feed the booming construction industry. This practice too, is rapidly contributing to deforestation.

Kasempa district has a history of mining from the past. There are several small copper and iron mines, used to produce crude materials in the past. Jifumpa Mine, near the East Lunga River has, for example, been long known as a location where traditional mining was done by the Kaondes. In 1930 mining on a commercial scale started, but was suspended again. During the last fifty years this small mine opened and closed several times. In the 1970s, it was opened and operated by the parastatal company, MINDECO (Mining Development Company). The mine closed after a couple of years, but was later re-opened by private entrepreneurs.

In the 1970s, the Kalengwa Copper Mine was opened in the Mufumbwe district. (Refer note 8). A new direct road towards Kalulushi was constructed and used to export crude copper ore. The output of this rich copper deposit quickly recovered the infrastructural costs. However diminishing output and falling copper prices caused the close of this mine.

Today intensive mining exploration is carried out by several companies from South Africa, China, South Korea and USA over the whole region of the district to search for gold, silver and uranium deposits and other minerals.

There are numerous small scale, local mining operations going on, with fluctuating success dependant on the copper price and level of management, such as in the Shivuma region (refer photo below) in the Mpungu and, Mbulumunene region , along the main T9 road to Solwezi (the small Katameno Gold mine) and in Mufumbwe District in the Mushima region along the road to Kaoma.

Presently larger developments are being undertaken by the Lunga Resources Mining Company on the eastside of the East Lunga River in the Lunga Game Reserve, around the old mining locations of Bufallo and Jumbo. These developments, of which most are legal, but sometimes illegal, however, are not at all of the scale that is currently taking place in the Solwezi and Mwinilunga districts.



Small open pit mine, local exploitation in Shivuma area (photo O'Callaghan)

Compared to fifty years ago, the road network within the district has not changed substantially. Most roads follow the higher plateau ridges. A few more feeder roads were constructed, but these are still inadequate and poorly maintained.

A very important improvement has been the construction of the tarred road (T5) from Solwezi to Zambezi with a branch to Kasempa, and with an extension to the Mukinge Hospital (completed in 2004).

This new road has greatly improved communication and marketing of produce, as well as personal travel, making Kasempa no longer the isolated district that it once was. It also attracts an increase of traffic on the road towards Kaoma and Mongu.

Certainly, these developments are still the beginning of more and better connections with the whole of the country in future years; a tarred road to link the district with Kaoma in Western Province will be important, as well as towards the southeast, to Mumbwa, to shorten travel time from Kasempa to Lusaka will be vital for the district, to improve communications, transport and tourism, as well as upgrading the road to Kalulushi and the Copper belt.

In the far future, even a railway link from the mining areas in Solwezi District, via Kasempa, to the Western Province, and further towards Namibia, down to the harbour of Walvis Bay on the Atlantic Ocean could be envisaged.

For further internal development, construction and maintenance of feeder roads in the district will be of major importance in opening up peripheral and remote areas and improve the marketing of produce and service delivery in these areas.



Bridge construction in a feeder road, Mpungu region 1970's, later the bridge was constructed with concrete pillars.



For a long period, this was the main road connection to Solwezi, pictured here in the rainy season (photo by Rinsum)





The new tarred road through the NW Province (T5) connecting all the District Capitals with the Provincial capital Solwezi, since the 2000s

PART II

CHAPTER 5. TRADITION AND CULTURE

His Royal Highness, Senior Chief Kasempa, has his Palace near the Kasempa centre. Kasempa is one of the few districts in Zambia named after a chief.

The name Kasempa came into use, and was well known from the time of Chief Kasempa Jipumpu, a fierce hunter and warrior, who defeated a small Lozi army, at Kamusongolwa Hill (Hill of Skulls) in 1898 (refer note 8). These warriors were sent by the Lozi King, Lewanika, to collect tribute in the area, but failed. Later Chief Kasempa paid a friendly visit to King Lewanika and handed over presents. But there has never been a regular tribute relation established between the Kasempa and the Barotse King.

Since that time, the Kasempa Chiefdom of the Bena Kyowa (mushroom) clan, has been an acknowledged and important presence in the area. The colonial administration appointed Chief Kasempa as Senior Chief in 1936; just as Chief Kapiji Mpanga of the Bena Kyulu (anthill) clan became senior chief in Solwezi district, so did Chief Mujimanzovu of the old Balonga (stream or water) clan.



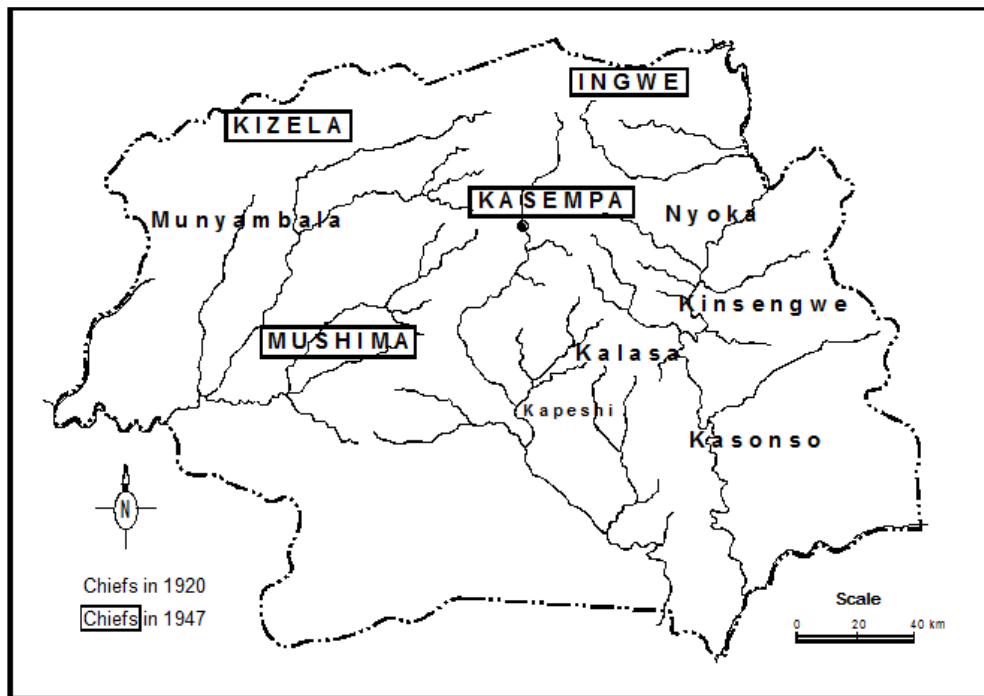
His Royal Highness Senior Chief Mushitala Kasempa after his installation in 1978

During the first part of the colonial period, between 1901 and 1933, the whole eastern part of the current North-Western Province was called "Kasempa District" and, for some time, "Kasempa Province". Since 1933 the administrative division and name of the province changed several times (Stone 1980, Jaeger 1981, Grant 2009), and the provincial capital became Solwezi.

Apart from Chief Kasempa, the colonial administration recognized nine other chiefs in Kasempa District, namely: Ingwe (of the Bapumbi clan), Nyoka (Balonga clan), Kinsengwe (Balembu clan), Kalasa (Bena Mbwa clan), Kasonso (Bena Kyulu clan), Kapeshi (Bena Kyulu clan), Mushima (Balembu clan), Munyambala (Bena Luo clan) and Kizela (Bena Luo clan). The three latter chiefs and clans are nowadays located in the Mufumbwe District.

All of these chiefdoms have a long, oral history about their migration, with their village clusters, from the Congo (The Lunda/Luba Empire of Mwanti Yamvwa, whereas the Kaonde are designated of original Luba/Sanga stock), into what is today Zambia. (For historical details refer to the literature by Chibanza, Melland, Short, Jaeger and note 1).

The colonial government tried to confine the populations of these respective chiefdoms in defined chiefdom areas and attempted to discourage village movements (refer chapter 3). In 1947 the number of chiefdoms was reduced to four: Kasempa, Ingwe, Mushima and Kizela. Smaller chiefdoms were brought under the jurisdiction of Senior Chief Kasempa and called 'ex-chiefs', namely, the Chiefs Nyoka, Kinsengwe, Kalasa and Kasonso. (The Chieftainship of Kapeshi was already abolished in 1937 and his village moved to Solwezi).



Map 8 Ten recognized Chiefdoms in 1920 and reduced to 4 main ones in 1947.

Chief Munyambala's chiefdom was merged with Chief Kizela's chiefdom also in 1947 (later the chiefs areas of Kizela and Mushima became a separate district, initially called Kizela District, but soon Mufumbwe District) (refer note 9). At the local level the change into a "former" or "ex-chief" status has never been accepted. Locally the ex-chiefs are recognized by their people as their chiefs, and most of the local courts remained at their places. Today some of them are referred to as Indunas of Senior Chief Kasempa. (Refer appendix 3b).

To date, clan membership is still alive, acknowledged and important. In Kasempa district there are about eighteen clan names encountered frequently (refer annex 3). The custom of cousinship, joking and teasing between clans (wunungwe), and mutual help rendered at funerals and other traditional events, such as during the installation ceremony of traditional leaders, are important functions that have to be fulfilled by members of the "wunungwe" clan (refer. note 11). These age-old traditional customs, dating back to the times when the Bakaonde lived in the Congo, are still practised; refer the account of two traditional installation ceremonies in the next chapter.

The District hosts a number of heritage sites, acknowledged as such since independence, by the National Heritage Conservation Commission of Zambia (NHCCZ). Among others are the palaces and burial places of former Kasempa chiefs and Kamusongolwa Hill. Interest in tradition and awareness of heritage, is stimulated by reviving of traditional ceremonies and government's support and promotion of these events all over the country.

In Kasempa district, each year, in June, the 'Juba Ja Nsomo' festival takes place at the palace of His Royal Highness, Senior Chief Kasempa. This festival is held to celebrate the first harvest of crops (finger millet, sorghum and maize). There is a large arena near the chief's palace where this annual event is held. (Refer appendix 3a with a list of the Kaonde festivals in the North-Western province).

During the festivity His Royal Highness receives many presents. Chiefs from the District and Province attend the festivities as well as Government officials and businessmen



Senior Chief Kasempa – in traditional dress, embroidered with mushrooms, indicating the Bena Kyowa clan. Watching the festivities of the Juba Nsoma.



A large crowd attend Juba Nsomo, 6 June 2013

PRESENT CULTURAL FEATURES

Various old traditions are kept – with time other traditions diminished in importance or changed. The main traditions are mentioned here.

Traditionally the BaKaonde practice the matrilineal system of inheritance. They belong to the group of matrilineal tribes that inhabited the Congo from west to east, and Lake Malawi (Douglas, 1964, Richards, 1950).

A child belongs to the clan of the mother. Succession takes place from the men to his nephew (male child of his sister). Today there are indications of a change towards the paternal system of succession and inheritance, a son is increasingly regarded as the rightful heir to his father's property, as opposed to the nephew according to the matrilineal system. Since 1989 the Zambian Interstate Succession Act of 1989, says both sons and daughters have the right of inheritance to their parents' estate (property). These changes and new laws cause friction within and between families (refer. Note 10). The same applies for the rules with marriage. Traditionally this was uxorilocal, the bridegroom had to settle in the village of his bride to deliver work for a few years, before they were allowed to move elsewhere or to start their own village. Today there is a change and couples increasingly decide themselves where to live and pay a fee or compensation.

In former days, villages would be vacated and moved after a villager died, especially when a village headman or chief died. The dwelling place of the deceased would be burnt to ashes. This was done in order to exorcise the village of the ghost of the deceased. Nowadays, with the pattern of fixed villages and construction of permanent and durable houses, this trend has been abandoned. Today the house is usually left abandoned for a number of years, but later reoccupied by others, often not directly related to the deceased.

Today many houses are constructed using durable materials, such as burnt or sun-baked bricks, corrugated iron roofing sheets, wooden doors and door frames – although glass window panes are rarely used in the windows, leaving windows darkened. The layout around the houses is embellished with gardens, and decorations are sometimes found on the outside walls.

All over the District in contrast to fifty years ago, there is a vibrant Christian community life with many churches in the village clusters of a variety of denominations (refer annex 3 for a list of names). There is also a regular split within church communities of pastors who start their 'own' church. Church attendance is high and several activities during weekdays constitute important, and to some extent, regular social events in a village area.



The very active and lively church community (ECZ) in Lubofu region



There is a frequent exchange of church choirs between churches on Sundays

Over the last decades the importance of sports events in the villages and at schools has been growing, although in the area of sport more stimulation could be provided for the youth. Soccer, and to a certain extent athletics, are the most popular sports activities, taking place at inter-school competition level.

There is also much entrepreneurship in the district now, compared to fifty years ago, with a wide variety of activities, such as carpentry, woodcarving, repair of bicycles and cars, welding, sewing, house construction, charcoal production and many other small scale business activities. Entrepreneurship is further stimulated over the last years by the use of the mobile phone network. Banking and money transfers can easily be arranged and users are able to communicate with their business partners, relatives and friends all over the country and abroad.

Witchcraft practices (buloshi) are still alive in daily village life, and are commonly believed to be practised at a level comparable with older days. Traditional healers, diviners and witch finders are active. Witchcraft practices, as described by Melland in the 1920's, like the "moving coffin" used to identify a witch or wizard, are alive. The moulding of clay idols for use in witchcraft and witch finding, and the creation of water snakes ('malomba') to attack and kill foes, are public knowledge in the region.

A major change in the region, compared to fifty years ago, is that the men's daily activity as a hunter has literally disappeared. In olden days hunting was the most beloved pastime for men; it was regarded as the most meaningful and prestigious male occupation (Melland, 1923, Bantje, 1978). Today there is nearly no hunting (or poaching) any more, due to the extermination of game.



A local hunter in the 1960s,
Mushima area

The advance of commercial farming has ensured that men have become farmers, craftsmen or businessmen and recently they have begun an engagement with animal husbandry activities. The last is a significant change from the much beloved activity of hunting and killing animals to the daily tending of livestock in a dedicated way.

For most women, however, changes have been less significant. Women continue to mostly play a role in agriculture (together with their children), as previously in the traditional subsistence situation. A major change that has affected women's activities has been the transition from sorghum to maize as a staple food; there is no endless pounding of sorghum and bird scaring in the millet and sorghum fields.

There is also another important demographic and cultural change, namely a substantial increase in separated matriarchal households (typical throughout the country); these households are accepted, have their own living quarters in a village, and fulfil all the functions of an independent economic unit.

In older days an important village tradition (within the matrilineal organized society) was the girls' initiation ceremony (Kisungu). Young girls were kept in the bush in temporary huts for a week or more, and instructed by the elder women as to their marital duties, and how to fulfil their family obligations. (Melland, 1926 p 76) The coming-out ceremony was a great festivity as well as the presentation of the girl to her future husband.

These days, if it takes place at all, it is only for about a day and in many cases there are no prior marriage arrangements made for the girl.(The Kaonde do not have a boys initiation ceremony.)



KISUNGU, Girls intitation, an important village happening



The white flag on the pole announces that the girl is available for marriage.

A very important ceremony is still the installation of a new Headman, specifically when it concerns a Chief or Regional Headman. The next chapter gives a detailed account of the installation procedure of two Regional Headmen in the last decades. The importance of the clan structure in Kaonde society is in both cases evident. The installation of a new Regional Headman is overseen and sanctioned by the Senior Chief and his main councillors.



Senior Chief Samushi Kasempa, chief from 1945 till 1975, with his wives and children.
(photo R Short)



Luonge, double bell - ancient chieftainship paraphernalia (photo R. Short)



A Kaonde smith –a highly esteemed Kaonde craft at work, 1968
(photo H. Bantje)

CHAPTER 6. INSTALLATION CEREMONY OF REGIONAL HEADMEN

INSTALLATION OF HEADMAN KIBOKO, 2006

Background on Kiboko

The name Kiboko is an old name within the Kasempa Chieftainship of the Bena Kyowa (the mushroom) clan. For the origin of the clan name Bena Kyowa, see note 11.

The first chief, according to oral history, of the Kasempa Chieftainship hierarchy, was Kiboko (Chibanza, 1962, Jaeger, 1981), who received this title from the Lunda Paramount Chief Musokantanda in the DRC, around three centuries ago. Mythology says they lived near a stream called Kaonde.

Since Kiboko, eleven chiefs succeeded him to the present Senior Chief Kasempa Mushitala (installed in 1978) and presently named His Royal Highness, with his palace near the District capital Kasempa.

During the last centuries, the clan group Bena Kyowa under leadership of their subsequent chiefs, moved along various rivers in the Congo and then for some 200 years through the region now called North-Western Province (NWP) (see Jaeger, 1972, 1981).

Around the beginning of the twentieth century, Chief Kasempa Jipumpi was settled in his stockade (a walled settlement - against war raiders and slave raiders) at Kamusongolwa Hill. In wartime, this hill was their refuge and they defeated a small Lozi army, sent by the Barotse King Lewanika at this location, in 1895. This heroic feat is memorized in Kaonde History.

Since the time of Chief Jipumpu, the name Kasempa has been in common use, meaning the (bark and hide) cloth of the fighters which became in a state of disarray during a fight, because under the leadership of Jipumpi his men had to fight often and at short notice, so there was no time to adjust clothing.

Within the Bena Kyowa clan, the name Kiboko remained an important name and one of the most important regional Headman (c.f. Induna) of Senior Chief Kasempa is called Kiboko; they still claim that they originate from the lineage of the first chief and still have claims on the Kasempa chieftainship. The lineage of Kiboko lived in the village of Chief Kasempa until the early 20th century. Later they relocated approximately 50 miles to the north-west of Kasempa and formed a separate village. In 1932, there was severe discontent about the succession of the headman, and the Kiboko village split into two parts – Kiboko Mushitala (also called Mukungwila) and Kiboko Mwatula.

The village Kiboko Mushitala is today located along the main T5 road, near the Solwezi-Kasempa turnoff; Nselauke, the village of Kiboko Mwatula settled in the Lubofu river area (30 miles south east of Kasempa), and became the principal village in that area with its headman.

Kiboko Mwatula became the regional headman for Chief Kasempa in the Lubofu region. In that area, there are about 20 other villages, with some of the Bena Kyowa clan, but also several other clans, like the Basamba, Bayanga and Benambuzhi clans. Near to this region is the Mpungu

settlement scheme, that produced large quantities of maize for many years. It is a comparatively wealthy rural area, with good soils and various small streams. (Refer also chapter 4).

In 1951, Mwatula Muluka became Headman of the Kiboko village and thereby regional headman for Senior Chief Kasempa in that area. He was Headman for a long time and died in 1981. He was succeeded by Jersey Sandasanda Jipampala, a younger brother to Muluka. He was widely well-known under the name Sandasanda, as the first Kaonde teacher in Kasempa District in 1942. He died at the age of 86 in Mukinge Hospital in October 1991 (his age is not accurately known, it might be he died when he was near to his 80th year).



Headman Kiboko, with his wife and grandchildren, at Kiboko village, 1982

In 1991, he was succeeded by Patama Mwatula, a nephew of Muluka (this succession first to a younger brother Sandasanda, then to a nephew, male child of a sister, and then to the grandchildren – according to the matrilineal succession system of the Kaonde). Patama was already swanamuni – deputy of the village headman – in the period that Sandasanda was seriously ill, and his succession was arranged quickly and peacefully. Patama died in 2004. After long deliberations, a new headman was installed in 2006.

Among the Kaonde it is a well-known fact that several years may elapse before a new Headman is installed (see Melland, 1928, p. 96), specifically when there is discussion on the correct line of inheritance and also when there are rumours of witchcraft regarding the death of the former one. Deliberations about the succession can take time especially when it is disputed who exactly comes nearest to succession according to the matrilineal succession system. When there are many younger brothers and nephews of different women in the lineage and from the same clan, this can cause long debates and delays.

Traditionally there was also a hunting test. (refer Short p 96) A hunting expedition was organised, if a male animal is shot, it means a bad omen and the considered candidate will not be eligible. In addition, the suitability and the character of a candidate is taken into account (in the older days, for instance a well-known hunter or warrior, and today an educational record and the ability to speak good English is desirable) Advice is solicited from the senior chief specifically in cases, such as this, where it concerns a regional headman/induna. The most important character trait is a calm, stable and peaceful disposition, and the ability to take well founded decisions.

During the vacancy there is a swanamuni (acting village headman), in this instance Wandisja, who lived near to Patama and is a respected elder and active farmer in the region. There is also a caretaker, Mumbelunga, whose task it is to look after and guard the chieftainship paraphernalia during the period when a new headman/chief has not yet been appointed. According to ancient custom, that office bearer is from a different clan, (the Wunungwe clan) to avoid him taking the paraphernalia himself, running away with it and appointing himself as the incumbent headman/chief. In this case, the Mumbelunga was of the same clan as Kiboko – Bena Kyowa, a younger trusted farmer in the region.

The paraphernalia of Headman Kiboko are supposedly old and numerous - not all Kaonde headmen or chiefs have so many (see photos). They consist of:

- The Mpande shells, in this case two, bound with a string on the head,
- A lukano, a large ivory bracelet,
- A fly whisk (an elephant tail with an ivory handle),
- The Luonge, iron bells, originally two melded together, but in most cases they are split and there is only one,
- A traditional small axe,
- A bag of an animal hide, in which the paraphernalia are kept together, and
- A round wooden stool.

The Wunungwe clan plays an important role at the installation ceremony – the joking relation clan of the Bena Kyowa, in this case the Bena Kyulu clan. Members of the Wunungwe clans perform reciprocal functions for each other, mainly at burial and installation ceremonies (refer note 11).

THE INSTALLATION OF HEADMAN KIBOKO ON 4/5/6 OCTOBER 2006

The actual instalment of a regional headman or induna is performed under authorization of the Senior chief. Nowadays, it has also become the custom that a type of election takes place, and the opinions of the older men and women of the same clan are recorded. Separate meetings with the men and the women are arranged under chairmanship of the representative of the senior chief.

In the case of this succession a formal election took place, there were three candidates namely the Swanamuni, the Mumbelunga, and thirdly a Bena Kyowa clan member - a farmer who lived in another village (in the Matebo area) and speaks English well. He too is linked to the lineage of Kiboko. He was proposed by some Bena Kyowa clan members and traders no longer resident in Kiboko village, but living at Kasempa Centre. All three candidates do have lineage ties to the former headman and are eligible. Under the leadership of the representative of Senior Chief Kasempa, Mr Harriwell Lunbinga, a meeting with the elder Bena Kyowa members present was

held. His function is also referred to as the 'King maker', he does not appoint or choose the new headman/chief, but he chairs the process and he is the one who announces the name of the chosen one. At the first meeting on Thursday, there was a vote. Only Bena Kyowa elders are allowed to take part, but they not have necessarily to live in the village any more, and can come from far. This process of a democratic voting procedure is a relative new rule, which came into use recently. Today clan members who live far away, or in urban areas, join the decision making process. In former days there were no voting procedures, but lengthy indabas in the village and deliberations until all village headmen of the same clan concerned agreed upon one person.

At the first voting meeting, the Mumbelunga got most of the votes. However, a couple of influential clan members from outside were not happy with the procedure and the outcome. They approached the Mumbelunga and asked him whether he was sure that he wanted to become the Kiboko headman. The man was confused by this approach and question and answered 'I will have to think about it'. This answer raised questions and the group of interrupters, mainly clan members from outside the region, demanded a new election meeting, claiming that the chosen incumbent was not sure of himself. A new meeting had to be arranged by the Chief's representative on the next day. The following day another meeting with the elders and also a separate one with the Bena Kyowa woman took place again under chairmanship of the Chief's representative.

In both meetings, Pepela, the man from outside, gained by far the most votes. Of the 28 men and the 19 women present, he received 21 votes from the men and 10 from the women. The Mumbelunga came second (7 from the men and 6 from the women) and the Swanamuni (0 from the men and 3 from the women). At a sign from the 'king maker', the man elected with most of the votes, Pepela, was fetched by members of the wunungwe clan and they took him to a temporary hut made of tree branches, the kivato, outside the meeting place. The elders remained together and started to drink beer and the women continued to prepare more beer, for the festivities that continue the whole night. The unsuccessful candidates withdraw to their homes.



The temporary nocturnal hut for the incoming headman

In older times, it was also the custom that the newly appointed headman slept that night with the widow(s) of the deceased headman, for the purpose of cleansing and to avoid interference from the ancestors (see Melland 1928, Short 1973). Today, it is possible to arrange this cleansing

process by means of some gifts and by rubbing special leaves on the private parts of the woman (or women) concerned. In principle, the new headman inherits the wife/wives of the deceased headman, aside from the wife(s) he might already have.

Some elders not of the clan of the new headman are allowed to enter the hut and to advise and instruct the new incumbent.



A guard of the wunungwe clan (dressed in blue overall) sits at the entrance of the hut during the night.



Early morning an order is given for a gunshot, announcing that the installation will take place

The guards remain at the entrance of the temporary hut the entire night, making noises by clicking

metal pieces against each other. This is to prevent the new incumbent from falling asleep and from possibly dying, to prevent him from running away, or to prevent other clan members from entering the hut, in order to kill him and to place themselves in the new position.

These are the reasons that the guards are of the Wunungwe clan and not of the village headman clan. This is an important reciprocal duty between Wunungwe clans. (For a summary of the whole procedure, refer note 12)

The next day, October 6th, one day later than planned, the actual installation takes place.

A large mat with several stools is placed in the centre of an open area. After a long while the Mumbelunga appears with the Chieftainship paraphernalia. There are first rumours that he ran away with the paraphernalia, angry that he was not chosen and overwhelmed by the questions he was asked. He sits on the stool and unpacks the paraphernalia.

Then, on the instruction of the representative of Senior Chief Kasempa (the kingmaker) a gunshot is fired, and the new headman comes out of the hut, covered by a blanket and guided by his two Wunungwe guardians.

With lots of hand clapping and singing the new headman proceeds, still covered by a blanket, and is guided to the mat centre and seated on the main stool. The Mumbelunga runs away and the new man is placed on the main stool and the blanket is lifted from his head by the main guard. The chieftainship paraphernalia are placed on his head (the Mpande) and the Lukano bracelet on his arm.



The Mumbelunga lays out the chiefs paraphernalia



The new Headman arrives at the installation place, still covered by a blanket, the wunungwe rings on the Luonge bell.



Installation : the Mpande shell, on his head and an ivory bracelet -lukano- on his wrist.



Gifts are given to the new chief.



The representative of Senior Chief Kasempa, Mr Harriwell Lunbinga, gives a speech.



Several official speeches follow, also by women, and presents are laid at the feet of the new headman and money is put in a cup. His wife sits next to him as well his two guards.



The new headman arrives at the village.



Festivities during the ceremony, a lot of local beer is brewed

SHORT REPORT OF THE SPEECHES

The representative of Kasempa:

'We are happy and think it is good that this man has become a chief, chosen by the people here. My advice to you is do not stay at the boma, instead keep to the village. They only come for special functions, you are the ones who have chosen this chief. You can't just choose a chief and then leave him alone. We are urging you to come back and settle here.'

A headman from one of the larger well-known villages in the area, Headman Kila (Bayange clan):

'We are happy that this man became a chief, chosen by the people assembled here. For you to become a chief and make use of your chieftainship position in the region. This village Kiboko found the villages here (Shilanga, Kila and others). You found us here. You have to work hand in hand with all the people here and to listen to the advice from them.'

Headman Shilanga, also an important village headman in the area :

'We are happy that this man is now a chief. He comes from Matebo, he has still to be educated to get to know the people here. The village Headman committee and the council will give good advice to you, get to know them. To share their ideas. Do not think you know better, then you will be lost. The people who can advise you, those people, they are the people who are here.'

An important farmer in the area:

'I did not vote for you, but now I put it to you to do a great job for the people here.' This speech gave a lot of laughter.

Several speeches by older women, with warnings:

'behave in a proper way, work hard for the region and listen to the advice of the people around.'

He is urged to build a house in the region and to move away from his former dwelling place (Matebo)

It took some years before he did so, first he arranged the construction of two houses for himself and his two wives and children. He choose a location a bit farther away from the site of the original Kiboko village near the road and near a hand operated water pump.

He lives apart and isolated from the rest of the villagers of Kiboko. Refer photos 2012 with his two wives and his brother, who is a pastor at a nearby church (Note 13).



Headman Kiboko in official dress with his two wives. The mushroom symbol is on his dress

INSTALLATION CEREMONY OF REGIONAL HEADMAN KAMIMBI MUKUNASHI REGION

(Report by Mr N.Kubikisha and D.Jaeger 1978).

It was on Saturday the 14th of October 1978 at Kamimbi village in Mukunashi area that the installation of a new Headman Kamimbi of the Bayanga clan took place.

In the village the large Kimberley brickhouse of the past Headman was not in use any more and the windows were covered with sheets. The Headman died in 1973 and it took many years of deliberation before the villagers agreed on the name of the new one. Like people said: 'We wanted to choose the best one, if we do it in haste – it would be a bad one.'

The installation took place in the dry season on a full moon night. It did take time before enough food was gathered, so the actual day had to be postponed several times.

On arrival, we found many groups of people sitting quietly in the village. We were directed to one group of older men sitting farther away out of sight of the others. They were all of the Bayanga (snake) clan, the clan from which the new leader must come.

There had been three candidates, but now all agreed on one Nason Mulayantanda. The representative of Senior Chief Kasempa H/M Katwamba had arrived already some days before to see that everything proceeded quietly and orderly.

At the end of the afternoon, all the people in the village went together to a large meeting place outside the village. A large shelter of branches was made and the village headmen sat on their deckchairs or on smaller stools in a large circle. The atmosphere was solemn, no talking and not much greeting or hand clapping. On a special chair in the middle of the gathering was settled the mumbulunga (the caretaker of the function of village headman, during the period in between the death of the old one and the appointment of a new H/M).

In a separate area, a bit further away, the women gathered and were sitting together. Everybody was well dressed, many with a tie. People waited for the representative of Chief Kasempa. On the arrival of H/M Katwamba, who was seconded by the kapaso (servant and guardian) of Senior Chief Kasempa, all the people greeted them with loud handclapping. Katwamba gives a short speech stressing that everybody has to behave and not disturb the good order. Then the village headmen present at the meeting are requested to choose the new headman of the region, by pronouncing the name. They all one after the other choose the new headman, by pronouncing his name, they all say: Nason. Subsequently H/M Katwamba goes to the group of women and talks to them and asks whom they would like to choose as the new Headman. They all mention: Nason.

Then the representative asks Nason to be brought forward and shown to the people. Nason comes forward. There follows a short discussion and then the Wunungwe clan member fetches the man. It is done by Kyuakilika of Muyenvu village of the Bena Kyulu clan, this is the Wunungwe clan of the Bayanga clan (see note on clan system). Quickly he jumps up and fetches the candidate. Then the boys start drumming and the munungwe takes the appointed headman by the hand, leading him out the gathering towards a grass hut. This temporary hut, called a katavo, is built farther away in the bush. The procession is followed by the women who start singing.

Meanwhile, it has become dark. The incumbent H/M is taken by his munungwee and accompanied by another man also of the Wunungwee clan, his name is Kapepa. This one carries a Luonge (one of the most important chief's paraphernalia, a double iron bell, in this case it was only one half). And he beats on a small anvil with a small iron stick. He remains at the entrance of

the grass hut as a watchman, while the other munungwee goes inside with the newly appointed H/M. Some people enter the hut, pay a small amount of money or other gifts and talk for a short while in an advisory role. We also enter the hut to present a gift. While inside, a man wants to enter the hut, but there was a cry 'No Bayange allowed'. People of the clan concerned are not allowed to enter the hut. The hut is guarded by clansman of the Wunungwe clan (in this case Basamba) and some other headman also of different clans. This is the rule, to protect the newly appointed heir and to prevent fellow clansmen from usurping the position at night-time. He is also guarded to prevent him from running away at night and having second thoughts about becoming a headman. In addition, the bell and anvil are used constantly to make noises to stop the incumbent from falling asleep, dying during the night or using some witchcraft.

Outside, beer, rice, maize pap and chicken are distributed by a group of women. The young people dance and the older people sit together in a circle around the campfire. There are several campfires. Mats are spread out for the women with their children, other small children are covered with a blanket and sleep on the mats.

Dancing goes on the whole night. Continuously there is a circle dance, one row of men and one of women. The activities of dancing and singing depend on the mood of the drummers, every half hour they change. There is also large calabash xylophone, which is placed near the grass hut. Women occasionally come to sing instruction songs near the hut where the headman is kept.

In the hut, several men who enter give instructions to the appointee, but he is specifically instructed by his older munungwee. The instructions are focused on :

- How to keep the people in the village and in the area well
- How to behave properly
- How to give the people and visitors food and shelter

The instructions and warnings continue the whole night. The man is not allowed to fall asleep.

About six o'clock when the sun rises, the drumming intensifies again. The incumbent Headman comes out of the hut, covered with a blanket and guided by his munungwee. Immediately a large group of people surround him. The drummers accompany the procession and the man beating the luongo goes in front. They all walk to an open space, near the place where in the afternoon the meeting took place. There is a large kilalo (mat) placed in the middle and on a chair sits the Mumbelunga (care taker of the chieftainship paraphernalia). The paraphernalia are spread out on the mat in front of him. When the procession arrives he runs away and the people shout 'You are free'.

The newly appointed Headman is guided to the stool and sits down, he is still covered with the blanket. People form a circle around him, with the women in front. The representative of Chief Kasempa stays next to the chair. A bit further away there is a man with a gun. The representative gives an order to fire the rifle, but it fails – there is laughter - the second time it fires. The other representative of Chief Kasempa, lifts with a ceremonial axe the blanket from the man and the new Headman is shown to the public. He looks a bit subdued and impressed.

A mpande shell is placed on his forehead and the other chieftainship paraphernalia are at his feet. The new H/M receives gifts of money on a plate in front of him. When it is full, the Munungwee empties it and places the plate back. Many speeches follow now. First by the representative of Senior Chief Kasempa. He gives a long speech about the importance of the chieftainship and the relations between Kasempa and Kamimbi. Subsequently many others follow, also some women. Especially the mother of the newly appointed H/M, who had been active singing and providing

food and beer the whole night. She is excited and gives a long talk, proud that her son is installed as a headman and also a warning to her son to behave well and she addresses also the other elderly people, not to kill him or use witchcraft, because he has been installed now as a headman.

The ceremony which has taken place from about 4 o'clock pm the former day till about eight am the next day, comes to an end. The new headman still guided by his wunungwee walks to his village.

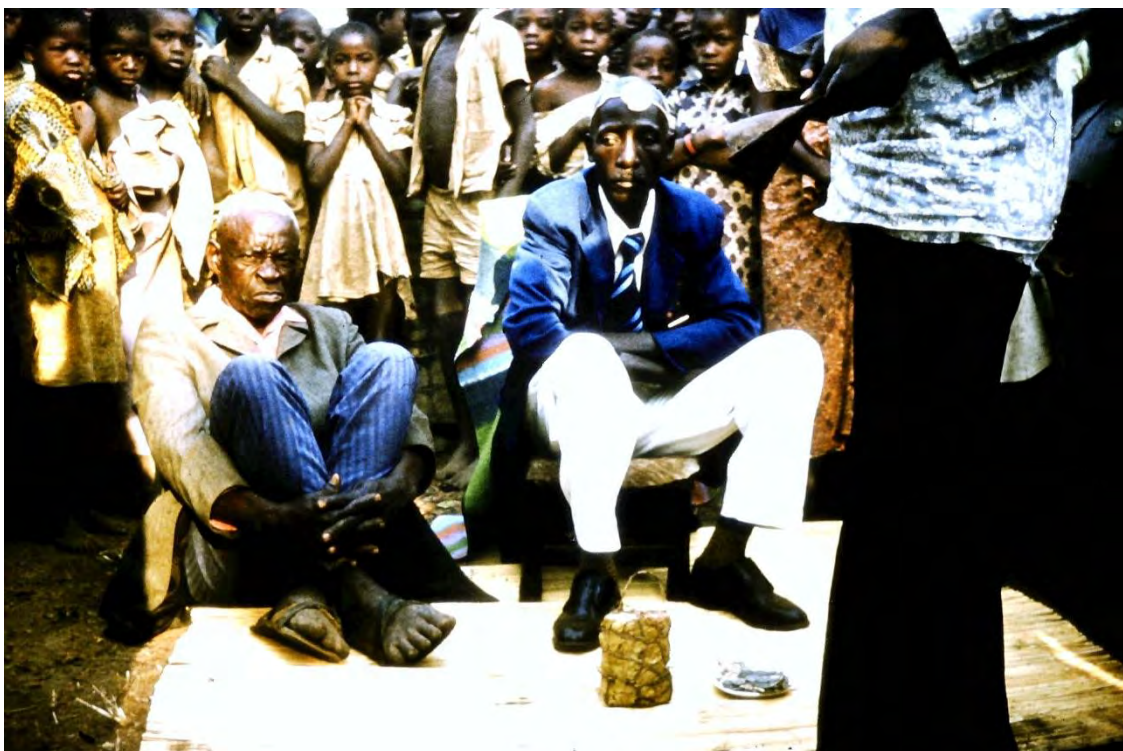
The other guests follow, many carry their own chair. In the village the most important people group together again in a circle. They sit down and greet the new Headman with hand clapping. Some discussions and drinks follow. The representative of Chief Kasempa says some words and makes the announcement that everything is now over. People start to leave the village. Some by bicycle for a ride of over 40 km.



The blanket is lifted and the new Headman is shown. The mwapane shelf is put on his forehead and next to him sits his guard of the wunungwee clan.



The new Headman arrives, covered under the blanket, guided by his the bunungwe Kyuakikilika. The man in fronts rings on the luonge bell.



Presents are given. In front a package of salt from the Kaimbwe salt pans.

Summary of some of the speeches

Greeting: Kwikale bulenga Ba Kamimbi

H/M Kwatuka (Bena Basamba clan)

This serves to let you know that your witches must be kept away from bewitching the newly installed Headman, some of you have such feelings, even if you never deserved it. Let this one keep and represent us for many years and if there is anyone with such feelings he will be known by us.

H/M Katwamba, (Bena Kyulu clan) representative of Senior Chief Kasempa

You have inherited the village headman of the important 'Kamimbi' name of the Bayanga clan, and you must note the important functions of this and the role that you are still to play for the nation and your village headmen in the region as a whole.

H/M Shilanga (Bayanga by clan) H/M of a village in the Lubofu region)

As you know, it is very well-known that women can make brothers hate each other, because they usually collect information from others, saying you were insulted by your brothers. Upon hearing this, you even lose your temper and start fighting with them. This should not be done at all. You should keep away from all those things and concentrate on leading your fellow headmen and ignore those things that people say either against or in favour.

H/M Shifwaba (Bena Kuylu clan)

You should not forget that when a visitor comes to your village, he is expecting you to serve him by giving him some food and a place to sleep. And also you are expected to resolve any minor problems brought before you by quarrelling groups on any matters, from either village headmen or ordinary people.

Mr Kantumpele Kubikisha (Bena Kyowa clan) - a representative of Chief Kasempa.

This is how we want it, the people of this area have got the spirit by choosing one man for the position of this important 'Kamimbi' name, as their village headman. I wish you a happy stay as a leader of this region.



Meeting with the village Headmen, the representative of Senior Chief Kasempa. Mr. Lungu gives a speech to instruct on a proper installation ceremony.





The mother of the new Headman gives a long impressive speech with many warnings to her son to fulfill his new function properly and with wisdom.



People watch the ceremony and there is a lot of merriment and drinking.

Instruction songs

Lelo nasawana bufuku bwani, ata bamba byavula bekileke

-Today I have inherited my chieftainship, those who talk too much about it should stop now

Kechi mwafwaina kukilauka ne, mwafwaina kwiya kabiji, mwafwaina kwinemeka

-You must not jump now anymore, you must go straight and you must behave yourself (a Nkoya song)

Nanga namweka kukapa, kechi nakonsha maana ami pangye ne, byubilo byami bikamweshakujimuka kwami

- Although I seem small, I cannot expose my wisdom that is in me, but the actions will tell you how wise I am

Songwakazhi nangwa nsongwafume wakinkile manungo mwibainnanji, kulutwe wayanjile bingi byobafwile watatwile nekwilama mwinanambokwajinga kafwako mukwabo wakumulama

- A young girl who very much depends on the mother suffers very much when she dies, and subsequently learns on her own about life, as she can't depend on anyone anymore

Aba baij nabana batambula bukwashe babo, amiwa nabula bana, mbena kuyand

-Those who have children are lucky because they get some help from them, but me I am suffering

Musonka musonka, mambo a kopa mangwa muyvale tayi ne kwiwamisha kilungi kyena, bino muka sanku

-You pay tax from the copper, even if you have a neck-tie on and your face well cleaned you still have to pay tax (Nkoya song)

Kalupe katenena anwaaba amiwa ne nkunwa I bapwe

- A husband who cultivates on a hilly stony soil, my seeds are now finished without any good crops at all

Kakubo washi antwale kitengelele namunyanta kishelele

- I nearly died during Kakubo

(Kakubo -the hunger months - in between the seasons - January/February - period of transition of the former food crops to the new fresh crops - in February)

PART III

NOTES

1. The history of the district before Independence (1964) is covered fairly well by a number of publications, although mainly from the viewpoint of outsiders (refer Melland, 1923, Clark 1951, Chibanza 1961, Short 1971 (with a vivid description of life at the boma in the fifties) and Jaeger 1981. For a detailed bibliography on the Kaonde and the Kasempa District refer appendix X in Jaeger 1981. A well annotated multi-sectoral bibliography on the North-Western Province, covering specifically Solwezi and Mwinilunga District, is under preparation (2015) by Margaret O'Callaghan, Australian National University, Canberra. In relation to tribute payments and dispute of dominance over certain regions in the district (refer Shaloff 1972). The southern-western part of the district (Chief Mushima) is said to have paid tribute to the Barotse Kingdom. Kaonde chiefs in both Kasempa and Solwezi districts recognize King Musokantanda as their overlord and paid (irregular) tribute via Chief Musele, his representative in Zambia.

2. Clark (1951) for instance rightfully mentions the great agricultural potential of the district. He overestimates the mining potential. Jaeger is optimistic about the growth of the farmers settlement schemes, although he mentions some bottle necks and he aspects a gradual growth of an established middle class farmers community, specifically at the schemes and in the Nkenyauna and Kantenda areas, this did not take place at all, refer chapter 3.

3. There are no long term census figures indicating internal migration in the country, or fertility and mortality figures. In the years just before and even more after independence there was certainly a high migration out of rural areas to the urban areas, not amongst only men, who permanently settled in town, but later also with their nuclear family (in the older days of the labour migration, most men returned (and were forced to return, because family reunion was not allowed). During the last decade outmigration from rural districts went down, but with the lack of appropriate figures it is difficult to estimate, the in- and out- migration. Moreover the figures of population growth are also influenced by rising lifetime.

4. At national level it is presently advocated to promote a change of the staple food towards rice, since this crop is easier to cultivate with less input costs while the nutritional value is higher. However the Kasempa climatic circumstances are not very suitable for rice cultivation. In recent years there is also more insight and knowledge on cassava cultivation, which is often described as the 'the lazy man's food' or 'poor man's food'. This view needs reassessment, since there are many types of cassava and when used together with other legumes a nutritionally adequate diet intake can be had (von Oppen 1991). Except for Kasempa and Solwezi and partly in Mufumbwe and Kabompo District, cassava is the main staple food in the other areas in the NWP (Pesa 2012, 2014). During the period of recession in the eighties and nineties, there was however a noticeable increase of cassava fields in the Kasempa District. The same situation has been described for other regions in Zambia (Vaughan 1998).

5. In the last years attention was given and efforts were made towards 'conservation and organic farming' by government agencies and for instance also by the Kansanshi Foundation in Solwezi. These methods might counteract soil degradation and minimize costs and the procurement of fertilizer and will also promote crop diversification by applying inter cropping systems. However, these methods require a careful and attentive husbandry attitude.

6. The subsidy on seed and fertilizer for the maize cultivation was 75 percent of the real costs in 2012. This percentage was brought down to 50 percent in 2013. The effect of a smaller subsidy will undoubtedly influence production figures in the future. For annual household consumption

around 24 bags of 50 kg are needed (based on a household of six people and an intake of half a kg per person per day), so roughly 4 bags a person per year. But many households do not set aside this many bags. They rely also on the yields from the early maize gardens (stream side gardens) and have to buy some extra food in the so called 'hunger months'- 'kakubo' (January-Feb).

7. During my research in 1978 and in the publication of 1981 assumptions and expectations were presented for the future. Several proved wrong and developments went in another direction than expected. Although the dangers of a too large and sophisticated planning of the settlement schemes was mentioned, I expected a continuation and growth of those schemes at a more moderate and more adapted scale and also a further increase, for instance, of oxen ploughing. I did not expect the total collapse of these schemes. Moreover I expected a further increase of autonomous migration towards the south eastern part of the district (for some period designated as an Intensive Development Zone and later as an Integrated Rural Development Area), and the growth in number and output of a middle class of commercial farmers in those areas. Neither happened, not the autonomous migration at any large scale, nor the establishment of a stable and increasing group of wealthier middle class of farmers (refer the points mentioned in chapter 2). I expected a more fixed settlement pattern around small centres and more near the centre of the district. Both happened and are still taking place.

As planning guidelines, calculations were given of the land carrying capacity and the number of people able to live in a radius of 5 and 10 km around service centres and at the same time continuing shifting cultivation and long fallow periods for regeneration of the soil. In areas of such a radius, ca 5000 people are able to live and have a modest income from agricultural practice. In practice this is the case today, for example the Kanongo area, refer map 6.

8. At the foot of Kamusongolwa Hill, also known as the Hill of Skulls, Chief Jipumpu had his stockade. On poles around the stockade there were many human skulls of the warriors he killed. The rock outcrop is a very old inhabited landmark in the centre of the District. Old rock paintings date back to 11,000 years BC (late stone age) and pottery finds are dated 1,100 AC (early iron age) (Fagan 1968). An important ancient craft of the Kaonde was copper and iron ore mining and the manufacturing of tools (refer J. O. Vogel, 2000).

9. The split of the Kasempa District in 1978 into two areas was induced by various factors. The area of the Chieftainship of Kizela, including Munyambala, was situated far away from the Kasempa Boma and already a sub-boma was established there. A new district centre would enhance the development better, also because the Kalengwa mine was situated in that area. The area was also plagued with uprising activities led by the Mushala group at the end of the seventies (Macola, 2007). To stabilize that situation, the establishment of separate district with its own administrative centre and fully equipped police post was politically a strong signal to the population, and a visible presence of the national government and its ruling political party. The large chiefdom area of Chief Mushima was also incorporated in the new district. There had been a long rivalry between the chiefdoms of Kasempa and Mushima, and furthermore Mushima was more related and affiliated with the chieftainship of Munyambala and Kizela than with Kasempa. Although Mushima's area is much nearer to Kasempa centre, promises were made to establish a good all-season road with well-constructed bridges across the Dengwe River to connect Mushima area with Kalengwa and from there to the new district centre of Mufumbwe (in the first years called Chizela District). Up to 2014 this has not been realized. This causes the odd situation that Mushima villagers have to travel via Kasempa Boma to reach their own administrative centre or take a cumbersome and bad route via Kalengwa. Various services for the Mushima region (like postal services, and bank) are still done from the Kasempa centre.

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The rock outcrop is a very old inhabited landmark in the centre of the District. Old rock paintings date back to 11,000 years BC (late stone age) and pottery finds are dated 1,100 AC (early iron age) (Fagan 1968). An important ancient craft of the Kaonde was copper and iron ore mining and the manufacturing of tools (refer J. O. Vogel, 2000).

11. No specific research has been done among the Kaonde culture regarding a change from matrilineal to patrilineal systems. However research on '*The Modern Disintegration of Matrilineal Descent Groups*' by Schnieder and Gough (1987) indicates that this is taking place among various cultural groups in Zambia.

12. The clan structure of the tribes in Zambia is not 'totemistic'. The names of animals or plants, have no mythical meaning, as far as is known, people eat the subject of their clan (except for monkeys), there is no worship towards the clan subject (refer publications by Apthorpe and Richards). Clans are strictly exogamous units. In older days marriage took often place within the 'cross-cousin' clan. Mary Douglas (1964) draws attention on the custom of pawnship (domestic slavery), in pre-colonial times. There was a system of transferring rights over persons as compensation for offences and settlement of debts. Marriageable women, although not members of the clan, remain in the village and their offspring is regarded to be of the clan of the overlords, in that way strengthening the clan.

Members of a same clan assist each other, provide hospitality and food, even when family or lineage relations are not exactly known. Being of the same clan gives a bond of friendship and help and prove of a common origin.

The origin of the clan name Bena Kyowa (mushroom clan) goes back to the times when people of that clan lived in the Congo/Katanga region (now DRC), on the fringes of the Luba Kingdom and were related to the Sanga of Chief Pande. They were known under the name of Batumba Wenewulu (= the sound of rain) (other sources say Batemba clan (= water). Oral history says: 'While they returned from a burial, they found a mushroom on their way. It was in the rainy season. They carried it with them and when they arrived in the village they cooked it and ate it themselves, without giving any of it to the others. So their friends said, you are greedy people. You have eaten the mushroom which we found together. There for we shall call you benakyowa (mushroom), (oral history by Piliwe Kisala on the Lubango chieftainship, in Bantje 1971, p. 56) (a similar story was collected by author in the Kasempa region). The Bena Kyowa clan and other clan groups moved into what is today Zambia, North-Western Province about at least two centuries ago (see historical migrations, Jaeger, 1971, p.25). They pushed south wards the Mbwele.

Kaonde clans, like clans in other tribes, do have intensive relationships with other clans, the most well-known are the intermarriage relationship (the cross-cousin marriage) and the joking relationship between clans, known as 'wunungwe'. Different clans have a joking relationship with several other clans. For a list of Kaonde clan joking relationships refer appendix 2. There is often a joking conversation between members of these clans, one can even insult each other without having a court case, and at the most a present is given. The 'wunungwe' clans perform ritual functions for each other, specifically at burial ceremonies and at installation ceremonies (for inter-clan relations, see Apthorpe, 1968). The functions are important and serve to avoid conflicts within the same clan group. The 'wunungwe' clan is also often a clan already longer present in a region, so they are more familiar with the ancestral spirits in that region, as newly arrived village groups. But this does not mean that there is a hierarchical order among the clans. For instance, the Bena Kyowa (= mushroom) have a joking relationship with the Bena Luo (monkeys) - while monkeys eat mushrooms. There is also a relationship with the Bena Kyulu (anthills), while mushrooms grow upon anthills.

13. Main features of the related installation ceremonies are :

- a) The presence and functions of the 'wunungwe' clan (singular munungwe).
- b) The intrigue from outsiders (people from the same clan, but not living in the village or same region any more) to get the man they wish elected (a man who will listen to them, and probably sustain them in their objectives – such as the acquisition of land in his region- in this case an area with fertile red clay soils, several small perennial streams and well located for further marketing).
- c) The whole procedure, the meeting with the elder clansmen and a separate meeting with the women, all from the same clan. The catching of the new man, by his munungwe (function as guard) and his nocturnal stay in a separate temporary hut. The voting procedure, as described in the Kiboko case came in use more recently; before it were lengthy indabas and internal intrigues and consultations with the senior chief before a decision was reached. Melland describes also the hunting test, before the final decision.
- d) The role and guidance of the 'king maker', in this case the representative of Senior Chief Kasempa, who chairs the meetings and who oversees the procedure and who signals to give a gunshot as an announcement that the new headman is appointed.
- e) The cleansing ceremony of the widow of the deceased Headman. A private part of the ceremony. Comparable with the ceremony in relation to the widow of a brother who died. Tradition is/was that when a man dies his widow becomes the wife of the brother. A cleansing ceremony can arrange things in another way.
- f) At the installation an ointment of white clay is put on the head of the new headman as well as a leaf of the Mulembe tree in his mouth
- g) The coming out of the new man and the handing over to him the chieftainship paraphernalia, and the disappearance of the Mumbelunga, who was ad interim in charge of the paraphernalia.
- h) The instruction speeches by many people, both man and woman.
- i) His arrival into the village, together with his wife (and the wife/wives of the deceased headman) and followed by elaborate festivities in the village. During the whole ceremony the role and functions of the clan members from the wunungwee clan are important and play an essential role.

14. Two years after his installation as Kiboko Headman, Pepela, moved to the region and, since he lives with his two wives in the Kiboko village (it is not known to me where the widow of the deceased headman lives). (Refer photos above 2012) Before he came he arranged to have some maize gardens in the area, when the first yields came he moved. He built two well-constructed houses. Not near the location of the old Kiboko village, but on the other side of the road, near a hand water pump. He lives there a bit isolated from the area of the main village inhabitants. His brother, who arrived also recently in the Kiboko village, lives near to him and is pastor of the Divine Faith Church, a new denomination in the Lubofu region.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – A 50 year Chronology of the Kasempa District (1964 – 2014)

Chronology 1875-1975, refer web site publication Jager 1981

1964 First Secretary of the Kasempa District is appointed: Mr. D. Sichinga

1965 District Secretary: Mr. W. Mubita. Visit by President Kaunda to Kasempa-Boma. Resettlement proposals for Mushima and Mpungu area to combat sleeping sickness and to improve agricultural production for the market. Villagers of Kalasa and Kasonso urged to move to new settlement schemes. Dispensary and school resituated at the Kanongo stream, which is part of the newly planned Mpungu Resettlement Scheme (30 miles southeast of Kasempa-Boma).

1966 District Secretary: Mr. D. Kambilumbilu. Mpungu State Farm starts maize production. Kalasa villages move to new centre at Kanongo. Kasonso villages refuse to move to the Mpungu Resettlement Scheme. Chief Mushima and some of his villages move from the Lumba stream area to the Mushima Resettlement Area near a new service centre (30 miles southwest of Kasempa-Boma).

Mukinge secondary school for girls opened (the first of its kind in the North-Western Province).

1967 Promotion of agricultural extension work in the District. National Agricultural Marketing Board depots open. Agricultural Cooperatives are formed. Several new primary schools and dispensaries are established.

Agricultural extension, building construction, medical and community development work starts by team of the Organisation of Netherlands Volunteers (SNV) at the Kanongo service centre (till 1976).

1968 District Secretary: Mr. S.L.C. Kalwani. Visit by President Kaunda to the District.

1969 First Governor of the Kasempa District is appointed: Mr. J. Kanguya. Mpungu State Farm plots are allotted to individual farmers. Start of mining activities at the Kalengwa mine.

1970 New concrete bridge is constructed across the Lufupa River at Kasempa and a new bridge across the Lalafuta River on the road to Kaoma. Electricity plant in operation at Kasempa. New road from Kalulushi to Solwezi-Kasempa road and concrete bridge across the East Lunga River for transport of copper from Kalengwa mine to copper refineries in Kalulushi.

1971 District Governor: Mr. Kanyungulu. First shipment of concentrated copper ore from Kalengwa to Kalulushi. Oxfam volunteer team at Chizela.

1972 Mining activities start again at the Jifumpa mine, near the East Lunga River. Extension of the Mpungu Farmers Settlement Scheme. Transfer of Netherlands volunteer activities from Kanongo to Kasempa and to Mpungu and Nkenyauna Farmers Settlement Scheme.

1973 District Secretary: Mr. L. Chibwe. Death of former Chief Kinsengwe. New prison building at Kasempa and extension of the prison farm. New agricultural settlement scheme in the Nkenyauna area. Zambian Youth Service camp established at Kamfumfula.

1975 Death of Senior Chief Kasempa Samushi, on 17th of January. Visit by President Kaunda

to Kasempa, including agricultural schemes. The complete Bible is published in the KiKaonde language. Mr. and Mrs. C.S. Foster leave the Kasempa District after having lived there for 58 years. Upgrading of roads from Kasempa to the Solwezi-Kabompo turn-off and towards Mushima. Chizela sub-Boma opens.

1976 District Governor: Mr. J. Mukena.

1977 Disturbances in the Chizela area due to subversive actions of the Mushala gang. A new Senior Chief Kasempa is elected: His Royal Highness Benson Mushitala.

1978 Announcement that the Chizela region (with the chiefdoms of Chief Kizela, Munyambara and Mushima) will be a separate District. The official name for this region becomes Mufumbwe and its capital Chizela (Kizela). The region is about half in size of the original Kasempa region and its population is nearly half of the former Kasempa District.

1980 A new prison is established at the foot of Kamusongolwa Hill, including a large gardening area.

1981 A secondary school for boys is opened in Kasempa centre.

1982 Start of a traditional, annual festival called 'Juba Nshomo' to celebrate the first harvest. It takes place at the palace of the Royal Highness Senior Chief Kasempa and is organized in the first week of June.

1990's Farmers Settlement Schemes and Intensive Development Schemes close down.

1992 Death of Mr. Mark Mwika Tambatamba, Member of Parliament for the Kasempa Constituency from 1973 till 1988 and full Cabinet Minister from 1978 till 1985. He is buried at the Royal Graveyard of Senior Chief Kasempa.

2001 Kasempa Centre connected to the main national electricity grid.

2002, 2004 Radio masts for Zambian telephone and mobile phone connections are erected.

2004 Tarred road between Solwezi and Kasempa completed with extension to Mukinge hospital. 'Regular time' bus services between Kasempa and Solwezi operating.

2008 Private bank branche opened in Kasempa Centre at the post office.

2009 The Kaonde Cultural Association is established, with an 'indaba' of all Kaonde chiefs (including Kaonde Chiefs from the Democratic Republic of Congo) at Kaimbwe near the Kaimbwe salt plain area (formerly called the Heart of Kaonde land).

2004 -2014 Intensive mining explorations take place all over the region. Mining activities start again for a while at the old Jifumpu mine (near Lunga river pontoon), and also by the Lunga Mining co. at Buffalo mine (situated in the East Lunga game reserve area) and small scale activities take place in areas south of Mushima, along the road to Kaoma, (Mufumbwe District) and near Shivuma/Kamatete, Mpungu and Mukunasi/Mubelemene, and, along the road to Solwezi (Ingwe area).

Appendix 2 – Kaonde clans and joking relationships

Joking relationships ('Wunungwee') between Kaonde clans

Balonga (streaming water, rain) – wunungwee with all other clans; all animals and plants depend on drinking water.

Bena Kyulu (termites, anthills) – wunungwee with all other clans; termites eat all dead material.

Balonga-Bena Kyowa (water, mushrooms) – when the rain falls mushrooms (can) appear.

Balonga-Basarnba (water, snakes) – snakes live near the water.

Bena Kyulu-Basamba (termites, snakes) – ants build the house for the snakes.

Bena Kyulu-Bena Kyowa (termites, mushrooms) – mushrooms come out (grow upon) anthills.

Bena Kyulu-Bena Nzovu (termites, elephants) – elephants lean on the anthill (when they die, they sleep on an anthill).

Bena Kyulu-Balembu (termites, bees) – bees make honey in the anthill.

Bena Kyulu-Bayanga (termites, -black ants) – black ants eat termites.

Bena Kyowa-Bena Luo (mushrooms, monkeys) – monkeys eat mushrooms.

Balembu-Basamba (bees, snakes) – both stay in holes of a tree.

Balembu-Bena Nonyi (bees, birds) – near the honey there are small flies, both the bees and birds like to eat them.

Bena Nonyi-Basamba (birds, snakes) – birds start singing when they see a snake.

Bena Ngee-Bena Mbuzhi (leopards, goats) – leopards eat goats.

Bena Ngee-Bapumpi (leopards-wild dogs) – when they meet they fight.

(Based on field information 1972 and 1978 by author)

Other wunungwee relationships²

Batembuzhi..... - Bena Ngee (lions, leopards)

Batembuzhi-Bena Mbuzhi (lions, goats)

Bena Luo-Bena Ngee (monkeys, leopards)

Bena Luo-Basamba (monkeys, snakes)

Bena Luo-Bena Mbwa (monkeys, dogs)

Bapumpi-Balembu (wild dogs, bees)

Bapumpi-Bena Mbuzhi (wild dogs, goats)

Bena Mbwa.....-Bena Mbuzhi (dogs, goats)

Bena Mbuzhi-Bashishi (goats, hair)

Balembu-Bena Nzovu (bees, elephants)

Bena Nonyi-Bena Kasaka (birds, corn)

Basamba -Bena Ngee (snakes, leopards)

2) Some of these wunungwee relations are mentioned by Melland, 1967, 253; Woods, 1924 and in Kasernpa District Note Book KDD 1/5.

Appendix 3a – Kaonde Chiefs with the yearly Heritage Festivals

Total Chief's Festivals in whole country: 71

Total in North-Western Province: 17

Of which Kaonde chiefs (in Kasempa, Solwezi and Mufumbwe District): 8

Senior Chief Kasempa Juba Nsomo 6 June fixed date

Chief Chizera Ntongo June

Chief Kapiji Mpanga Kunyata Ntanda July

Chief Mukumbi Kufukwila May

Chief Mumena Lubinda Ntongo Aug.

Chief Mushima Makundu Sept.

Chief Matebo Kuyuluka Kishakulu Sept.

Chief Ingwe Ewendela Oct.

All Kaonde Chiefs inclusive from the Congo organize occasionally a festival/Indaba at Kaimbwe (the heart of Kaonde land): Nsakwa ya ba Kaonde no fixed date, not yearly.

In Mumbwa District the Kaonde chiefs Mumba and Kaindu have also their festivals

In the NW Prov. there are further: 3 festivals of Lunda chiefs, 2 festivals of Mbundu chiefs and one of the Luvale, Luchazi and Lamba chiefs (total 8).

Appendix 3b - Chiefs / Indunas and regional H/M in the Kasempa District and their clan names.

1. Senior Chief Kasempa (Bena Kyowa)
2. Chief Ingwe (Bapumpi)

Chiefs, not anymore listed by government (in colonial times they lost their chieftainship title and were declared ex-chiefs and incorporated in the Kasempa chieftainship area) but they still remained chiefs in their own historical right and are today an Indunas of the Kasempa Chieftainship (refer map 8):

Kasonso (Bena Kuylu)*

Kalasa (Bapumpi), formerly also called Kaonde/lamba

Kinsengwe (Balembu)

Nyoka (Basamba) and regional Headman Makungu (Mako) (Bena Nge) - along East Lunga River

Kapeshi (Bena Kuylu) was also a Chief in the district, he lost that title in colonial times and moved to Solwezi District (his village group is related with Kasonso and Kapiji Mpanga).

Regional Headman (or councillors) for the Chieftainship of Kasempa for all of the Bena Kyowa clan are:

Kiboko Mwatula	region:	Lubofu
Kiboko Mukunkwila		Kamfulafula
Kaimbwe		Mukunashi
Bufuku		Matavu
Mumba		Mpungu/Mbulumenene
Shikoloko		Kantenda

Other regional Headman are:

Mulobwe – Basamba clan

Muyumba – Basanga clan

When the Kafue National Park was gazetted (1954), the villages of Chief Kasonso were moved twice, first to the north of the park (region Ntemwa) and later out of the park to East Lunga river (near Jifumpa mine) and along the road in the Kamakechi region, part of the population preferred however to move into Mumbwa District- Chief Kaindu

Appendix 4 – List of Churches in Kasempa/Solwezi area

–Not complete–

United Church of Zambia

Evangelical Church of Zambia

Roman Catholic Church

Seven days Adventist

New Apostolic Church

New Christian's missionaries

People of Destiny ChurchApostolic Faith Mission

Penta coastal Faith mission.....Penta coastal Holiness Church

Christian Faith Church

Tabernacle Church

Church of God

Victory Temple

Holy Spirits Congregation

Christian Bethel church.....Bethel Mission

Happy Hearts Mission.....Divine Life Church

Jehovah Witness/ Kingdom Halls

Appendix 5 – Kasempa constituency – 22 wards, the core, centre and peripheral regions.

The CSO census 2010 defines urban areas: a population of 5000 persons or more, having access to piped water and to electricity and having a health centre and school within proximity and good road facilities (CSO Atlas 2013, p. 11). According to the report, Kasempa has a 6.3% urban population (CSO atlas 2013, p.108) which represents 4400 people, so in fact it does not quite meet the requirements. The urban area of Kasempa consists of the wards Kamusongolwa and Kikonkomene (the 2010 population census gives for those two wards a total population of 5800). However most parts of the neighbouring wards Kalombe and Mukinge can be considered also as urban or semi-urban, with electricity, piped water or water kiosk, a nearby tarred road and nearby medical and school facilities. Therefore the total 'urban/semi-urban' population of Kasempa can be estimated at around 10,000. Like all of the larger centres in Zambia, Kasempa shows a steady population increase.

In total the Kasempa Constituency comprises of 22 Wards. The wards in the centre of the district, and within a radius of around 40 km from the centre are: Kalombe, Mukinge, Dengwe, Njenga, Nselauke, Nkenyauna, Kivuku, Kantenda, Mpungu and Lubofu. The population of these wards comes at about 33,000. Combined with the 'urban wards' (Kamusongolwe and Kikonkomene), the population in the centre region of the district amounts to around 38,000 persons. The wards further away and in this article described as the peripheral areas are: Kamakuku, Kaimbwe, Ingwe, Mukema, Kamatete, Nyoka, Kelongwa, Mukunashi, Kanongo, Kamakechi and Jifumpa/Kasonso. The total population of these wards is around 32,000 inhabitants (CSO 2010) which comes still to nearly half of the District population.

When the type of construction of the housing is considered to be an indication for permanent settlement for a household, it can be calculated that from 50 to 75 % of the population in the 'urban/semi-urban' areas of Kasempa, the core of the district, live in a dwelling with brick walls and iron roofing (CSO 2013). In respect to the centre area of the district (using a 40 km radius), this percentage comes to 30% and for the peripheral areas it is between 10 and 20 %, although in some peripheral areas (such as Kanongo, Kamakechi and Jifumpa) the share of these types of houses is higher ca 30 to 40 %. Those areas show also a high output of maize-export production. This clearly indicates that the population in those areas feel fairly well established, although far from the centre of the District.

See below a map of the Kasempa District Township (based on observations by author (2012, 2013) and google satellite map, drawn by cartographer Joseph Chalila, (Lusaka, 2015).

Map 9 KASEMPA TOWNSHIP 2014

