

DERIVING ETHNO-GEOGRAPHICAL CLUSTERS FOR COMPARING ETHNIC DIFFERENTIALS IN ZAMBIA

Kambidima Wotela

Centre for Actuarial Research (CARE), Faculty of Commerce, Upper Campus (A332.1 P.D Harn Building) University of Cape Town Rondebosch (7700) Cape Town Western Cape South Africa. Kambidima.wotela@zambia.co.zm

This article derives seven ethno-geographical clusters comprising ethnic societies with similar histories, regional settlements and common kinship lineage arrangements. The procedure reveals the origin of social diversity in Zambia. To explore the usefulness of these clusters, we apply population counts to explain the genesis of the seven 'official' languages from several Zambian languages. Comparing and contrasting ethno-geographical clusters reveals features underlying ethnic similarities and differences in Zambia. We resolve that common origin and migrations that occurred between the twelfth and nineteenth century define ethnic distinctions in Zambia. These characteristics provide a lens through which we can place and analyze current social, linguistic, political, and demographic forces. Compared to provincial administrative regions, ethno-geographical clusters are useful units-of-analysis for comparing ethnic differentials in Zambia.

Key words: Zambia, ethnicity, linguistics

1. INTRODUCTION

From time immemorial, Zambia has had a diverse ethnic, linguistic and cultural composition. Currently, ethnic societies re-emphasise their traditions through music and dance at important annual ceremonies and occasional social gathering such as funerals and weddings (Kapambwe 2004). Politically, ethnic diversity entails managing a potentially fragile nation. Therefore, as implied by Sardanis¹, Zambia's implicit political agenda since independence has been to unite the different ethnic societies—for example, enacting English as the only official language of government business. However, despite government efforts to unite the different ethnic societies, most social, economic and demographic outcomes could be a reflection of diverse ethnic backgrounds and priorities of the Zambian people. Most of these outcomes and their variations remain unknown or undocumented² probably because their perpetuation conflict with the government agenda of uniting ethnic societies.

Zambian politicians and political commentators have, therefore, neglected the implications of imposing a collective identity on a population that is diverse. For example, an editorial of a leading independent newspaper, *The Post*, proposed that Bemba—one of the Zambian languages—should be the national language (Editor 2007). This suggestion sparked remarkable debate between Zambians belonging to different tribes. Mbozi's (2007) presentation posted on the Zambia On-line website³, summarises the outcome of this debate. Unfortunately, neither the *Post* Newspaper editorial nor Mbozi (2007) anchor their arguments and suggestions in the origin and development of consolidated linguistic divisions in Zambia.

Historical literature shows that missionary and colonial “actions and policies consolidated the language map to four ...” from a “Babel” of more than fifty Zambian languages (Posner 2003:128). Since it was not possible to transcribe all the Zambian languages before translating the Bible, early missionaries transcribed four languages only—Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja (Chichewa) and Tonga. Consequently, the Native Education Department of the colonial government supported these four languages because it was costly to produce educational literature for all the languages. A consolidated language environment obliged individuals of other linguistic backgrounds to learn one of the four languages for purposes of on-the-job and social communication (Posner 2003).

However, Posner (2003) does not provide details why the missionaries and the colonial government chose these languages—Bemba in the north, Lozi in the west, Nyanja in the east and Tonga in the south—as languages of instruction at the expense of others. He admits that his discussion, on the mechanisms of promoting the four languages, does not “provide clues as to why the populations that speak each of these languages came to be physically located in specific areas of the country” (Posner 2003: 135).

This article provides clues to the origin of the Zambian consolidated language map. It points to the reasons the government—for official purposes of broadcasting, literacy campaigns and dissemination of information—uses seven vernacular languages besides English. By marshalling accounts of Zambian ethnic societies focusing on origin, migration histories and settlement villages, this undertaking derives ethno-geographical clusters. In doing so, the article provides a starting point for examining or re-examining ethnic clusters in Zambia. These clusters simplify evaluation and comparison of postcolonial linguistic, social, economic and demographic outcomes of, and between, ethnic groups in Zambia.

After discussing the origin of ethnic societies and their migrations to Zambia, the article establishes ethno-geographical boundaries that closely match provincial administrative boundaries. Matching boundaries is justified because Zambian ethnic societies are almost always associated with specific provinces where their ancestors set up villages on arrival in Zambia (Roberts 1966). For example, the Tonga are associated with Southern Province while the Lozi with Western Province. Such associations explain why earlier commentators—such as Kuczynski (1949)—asserted that provincial differentials reflected ethnic variations.

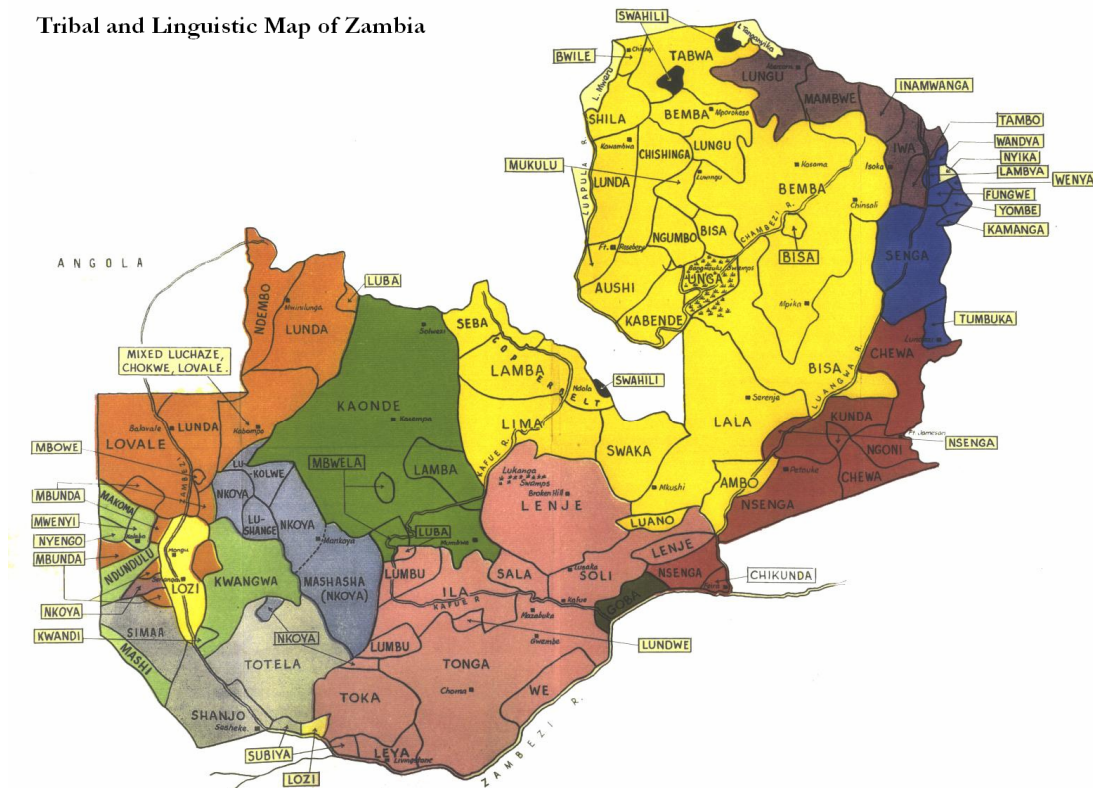
Thereafter, we use ethno-geographical boundaries to group ethnic societies in Zambia based on similar origin, migration histories and geographical location of their traditional villages. Where uncertain, we use kinship lineage to determine the cluster membership of ethnic societies that do not fit neatly into obvious categories. Lastly, to explore proportional distribution of ethnic groups in each cluster, the article examines the 1950, 1990 and 2000 population counts. This exercise sheds lights on the origin of the Zambian consolidated language map.

2. ORIGIN OF ETHNIC SOCIETIES AND THEIR MIGRATIONS TO ZAMBIA

Historical and archaeological evidence suggests that Zambians descend from the Bantu of the Great Lakes region in East Africa. They started arriving in Zambia more than 1 million years ago (Fagan and Phillipson 1966). Figure 1 shows the nearly 80 ethnic societies found in Zambia mapped according to geographical location of their traditional villages (ethno-geographical location) in the 1950s (Brelsford 1956, 1965).

Figure 1. Tribal and linguistic societies in Zambia

Tribal and Linguistic Map of Zambia

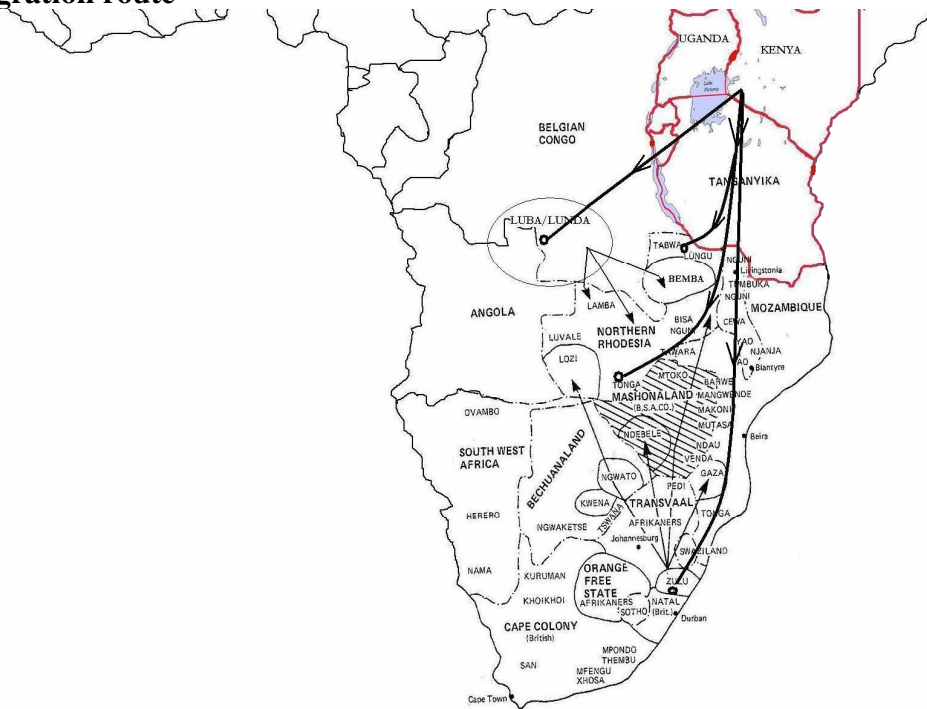


Source: Brelsford (1965)

Migrations into Zambia involving large numbers occurred over a long period—arrivals started in 1500 AD and continued until the late 19th Century—sparked by different reasons and involving large groups of individuals at a time (Roberts 1966). Brelsford (1956; 1965) argues that during migrations from the Great Lakes region, ancestors of ethnic societies transformed their original cultural customs and norms as well as their associates. The extent and nature of these transformations depended on the regions these groups passed through and societies they met before settling in Zambia. Therefore, we distinguish ethnic societies according to the timing of their arrival in Zambia and the regions they passed through before settling in Zambia (secondary origin).

Figure 2 shows the routes of the major ethnic societies of Zambia during their migrations from the Great Lakes region—that is, their region of origin and the regions they passed through before settling in Zambia. As a supplement, Table 1 shows the ethnic societies grouped according to period of arrival in Zambia and their secondary region of origin before migrating to Zambia—classified using information in Brelsford (1956; 1965), Mainga (1966) and Roberts (1966). There are three migration clusters in Zambia.

Figure 2. Zambian major ethnic societies according to region of origin and migration route



Modified by the author from Chanaiwa (1985)

The first migration cluster

Historical literature suggests that the earliest migration cluster of ethnic societies to arrive in Zambia migrated straight from the Great Lakes region. It was comprised of two groups: the south-central (Tonga-Ila) group and the north-eastern (Mambwe-Iwa) group. The south-central group includes the Tonga (Plateau, Southern and Valley), Ila, Lenje, Gowa, Leya, Lumbu, Sala, Soli, Toka and We (Jaspan 1953). The north-eastern group comprises of societies near Lake Tanganyika close to the Great Lakes region. The major tribes include the Mambwe, Inamwanga, Iwa, Lungu, Tabwa and Tambo (Watson 1958; Brelsford 1965).

However, there is inadequate information to describe accurately the migration histories of these societies because their migrations into Zambia took place long before the first recordings of oral or other histories. Colson (1958) notes that the Tonga (the largest group in this cluster) have no recorded history before David Livingstone met them in 1853. Similarly,

Watson (1958:13) states that “there is no reliable historical evidence concerning the origins and previous movements of the Mambwe”—another large society in this cluster. Despite this gap, archaeological evidence suggests that they migrated before the twelfth century (Colson 1958). However, Clark (1950) speculates that they migrated through the east from the Great Lakes region between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Whatever the case, these societies should have been in Zambia before the 16th Century. Richards (1940) observes that when the Bemba (a group in the second migration cluster) arrived in Zambia in the 17th and 18th Centuries, the major tribes—the Tonga-Ila and the Mambwe-Iwa—in the earliest cluster had already settled.

Table 1. Ethnic societies according to secondary origin and period of arrival in Zambia

Great Lakes Region (up to 16 th Century)		Luba/Lunda Kingdoms (17 th - 18 th Century)		South African influenced (19 th Century)
1 Fungwe	19 Toka	1 Ambo	19 Luchazi	1 Kwandi
2 Goba/Gowa	20 Tonga	2 Aushi	20 Lunda - Lua.	2 Kwangwa
3 Ila	21 Wandya	3 Batwa*	21 Lunda - NW	3 Lozi
4 Inamwanga	22 We	4 Bemba	22 Luvale	4 Lukolwe
5 Iwa	23 Wenya	5 Bisa	23 Lwena*	5 Lushange
6 Kamanga	24 Yombe	6 Bwile	24 Mbunda	6 Makoma
7 Lambya		7 Chewa	25 Mbwela	7 Mashasha
8 Lenje		8 Chikunda	26 Mukulu	8 Mashi
9 Leya		9 Chishinga	27 Ndembu	9 Mbowe
10 Lumbu		10 Chokwe	28 Ngumbo	10 Mwenyi
11 Lungu		11 Kabende	29 Ngwela*	11 Ndundulu
12 Mambwe		12 Kaonde	30 Nsenga	12 Ngoni
13 Nyika		13 Kunda	31 Seba	13 Nkoya
14 Sala		14 Lala	32 Senga	14 Nyengo
15 Soli		15 Lamba	33 Shila	15 Shanjo
16 Sukwa*		16 Lima	34 Swaka	16 Simaa
17 Tabwa		17 Luano	35 Tumbuka	17 Subiya
18 Tambo		18 Luba	36 Unga	18 Totela

Notes: Classification based on Brelsford (1956); Mainga (1966); Roberts (1966)

*Not on the Tribal and Linguistic Map but discussed by Brelsford

Lua. Is Luapula province

NW is North-western province

Other smaller societies in the north-eastern group include the Fungwe, Kamanga, Lambya, Nyika, Wandya, Wenya and the Yombe. Brelsford (1965) describes the history of these societies as inconsistent because some historians have linked them to the DRC Kingdoms (the second migration cluster discussed below). However, both Brelsford (1965) and Watson (1958) argue that these societies are economic allies of the major north-eastern ethnic societies. Besides—like all north-eastern ethnic societies—their cultural customs and norms are an extension of East African ethnic societies (Brelsford 1965; Roberts 1976).

The Second Migration Cluster

Descendants of the second migration cluster comprise the largest number (36) of the present-day ethnic societies in Zambia. They migrated from the Great Lakes region through the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), formerly known as Zaire. They first settled in DRC

as part of either the Luba or Lunda Kingdoms (Clark 1950; Roberts 1966). Richards' (1940) discussion of cultural similarities between the peoples of DRC, and the Bemba as well as the Lunda (the largest groups in the second migration cluster) supports the suggestion that these ethnic societies came from the Luba and Lunda Kingdoms.

Roberts (1973) estimates that the Bemba started arriving in Zambia from the Luba and Lunda Kingdoms during the seventeenth century. However, Richards (1940) states that although circumstantial, the literature shows that the Bemba migrated to settle in Zambia from the west in the mid-eighteenth century. Similarly, Cunnison (1959) states that the Lunda society of Luapula Province, who regard the Bemba as their relatives, arrived from the Congo around 1740.

Apart from the larger societies—the Bemba and the Lunda of Luapula Province—the literature suggests that several other societies in the second migration cluster came from the DRC. They migrated to Zambia during the same period as the Bemba or the Lunda (Brelsford 1965). Doke (1931) states that societies—the Lamba, the Lima and their allies such as the Lala, Swaka and the Seba—that settled in central Zambia came from the Luba-Lunda Kingdoms. Apart from the Ngoni, the ethnic societies that settled in the eastern part of Zambia, migrated from the Congo Basin in the seventeenth century (Poole 1949). Similarly, historians claim that the Mbunda, Lunda and the Ndembu societies who settled in the North-western part of Zambia, come from the Great Kingdoms of the Congo in the seventeenth century (Turner 1979; Papstein 1994).

In summary—as Brelsford (1965) states—most ethnic societies in the second migration cluster came from the Luba or Lunda Kingdoms or are simply associated to major ethnic societies in this cluster. Richards (1940) associates the Bisa to the Bemba stating that the latter dominated the former. In a later article, Richards (1968) groups the Kaonde, Lala, Lamba, Unga and Aushi with the Bemba based on similar migration histories. Cunnison's (1959) historical description of the Aushi, Chishinga, Ngumbo and the Mukulu shows that they are affiliated to the Luapula-Lunda society.

The Third Migration Cluster

The last migration cluster comprises the smallest number (18) of ethnic societies that are present in Zambia. There are two major societies in this cluster. First, the Ngoni who migrated from South Africa after fleeing from wars in the Zulu Kingdom. The Ngoni⁴ were initially part of the Aba-Nguni people of South Africa (Barnes 1968). Earlier, the Aba-Nguni had also migrated from the Great Lakes region to South Africa in the fifteenth century (Poole 1949).

Second—the Lozi—who the Kololo or Sotho of South Africa influenced after the latter conquered and reigned over the former between 1840 and 1864. Detailed discussions by Mainga (1966; 1973) and Gluckman (1968) suggest that the Lozi came from the north. The possibility is that they migrated from the north through the DRC and Angola without

necessarily settling there as part of the Luba or Lunda Kingdoms. Brelsford (1965) argues that the Lozi and other societies in this group, such as the Lokolwe, had settled in Zambia long before the Luba and Lunda kingdoms were at the height of their power in the 17th Century.

We include the Lozi in this migration cluster for two reasons. First, historical literature shows that they are different from all societies in the earlier migration clusters. This argument is supported by Virmani's (1989) statement that the Lozi's cultural customs and norms (for example kinship lineage—discussed later) are distinctly different from other ethnic societies found in Zambia. Second and more importantly, the Kololo, a South African ethnic society, have infiltrated their original traditional customs and norms. The Barotse—a term that describes all societies in this migration cluster, apart from the Ngoni—have assumed the cultural customs and norms of the Kololo (Mainga 1973). Like the Ngoni, the Kololo are a tribal group that came from South Africa also fleeing from wars in the Zulu Kingdom. They arrived in Zambia in the mid-nineteenth century (Poole 1949). While the Ngoni settled permanently in the eastern part of Zambia among the ethnic groups they found there, the Kololo headed west to the Barotseland.

Without necessarily settling permanently, the Kololo imposed their Sotho cultural identity on the societies they found already living in Barotseland (Mainga 1966, 1973). They permanently altered the culture of these societies by introducing customs and norms that did not exist before their invasion (Brelsford 1965). These include primogeniture succession and circumcision of young men as part of their preparation for adult life. The Kololo also introduced the language currently spoken in this part of Zambia (Roberts 1976). The name of the major ethnic society (Lozi) was originally Aluyi or Aluyana. The Kololo changed this to suit the phonetics of their language (Gluckman 1968). According to Turner (1952:12), “Lozi is the term now applied to Kololo, a language of which the grammar and many of the words are derived from *Sotho* of the Kololo conquerors of the Lozi, whose own language is called Luyi or Luyana”.

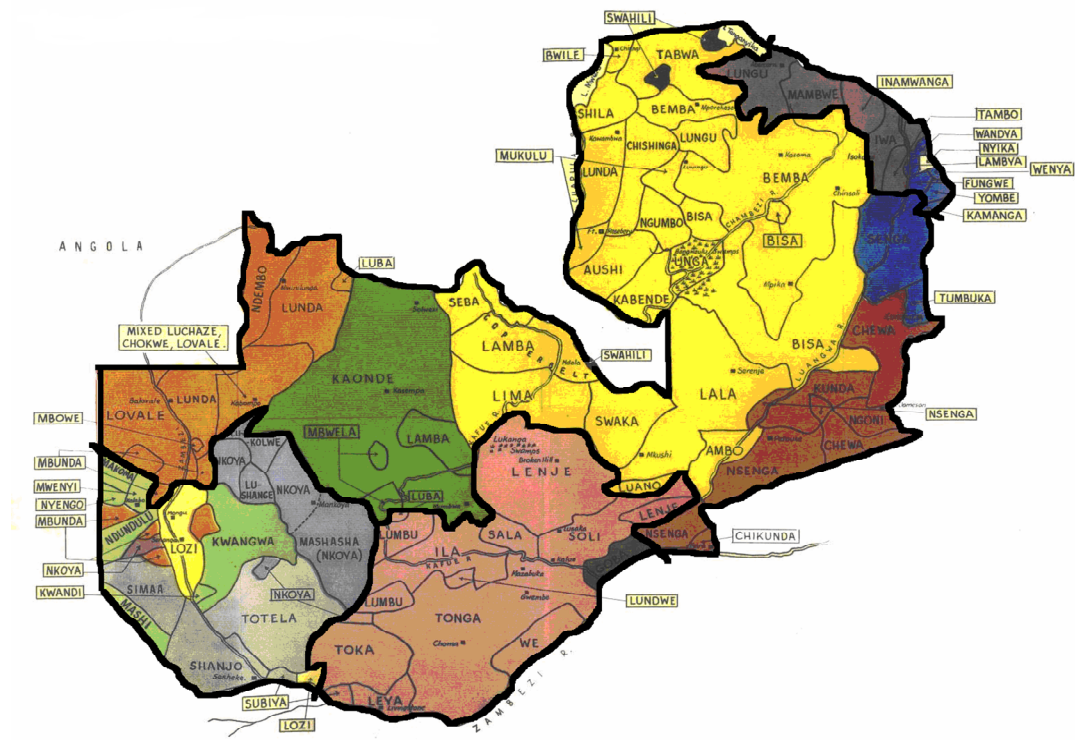
Mainga (1973) divides the remaining ethnic societies in this migration cluster into two groups. The northern group includes the Makoma, Mbowe, Mwenyi, Nkoya, Ndundulu, Nyengo and Simaa. The southern group comprises of the Kwandi, Shanjo, Sibuya and Totela societies. She states that history suggests that the southern group came through the northeast while the former came through the north. However, while the migration histories of these ethnic societies might differ, the Lozi imposed their culture on them and in turn, the Kololo compelled the Lozi—as well as other ethnic societies in this region—to their Sotho culture.

Dominance of the Lozi society over the other societies in southwestern Zambia simplified the universal imposition of the Kololo customs and norms on all ethnic societies in Barotseland. According to Mainga (1966:121), “the Lozi Kingdom was a conquest-state which imposed its institutions on the pre-existing populations.” This is why “Lozi means not only a member of the dominant tribe but any man who is subject to the king...” (Gluckman 1968:15). As a result, it is impossible to distinguish the descendants of the true Lozi (Aluyi or Aluyana)

from those of other ethnic societies in Barotseland. Therefore, apart from the Ngoni, both Brelsford (1965) and Gluckman (1968) describe all societies in this migration cluster as part of the Barotse.

To summarise, Figure 3. re-presents Figure 1 after considering the three migration clusters discussed. The thick boundaries on the map demarcate the Zambian ethnic societies according to the three migration clusters. However, the first migration cluster (from the Great Lakes region) has been split into the south-central group and the north-eastern group. We should also mention that, while, the Ngoni and the Mbowe are part of the third migration cluster (South African influenced), these two societies are geographically found among ethnic groups that make up the second migration cluster (from the Luba-Lunda Kingdoms).

Figure 3. Tribal and linguistic societies in Zambia according to migration clusters



Source: Brelsford (1965)

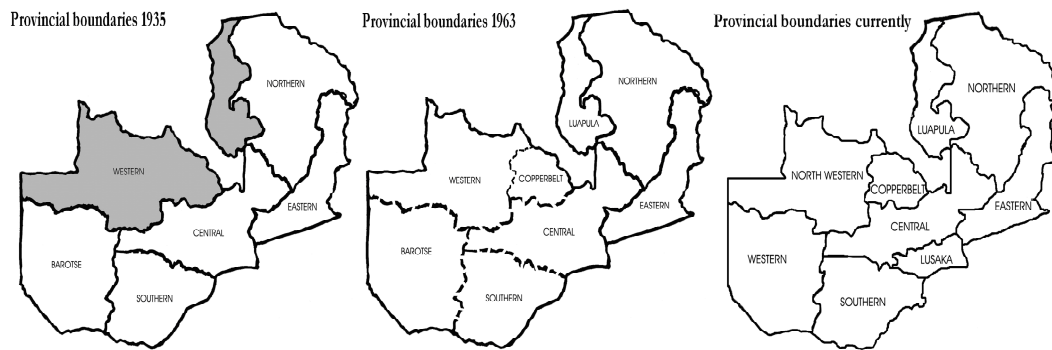
3. ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES IN ZAMBIA

Chiefs of various tribal areas ruled their respective portions of the present-day Zambia before it became a British colony in 1888 (Sheikh 1975). In 1889, when the British South Africa Company obtained permission from the British Government to govern Zambia, it divided Zambia into two separate administrative regions—Eastern and Western. The Eastern Region had its central government in Chipata (Fort Jameson) while that for the Western Region was in Kalomo before moving to Livingstone. In 1911, the two regions merged into the present-

day Zambia with the central government in Livingstone. The Zambian government moved to Lusaka in 1935—10 years after the British Government reassumed direct rule through the British Colonial Administration Office in 1924. Zambia obtained its political independence on 24th October 1964.

Figure 4 shows the provincial demarcations of Zambia before and after independence. In 1935, the British Colonial Administration Office divided Zambia into six provinces: Barotse, Central, Eastern, Northern, Southern and Western Provinces. Western Province included the present-day Copperbelt, Luapula and North-western Provinces (shaded portion) while Province Lusaka was part of Central Province. In 1963, they increased the number of provinces to eight after declaring Luapula and Copperbelt as autonomous provinces from the rest of the former Western Province.

Figure 4. Provincial demarcation of Zambia before and after independence



Source: Provincial maps scanned from Sheikh (1975) and CSO (2003)

After independence, the Zambian government renamed Western Province as North-western Province and Barotse as Western Province. Since 1973, Zambia has had nine administrative regions, after splitting Lusaka Province from Central Province. The nine provinces are Central, Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula, Lusaka, Northern, North-western, Southern and Western⁵.

4. ETHNO-GEOGRAPHICAL CLUSTERS OF ZAMBIAN ETHNIC SOCIETIES

Figure 5 (left hand side map), supplemented by Table 2., present ethnic societies grouped according to ethno-geographical locations of their ancestral villages—that is, regions where descendants of each ethnic society settled when they arrived in Zambia. The demarcations (dotted lines) are mechanistic meant to match roughly the provincial administrative boundaries presented in Figure 4. However—although Zambia has nine administrative provinces—only seven ethno-geographical location boundaries (Figure 5, right hand side map) almost match the provincial boundaries. Coincidentally, before 1950, Copperbelt and Lusaka were not distinct provinces as discussed earlier in the preceding section. The layout

of Table 2 broadly reflects geographical locations in Zambia—for example, Region I is North-western and Region VI is South-central. We have numbered the regions to avoid confusing some official provincial names for geographical locations.

Figure 5. Ethnic societies according to migration clusters and ethno-geographic boundaries

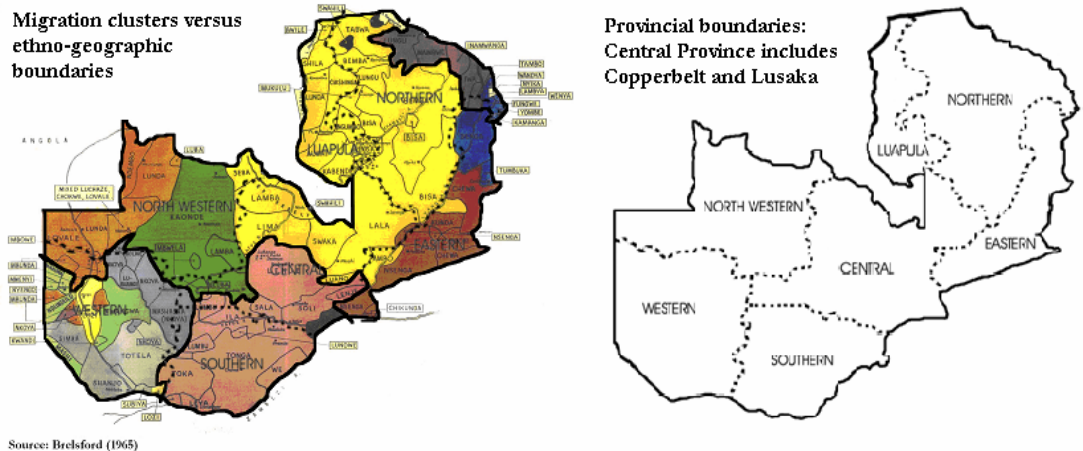


Table 2 shows that most ethnic societies that migrated from the Luba-Lunda Kingdoms (second migration cluster in Table 1) settled in Regions I, II, V and VII. Ethnic societies in Regions III and VI (Table 2) comprise of those that migrated from the Great Lakes Region (first migration cluster in Table 1). This is with exception of the Bemba (Region III in Table 2) who migrated from the Luba-Lunda Kingdoms. Region IV (Table 2) comprises, mostly, of ethnic societies influenced by the Kololo of South Africa (third migration cluster in Table 1).

Grouping ethnic societies according to ethno-geographical locations of their ancestral villages is justifiable and the idea would most probably find support among population geographers (Jones 1990). Corinaldi (1966) observes that climatic and environmental conditions in a particular region have an impact on determining the means of subsistence—the main preoccupation of traditional societies. In turn, means of subsistence as well as traditional technology and skills tailor decision making including overall cultural customs and norms (Brelsford 1965; Lesthaeghe 1989). This explains why some ethnic societies with similar migration histories whose descendants settled in different Zambian regions on arrival have adopted cultural customs and norms that are compatible with the regions in which they settled—we back up this argument with three examples.

First, the differences between the Ngoni and the Kololo—both originally cattle-herding societies from South Africa—support ethnic affiliations that are based on similar geographical region of settlement. The Ngoni settled in the south-eastern part of Zambia (Region VII). During the period of migrations into Zambia, this region was not suitable for cattle rearing because it lies in a valley (the Luangwa) with limited grazing land, infested

with tsetse fly and harbouring a large population of wild animals (Corinaldi 1966; Roberts 1976). However, the soils were suitable and rainfall sufficient for crop cultivation (Barnes 1968). Therefore, crop farming was the main means of subsistence for ethnic societies that the Ngoni found in this region. Therefore, the cultural customs and norms of the indigenous ethnic groups took precedence over those of the Ngoni. Brelsford (1965) argues that the Ngoni defeated the Chewa in the battlefield but, culturally, it is the Chewa who defeated the Ngoni. Apart from the language, which according to Barnes (1968) is only heard in songs and royal praises, the Ngoni have adopted marriage customs of the Chewa and Nsenga. By contrast, the societal customs and norms of the other South African migrant group, the Kololo, took precedence in the south-western region (Region IV). Like their counterparts, they were a cattle-herding society but they settled on the floodplains. These areas are usually sparsely populated and allow grass to grow freely, therefore, providing a good environment for cattle rearing (Corinaldi 1966; Roberts 1976).

Table 2. Ethnic societies according to secondary origin and period of arrival in Zambia

Region I	Region II	Region III
1 Chokwe	1 Aushi	1 Bemba
2 Kaonde	2 Batwa*	2 Fungwe
3 Luba	3 Bwile	3 Inamwanga
4 Luchazi	4 Chishinga	4 Iwa
5 Lukolwe	5 Kabende	5 Kamanga
6 Lunda	6 Lunda	6 Lambya
7 Luvale	7 Mukulu	7 Lungu
8 Lwena*	8 Ngumbo	8 Mambwe
9 Mbowe	9 Ngwela*	9 Nyika
10 Mbwela	10 Shila	10 Sukwa*
11 Ndembu	11 Tabwa	11 Tambo
	12 Unga	12 Wandya
		13 Wenya
		14 Yombe
Region IV	Region V	Region VII
1 Kwandi	1 Goba/Gowa	1 Ambo
2 Kwangwa	2 Lala	2 Bisa
3 Lozi	3 Lamba	3 Chewa
4 Lushange	4 Lenje	4 Chikunda
5 Makoma	5 Lima	5 Kunda
6 Mashasha	6 Luano	6 Ngoni
7 Mashi	7 Seba	7 Nsenga
8 Mbunda	8 Soli	8 Senga
9 Mwenyi	9 Swaka	9 Tumbuka
10 Ndundulu		
11 Nkoya	Region VI	
12 Nyengo	1 Ila	
13 Shanjo	2 Leya	
14 Simaa	3 Lumbu	
15 Subiya	4 Sala	
16 Totela	5 Toka	
	6 Tonga	
	7 We	

Notes: Grouping based on Brelsford's (1956) Tribal and Linguistic map
 *Not in the Tribal and Linguistic Map but discussed by Brelsford

The second example addresses the descendants of the Lunda Kingdom (second migration cluster in Table 1). One group of the Lunda settled in Region I (the Lunda of North-western Province) while the other settled in Region II (the Lunda of Luapula Province). Traditional customs and norms—including the language—of the Luapula-Lunda are close to those of the Aushi and Bemba societies of Regions II and III, respectively (Brelsford 1965). By contrast, Turner (1952; 1962; 1979) associates the North-western Lunda with the Ndembu of Region I—hence, Ndembu-Lunda—and to a certain extent their other close neighbour—the Lozi of Region IV. The differences between these Lunda descendants—both originally from the DRC Kingdoms—also support the argument that ethnic associations can be based on similar geographical region of settlement.

Lastly, one group (the Mambwe-Iwa) of the earliest cluster of ethnic societies to arrive in Zambia settled in Region III while the other group (the Tonga-Ila) settled in Region VI. Despite coming from the same region and migrating during the same period, these groups of societies are different⁶. The main preoccupation for ethnic societies in Region VI was cattle rearing⁷ while those that settled in Region III were mostly crop-cultivators (Brelsford 1965; Roberts 1966).

Up to this point, the discussion justifies grouping Zambian ethnic societies according to similar migration histories and geographical locations of their ancestral villages. Similar migration histories and environmental features prevailing in an area of settlement influence ethno-geographical affiliations and therefore promote regional cultural differences. However, the ethno-geographical regional demarcations presented here are mechanistic, closely matching the existing provincial administrative boundaries. As a result, there are several borderline cases—that is, ethnic societies that do not fit neatly into the obvious demarcations.

These include, among others, the Tabwa (Region II) as well as the Goba, Lenje and Soli (Region V) from the Great Lakes Region (first migration cluster) who settled near the former Luba-Lunda Kingdoms (second migration cluster). Others are the Lukolwe and Mbowe (Region I) as well as the Ngoni (Region VII) who are South African influenced ethnic societies (third migration cluster) but also settled close to—or among—societies from the former DRC kingdoms (second migration cluster). Similarly, the Lushange and Nkoya (Region IV) who are third migration cluster societies can as well fall, spatially, among ethnic societies in Region I (second migration cluster). Lastly, the Mbunda ethnic society migrated from the former Luba-Lunda Kingdoms but most of them settled among South African influenced ethnic societies in Region IV.

Roberts (1976) suggests various social and community arrangements—such as social organisation, patterns of marriage and religious beliefs—that we could use to regroup ethnic societies whose ethno-geographical membership in Table 2 is not obvious. However, we choose kinship lineage⁸—as well as associated traditional customs and norms—because it is ‘all encompassing’ and therefore provides a summarised basis for understanding different African societies (Radcliffe-Brown 1950; Hull 1980). According to Hull (1980) Africans use kinship lineage to identify relations and family networks. Use of kinship lineage is applicable

in this exercise. Ohadike (1990) observes that kinship organisation is an important determinant of social and community arrangements in pre-industrial Zambia.

5. FINAL REGROUPING OF ETHNIC SOCIETIES BASED ON COMMON KINSHIP LINEAGE⁹

The kinship lineage of the North-western Lunda (Region I) and all South African influenced ethnic societies (third migration cluster) that settled in Region III apart from the Bemba is patrilineal¹⁰. Therefore, they "... differ greatly from the matrilineal peoples on the plateau to the south such as the Bemba...but are more akin to those of the Tanganyikan tribes..." (Watson 1958:14). To the contrary, the literature suggests that—except for the Lunda—ethnic societies that migrated from the Luba and Lunda Kingdoms (second migration cluster) and settled in Regions I, II, V and VII are full corporate matrilineal kinship societies¹¹. Roberts (1976) states that their customs—such as initiation rituals and rites meant to prepare adolescent women for adult life—are similar among these societies. However, "within this common pattern of custom and belief, we can discern regional variations¹² which probably developed by the 16th Century" (Roberts 1976:74).

Further, Mitchell (1965) describes the kinship lineage of South African influenced ethnic societies (third migration cluster) that settled in Region IV as 'western composite'. This means they trace their relations through cognatic kinship lineage¹³—suggesting that "there is no dominant unilineal kin-group, either in the father's patrilineal or the mother's matrilineal lines...every child, legitimate, illegitimate and adulterine has the right to make its home in a village of either its mother's parents and to inherit there...it also has these rights with the kin of its father..." (Gluckman 1950:171).

Lastly, ethnic societies who migrated directly from the Great Lakes Region (first migration cluster) that settled in Region VI exercise dual kinship lineage (Jaspan 1953; Colson 1960). They trace their relations through matrilineal kinship, but patriline wealth inheritance is an important lineament because of their dependence on cattle¹⁴. For example, Jaspan (1953) states that, the Ila are matrilineal but they reckon inheritance through the male line. This is because, as Roberts (1976) suggests, they depended heavily on cattle rearing which they felt to be a male-oriented task. Holden and Mace (2003) argue that matrilineal Bantu-speaking cultures abandon their matrilineality when they start keeping large animals including cattle. First off, matrilineal societies survive on extensive agriculture—that is, they do not use ploughs when farming nor do they keep large animals. Therefore, their social organisation is simple, flexible and adaptive to the environment because their survival is not always certain. This is why, compared with other kinship lineages, when matrilineal societies domesticate cattle (or any other large animals) they also adopt patrilineal or mixed descent kinship alongside a complex social organisation (Holden and Mace 2003).

We use descriptions of kinship lineage as well as associated traditional customs and norms to relocate or retain borderline ethnic societies. Societies bearing similar traits with societies in other clusters are reallocated. By contrast, those with similar traits with societies in their

current clusters are retained. The latter applies to societies without additional information. Table 3 shows societies relocated and those retained. However, some reallocations and retentions need further clarification.

The Mbundas and Ambos are retained in Region IV and Region VII, respectively. Despite the Mbunda migrating from the Lunda Kingdom of DRC (second migration cluster), geographically, most Mbundas settled in Region IV among South African influenced ethnic societies (third migration cluster). Papstein (1994) argues that their descendants have lived among societies in this region for a long-time and they have since adopted the cultural customs and norms of the Barotse.

Table 3. Reallocation or retention of borderline ethnic societies based on similar kinship lineage and other traditional customs and norms

Borderline Society	Ethno-geographical Group		Common traits with those in new group	Source material identifying Common traits
	Current	New		
	Lokolwe	I		
Mbowe	I	I	Geographical settlement and no other information	Brelsford (1965)
Tabwa	II	II	Geographical settlement and no other information	Brelsford (1965)
Bemba	III	II	Matrilineal kinship lineage	Watson (1958); Richards (1968)
Lushange	IV	IV	Geographical settlement and no other information	Brelsford (1965)
Mbunda	IV	IV	Cognatic kingship lineage Geographic settlement	Brelsford (1965) Papstein (1994)
Nkoya	IV	IV	Geographical settlement and no other information	Brelsford (1965)
Subiya	IV	IV	Cognatic kingship lineage Cognatic kingship lineage as well as other customs and norms	Brelsford (1965) Mainga (1973)
Totela	IV	IV	Cognatic kingship lineage Cognatic kingship lineage as well as other customs and norms	Brelsford (1965) Mainga (1973)
Goba	V	VI	Kinship lineage, culture and language	Jaspan (1953)
Lenje	V	VI	Kinship lineage, economic and social organisation Kinship lineage, culture and language	Brelsford (1965) Jaspan (1953)
Soli	V	VI	Kinship lineage, culture and language	Jaspan (1953)
Bisa	VI	II	Matrilineal kinship lineage	Cunnison (1959); Roberts (1973)
Ambo	VII	VII	Social organisation Customs and norms	Brelsford (1965) Poole (1949)
Ngoni	VII	III	Patrilineal kinship lineage	Brelsford (1965); Barnes (1968)
Senga	VII	III	Patrilineal kinship lineage	Brelsford (1965)
Tumbuka	VII	III	Patrilineal kinship lineage	Brelsford (1965); Roberts (1976)

Similarly, despite some literature associating the Ambo with the Lala or Lamba societies of Region V, we retain them in Region VII for two reasons. First, Poole (1949) groups the Ambo with the native ethnic groups of the East Luangwa Province of Northern Rhodesia (the

equivalent of Region VII). He observes that, the Ambo have assumed customs and norms of ethnic groups in this region (Poole 1949). Second, Brelsford (1965) points out that apart from their descendants settling in Region VII, their social organisation is more akin to the Nsenga and Chikunda of Region VII rather than the Lala or Lamba societies.

We reclassify the Ngoni from Region VII to Region III. Despite settling among matrilineal societies, the Ngoni have upheld their patrilineal kinship norm. Barnes (1968) argues that the Ngoni have created an integrated culture by keeping the patrilineal kinship of their Zulu ancestors and their Shona captives while adopting matrilineal marriage norms and customs of their Chewa and Nsenga captives. Therefore, their “lineage systems belongs to one variety and the Ngoni residential systems to another” Barnes (1968:56).

Lastly, although the Lunda are not a borderline case or geographically near the patrilineal societies (Region III), Roberts (1976) observes that the Lunda and probably the Luba are patrilineal societies. However, he does not provide enough information to support his suggestion. Turner (1979: 2), who provides details on the Ndembu-Lunda, states that they are a matrilineal society who seem “...to have lost central authority and military organisation they may have possessed at first...”. During this disintegration, they might have changed their social and community arrangements as well. Therefore, without more information on the status of their kinship lineage, it is difficult to justify moving the Lunda from Region I to Region III (patrilineal societies).

Table 4 re-presents Table 2 after the reallocations discussed above—that is considering similarities in kinship lineage as well as other traditional customs and norms. To explore proportional distribution of ethnic groups for purposes of identifying dominant societies in each cluster, the table shows the 1953 population estimates provided by the Zambian colonial government (Brelsford 1956:124-125). We use the 1953 figures rather than the 1962 figures presented in Brelsford (1965) for two reasons. First, tribal population figures collected in later enumerations did not capture the increasing number of tribal members who had migrated from their traditional villages (Brelsford 1965). This is because the colonial government restricted tribal information collection to people living under their respective chiefs. Second, the 1953 figures coincide with the reference period of most of the materials discussing the history of these societies.

Regions II, III and IV have the largest number of ethnic societies—that is, more than 10 each. With six and five societies respectively, Regions V and VII have the fewest. Of the nearly 1.7 million inhabitants in 1953, Region II had the largest population (about 25 per cent of the national total) while Region V had the smallest (less than 10 per cent of the national total). Only nine societies had a population of more than 50,000 members, namely: the Tonga, Bemba, Chewa, Lunda, Nsenga, Ngoni, Lala, Lozi and the Bisa. The first three societies had populations exceeding 100,000 members.

The 1953 population distribution in Table 4 shows ethnic variations within each region. Three of the eight enumerated societies in Region I account for 65 per cent of the total

population in this cluster—about 20 per cent each. The other clusters had only one society with an extremely large population in 1953. Although the Lozi was the largest society in Region IV, it was not extremely large—accounting for only 23 per cent of the 1953 total population size of Region IV. However, the Lozi adequately represents all societies in this region because of the acculturation feature of the Barotseland (Region IV) societies (Mainga 1973).

Table 4. Ethnic societies according to region of settlement and kinship lineage system

Region I			Region II			Region III		
Society	Population in 1953		Society	Population in 1953		Society	Population in 1953	
	Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
1 Luvale	49,097	24.4	1 Bemba	144,511	32.5	1 Ngoni	66,589	30.1
2 Kaonde	42,354	21.1	2 Lunda	82,050	18.4	2 Lungu	38,073	17.2
3 Lunda	40,131	20.0	3 Bisa	50,804	11.4	3 Senga	25,811	11.7
4 Ndembu	33,216	16.5	4 Aushi	43,163	9.7	4 Tumbuka	25,300	11.4
5 Luchazi	21,442	10.7	5 Chishinga	28,735	6.5	5 Mambwe	21,388	9.7
6 Chokwe	11,355	5.7	6 Ngumbo	28,047	6.3	6 Inamwanga	12,400	5.6
7 Mbowe	2,941	1.5	7 Mukulu	20,882	4.7	7 Iwa	12,249	5.5
8 Mbwela	280	0.1	8 Tabwa	15,320	3.4	8 Tambo	5,340	2.4
9 Luba	N/S		9 Kabende	9,355	2.1	9 Yombe	4,234	1.9
10 Lwena*			10 Unga	9,204	2.1	10 Fungwe	2,849	1.3
			11 Shila	7,300	1.6	11 Nyika	2,630	1.2
			12 Bwile	5,899	1.3	12 Lambya	1,953	0.9
			13 Batwa*			13 Wenya	900	0.4
			14 Ngwela*			14 Wandya	800	0.4
						15 Kamanga	500	0.2
						16 Sukwa*		
Total	200,816	100.0	Total	445,270	100.0	Total	221,016	100.0

Region IV			Region V			Region VII		
Society	Population in 1953		Society	Population in 1953		Society	Population in 1953	
	Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
1 Lozi	54,605	22.9	1 Lala	55,936	41.5	1 Chewa	127,824	54.0
2 Kwangwa	34,866	14.6	2 Lamba	35,175	26.1	2 Nsenga	73,568	31.1
3 Mbunda	32,111	13.5	3 Swaka	17,647	13.1	3 Kunda	19,447	8.2
4 Nkoya	28,785	12.1	4 Lima	15,210	11.3	4 Ambo	11,657	4.9
5 Kwandi	13,841	5.8	5 Seba	6,000	4.5	5 Chikunda	4,383	1.9
6 Totela	13,765	5.8	6 Luano	4,808	3.6			
7 Subiya	9,705	4.1	Total	134,776	100.0	Total	236,879	100
8 Ndundulu	7,649	3.2						
9 Lushange	7,000	2.9						
10 Makoma	6,557	2.7						
11 Mashasha	5,876	2.5						
12 Nyengo	5,833	2.4						
13 Simaa	5,440	2.3						
14 Mwenyi	4,804	2.0						
15 Shanjo	3,385	1.4						
16 Mashi	3,377	1.4						
17 Lukolwe	892	0.4						
Total	238,491	100.0						

Region VI		
Society	Population in 1953	
	Number	Per cent
1 Tonga	164,829	58.8
2 Lenje	42,723	15.2
3 Soli	19,208	6.8
4 Ila	17,737	6.3
5 Toka	16,257	5.8
6 Goba/Gowa	7,436	2.7
7 Leya	6,256	2.2
8 Sala	4,034	1.4
9 Lumbu	2,063	0.7
10 We	N/S	
Total	280,543	100.0

Notes: Grouping based on Brelsford's (1965) Tribal and Linguistic map. The layout of the table broadly reflects geographical location in Zambia - for example Region I is North-western and Region VI is South-central.

*Not in the Tribal and Linguistic Map but discussed by Brelsford.

NS means the population figure of the specific society is not stated probably because it is included in a larger society which is however not specified by Brelsford.

To assess tribal reporting consistencies as well as effects of fertility, mortality and migration, over time, we examine more recent population distributions for Zambian ethnic societies¹⁵. The table in Appendix 1 shows that intracluster ethnic population distributions derived from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses are similar to the 1953 distribution. Region I has three large ethnic societies (Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale). Regions V and VII have two large societies each—that is, respectively, Lala and Lamba as well as Chewa and Nsenga. The remaining regions have one society each—Bemba (Region II), Ngoni (Region III), Lozi (Region IV) and Tonga (Region VI).

However, major intracluster differences exist between the 1953 population count and the 1990/2000 Census distributions. There are also minor inconsistencies between ethnic distributions in the 1990 Census and 2000 Census. Three reasons may account for these disparities. First, natural increase or population growth could be different between ethnic societies because some societies could have been growing faster than others. The second reason could be ethnic classification errors arising from poor data collected in earlier enumerations during colonial days (Kuczynski 1949; Musambachime 1990).

Lastly, ethnic classification errors may also arise from shifting identities in the later population counts. Although not in direct reference to Zambia, Kreager (1997) suggests that in any population, individuals may over time change ethnic identities for various economic, political and social reasons including intermarriages. This means that such individuals will identify themselves with other ethnic groups rather than their own. Shifting identities are more likely in Zambia because of ethnic unison mechanisms—elaborated by Posner (2003)—that the colonial government had put in place. He also reports a similar outcome in reference to languages: “...the shares of the population using Bemba, Chichewa, Tonga and Lozi in the pre-colonial period were slightly larger than the shares using other languages. By 1990, however, these four languages dominated the others” (Posner 2003:129).

Despite these intracluster differences and inconsistencies, intercluster distributions of the seven ethno-geographical clusters derived from the 1953 population count as well as the 1990 and 2000 Censuses are similar—especially for the South-central group (Table 5). The largest difference between the 1953 and 1990/2000 distributions is less than 5 per cent (Region IV). Interregional distributions are less different or less inconsistent because a person is more likely to report that they are a member of a group that is close to their own ethnic society.

6. USEFULNESS OF THE ETHNO-GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPS

First and most generally, different population sizes of ethnic societies and the number of societies in each region may have implications for the homogeneity of these regional clusters. In turn, homogeneity of regions or the lack of it has development implications (Easterly and Levine 1997). Regions II, IV, VI and VII are homogeneous because one ethnic society dominates each of these regions. By contrast, Region I may not be as homogeneous because

three societies share first-among-equals status. Similarly, holding other factors constant, regions with many societies (Regions II, III and IV) may not be as homogeneous compared with those with fewer societies. This partly explains why Regions I, III and IV are less developed compared with the rest of the country (Government of the Republic of Zambia 1989).

Table 5. Population distributions of Zambian ethno-geographical groups: 1953 population estimates; 1990 and 2000 Censuses

Geo-ethnic group		Proportion		
		1953	1990	2000
Region I	North-western	11.4	9.3	9.2
Region II	North-central	25.3	27.4	28.1
Region III	North-eastern	12.6	15.1	15.3
Region IV	South-western	13.6	10.2	9.6
Region V	Central	7.7	6.5	6.1
Region VI	South-central	16.0	16.8	17.3
Region VII	South-eastern	13.5	14.7	14.4
Total, all groups		1,757,791	7,016,128	9,726,508

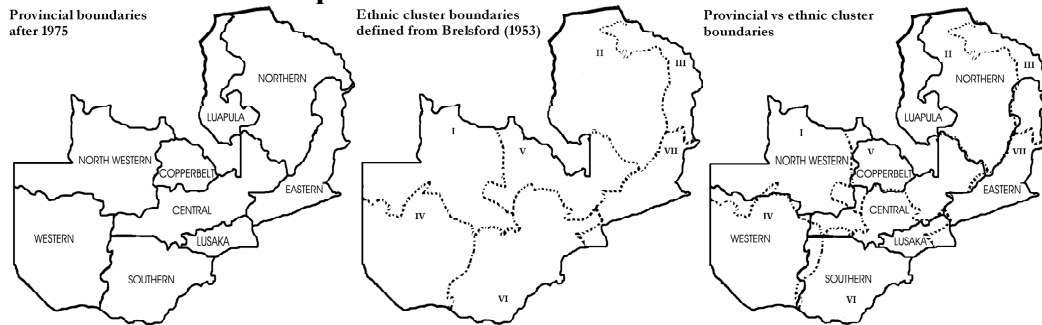
Sources: Brelsford (1956), 1990 and 2000 Censuses

Second, this exercise provides an insight into the larger ethnic societies in each ethno-geographical cluster as well as the country as a whole. Such an insight, answers Posner’s question—that is, why the missionaries or the colonial government promoted the four languages (Bemba in the north, Lozi in the west, Nyanja in the east and Tonga in the south). Further, the proportions explain Posner’s (2003:140) observation that “...no single language has dominated ... [Region I because] ... the Lunda, Kaonde, and Luvale languages share first-among-equals status in this part of the country...”. As a result, three (Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale) out of the seven Zambian official languages represent Region I—the other official languages obviously are Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja¹⁶ and Tonga (Central Statistical Office [Zambia] 2003). One language each—that is, Bemba, Lozi, Tonga, Nyanja represent languages spoken in Regions II, IV, VI and VII, respectively (Posner 2003). This is because societies that speak these languages proportionally dominate these regions. None of the current official languages represents those spoken by societies in Regions III and V because the religious and colonial mechanisms that Posner (2003) discusses made Bemba and Nyanja dominate in these regions. Therefore, most Chewas, Ngonis and Nsengas communicate using Nyanja while the Bisa, the Lala and the Lamba use Bemba. This is what makes Bemba and Nyanja the most spoken languages in Zambia (Central Statistical Office [Zambia] 2003; Posner 2003).

Lastly and probably more critical is the mismatch of the ethno-geographical and administrative boundaries. Figure 6 compares the ethno-geographical location of the seven clusters presented in Table 4 with Zambia’s administrative boundaries. The dotted lines show the ethno-geographical regional boundaries defined from Brelsford’s map. The solid lines represent provincial administrative boundaries. The disparity in the two boundaries (ethno-geographical clusters versus provincial boundaries) is minor for Regions I and IV versus the

North-western and Western Provinces, respectively. Major disparities exist for the remaining boundaries. Region VI covers three provinces—the Central, Lusaka and the Southern Provinces—while Region V covers the Central and Copperbelt Provinces. Societies in Regions III and VI as well as Regions II and III share the Eastern and Northern Provinces, respectively. Lastly, Luapula and Northern Provinces share ethnic societies in Region II. It is obvious the colonial and the Zambian government did not consider ethnic boundaries when drawing up administrative boundaries in Zambia.

Figure 6. Regional clusters of ethnic societies according to ethno-geographical boundaries relative to provincial boundaries



Provincial map scanned from CSO (2003)

Mismatched ethno-geographical and administrative boundaries may have implications for socio-cultural research. Weinreb (2001) states that even where researchers have noted ethnic differentials, the analysis of subnational differentials in Africa hardly goes beyond the term “regional” or “provincial” or “district” differentials. Conflating regional differentials with ethnic variations is a serious drawback in socio-cultural research. As Kreager (1997) argues, the use of administrative units does not reveal the diversity of individuals belonging to different ethnic groupings that have been aggregated. Therefore, future socio-cultural research should consider comparisons between the seven ethno-geographical clusters (Table 4) rather than deducing results from comparisons of the nine administrative boundaries.

7. CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to derive ethno-geographical clusters in Zambia using information on ethnic societies. This exercise considered homogeneity within, and diversity between, region of origin, location of ethnic villages, and kinship lineage while trying as much as possible to align these ethno-geographical demarcations to provincial administrative boundaries. Lesthaeghe and Eelens (1989:95) state that “admittedly, nothing is more difficult than forming ethnic clusters, and choices are always to some extent arbitrary...”. Regardless, as Johnson-Hanks (2007:11) observes, “the problems of aggregation and meaning-making are both the challenge and the premise of a truly new body of theory in anthropological demography”. The ethno-geographical clusters in Table 4 are similar to those reported by other authors, regardless of differences in objectives. Examples include (Appendix 2 to 4) Mitchell’s (1965)¹⁷ ethnic groups arising from his 1961 study and Murdock’s (1967) ethnic clusters. Others are Kashoki and Mann’s (1978) linguistic groups, Gordon’s Ethnologue

Maps and Maho's (2007) linguistic groups. This suggests that the seven clusters presented in Table 4 are a good representation of the ethno-geographical clusters found in Zambia.

The exercise shows that Zambian ethnic societies are diverse. For example, Murdock (1967) has divided ethnic groups in sub-Saharan region into four groups—Central Bantu, Equatorial Bantu, North-eastern Bantu and Southern Bantu (Appendix 3). Murdock's grouping closely reflects the clusters based on origin and arrival in Zambia presented in Table 1. At least one Zambian ethnic society represents each of the four sub-Saharan ethnic groups with the majority falling under the Central Bantu. Therefore, compared with administrative boundaries, the ethno-geographical clusters derived here are more useful for analysing ethnic differentials in Zambia.

8. NOTES

1. When Gabriel Ellison designed "...the Zambian Coat of Arms, which bears the national motto 'One Zambia, One Nation'...the classically-educated British civil servants and their African acolytes protested that the motto was too simplistic and degrading. But Kenneth Kaunda knew the diversity of his people and he knew that his biggest task would be to knead them into one nation" (Sardanis 2003:156-157).

2. Referring to Kenya, Weinreb (2001) observes that, the analysis of socio-economic, cultural and demographic differences is confined to "regional", "provincial" or district differentials.

3. <http://www.zambia.co.zm/>

4. They derive their name from Nguni, a designation of the Zulu-speaking tribes.

5. The 2000 Census Report shows that Copperbelt and Lusaka are the largest and most urbanized provinces in Zambia—about 78 per cent of 1.6 million and 82 per cent of 1.4 million inhabitants live in urban areas, respectively. Further, Central and Southern Provinces are fairly urbanized (about 24 per cent of one million and 21 per cent of 1.2 million) because of their proximity to Copperbelt and Lusaka Provinces. These four provinces—Central, Copperbelt, Lusaka and Southern—lie on the so-called "traditional line-of-rail"—the first railway line built to transport Zambian copper to seaports for export. The "traditional line-of-rail" runs through major urban Zambian towns: from Chililabombwe in the Copperbelt Province through mining towns and Lusaka (the capital city) to Livingstone in Southern Province (Mitchell 1956). The term "traditional line-of-rail" distinguishes it from railway lines, such as the Tanzania-Zambia Railways (TAZARA), that were constructed later.

6. For example, Roberts (1966) observes that unlike major ethnic societies in Region III, those in Region VI had used the skins of a sacrificed herd of as many as 60 cattle for ritual ceremonies such as installing a new leader. They strongly felt this was an important ritual for their well-being, production and reproduction—a norm they do not, however, share with their northern counterparts.

7. Watson (1958: 30) observes that unlike the Tonga or Ila, the Mambwe “... do not give the attentive care to cattle which marks the true pastoralist”.

8. For this exercise, we use mostly—but not exclusively—information on kinship lineage arrangements of Zambian ethnic societies described by Brelsford (1965) and to a lesser extent Roberts (1976).

9. This could explain why similar research undertaken in the past—for example Mitchell (1965)—have used this variable to group Zambian ethnic societies.

10. Watson (1958) observes that the Mambwe and Lungu (major ethnic societies in Region III) are patrilineal Bantu peoples who were once part of the societies drifting southwards away from the Great Lakes Region. Similarly, Roberts (1976:73) states that in “...their custom of patrilineal descent, as in their languages, they represent a southward extension of East African cultural traditions”.

11. Lesthaeghe (1989) observes that full corporate matrilineal kinship is unique to this part of Africa. Matrilineal kinship societies found in the geographical band that extends from the Western DRC and Northern Angola to Zambia, Malawi and Northern Mozambique are the only ones that trace relations through the female line.

12. For example, societies in Region I perform initiation ceremonies for young men that are similar to those performed for young women except they include circumcision and spiritual dances meant to earn the support of ancestors (Turner 1979).

13. Historical literature suggests that, initially, these societies used to trace relations through matrilineal kinship only (Roberts 1976). The Kololo—who are patrilineal—must have introduced patrilineal kinship lineage among these societies in the 19th Century (Mainga 1973). After which neither of the two unilineal kinships has been dominant.

14. Colson (1958; 1960; 1968) observes that the matrilineal kinship of the Tonga society of Region VI is “...not linked together in any fashion...ties are not stable and impervious to time” (Colson 1958:16-17). This suggests that the Tonga also place emphasis on patrilineal inheritance since they are also heavily dependent on cattle rearing.

15. Contemporary Zambian data sources do not provide unique ethnic codes for seventeen of the 78 traditional societies. It is not possible to speculate the considerations the Central Statistical Office took to exclude the unique ethnic codes of these societies. However, the population sizes of all the excluded traditional societies were small in the 1953 count (Table 3). Therefore, individuals who belong to such societies may be reported under similar larger societies.

16. Nyanja is a hybrid language spoken by ethnic societies—mostly, the Chewa—found in Region VII (Barnes 1968).

17. A point of caution: Mitchell and many present-day sources—such as Gordon's Ethnologue Maps as well as the censuses and surveys—present Nyanja as a Zambian ethnic society. However, as Barnes argues, Nyanja or Chichewa is not an ethnic society but a language spoken by ethnic societies found in the eastern part (Region VII) of Zambia. That is why it does not appear on Brelsford's 1956, 1965 Tribal Map of Zambia.

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Appendix 1: Zambian ethnic/tribal distribution according to ethno-geographical groups: 1953 population estimates; 1990 and 2000 Censuses

Region I				Region II				Region III			
Society	Proportion			Society	Proportion			Society	Proportion		
	1953	1990	2000		1953	1990	2000		1953	1990	2000
1 Luvale	24.4	21.6	23.3	1 Bemba	32.5	60.6	65.2	1 Ngoni	30.1	27.7	26.4
2 Kaonde	21.1	33.9	33.4	2 Lunda	18.4	5.3	5.2	2 Lungu	17.2	7.7	5.9
3 Lunda	20.0	28.0	30.3	3 Bisa	11.4	8.0	6.5	3 Senga	11.7	6.3	5.7
4 Ndembu	16.5	1.5	0.7	4 Aushi	9.7	10.0	8.5	4 Tumbuka	11.4	27.5	28.1
5 Luchazi	10.7	6.7	5.5	5 Chishinga	6.5	4.5	3.3	5 Mambwe	9.7	13.5	15.5
6 Chokwe	5.7	7.4	6.5	6 Ngumbo	6.3	3.9	3.2	6 Inamwanga	5.6	16.3	17.9
7 Mbowe	1.5	0.8	0.4	7 Mukulu	4.7	0.8	0.4	7 Iwa	5.5	0.4	0.2
8 Mbwela	0.1	NC	NC	8 Tabwa	3.4	3.0	2.9	8 Tambo	2.4	0.4	0.2
9 Lwena*		NC	NC	9 Kabende	2.1	1.5	2.0	9 Yombe	1.9	0.3	0.1
				10 Unga	2.1	0.7	0.8	10 Fungwe	1.3	NC	NC
				11 Shila	1.6	0.5	0.8	11 Nyika	1.2	NC	NC
				12 Bwile	1.3	1.0	1.4	12 Lambya	0.9	NC	NC
				13 Ngwela*		NC	NC	13 Wenya	0.4	NC	NC
				14 Batwa*		NC	NC	14 Wandya	0.4	NC	NC
								15 Kamanga	0.2	NC	NC
								16 Luba		NC	NC
								17 Sukwa*		NC	NC
Number	200,816	652,200	894,560	Number	445,270	1,922,204	2,736,228	Number	221,016	1,058,536	1,484,264

Region IV				Region V				Region VII			
Society	Proportion			Society	Proportion			Society	Proportion		
	1953	1990	2000		1953	1990	2000		1953	1990	2000
1 Lozi ¹	22.9	57.6	62.0	1 Lala	41.5	52.1	55.1	1 Chewa	54.0	49.1	50.6
2 Kwangwa	14.6	5.6	4.4	2 Lamba	26.1	36.7	36.3	2 Nsenga	31.1	39.8	38.7
3 Mbunda	13.5	14.5	15.2	3 Swaka	13.1	8.2	7.3	3 Kunda	8.2	5.7	5.3
4 Nkoya	12.1	6.8	6.4	4 Lima	11.3	2.5	0.7	4 Ambo	4.9	0.1	0.1
5 Kwandi	5.8	2.8	1.1	5 Seba	4.5	NC	NC	5 Chikunda	1.9	2.5	1.9
6 Totela	5.8	1.2	0.9	6 Luano	3.6	0.5	0.6	6 Nyanja**		2.8	3.4
7 Subiya	4.1	1.3	0.8	Number	134,776	457,428	591,096	Number	236,879	1,034,872	1,400,004
8 Ndundulu ²	3.2	0.5	0.3								
9 Lushange	2.9	NC	NC								
10 Makoma	2.7	2.2	1.7								
11 Mashasha	2.5	0.1	0.0								
12 Nyengo	2.4	2.0	1.8								
13 Simaa	2.3	1.2	0.8								
14 Mwenyi	2.0	1.0	0.6								
15 Shanjo	1.4	NC	NC								
16 Mashi	1.4	3.2	4.0								
17 Lukolwe	0.4	NC	NC								
Number	238,491	713,304	935,264.0	Number	280,543	1,177,584	1,685,092				

Sources: Brelsford (1956), 1990 and 2000 Censuses

Notes: The layout of the table broadly reflects geographical location in Zambia - for example Region I is North-western and Region VI is South-central. The 1990 and 2000 Census figures have been multiplied by 4 because they are derived from the 25 per cent sample

* Not in the Tribal and Linguistic Map but discussed by Brelsford (1956)

** Not in the Tribal and Linguistic Map presented/discussed by Brelsford (1956) but recognised in contemporary data sources

NC - Not coded separately in the current data sources but most likely included in other larger traditional societies or other Zambians

1. The Lozi also coded using their original name i.e. Luyana (Code 34). This is combined with the Lozi code (43)

2. This society is coded as Imilangu but as stated by Brelsford (1956) this refers to the same society

3. This society is coded as part of the Toka i.e. Toka-Leya (Code 23)

Appendix 2: Ethnic societies in Zambia grouped by Mitchell according to region and lineage type

Region	Societies by lineage type					
North-western <i>(Region I)*</i>	Matrilineal - Ndembu type			Matrilineal - Lwena type		
	Ndembu	Kaonde	Lwena	Chokwe		
	Lunda		Luvale	Mbunda		
			Luchazi			
South-western <i>(Region IV)</i>	Composite - Lozi type					
	Nkoya	Lozi				
	Mbwela	Mbowe				
North-eastern <i>(Region III)</i>	Patrilineal - Mambwe type		Patrilineal - Tumbuka type		Undefined - Ngoni type	
	Mambwe	Iwa	Henga	Nyika	Mpenzeni Ngoni	Gomani Ngoni
	Lungu	Sukwa	Tumbuka	Malila	Mbelwa Ngoni	
	Inamwanga	Tambo	Fungwe	Lambya		
			Kamanga			
South-eastern <i>(Region VII)</i>	Matrilineal - Nyanja type			Matrilineal - Nsenga type		
	Chewa	Nguru	Nsenga			
	Nyanja	Sena				
	Lakeside Tonga	Chikunda				
	Yao					
North-central <i>(Region II)</i>	Matrilineal - Bemba type		Matrilineal - Luapula type		Matrilineal - Aushi type	
	Bemba	Tabwa	Lunda	Chishinga	Aushi	Unga
	Bisa	Senga	Bwile	Shila	Mukulu	Ngwela
					Ngumbo	
Central <i>(Region V)</i>	Matrilineal - Lamba type					
	Lamba	Ambo				
	Lala	Swaka				
	Lima	Kawendi				
	Luano					
South-central <i>(Region VI)</i>	Matrilineal - Lenje type		Matrilineal - Tonga/Ila type			
	Lenje	Sala	Tonga	Subiya		
	Soli		Ila	Toka		

Source: Mitchell (1965: 10)

* Italics: represent the ethno-geographic location in Zambia based on origin, region of traditional settlement and lineage group according to the data in Table 3

Appendix 3: Ethnic societies grouped according to Murdock's classification of Zambian ethnic societies

Region	Ethnic cluster	Society name	*Ethno-geographic region in Zambia	**Number in 1953	
Equatorial Bantu	Luba	Luba	<i>Region I</i>	.	
NEastern Bantu	Rukwa	Iwa	<i>Region III</i>	12,249	
		Mambwe ¹	<i>Region III</i>	21,388	
Central Bantu	Nguni	Ngoni	<i>Region III</i>	66,589	
		Lunda	Luvale	<i>Region I</i>	49,097
			Ndembu	<i>Region I</i>	33,216
			Luchazi	<i>Region I</i>	21,442
			Chokwe	<i>Region I</i>	11,355
	Bemba-Lamba	Kaonde	<i>Region I</i>	42,354	
		Bemba	<i>Region II</i>	144,511	
		Lunda-Luapula	<i>Region II</i>	82,050	
		Shila	<i>Region II</i>	7,300	
		Tumbuka	<i>Region III</i>	25,300	
		Lala	<i>Region V</i>	55,936	
	Ila-Tonga	Lamba	Lamba	<i>Region V</i>	35,175
			Tonga	<i>Region VI</i>	164,829
		Ila	<i>Region VI</i>	17,737	
	Maravi	Chewa	<i>Region VII</i>	127,824	
Kunda		<i>Region VII</i>	19,447		
Nyanja		<i>Region VII</i>	.		
Southern Bantu	Barotseland	Lozi	<i>Region IV</i>	54,605	

Sources: Murdock (1967)

Notes: 1. Misclassified as central Bantu in Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas. The Mambwes are part of the Rukwa ethnic cluster of North-eastern Bantu (Walsh and Swilla 2001). This is therefore corrected here.

*The ethno-geographic location in Zambia based on origin, region of traditional settlement and lineage group according to the data in Table 3

**Population figures for 1953 obtained from Brelsford (1956)

Appendix 4: Ethnic societies in Zambia grouped according to language groups

Region	Language group	Principal modern languages	Other related languages	*Ethno-geographic region in Zambia	
Western	Lunda - NWestern	Lunda		Region I	
	Kaonde	Kaonde		Region I	
	Wiko		Luvale		Region I
			Luchazi		Region I
			Chokwe		Region I
			Mbunda		Region IV
	Nkoya		Nkoya	Lukolwe	Region IV
				Mbwela	Region I
	Luyana/Lozi		Kwangwa		Region IV
			Kwandi		Region IV
Makoma				Region IV	
Mashi				Region IV	
Eastern	Chewa	Nyanja		Region VII	
	Central		Kunda	Region VII	
			Nsenga	Region VII	
Tumbuka	Tumbuka	Senga	Region VII		
Southern	Central		Tonga	Region VI	
			Toka	Region VI	
			Leya	Region VI	
			Ila	Region VI	
			Sala	Region VI	
			Lenje	Region VI	
			Soli	Region VI	
			Subiya	Region IV	
Totela	Region IV				
Northern/Central	Corridor		Mambwe	Region III	
			Inamwanga	Region III	
			Lambya	Region III	
			Nyika	Region III	
	Central		Bemba	Aushi	Region II
				Chishinga	Region II
				Shila	Region II
				Tabwa	Region II
				Unga	Region II
				Twa/Batwa	Region II
				Bisa	Region II
				Lamba	Region V
				Swaka	Region V
				Lala	Region V
Ambo	Region VII				

Source: Roberts (1976: 69)

Note: This table is based on Kashoki and Mann's work but was presented by Roberts before they published their work

*The ethno-geographic location in Zambia based on origin, region of traditional settlement and lineage group according to the data in Table 3