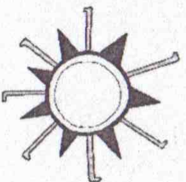
Chronicling Cultures
Long-Term Field Research in Anthropology

Edited by Robert V. Kemper
and Anya Peterson Royce



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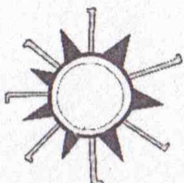
CHAPTER EIGHT

LONG-TERM RESEARCH IN GWEMBE VALLEY, ZAMBIA

Thayer Scudder and Elizabeth Colson



Introduction

We began our study of the Gwembe or Valley Tonga of Zambia in 1956 when Zambia was the British Colonial Territory of Northern Rhodesia and Gwembe Valley was still a relatively isolated region served by few roads, schools, or shops. Within a decade it had been transformed; and since then each decade, sometimes each year, has brought new challenges.

Gwembe Valley occupies the Zambezi River valley between Victoria Falls and the confluences of the Zambezi and Kafue Rivers (figure 8.1). The valley floor lies at about 1,300 feet above sea level, flanked by 3,000- to 5,000-foot plateaus. In 1956 the larger part of the population lived on the north bank of the Zambezi in Northern Rhodesia, separated by a permeable international boundary from kin living on the south bank in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). It is with the fortunes of the Zambian inhabitants of Gwembe that we are primarily concerned. Between 1946 and 1991 they were under a single administrative district, Gwembe District, which evolved into three subdistricts: Gwembe North, Gwembe Central, and Gwembe South. In 1991 these became formalized as separate districts: Siavonga, Gwembe, and Sinazongwe. To maintain continuity with earlier publications, we here retain the old designations and use *Gwembe* to refer to the former district and its subdivisions.

The experience of the Gwembe people since 1956 epitomizes what has been happening throughout much of the Third World, where the building of dams and other massive projects transforms physical environments, populations become more vulnerable to centralized power, and transnational economic forces transform the political and social environment. The Gwembe people have experienced both boom and bust, have found their countryside an arena for guerrilla warfare, have been forced to contend with environmental degradation, have suffered from new diseases (especially AIDS and cholera), have had to compete with incomers intent on exploiting local resources, and have been exposed to the planning strategies of international organizations as well as those of their own government. They have learned to think internationally of donors, foreign exchange, markets, passports, and visas.

Ted Scudder and Sam Clark (right) with Mazulu village children, 1995. Photo by Lisa Cliggett.

Beginning in 1956, one or the other (or both) of us visited Gwembe, at least briefly, on twenty-six different occasions, with the most recent being Colson's visit in 2001. Colson's earlier visit to Gwembe Central in June 1949 was incidental to research among the neighboring Plateau Tonga. Mary E. D. Scudder joined us in 1962–1963, 1972, and 1981–1982, while Roger Noll collaborated with us in 1972. Others associated with the study have been Jonathan Habarad, who spent fifteen months in Gwembe during 1987–1988; Sarah Madrid and Carlos Madrid, briefly in the summer of 1991; Sam Clark, some months in 1991, 1995, 1996, 1997–1998; Rhonda Gillett-Netting, in 1993 and 1997; Lisa Cliggett, eighteen months in 1994–1995, and in 1996, 1998, and 2001; and Ben Clark, in 1998, 1999, and 2000. Ute Luig and Ulrich Luig, who have worked in Gwembe South intermittently since 1987, are good colleagues with whom we have exchanged field data, although they are not part of the longitudinal study group.

The Gwembe Study through Time

Initiation of the Study

A longitudinal study was not part of the original research design conceived in 1955 by Henry Fosbrooke, then director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (later the Institute for African Studies of the University of Zambia, and now the Institute for Economic and Social Research). When he heard that a hydroelec-

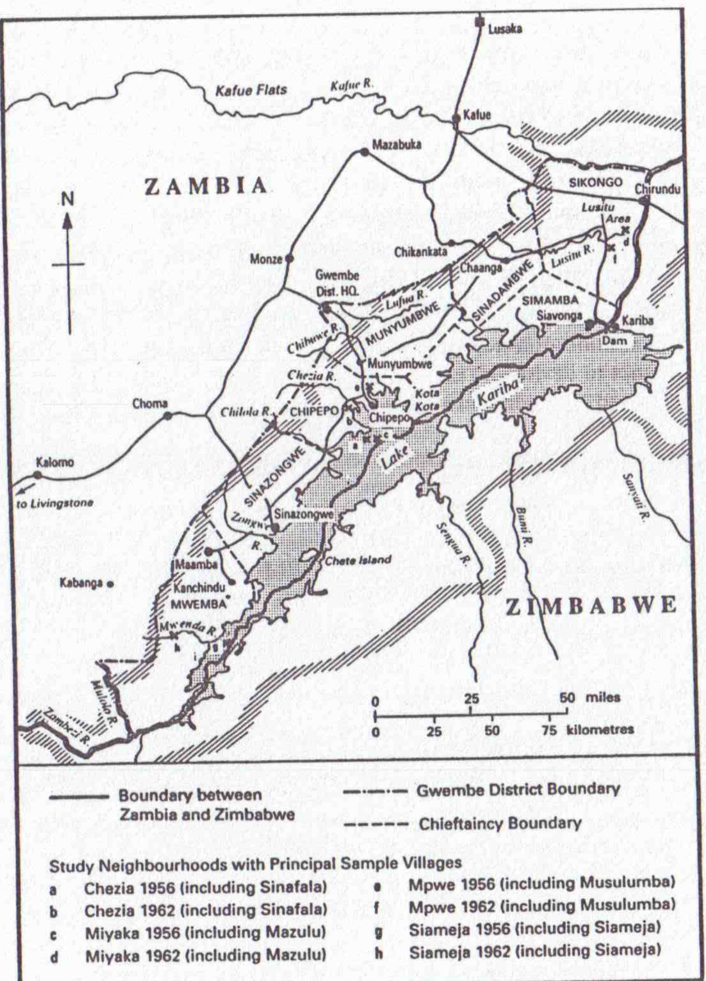


Figure 8.1. Gwembe District and Kariba Lake Basin, Zambia.

tric dam was to be built at Kariba Gorge on the Zambezi River (Soils Inc. in association with Chalo Environmental 2000), Fosbrooke recognized that the creation of Kariba Lake would challenge the Gwembe Tonga to adapt to new environments, and he planned for anthropologists to observe the process. The study was to include an initial period in 1956–1957 prior to resettlement and a return visit some years after the move to examine adaptation. The emphasis was to be on the long-term consequences of living in a new region rather than on the transition period associated with the disruption of resettlement. That period was assumed to be aberrant (Colson 1971b). We no longer accept this perspective since it assumes the following causal sequence: (1) a stable adaptation within a

stable ecological context, (2) a disruption, and (3) the emergence of a new equilibrium within a social and physical environment also marked by stability.

Fosbrooke was inclined to opt for a ten-year interval between visits to give the people a chance to change from permanent and semipermanent cultivation of alluvial soils to shifting cultivation and lake fishing, but for logistical reasons he settled on a five-year interval. He recommended a third visit after another five years but sought financing (20,000 pounds, or $56,000) for only the first two phases of the study. We were then recruited to carry out the study. Colson had learned a dialect of Tonga and visited Gwembe during earlier research among the neighboring Plateau Tonga (1946–1947, 1948–1950). Scudder, with a background in biology and geography as well as anthropology, was recruited to work on Gwembe ecology.

It was not until 1962–1963 that we began to comprehend the long-term possibilities involved in a study of continuity and change among a people who, having been forcibly resettled in connection with a major dam, were soon to be incorporated within the independent nation of Zambia as colonial rule gave way to a new political formation. Since then, the Gwembe people have had to contend with further changes. Concomitantly, we have had to modify research plans and methods.

The article prepared for the 1975 Wenner-Gren Conference reported on the first twenty years of the study and was imbued with the optimism associated with the first ten years of Zambian independence when Gwembe District and its people fared relatively well (Scudder and Colson 1979). Since the mid-1970s, they have suffered, along with the majority of Zambians, from the plummeting of the Zambian economy. During the latter half of the 1970s, Gwembe residents also experienced disruptions associated with the war for Zimbabwean independence. Gwembe District borders Zimbabwe and, in consequence, became a war zone. Land mines and commando raids led to the death of at least one person in each of our study villages (Colson 1995). Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 was not followed by improvement in either the local or the Zambian national economy. Unfavorable government policies and adverse international terms of trade for Zambia's major exports and imports led first to a continued economic decline, and then to calamitous urban and rural poverty when structural adjustment programs urged on Zambia by its creditors brought the inevitable consequences of unemployment, disruption of basic services, and general malaise.

Gwembe has always been drought prone, but drought years increased in the 1980s and 1990s, making people dependent on imported food in 1981–1984, 1987–1988, 1991–1994, 1996, and 1998. In the mid-1980s, AIDS became a serious health problem. Zambia today has one of the highest AIDS mortality rates in the world. The impact on Gwembe, though grim, has been instrumental in bringing about changes in sexual practices. As health services have declined nationally, other diseases have acquired new significance. In 1991, cholera spread into Gwembe from cities where the infrastructure was breaking

down. Drug-resistant strains of malaria and tuberculosis are also now common. Mortality rates have risen (Clark et al. 1995; Clark 2001).

Periodization

We have found it useful to break the twentieth-century history of Gwembe into four time periods, defined primarily by economic markers (Scudder 1985). The first (1901–1931) began with the establishment of administrative stations in the district by the British South Africa Company and ended eight years after the company transferred control over Northern Rhodesia to the British Colonial Office. During that period, the primary task of the administrators was to impose "law and order," collect taxes (which forced men to leave the district as labor migrants), and provide famine relief during the periodic years of hunger that have plagued Gwembe to the present. The second period (1932–1954) was characterized by a more active administration that attempted, in various ways, to alleviate hunger and to strengthen such recently established institutions as a district council and treasury and a local court system, as well as to encourage legislation against such practices as childhood betrothal. Both periods were prior to our involvement with Gwembe. Our field research documents the third and fourth periods.

The third period (1955–1974) was characterized by relatively rapid economic and political change triggered by the building of roads and other infrastructure associated with the Kariba resettlement and the fisheries in the newly formed Kariba Lake, by resistance to European domination symbolized by the formation of the Central African Federation, and then by the expansion of employment opportunities and governmental services during the first decade of independence. Living standards, as assessed by both the people and ourselves, rose for the majority during these years.

The fourth period, starting in the mid-1970s, has been characterized by economic downturn, exacerbated by political discontent which first focused on the single-party system initiated in 1972. The coming of a multiparty system in 1991 and the installation of a new government with different economic priorities and greater openness to criticism were associated with a brief euphoria when people believed that Zambia and Gwembe were entering a new period. Political disaffection then reemerged as inflation soared, corruption became increasingly apparent, intolerance of opposition increased, and the national economy contracted. During this period government has largely ceded its role in the provision of services to a multitude of donor agencies.

Kariba Dam and Its Impact

Since 1958, Gwembe landscape has been dominated by Kariba Lake, impounded behind the 400-foot-high dam which was begun in 1955 and sealed in late 1958. When the waters reached the reservoir margin in 1963, Kariba, then the largest human-made lake in the world, reached a length of over 170 miles and

had a surface area of approximately 2,000 square miles. As the lake filled, it flooded land occupied by 57,000 people (on both sides of the Zambezi). Although those displaced were largely relocated within the lake basin, the majority were no longer "people of the Zambezi," as they had boasted for generations. They were moved back onto less fertile soils located toward the base of the Middle Zambezi escarpments. Later, during the 1980s and 1990s, more arable land became available when Kariba Lake shrank as a result of the years of drought, but the extent of the drawdown area was greatly reduced when the reservoir returned to full storage level in 2000.

For all their negative impacts, big dams do serve to incorporate local populations into a wider regional and often national system. In the Gwembe case, new roads were built to the dam site prior to the commencement of construction, and feeder roads were extended to relocation areas. Thousands of laborers responded to job opportunities at the dam site or in operations such as bush clearance around the perimeter of the future lake. Within a matter of months, isolation vanished. The new reservoir created a temporarily lucrative fishing industry, initially reserved for Gwembe fishermen. When it was thrown open in 1964 after independence, fishermen from as far away as Malawi, Mozambique, and Tanzania settled in Gwembe and married Gwembe women.

Any economic gains associated with Kariba Dam, however, must be evaluated in light of the reality that opportunities did not necessarily accrue to those who suffered losses. Many benefits, such as those relating to capital-intensive commercial fishing and to tourism, accrued to outsiders. Gwembe women lost rights in land, which undercut their position in subsequent years (Colson 1999). Many seniors who lost land and stock were unable to regain their old degree of affluence. Senior men lost status vis-à-vis younger men who had the strength to clear land, who were able to face the risks of fishing on Kariba Lake, or who were young enough to take advantage of new opportunities for education.

Zambian Independence

The Gwembe study spans the end of colonial rule and the creation of an independent Zambia. During 1956–1957, Northern Rhodesia was a colonial territory and a member of the short-lived Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland (1953–1962), although the British Colonial Office retained responsibility for African affairs in Northern Rhodesia. Gwembe Tonga in Southern Rhodesia fell directly under the control of its settler government, which had very different policies for its African population. In Northern Rhodesia, settler political power was broken in 1962, followed by independence in 1964. Thereafter, deteriorating relationships with settler-dominated Rhodesia closed that country to Zambian labor migrants, including those from Gwembe District. Gwembe migrants then sought work in Zambia, and many took wives and children with them. This, and the new policies of the Zambian government (including universal primary school education and much-improved access to secondary and tertiary education), accelerated the incorporation of Gwembe people into a wider national polity of which they were scarcely aware in 1956.

Gwembe society, basically egalitarian in 1956, became increasingly stratified (Scudder and Colson 1980). In 1956 few were literate in any language; by 1972, probably every village in the district could boast of someone who had been to secondary school. At the start of the twenty-first century, Gwembe men and women in increasing numbers hold university degrees, earned both in Zambia and overseas. They are employed in professional jobs in Zambia and increasingly they also work elsewhere in Africa, Europe, and the United States. Many have graduated from teacher training or technical schools. Those assigned back in Gwembe form a new elite with local businesspeople, a few wealthy farmers, and other government employees. By the late 1990s, they were being joined by a few retired professional people who have returned home to start businesses and take part in local affairs. The Gwembe region also now has a substantial immigrant population, including fishermen and employees in its tourist industry and other enterprises.

In 1956, residence was in small villages. After the 1950s, Gwembe acquired four townships: three grew up around administrative centers; two (including one of the administrative centers) are industrial centers. Zambia's only coal mines opened in Gwembe South in 1965. Gwembe North has a power installation from which Kariba power flows to Zambian copper mines and other industries and to towns and farms along the railway line, but only at the end of the century was there talk of using that power to the direct benefit of Gwembe enterprises. All four townships have recruited diversified workforces, only some of whom originated in Gwembe.

During the "good years" immediately following independence, increased agricultural and veterinary services and the provision of credit encouraged a diversification of the village economy. In the early 1970s, cash cropping (of cotton in particular) and the sale of livestock replaced commercial fishing as the major source of local cash income. Profits were used to educate children and to purchase more productive equipment, with a successful minority also investing in village stores, tea houses, and bars. Carpenters, masons, and other craftspeople also then found a local clientele.

New opportunities at home were complemented by new job opportunities elsewhere in Zambia. These jobs were primarily for men, who were frequently accompanied by their wives and children. By the early 1970s, Gwembe families were to be found in all the towns along the railway in Southern Province (to which Gwembe District belongs), although the largest concentration was in Lusaka. Women used the opportunity to become marketeers to supplement family incomes and sometimes to maintain themselves as single women. Most migrants continued to maintain links with home areas; people, messages, cash, and other goods flowed back and forth between town and country, encouraged by the new availability of roads and transportation, while Radio Lusaka served both urban and rural areas.

Economic Downturn

In the mid-1970s, both rural and urban opportunities deteriorated for low-income people. A drop in the price of copper—which had provided approximately 80 percent of Zambia's foreign exchange—combined with rising oil prices to produce catastrophic economic consequences for most Zambians. Adverse international terms of trade were exacerbated further by the war for neighboring Zimbabwe's independence, which necessitated the expensive rerouting of exports and imports after the border was closed. Scarce funds went to support freedom fighters from much of southern Africa. Zambia's policies toward the rural areas were also major factors in the economic downturn (ILO 1981; Seidman 1979).

In Gwembe, the economic downturn and increased danger from Rhodesian land mines led to a cutback in all services in the late 1970s. Tsetse control ceased for a time, and a resurgence of bovine trypanosomiasis reduced cattle herds. Extension officers stopped their visits due to lack of fuel and fear of land mines. Health services and schools deteriorated as supervision slackened and supplies failed to arrive. Village stores and other businesses closed because they could not restock basic commodities or, in some areas, because they could not compete with government parastatals which sold commercial beer, bread, and sewn clothing (Colson and Scudder 1988).

At the very time opportunities in Gwembe were decreasing, worsening urban unemployment and inflation forced many urban migrants to return home. There they had to contend with land shortages, due to the original loss of land to Kariba Lake and to rapid population increase (Clark et al. 1995). By 1982, land pressure was at a point at which many newly married couples could not find land to clear for fields, nor could they count on obtaining sufficient land from kin even to raise subsistence crops, much less to engage in cash cropping. Many established farmers who felt the land pinch in the early 1980s began to leave Gwembe to pioneer land in western Southern Province, a hundred miles from home; later, others drawn by land hunger and better rainfall ventured further north into Lusaka and Central Provinces.

Continuity and Change in the Gwembe Study

Over the years the study has changed significantly, partly in response to the changing circumstances of the Gwembe people and partly due to our own changing interests, but also because a long-term study develops its own dynamics.

As we have attempted to understand continuities and change, the timing and sequencing of events have become more crucial. We have come to see current practices as devices applied to particular situations rather than as stable adaptations that will continue to be invoked. In turn, what is happening at the time of any one visit has the potential for a variety of futures. We find ourselves paying more attention to the interplay between national resources and policies and conditions in Gwembe. During 1956–1957, although decisions made in Salisbury,

Lusaka, London, and elsewhere were bringing upheaval to Gwembe, we took this as a given and looked primarily at how Gwembe people ordered their lives and how they viewed the future. During the 1960s and early 1970s, people became increasingly mobile, both geographically and socially, and it was clear that they used different frames of reference as they moved from situation to situation. During these years they saw the world as opening up to them, and they looked outward to the towns as sources of new ideas, styles, and luxuries. By the 1980s, they felt themselves newly constrained by forces beyond their control and understanding. Like other Zambians, they were concerned with the impact of international politics and talked much about "Forex" (foreign exchange), so desirable and so difficult to acquire. They also began to engage with international donor agencies—which help support schools and health services, provide wells and small dams as well as agricultural inputs and extension work, administer food-for-work programs in drought years, and employ some local people.

In response to this changing field situation, we have attempted to develop research designs and methods flexible enough to cope with the fluidity of people who move geographically, seize or reject new opportunities (or try to cope with the nonavailability of opportunities), use and avoid new national and international agencies, rethink and cling to old ideologies, and are becoming something else while trying to remain themselves (Colson and Kottak 1996).

Research Plans in 1956

Plans for the initial study were built on Colson's 1949 visit to Chipepo Chieftaincy in Gwembe Central and her experience with Gwembe migrants settled in Plateau villages. Most of those she encountered were from Chipepo Chieftaincy. We decided to begin work in two Zambezi neighborhoods in Chipepo. Nevertheless, we knew from published sources and talks with district officers that those living both upstream and downstream from Chipepo differed in dialect, subsistence systems, social organization, ritual, and general outlook. Hill residents also differed from those living along the Zambezi. On the other hand, neighborhoods on opposite banks of the Zambezi, although under different national regimes, freely exchanged populations and were similar in most respects. To write about Gwembe we would have to supplement work in Chipepo with other studies and also rely on information in the district files.

In the second phase, we wanted to compare responses to resettlement by Zambezi neighborhoods with different initial resources. We also wanted to examine the effect on host populations who had to share space and other resources with those resettled. Initially, we also wanted to compare the impact of the different resettlement policies of the regimes on either side of the Zambezi. Ideally, intensive studies should have been carried out in some ten neighborhoods and these supplemented with a general survey. This was too much for two people given a one-year time schedule, even if we had not also needed to look at local government, the local court system, and the roles of the district administration

and various Christian missions. The government of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe simplified our choice by moving its people before we could settle in any Zimbabwe village. The study, therefore, became confined essentially to Gwembe District in Zambia. Short visits to villages in Zimbabwe during 1956–1957 and 1962–1963, and again after Zimbabwe achieved independence in 1980, have not been sufficient to permit us to follow developments in that country. Fortunately, in the 1980s, fieldworkers, some from the University of Zimbabwe, began research among Tonga speakers in Zimbabwe (see especially Bourdillon, Cheater, and Murphree 1985; Reynolds 1991; Reynolds and Cousins 1989; Schuthof and Boerenkamp 1991; Dzingirai and Bourdillon 1997; Wunder 1998; and, for an earlier study, see Weinrich 1977).

Given information available in September 1956, we planned intensive studies of river and upland neighborhoods in Chipepo and Mwemba Chieftaincies, in Gwembe Central and Gwembe South, respectively, to be followed by a quick survey of neighborhoods throughout Gwembe. We minimized work in the other five chieftaincies for the following reasons: Sinazongwe, another Gwembe Central chieftaincy, seemed much like Chipepo; Munyumbwe and Sinadambwe, both upland chieftaincies, would not be immediately affected by resettlement; Simamba and Sigongo, the two chieftaincies of Gwembe North, had small populations and in 1956 were slated to lose little land to Kariba Lake and to receive few persons resettled from elsewhere.

Only in mid-1957 did it become definite that a substantial number of villages from Gwembe Central, including two of the villages we had selected for intensive study, would be resettled below the dam in the Lusitu area in Gwembe North. One was our host upland village in Gwembe Central. This is only one instance of how unexpected events bedevil the planning of long-term research. We have encountered others and have learned that a rigid research design becomes a handicap over time.

For strategic reasons, we began work in adjacent neighborhoods in Gwembe Central. This permitted us to hold ecological variables constant, or at least to know where they differed, and we could join forces for such purposes as survey trips and obtaining supplies. Working in different neighborhoods gave us the maximum of independence and minimized the personal tensions that are bound to plague teamwork. We also became dependent on Tonga neighbors for companionship, an essential feature in good anthropological fieldwork. That we are still colleagues after forty-five years speaks to the wisdom of arranging team field research, whether short term or long term, so that each person has a large degree of independence as well as an investment in the advancement of the general study.

The subordination of our individual interests to the general project was handled by an agreement that each would provide the other with a copy of all field notes and that each had the right to publish independently using the total body of information. This agreement still stands and has worked well. Over the years we have shared ideas as we read field notes, talked, and pooled experience. Today,

we frequently cannot remember who first had some productive insight or suggested the collection of new kinds of data. Although initially each was responsible for a particular aspect of the study, and this still holds true to some extent, we agreed to make notes on subjects which fell into the other's sphere; for example, Colson asked about daily diets and field types, while Scudder took note of disputes, rituals, and political meetings.

With the second phase of research in mind, we collected as much quantitative information as possible to permit us to measure the impact of resettlement using economic, demographic, and social variables. Each carried out a detailed census of one or more villages and collected the associated genealogies. The census form was adapted from one used earlier by Colson in Plateau Tonga villages (Colson 1954), and that census, in turn, was influenced (though at a good remove) by the form Clyde Kluckhohn developed in the 1930s for his long-term study of the Ramah Navajo. The census included the "core data" a social anthropologist needs even for a one-time study, but at the same time it provided a way of comparing the attributes of individuals and villages over time. The form included questions on birthplace, date of birth, clan, parents, marital history, children and siblings (including current residence), migration and work history, ownership of fields and stock, sale of farm produce (including stock), occupation, schooling, bridewealth payments, church affiliation, participation in cults, observation of food taboos, and other status attributes.

The first six months were largely devoted to work in the two Gwembe Central neighborhoods on the Zambezi River and examination of district records. Our plans for moving on after four months were thwarted by that year's high floods, which made movement up and down the Zambezi impossible. During the next six months, Scudder surveyed neighborhoods on both sides of the Zambezi to collect information on geographical features, agricultural systems, other subsistence techniques, neighborhood history, and the form of neighborhood rituals. He combined this with a continuing study of local fishing techniques as well as the colonial administration's program to train people in techniques suitable to lake fishing. Colson, while continuing work on political and legal institutions at the chieftaincy and district levels, undertook several additional intensive village studies. She first settled in the upland neighborhood of Gwembe Central originally slated to become host to one or the other of the two Zambezi neighborhoods, but subsequently relocated to the Lusitu area. Thereafter, she spent three months in two Zambezi neighborhoods in Mwemba Chieftaincy, Gwembe South. Time ran out before she could move to an upland neighborhood in Mwemba. Throughout the year, we also spent many hours at the district headquarters, copying annual reports and other files and talking with administrative and technical officers about resettlement and development plans.

By September 1957 much remained undone, but we had enough data to write descriptive accounts of Gwembe life prior to resettlement (Colson 1960, 1962, 1963; Scudder 1962) and data that would make it possible to examine how

resettlement had affected economic resources, kinship arrangements, and various other essential features.

Second and Subsequent Stages

Subsequent research builds on the work of 1956–1957, but has expanded to tackle new questions as these emerged. Colson's visit in 1960, about fifteen months after the final move—when people were still short of food and fearful of the regions into which they had been thrust—was not in the original plan but came about as a response to a request for help in finding an explanation for a large number of deaths that occurred in 1959 among those resettled in Lusitu. We both went back as planned during 1962–1963, financed by the original grant. Thereafter, we have returned when we could, financing visits through other assignments, personal and university funds, and grants from the African Committee of the Social Science Research Council/American Council of Learned Societies (SSRC/ACLS), the National Science Foundation, and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

Each return visit takes us back to neighborhoods studied during 1956–1957, but, given rapid population increases and population mobility, it has proven impossible to maintain census data on all seven villages in which censuses were carried out during 1956–1957. Even maintaining censuses for the remaining four villages has become increasingly onerous. On these four villages (Mazulu, Musulumba, Sinafala, and a section of Siameja), each located in a different neighborhood, we maintain time series data on demographic, economic, and social variables. Their combined resident population in 1956–1957 was 866 men, women, and children. In 1972–1973, it had risen to 1,528. Thereafter, increase slowed due to out-migration, with approximately 2,000 recorded in 1996 (Sam Clark, personal communication).

The total number of those followed reached approximately eight thousand by 1996, because demographic and some economic information is also collected on such former residents as we are able to trace (Clark et al. 1995). So far, we have been able to obtain information on the great majority of the "ever-resident" population. We therefore can contrast migrants with residents, and village with village, and even follow villages as units through time. As the work has proceeded, we have found it advisable to devise for each village a checklist showing all who have lived within it, with enough detail for easy identification. These checklists have proved invaluable. Most people love them and feel it important that they be in "the book." Checklists are also less bulky to carry than census printouts and enable us to collect information on births, deaths, marriages, divorces, changes in residence, and present whereabouts even during a short visit—since we can run through the lists with a few knowledgeable informants from each village.

Though the checklists continue to be useful for some analytical purposes, since 1995 Sam Clark has improved computer access to existing data and designed a relational database able to deal with genealogical relationships and life

history material. Currently, information is coded for sex, births, deaths, marriage, divorce, education, residence during census years, and ethnicity of spouse.

The old division of work between the two of us persists. Scudder is primarily concerned with ecology (1971, 1972, 1976) and economy (1983, 1984b, 1985, 1993) and the updating of one village in Gwembe North, for which he has detailed economic information and rather precise dating for births, and so forth. Colson continues to work on political, legal, and ritual matters (1964a, 1964b, 1966, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1971a, 1976, 1977, 1980, 1995, 1996, 1997) and does the updates of three villages in Gwembe North, Gwembe Central, and Gwembe South, on which economic information is less detailed. This is a conscious choice. We considered the advisability of following only two villages, on which we could maintain equally rigorous information, but decided that the overall variations among the four villages are of such interest that we should try to follow all four. Whoever makes a short visit to Gwembe checks as many villages as can be reached, while detailed censuses have been carried out during longer visits.

In the 1980s, local assistants began to keep journals in which they were to record births and deaths and various incidents that interest them, from concern over rainfall to village meetings, family tensions, the holding of rituals, cases of theft, and much else. Though their journals are no substitute for systematic updating through the checklists and new questionnaires, the records tend to be accurate and so help to establish other dates and also provide a corpus of Gwembe explication of what is happening. Without such diaries, it would have been increasingly difficult to maintain the demographic records. Jonathan Habarad updated all four village censuses during 1987–1988, but the task was exhausting and constrained him from branching out into research of his own choosing. In 1995, Clark undertook to train and supervise village assistants to maintain the censuses and also to use an event-specific questionnaire that includes information on marriage payments, economic status and activity, migration, and quarterly price lists. The supervision and payment of the field assistants during study group absences creates its own problems, as does arranging to receive records. The postal service is unreliable, given frequent theft, and village people do not have bank accounts given their distance from banks. Courier service is difficult for research assistants to access.

Incorporating New Phenomena in the Study

In the mid-1960s, our interest shifted from the Gwembe's responses to relocation to their responses to citizenship in a newly independent African nation whose policies had the stated intention of upgrading the lives of its citizens. Gwembe had been involved with the outside world prior to independence in 1964, but, during the following decade with its accelerated pace of development, Gwembe residents increasingly identified themselves as citizens of Zambia and tried to adopt urban standards accepted as appropriate to "modern" Zambians. They had some success in this respect due to their increasing access to cash incomes.

Production for urban markets became feasible with the improvement in transport. Construction in the Zambian capital and along the line of rail opened up many jobs for unskilled laborers, while the increasing number of people flocking to urban centers encouraged innovators to hustle a wide range of services. The educated found white-collar jobs. Gwembe people still attempted to exploit the resources of a region, but the region had become the whole of Zambia.

During 1962–1963, Scudder made a conscious effort to track down labor migrants from Mazulu Village. It was then commonplace in anthropology to assess the impact of labor migration on home communities, but few fieldworkers at that time attempted to look at what happened to migrants and residents as their lives intertwined. Methodologically, the task is feasible if one has the time and patience to track people down. Both of us initiated work among migrants from all four villages in Lusaka and along the line of rail during 1972–1973, and Scudder has followed migrants from Mazulu even further afield.

Government expenditures on rural areas during the first years of independence diversified the Gwembe economy. In the mid-1950s, both men and women worked almost exclusively as subsistence farmers when residing in Gwembe, while men worked as unskilled migrant laborers elsewhere. By 1973, occupational specialization had expanded vastly. The Kariba Lake fishery, which had been disrupted in the 1970s by Rhodesian raids, recovered slowly in the 1980s and since then has become the Gwembe's largest single source of employment, aside from village agriculture. Today the fishery includes two major components. One is the artisanal inshore gillnet fishery exploited by over two thousand licensed fishermen during the latter half of the 1980s. The other is the capital-intensive offshore fishery based on the Kariba Lake sardine (*Limnothrissa miodon*) in which hundreds of villagers work on the fishing rigs and in the lakeside processing camps, almost all of which are in the hands of expatriates.

The coal mines in Gwembe South, first opened as a government enterprise in 1964, employed a labor force of just under nine hundred by 1973, but then numbers steadily declined as production fell until the mines became largely inactive in 1996. Many men from Gwembe South are employed in privately operated amethyst mines located just over the district line, while hundreds of men and women from Gwembe North found seasonal employment during the 1990s—growing marigolds for food coloring—with an international agribusiness firm located lower down the Zambezi. Crocodile farms in Gwembe North and Gwembe South, also operating under expatriate ownership, offer other job opportunities. The Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Rural Development, and the Gwembe Rural Council also employ hundreds of full-time personnel. The large wheat/cotton farm of the multinational Gwembe Valley Development Company, which in 1985 had dispossessed people in nine villages from much of their land, employed seasonal laborers, some landless, until it went bankrupt in the late 1990s.

Although men and women from all four Gwembe villages found employment in fisheries, mines, commercial farms, and government agencies, such developments cannot be studied adequately using *village*-based samples. Therefore, we constructed special samples to examine this kind of diversity.

In 1962, Scudder began a study of the artisanal fishery (the Zambian sardine fishery emerged after 1980), which generated a separate sample of fishermen from villages throughout the district. By 1962, it also had become apparent that an increasing number of people were employed locally. So we then devised a questionnaire circulated in various district departments to collect data on those employed in Gwembe at jobs that required some degree of literacy. Shopkeepers formed another emergent category, and we collected information on the background and ambitions of shopkeepers and their sources of funding.

As educational opportunities increased for the Gwembe, we decided to investigate what education meant in the regional and national context. In 1965, 1967, and 1970, we circulated questionnaires to students in secondary schools serving Gwembe. Our purpose was to identify individuals for future study and to discover their backgrounds, financing, and ambitions. In 1973 we began a systematic study of Gwembe secondary school leavers—defined as those who, by December 1972, had attended at least one term of secondary school. They had attended some twenty schools located in both Southern and Central Provinces. By 1976, we had a list of 518 students, whom we called "the first 500." Using a pretested schedule, we interviewed 138 of the 518 in 1973 and another 29 in 1976 and 1978 (Scudder and Colson 1980). Starting in 1997 the large majority of those still living were reinterviewed by Cliggett and Zambian assistants.

Sampling was not sophisticated. Before branching out to a wider number of schools, we first constructed a list of those who had attended the one secondary school in Gwembe District (founded on the plateau in 1962 and shifted to Gwembe Central in 1964) on the assumption that it had educated the largest number of Gwembe students. We then traced as many on the list as possible. During each interview we asked respondents to name other Gwembe secondary school leavers working in the same locale and interviewed these in turn, thus building a snowball sample. Through this means we interviewed the majority of all Gwembe secondary school leavers working in Lusaka and in Livingstone (the major city in Southern Province) and in most towns lying between them, as well as most of those currently living in Gwembe itself. We believe the sample to be representative except in two respects: it overemphasized those residing in the southern half of Zambia and also overrepresented those employed as primary school teachers, especially if they worked in Gwembe District.

Since the mid-1970s, we ourselves have not created additional samples. Work with existing samples keeps us in touch with what is happening in the district when combined with other interviews and use of available records. During October 1990, for example, through interviewing individuals in the village or the fishery samples, Scudder was able to follow up on the development of the artisanal and *kapenta* fisheries, migration from inland areas and the Lusitu to the Kariba Lake foreshore, and participation in new development projects. In the

1990s, the three newcomers to the study (Clark, Cliggett, and Gillett-Netting) created samples of their own for studies they are undertaking on nutritional status, demography, migration, and the elderly.

The extension of the Gwembe study to urban migrants, to secondary school leavers, and to other elites who do not base themselves in villages, helped us to visualize the Gwembe population as belonging to a national and even international system. As a result, we do not find useful such concepts as "encapsulation," "compartmentalization," "rural-urban continuum," and "lagging emulation." As we have written elsewhere, villagers are no less "modern" (or "postmodern") than their urban kin or, for that matter, any other urban residents (Colson and Scudder 1975).

People move between town and country. In the early 1960s, fishermen on Kariba Lake sold their fish fresh at the lakeside, a practice favored by a number of factors including pricing and location of markets. By the 1970s, the comparative economic advantage lay with those fishermen who sold dried fish in the towns. The smarter fishermen soon realized this and transported and sold their catch to urban markets. Similarly, cotton farmers travel to the line of rail to cash their checks and make purchases, while the most profitable way to sell Gwembe tobacco is to hawk it as snuff in urban centers. When transport was readily available between 1964 and the mid-1970s, cotton farmers in Gwembe North realized that they could save on transport and service costs by shipping privately to the central ginnery in Lusaka rather than by selling through the government marketing system. They booked for the return trip the otherwise empty vehicles of wholesalers bringing goods to Gwembe stores—a mutually beneficial arrangement for everyone.

Small traders and business operators vary their efforts between rural and urban contexts. Men and women traders transport fish, chickens, and vegetables to markets on the railway line, and they readily shift their investments to where they hope to realize the most lucrative return. For example, one Gwembe businessman first worked as a fisherman and then used his savings to pioneer the hamburger business in Lusaka. From its profits, he built a fourteen-room house in a low-income suburb in Lusaka and then rented out most of its rooms. With further profits, he opened two shops in Gwembe North, leaving his Lusaka ventures in the hands of trusted kin. When the profits from his shops dwindled after the mid-1970s, he switched to commercial farming of cotton and hybrid maize.

Families explore the varied possibilities of town and country. Young married women often spend the dry season with husbands in town and cultivate village lands during the rains. They may give birth in town hospitals or, if in the village, in local health centers. Children are exchanged between town and country, often to obtain school places. Older men and women settled in the village may visit the towns several times a year, and some plan to move to live with urban-based children. They consult African doctors and diviners in urban areas and are treated in urban hospitals. Those residing in the rural area do not differ from urban kin in

their general awareness of national politics, their consumption preferences, their willingness to utilize both Western and African medicines, their association with Christian churches, their explanations of misfortune, or their attachment to soccer. They listen to the same radio programs (and in 1994 three residents of one village purchased television sets, a harbinger of things to come). All this is evidence that we are looking at a single universe and that the choices being made, and the events that flow from them, relate to that totality.

By the mid-1980s, the Gwembe universe expanded through personal explorations and became increasingly international: at least one person from each of the four neighborhoods within which the sample villages are sited had lived for a time in Europe, North America, Asia, or Australia. The merging of Gwembe people into the wider national and international community is probably irreversible, though the terms on which this happens are anything but fixed. In the 1990s, economic conditions discouraged urban migration. At the same time, those who had been able to move up into the national elite during the period of postindependence expansion have become more remote from their rural backgrounds. Their children are even more remote. Entry into secondary and tertiary education is becoming more difficult for village children, as places are monopolized by children from elite families and from urban schools with more resources. We saw this as likely to happen, even though we were impressed in the early 1970s by the openness of Gwembe and Zambian society. We were cautious enough to write, "conditions can change again. Mobility may become restricted, both geographically and socially, by a shrinking economy and the consolidation of an elite class. Children born and reared in town in time may differ from their rural cousins" (Scudder and Colson 1980:240). Conditions did indeed change even as we were writing with the onset of economic decline in the mid-1970s.

The expansion of the Gwembe universe has been a research challenge (Colson and Kottak 1996). It has led to a reallocation of field time to cover many more bases, which means reduced time for informal contacts and participant observation. With independence, the Zambian government dismantled the old system of administration that channeled technical and administrative information through district offices. Though administrative and technical activities subsequently were centralized again at the district level, district offices do not yet produce a comprehensive annual report containing statistics (however dubious) on population, livestock, stock and crop sales, trading licenses, schools and attendance, health, court hearings, rainfall, and a general comment on the state of the district. Obtaining such information since 1964 involves time-consuming visits to various ministries in Lusaka or their local branches situated in several towns in Southern Province, and now also to three district headquarters rather than one. The national census is a new resource, but the information it provides is limited.

Since 1973, Gwembe has become a target area for various international donors, each with its own particular program and administrative locale, which may or may not publish studies prepared for it (e.g., Bakewell 1993; Brandt et al.

1973; Copestake 1990; Crowley 1985; Gsanger et al. 1986; Kamwanga 1997; Kasimona and Musiwa 1997; Klausen 1987; Milimo 1988; Mudenda 1990; Mwanza 1997; Njobu, Kasuta, and Siamwiza 1997; Simweemba 1989; Wood and Nachengwa 1985; Zambezi River Authority 1997). The great gain is that research by both Zambian and other scholars now complements our own (e.g., Banda 1985; Bredt 1980; Haantobolo 1990; Jarman 1968; Kasonde 1991; Ulrich Luig 1992, 1997; Ute Luig 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1999; Matthews 1976, 1978, 1981, 1988; Reynolds 1968; Mukwena 1998; Price 1998; Siamwiza 1993; Tremmel and the River Tonga People 1994; Zaucha 1998). We do not have to try to do everything.

Some Theoretical Results of the Gwembe Study

Theoretical Considerations

Many revisits to Gwembe have taught us that anthropology, while more complicated than we once thought, is also more exciting. Its subject matter—and here we state our theoretical bias—is people making decisions through time in contexts which change both because of their own actions and because external conditions change in ways which neither they nor we are able to anticipate. Much of anthropology is still tied to system concepts derived from biology and the physical sciences, even though we chaff against them and criticize them. A major reason for this problem is that the most common type of fieldwork still centers on a single slice of time. This predisposes the use of terms and concepts that emphasize static as opposed to dynamic relationships and stresses integration as opposed to flux.

Gwembe Tonga are involved in dynamic sets of interrelationships that are situationally responsive. A major finding of our research has been the frequency with which people experiment, assess gains and losses, and decide whether to continue. People weigh their options and make choices, and then justify them if need be. While at any one time only a small number of households may be involved in innovation, many innovate over the long term. Between 1956 and 1994, a majority of the households in the sample innovated on one or more occasions.

On the other hand, Gwembe conceptual frames are resilient, perhaps because actual behavior can always be explained as due to special circumstances. However much exposed to education, church indoctrination, and urban influences, Gwembe people continue to emphasize the importance of matrilineal kin and to invoke witchcraft to explain most ills. In the mid-1970s, when a decline in living standards led to an increase in malnutrition and illness and to general unhappiness, the majority opted to blame the witchcraft of kin and neighbors rather than government policies. Witchcraft has been a possible explanation for misfortune throughout the research period, but in the early years open accusations were relatively infrequent, probably because accusers could be reported to colonial authorities and punished under the "witchcraft ordinance" (Colson 1966).

Beliefs about witchcraft are based on an entrenched view that humans, especially senior men, are strongly motivated by ambition, envy, and malice; and that, in their search for advantage, they are willing to sacrifice others, even close kin. Hardships associated with increasing economic differentiation at the village level activate suspicions. By the early 1980s, witchcraft had become the principal explanation for misfortunes, whether it be sickness of people or livestock, poor crop yields, or other adverse outcomes. In the early 1980s, every neighborhood in Gwembe summoned at least one "witch-finder," and in most neighborhoods almost every senior man was accused of being a witch and was forced to pay to be cleansed (Colson 2000).

In the 1980s and 1990s, witch finding became endemic in Gwembe, as elsewhere in Zambia. Witchcraft beliefs, however, have changed over the decades to accommodate the wider world within which Gwembe people operate. In 1956, witches could only affect those near at hand; by 1973, they were accused of traveling hundreds of miles in a second on magic horses and airplanes. In the early decades of our study, witches were kin, neighbors, or fellow workmates, all persons intimately involved with their victims. By the 1970s, they might be strangers out to drain the life force from victims to the benefit of powerful contenders for economic and political power. By the 1990s, stories circulated that gangs operating under a European or Indian boss were extracting organs for export to Europe and America to meet the demand for organ transplants, a practice labeled as witchcraft. Thus, Gwembe people now see both their life force (verbalized as the ability to work) and their bodies as being exploited by powerful national and international others who—like local magnates—are seen as eager to benefit from the misery of others.

To protect themselves against witchcraft or simply to empower themselves, Gwembe men continue to purchase medicines, usually from town-based practitioners. Women, who have less cash and less access to such medicines, are more likely to strengthen themselves through membership in healing cults. Such cults teach people how to deal with alien spirits who seize control of one's body and how to cope with the demons now said to be inherent in their own nature. These cults have continued to proliferate through the decades of the study, though the nature of the alien spirits usually reflects the particular fears of the moment (Ute Luig 1995b, 1999). Some of the cults draw on the teaching of Pentecostal churches. Fear of witchcraft and the envy associated with it—along with the increased consumption of alcoholic beverages and associated violence and a high incidence of theft, especially in hunger years—contributes to village disorganization and to the breakup of villages, whose coherence is already made difficult by a lack of land for expansion and by the expansion of their populations beyond traditional organizational frameworks. It also shifts much of the hostility engendered by failed government policies back into the home community and away from those officials responsible for making and carrying out policy.

Still, it would be a mistake to assume that social malaise will continue to evoke the same explanations and solutions to perceived problems. By the mid-1980s,

Gwembe Tonga had begun to revive old crafts to replace the factory-made goods no longer available or affordable. They experimented with a reordering of local government, using the village development committees instituted by government as a model (Habarad 1988), and elected committees to organize various activities they now deem necessary. The search for new spiritual support and the prominence of new churches are two other manifestations of the desire for change (Ulrich Luig 1997). In 1965, less than 5 percent of the population of Gwembe District identified itself as Christian; by 1988 over half of those living along Kariba Lake in Gwembe North did so (Copestake 1990). During the 1990s, people in the sample villages turned increasingly to Christianity and refused to participate in rituals and ceremonies they called "heathen." Conceptual frameworks may be resistant to change, but they are cultural constructs and so by definition are changeable.

The Formulation of Relocation Theory

The Gwembe study played a major role in developing a better theoretical understanding of the implications of compulsory resettlement, a development with which Scudder has been particularly concerned (Scudder 1966, 1973a, 1973b, 1975, 1997a, 1997b; Scudder and Colson 1982; Colson 1971b). His participation, during 1961–1962, in the study of the Nubian people of Egypt who were soon to be displaced by the Aswan High Dam scheme provided one basis for comparison with what happened in Gwembe. In the middle 1960s, he visited the Volta and Kainji Dam Projects in Ghana and Nigeria, which together displaced over 125,000 people. By then he had come to the conclusion that rural communities undergoing compulsory resettlement respond in the same general fashion irrespective of their sociocultural backgrounds and the policies of resettlement authorities, a conclusion later validated by a large number of studies. This led to the formulation of what he has called Relocation Theory.

Initially, because of the paucity of longitudinal studies, Relocation Theory dealt only with the years immediately preceding relocation, the process of physical removal, and the difficult period following removal, when people respond to the extreme stress associated with resettlement. In coping with this stress, the majority behave *as if* they saw sociocultural systems as closed systems. They cling to familiar people and familiar institutions, changing during the initial years following resettlement no more than necessary to come to terms with the new habitat and its inhabitants. Presumably because the level of stress is close to a critical threshold, radical changes from within (revitalization movements, for example) and from without (including attempts at social engineering by development planners) are rejected.

Records of Gwembe Tonga responses at different periods provided the empirical basis for initial theory formulation. In 1956–1957, we did not pay enough attention to indications that the threatened resettlement was already having an impact, nor did we arrange to observe what happened during the move. At that time, people did not seem particularly preoccupied by the threat

of removal; many proceeded on the assumption that it would not occur. Even headmen who had been taken to the dam site built new homesteads at the old site in 1957, though they had been told that the move would take place within the year. We now recognize that they were adopting a strategy of denial, a common response to threat.

Our observations and Tonga comments during 1962–1963 made it clear that relocation involved multidimensional stress which began to diminish only in 1963, approximately four to five years after the move (Colson 1971b). By then, most people were economically on their feet; indeed, for many, material standards had improved. Full funeral ceremonials, greatly curtailed immediately after resettlement, reappeared. Personal and lineage shrines were rebuilt or newly initiated. Prophets were again active. The continued absence of communal rituals associated with a sense of belonging to a locale, however, pointed to a continued uncertainty about their future in the new areas. Despite this, the good harvest of 1963 reconciled many people to the new sites. Scudder hypothesized that at this stage (indicated by renewed self-sufficiency and familiarity with new habitat and hosts), people should begin to experiment with new possibilities that might lead to a period of rapid socioeconomic change. In fact, the rate of innovation is probably higher than before the move (cf. Barnett 1953). This would be due partly to increased confidence arising from the knowledge that they had survived the trauma of resettlement, partly to recognition of new opportunities, and partly due to a loosening of previous cultural constraints on innovation. Gwembe resistance to innovation during the early years of resettlement, however, represented at least in part a subversive protest against those who had displaced and humiliated them. The willingness to innovate evident during 1962–1963 was affected by the triumphant sense of empowerment shared by Africans throughout the country when the 1962 election spelled the demise of European control and the installment of an African-dominated government.

The relocation process, if it is to provide long-term benefits, involves four stages: the recruitment stage, the adjustment or the coping stage, the stage of potential socioeconomic development, and the final handing over/incorporation stage—with the entire process taking at least two generations (Scudder and Colson 1982). The same sequence of stages has been observed both in sponsored land settlement schemes of voluntary settlers and in spontaneous land settlement areas (Scudder 1984a, 1991).

Relocation Theory obviously has policy implications. As a consultant for the Bandama River Authority in the Ivory Coast in the late 1960s, Scudder made a number of policy recommendations based on the theory. More recently, it has been incorporated into the World Bank's guidelines for bank-financed projects that involve dislocation of populations (World Bank 1980; Cernea 1988), while the study of phenomena associated with involuntary resettlement has become a subfield of social science (DeWet 1993; Cernea and Guggenheim 1993; Cernea 1999; Cernea and McDowell 2000).

Contribution of the Study to the People of Gwembe

Some Gwembe people involved in the study have come to see our function in life to be the maintenance of their demographic histories. They even ask who will undertake that task when we are too old to carry on. Some have seen our publications and are pleased that they are known in Europe and America. Three books and one monograph were published through the Institute for African Studies (now the Institute for Economic and Social Research) to ensure that they were available within Zambia. Unfortunately, the Institute has lacked funds to keep them in print although all royalties were given to the University of Zambia and the Institute to further research in Zambia. Financial restraints on publication in Zambia have forced us to publish our last two books elsewhere and the only copies in Zambia are those we have sent to various agencies, to colleagues, and to some chiefs, headmen, and villagers. We have made a point of sending reprints of articles published in journals and books to the University of Zambia, as well as to interested persons in Gwembe and elsewhere.

It is difficult to point to more specific contributions to the welfare of Gwembe. Like many other anthropologists, we have made gifts in cash and kind, including assistance with school costs; or provided various services while in residence, such as obtaining information, dispensing medical supplies, or providing transportation. We do not know how to assess the impact of various consultancies we have undertaken in Gwembe: Scudder for FAO in 1967; Colson, M. E. D. Scudder, and T. Scudder for the Gossner Service Team in 1982; Habarad for the Gossner Service Team in 1988; Scudder for Harvest Help/Zambia in 1990; and Scudder for the World Bank in 1995 and 1996. Nor do we know how to assess the impact of Scudder's (1986) critique of the multinational Gwembe Valley Development Company.

Although Fosbrooke hoped the findings from 1956–1957 would influence the planning of resettlement, we were not asked to provide a written report or give formal advice. Informally, district officers and technical officers probed for what might be useful to them, but at the time neither they nor we thought us to be experts on resettlement. We could make predictions about the probable outcomes of certain proposed actions, based on the first year of study and anthropological precepts. Fortunately, it was accepted that we talk in general terms. Neither then nor later has either of us been expected to discuss the actions of individuals, nor would we do so if asked.

We could tell officials that their plan to move social units rather than individuals was in accord with anthropological theory, but that in Gwembe the significant social units were neighborhoods rather than villages. We urged that neighborhoods be moved as units and emphasized the recurrent plea of villagers that, if they must move, they be allowed to move inland along the tributaries about whose deltas they clustered. Old ties of kinship and friendship with those living along the tributary would ease their adjustment to a new region. We

pointed out that fear of resettlement was exacerbated when people were asked to move to an unfamiliar area. With reference to the future lake fishery, we assured district personnel that Gwembe men were good fishermen given existing conditions and could be expected to adopt techniques for successful lake fishing, though they would need training and capitalization (Scudder 1960). We doubted, however, that they would operate any enterprise requiring the cooperation of a large number of men over time, given the individualistic nature of Gwembe work organization. We also questioned official optimism that expected the fishing industry to compensate people for the loss of arable soils. We predicted that a future crisis would occur when the first round of shifting cultivation had exhausted soils and new fields were not available. We queried the method of computing compensation for destruction of homesteads that placed a value only on the dwellings.

We had no hesitation in querying official plans to allocate land in resettlement areas on a per capita basis to males on the tax rolls. We stressed that both men *and women* owned land. We had no evidence that chiefs were regarded as custodians of the lands of a people who, for the most part, regarded chiefs as government officials rather than hereditary rulers. It seemed unlikely that people would take kindly to any allocation of land by chiefs or district officers; in fact, they refused to do so.

Finally, we were skeptical of the officials' belief that neighborhood shrines could be transferred to resettlement areas. Our observations had shown that these shrines represented not the communities that were moving but rather the relationship of these communities to particular known physical environments—thus, the shrines were the media through which communities tried to influence natural forces impinging on their particular locality. We not only expected that shrine custodians would lose their office, but also thought that both ritual and political leaders would be undermined by their failure to counter the government's demand that people move.

For the most part, officials disregarded our comments, either because they were helpless to change plans formulated at higher levels or because they thought us misinformed. Three of the five neighborhoods in our original study suffered disruption. We did not make a follow-up study of one neighborhood which moved as a unit; the other seemed the most contented by the mid-1960s of the four neighborhoods we continued to follow. Those that were moved inland along their own tributary found initial adjustment easier than those moved to unfamiliar terrain. People resented not being compensated for granaries and other homestead structures, as we had predicted, but we had not realized in 1957 how much strain the method of compensation would place on family relationships (Colson 1971b).

Scudder's work on fishing seems to have been influential in the decision to restrict commercial fishing on the Zambian side of Kariba Lake to Gwembe Tonga initially, and the early success of the fisheries is evidence of the rightness

of the prediction that they would take to lake fishing. Furthermore, as we had predicted, the government was unsuccessful in trying to introduce larger units than the traditional workgroup composed of a single fisherman joined by a few relatives and hired hands (Scudder and Habarad 1991).

Our predictions with respect to land allocation were also borne out. People disregarded attempts to parcel out new fields on a per capita basis, so the attempt was abandoned. Following resettlement, we were struck by the continuity in the formal rules of land tenure even though resettlement for the moment revolutionized land holdings and the rights of cultivators to dispose of their holdings have varied greatly over the years. Immediately after resettlement, when everyone was cultivating newly cleared land, individual freedom to dispose of land was at a maximum. Thereafter, as the original cultivators died and their rights were inherited, land again became subject to lineage claims that compromised the freedom of the holder. Major fluctuations in actual rights can therefore take place without anyone raising questions about the advisability of reformulating rules of tenure (Colson 1967). People query particular claims rather than the system itself. In the 1990s, however, they were faced with a radical change in the Zambian law of inheritance, which provides for inheritance of a portion of an estate by spouses and children as opposed to matrilineal kin who, however, still try to demand the lion's share. At the beginning of a new century, they are facing an even more radical change as government policy now privileges the privatizing of land through survey and the issuance of formal title. With land increasingly being treated as a commodity, we fear that many will lose their holdings.

We predicted that resettlement would change the informal power structure of neighborhoods when the land base was destroyed. During 1956–1957, power was diffuse but linked to land ownership. Men with the biggest holdings of inherited alluvial soils were usually well off in food and livestock, which gave them influence over others. They could afford to marry a number of wives who not only did much of the agricultural work but also prepared food for guests. More wives meant more children and, since much of a girl's bridewealth was taken by her father, more wealth. When people were moved, the old land base which supported wealth differentials was eliminated, at least for the time being, for everyone had an equal chance to claim land in the new region. We thought it likely that younger men able to undertake the physical labor of land clearance would emerge as the dominant members of the community, while older men, deprived of their principal asset, would be reduced in status. The experience of many seniors bore this out, but we had not counted sufficiently on the importance of personal ability. Middle-aged men who had influence in 1956–1957 usually succeeded in reestablishing themselves by mobilizing a variety of assets to ensure that they obtained large fields of the best soils available. Young men, in fact, did improve their situation vis-à-vis their elders in the 1960s and early 1970s on account of the abundance of wage labor and the availability of land. One result was that they

married earlier and the polygyny rate temporarily went up; another was that they established themselves in a position to become the dominant elders of the 1980s and 1990s. As conditions deteriorated during the latter part of the 1970s and the 1980s, still younger men were not able to follow their example. Polygyny rates fell, although that small percentage of elders who had the capital and energy to develop as cash-crop farmers on a substantial scale increased their labor force by marrying more wives.

We predicted that local shrines could not be moved. The district officers tried anyway; poles from the shrines were attached to the lorries that transported people to new sites in 1958 to leave a drag trail for the spirits to follow. But it was ten years later, after people had become familiar with their new habitats, that the first shrines were reestablished. Even twenty years later, many were skeptical of their authenticity, and, if they addressed themselves to any shrine, they preferred shrines associated with their hosts in the relocation area. Then the spread of Christian sects further undermined belief in the efficacy of such shrines.

A further prediction, borne out during 1962–1963, concerned the demise of the ritual office of shrine custodian who officiated over rituals associated with the annual cycle. We argued that since the office—like the shrine—was tied to a locality, it would be discredited when the spirits associated with the office failed to protect their people against forcible removal. Shrine custodians, or their heirs, became ritually active again only ten years later when shrines were rebuilt, but have never regained the status they held back in 1956. We also expected resettlement to discredit the political order created by the colonial administration and co-opted by the administration as an agent for resettlement. By 1957 it was already regarded as an enemy. Antagonism to chiefs, headmen, and officers of the Rural Council persisted through the 1960s. Indeed, by the 1960s, the majority of Gwembe people opposed the whole colonial hierarchy and gave their loyalty to the political party (ANC) that had protested the building of Kariba Dam and their removal. Resettlement gave people a vital interest in national politics but also left them highly suspicious of government's intentions. The majority appear to have accepted the replacement of the traditional system of local governance, based on chiefs and headmen, by the party system imposed under the single-party regime of the 1970s and 1980s, though after the 1991 demise of the one-party state and the party as an organ of local governance they accommodated the reemergence of the old hierarchy of chiefs and headmen.

Gwembe people ask what is the point of our research when they see no improvement in their own lives. After Zambian independence, the new regime was even less likely to be interested in our findings than were colonial officials. The formulation of Relocation Theory has *not* helped Gwembe or its people. Furthermore, we have yet to see a case where World Bank guidelines for dealing with forced relocation, and plans derived from those guidelines, have actually been implemented with favorable results for the majority (Scudder 1993). Therefore, let us state the case bluntly: involuntary community resettlement is never an appropriate development

strategy. Furthermore, we remain skeptical that governments have either the financial ability or the political will to provide the extended, multiyear funding required for a successful resettlement program or for ameliorating the long-term problems associated with resettlements already in place.

A much belated test of this will be the ability of the Zambian government to move forward with the World Bank and the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) on a program for the rehabilitation of Gwembe to ensure that, at last, they benefit from Kariba Dam and its electricity. Beginning in 1995, Scudder was closely involved in interesting World Bank personnel in the need for such a project and in urging the bank to recognize its obligations, as one of the original financial backers of the dam, to carry out this project. He was also involved in setting up the Zambian study group that made specific recommendations for rehabilitation (Kamwanga and Njobvu 1997) and has advised on technical matters associated with the project and its implementation. Finally, the project was inaugurated in December 1998, with the Zambian Electricity Supply Corporation as the implementing agency. Progress has been slow for a variety of reasons, including a land mine explosion that killed a project consultant and funding delays from DBSA. Major goals include renovating the road system that linked Gwembe North to Gwembe South during the resettlement years, bringing electricity for schools and for irrigated agriculture, improving flood recession agriculture and grazing along the lakeshore, upgrading the village water supply, and meeting other special needs both within Gwembe and in the plateau area where so many have been driven by land hunger back home in Gwembe.

The Future of the Study

In 2001, the study is in its forty-fifth year. Its continuation depends on how satisfactorily we—and our new colleagues—can handle a number of increasingly serious problems.

Given the turmoil that besets so much of the world, maintaining a long-term study is always problematic: virtually any area of fieldwork may be placed out of bounds or the people dispersed in flight. Gwembe has been less seriously affected by such turmoil than many study areas, although, in 1978, at the height of the Rhodesian war, Colson could not visit any of the four villages, all of which were in the war zone. Fortunately, it was possible to interview migrants who had settled elsewhere. In the 1980s, as a result of the war, guns became readily available and armed robbery increased greatly. During 1987–1988, Habarad had to take precautions in one of the villages against being robbed. Gwembe was not as safe in the 1980s and 1990s as it was in 1956–1957 when the project began. So far, however, this has minimally affected the way in which we work.

Nor have we found it difficult to get permission to return, although some countries recurrently place barriers in the way of outside social scientists. We have suffered only the usual delays in receiving research permits. We do not have to

spend time establishing our bona fides with district authorities and chiefs. In Zambia, we are known as scholars who have a commitment to the country and its people. The Institute of Economic and Social Research, the major center for social science research in Zambia, always provides us with both a home base and a warm welcome.

Funding has not been a problem, perhaps because a long-term study is relatively economical. Equipment can be stored in situ, and the time needed to obtain significant results on each visit is reduced. Over forty-five years, external funding of fieldwork for both of us (including travel, salaries, vehicles, field assistants, and supplies) has amounted to about $600,000; however, this has been possible because on occasion we accepted field salaries well below our regular salaries. Other times we have taken no salaries at all, and sometimes have paid other expenses, including for field assistants. Costs associated with write-up, including that for research assistance, have been supported partially by our universities, but also by grants from NSF, NIH, and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and by our own funds. We have been prepared to help finance the study because we are interested in what we are learning. We also recognize that research must be published in some form or it is useless.

The problems we have encountered are primarily associated with the burden of maintaining the quantitative database and the difficulties of synthesizing an enormous body of material. We also continue to be concerned with how to recruit and incorporate colleagues who will be able to continue the study (see Cliggett, in this volume).

Data Collection and Analysis

As a long-term study progresses, fieldwork becomes easier because one is familiar with the area and the people and can plunge immediately into the situation. Familiarity, however, also makes for difficulties.

After several return visits, the initial excitement of discovery wanes. Recording much the same kind of information to maintain the quantitative base becomes drudge work. Most discovery occurs while analyzing trends back in the study rather than in the field. Nevertheless, fieldwork also continues to be rewarding as former mysteries are cleared up or a stray comment opens up whole new fields for exploration. There are also new things to observe, though we admit that we find soccer matches less enthralling than the old Drum Team competitions even though women continue to sing comparably scurrilous songs against opposing teams.

Tunnel vision is also a risk when so much time is devoted to one area. We try to avoid this by working in other regions and by reading widely. Other professional commitments sometimes conflict with the optimum timing of return visits. Where accurate dating is essential to determine sequencing, visits at short intervals are advisable. Ideally, one or the other of us should have visited Gwembe at least every two years since 1956–1957, but such a schedule allows little time for

that essential element in research called write-up. It is the process of writing that generates new ideas which we then test back in Gwembe. It also allows us to share results with colleagues, and no research is valuable until it is shared.

Maintaining the village censuses has been especially onerous, due both to the geographical mobility of the population and to the increasing heterogeneity of Gwembe life. If it is not to dominate completely the study, we need to delimit a smaller sample for continued intensive study or rely more on local assistants for recording census data.

Collecting data is one thing; analysis is quite another. Whether we deal with quantitative or qualitative information, the size of the database is a challenge in itself. For quantitative material, through 1965 we were able to rely upon hand sorting. Much of what we collected in those years was tabulated and published (Colson 1960, 1966, 1971b; Scudder 1962; Scudder and Colson 1971). Thereafter, coding of the time series demographic data preempted a good deal of our time before Ben Clark could undertake his analysis. Handling data on field size and use as well as on the nature of environmental degradation has lagged until recently. Though Scudder measured the fields cultivated by Mazulu people in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the increasing time requirement stopped further measurement until 2000 when Clark was able to remeasure all fields and, using computerized equipment, place them in an overall mosaic. Scudder also obtained several sets of aerial photographs that show changes in area cultivated in all four of the neighborhoods that include our most-studied villages. Since 1995, we have begun working with Eric Lambin and Carine Petit at the Catholic University of Louvain who have acquired remote-sensing images from 1986, 1992, and 1997 for the Lusitu area, where two of our four sample villages were relocated. Complemented by our time series of aerial photographs dating back to 1948, the data are available to show the relationship between land use and environmental degradation (Petit, Scudder, and Lambin 2001).

For an analysis of Gwembe economic behavior, we need an index of goods and services purchased by Gwembe Tonga. Bridewealth payments, for instance, have increased dramatically over the past forty years and are good indicators of how village elders perceive, react to, and create inflationary pressures. We are uncertain how to proceed with the index, however, given changes through time in Tonga preferences, on the one hand, and the frequent changes in the value of the national currency on the other. An indication of the inflation since the early 1960s is apparent from these figures: in 1964, US$1.00 exchanged for 0.50 Zambian kwacha; in 1986, for 2.20 kwacha; in 1987, at the time of the fiscal crisis, for 21 kwacha; in 1993 for 411 kwacha; in 1996, for 987 kwacha; and during Colson's most recent visit (June 2001), for more than 3,000 kwacha.

Deciding what to code and how to code it still leaves someone to deal with the mechanics of the job. Coding and cleaning data take an enormous amount of time. Hiring students as coders has not worked. They are unfamiliar with the material, have no knowledge of the region to make the work interesting, and make

too many mistakes. Finally, working initially with Jonathan Habarad and more recently with Sam Clark, we recorded and cleaned all demographic data collected through 1996, a task which drastically reduced time available for other work.

An initial attempt to rely on computer analysis failed because of the limitations of a new experimental software system. So we decided to start again, this time using conventional computer software. In 1987, Douglas White (University of California, Irvine) brought his considerable expertise in computer programs to the Gwembe data. This collaboration both renewed our enthusiasm and enhanced the data processing. We were also able to enlist the interest of James Lee, a historical demographer at the California Institute of Technology, who worked with Sam Clark in the first analysis of the demographic data (Clark et al. 1995), while we continued to code the information they required and provided them with background historical and ethnographic information. We are also working with White in adding selected categories of socioeconomic data to the demographic time series database, and are supplying him with background genealogical information that can be used for purposes of kinship analysis. The intention is that eventually all coded information will be available, via an electronic journal or at least in electronic form, to other scholars.

Writing has its own problems endemic to publication through time. Readers of a new article cannot be assumed to be familiar with the project or the region, yet it is tedious for us to supply each time the same background information before turning to the current focus of interest. Writing is also difficult because no filing system copes with the changing interest of fieldworkers or their need to examine complex sets of data; relevant information is scattered through the voluminous field notes accumulated over time. Information has to be assembled and then somehow processed through one brain. Computers can retrieve, compare, and compute, but they are no substitute for a thinking anthropologist.

Protection of those whose lives are described concerns any ethnographer. This concern is compounded when one is writing about those followed through time, since one learns much about them that they might prefer to forget. There is also the risk of exposing them to retaliation by those in authority. Gwembe survival techniques include much that may be defined by government authorities as illegal. Therefore, we have written very little about such activities as poaching, smuggling, growth and sale of cannabis, and involvement in the trade in illicit gemstones, although this gives a lopsided view of Gwembe economy. We have also had to think carefully about how local critiques and subversive tactics against the larger system should be handled. We usually allow for a considerable time lag before publishing on such matters. We are also concerned about open access to our field notes and village diaries; inevitably, these are filled with what we call "unexpurgated gossip," which needs to be handled with care if people are to be protected.

We have tried to publish research results regularly, though this is now less easy. It was easy to envisage the first year's work as complete in itself. We were to

describe what we found in 1956–1957 and did so in books on the social organization and ecology of the Gwembe Tonga (Colson 1960; Scudder 1962). Subsequent research through 1965 could be envisioned as dealing with uprooting and resettlement (Colson 1971b). Since then we have had to deal with a lengthening time span as we look at the continuing responses of Gwembe people to economic and political changes reflecting the dominance of international institutions. Two major studies deal with the impact of educational policies in the development of a new elite (Scudder and Colson 1980) and the increasing dominance of Gwembe life by drinking patterns associated with the commodification of beer (Colson and Scudder 1988). Articles, or chapters in books, have dealt with such topics as Gwembe economic history, the Kariba Lake fishery, relationships between Gwembe and the line of rail, land tenure, changes in adjudication patterns, the growth of ethnic politics, the resilience of matriliny, gendered responses to change, aging, the adaptive role of possession cults as people encounter new threats to their sense of identity, witchcraft, and more. We plan two further major full-length studies. One will deal with how Tonga religious concepts and ritual practices changed throughout the twentieth century as society diversified and old certainties were undermined. The other will deal with the socioeconomic history of the Gwembe Tonga from 1900 to 2000. While Colson will be the principal author of the first study and Scudder of the second, both monographs will be collaborative efforts.

Integrating New Colleagues

It is difficult to maintain a longitudinal study of this scope with a team of only two anthropologists, a fact we recognized long ago.

Since the 1960s, we have tried to enlist others in the study. Chet S. Lancaster was persuaded to work among the Goba, a Gwembe North chieftaincy that we had been unable to study (Lancaster 1966, 1971, 1974a, 1974b, 1977, 1981, 1987). In 1969, we solicited social scientists at the University of Zambia to use our core database in their own research and, during 1972–1973, included funds for Zambian consultants in our NSF grant. While Zambian colleagues were too involved in other commitments to take up the challenge, during the 1980s a number of them used some of our material in doctoral dissertations (Banda 1985; Mukwena 1998); and John Milimo, director of the Rural Development Studies Bureau in the University of Zambia, consulted with us in writing several reports on Gwembe (Milimo 1988).

During 1987–1988 Jonathan Habarad, a recent Berkeley Ph.D., spent fifteen months in Gwembe with NSF funding. Later, for personal reasons, partially stemming from the difficulties of taking over an ongoing study as complex as the Gwembe study in an area where living conditions were difficult, he decided not to return to Gwembe. In 1991 Michael Bollig of the University of Cologne, Carlos and Sarah Madrid (then students at Johns Hopkins), and Sam Clark (a student at the California Institute of Technology) visited Gwembe, but only Clark

was able to make a commitment to the area and the study. He, Lisa Cliggett, and Rhonda Gillett-Netting were associated with us in what we saw as a "gradual handing over of field work" grant—a three-year NSF grant ending in July 1998. Clark recently completed a Ph.D. in demography at the University of Pennsylvania (2001) based on his own research within Gwembe (forthcoming) and the demographic data we have been able to supply him. Gillett-Netting, now on the faculty at the University of Arizona, was in Gwembe in 1993 for Ph.D. dissertation research in biological anthropology, on nutrition and growth (Gillett 1995b), for Indiana University. She included two of the Gwembe villages in her study and has revisited Gwembe for further work (Gillett 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997, 1998; Gillett and Tobias, in press). Cliggett's 1994–1995 research on changing family support systems for the elderly, based on one of our four sample villages, led to her dissertation (Cliggett 1997b) and several articles on their way to being published (2002, n.d.-a, n.d.-b, n.d.-c). Currently a member of the anthropology department at the University of Kentucky, she too has revisited Gwembe and is now concentrating on migrants and their continued relationship to Gwembe (1997a, 2000). All three have access to our field notes. We are experimenting with computer scanning of field notes so that they will be more easily accessible. This, however, is a mammoth task. Although we all still need to work out how to handle collaboration over time, it may well be that the problem of continuity is at last solved.

We are also exploring the archiving of field notes and associated materials in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the California Institute of Technology. We also continue hoping to integrate Zambian colleagues into the study (Scudder and Colson 1968), with a serious possibility being Bennett Siamwiza, himself a member of a relocated Gwembe family and now a lecturer in history at the University of Zambia with a Ph.D. in history from Cambridge University.

Some Meanings to the Anthropologist of Long-Term Involvement

Long-term research has personal costs. We have already mentioned the possibility of developing tunnel vision.

Again, while much of the Middle Zambezi Valley is beautiful, living conditions for an anthropologist are arduous, especially since the mid-1970s and especially in the densely settled Lusitu where the carrying capacity of the land under existing systems of land use was exceeded as soon as it received six thousand relocated Gwembe Central people in 1958. Today, much of Lusitu, where two of the sample villages are located, is a dust bowl during the dry season, with cattle dying in low rainfall years. Many families are now desperately poor by our standards and, increasingly, their own. The 1990s were hard, with the gap between aspiration and achievement widening, especially for the majority of primary and

secondary school leavers. This hurts: these are long-term friends who suffer and we can do little or nothing to prevent it. We are also watching the aging of old friends who are passing from vigorous maturity into old age and sometimes senility. As we too are growing older, our new age status offers new information and new insights, while closing off other avenues. We will never have the same friendships with the young now moving into positions of authority that we did with those they replace. There are costs in all this to anthropologists that should not be minimized.

On the other hand, we have gained new respect for Gwembe men and women because we have watched them contend over many years with good times and bad. Children have grown to maturity, flirted through early love affairs, married, and accepted responsibility. Some have faced the tragedies of barrenness, the death of children, the desertion or death of a spouse. Some friendly, outgoing young men have become grasping homestead heads and the focus of witchcraft suspicions. On the other hand, harassed young wives, beset by many children and with none old enough to be efficient helpers, have later emerged as happy middle-aged women, finally in charge of their world.

Predictably, a long-term study is likely to diminish the roseate hues in which so much of ethnographic description is couched. At the same time, the people who are the focus of the study become more the product of their own history and less the exemplars of universal cultural patterns. We have lived too long with the realities that the Gwembe people face daily not to be concerned about what happens to them. It is impossible to go away and forget that their lives go on.

It is this that pulls us back. We want to know what happens next and this means much more than just checking on various hypotheses. We also think that we are of some importance to those we have followed through the years. Even those who do not like us still see us as known entities—as people with whom they have shared past experiences, both pleasant and unpleasant. We are a continuity in their lives in a world of increasing discontinuities, as they are a continuity and help give meaning to ours.

Note

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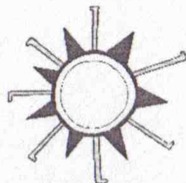
CHAPTER NINE

MULTIGENERATIONS AND MULTIDISCIPLINES: INHERITING FIFTY YEARS OF GWEMBE TONGA RESEARCH

Lisa Cliggett



Introduction

In March 1994, a month before leaving to begin eighteen months of dissertation research in Zambia, I made a decision to shift my field site from Zambia's Eastern Province to the Gwembe Valley in the Southern Province. Ted Scudder, crawling on his hands and knees around a ten-foot-square lab table covered with detailed maps of the Gwembe Valley, acted as the catalyst in my decision. It remains unclear whether it was Ted's show alone or the combination of his animated persuasion, his description of the Gwembe project history, and the opportunity to "jump-start" my research with forty years of data on the village where I would work that led to my decision. The specific reasons for turning my research gaze to the southern border of Zambia no longer seem important; the outcome of that decision, however, remains one of the most important forces in both my professional and personal life.

That decision of March 1994 was only one of many twists on my long and circuitous path toward establishing a research focus and site for my dissertation, which is not such a new story for many anthropologists. Tales abound in the discipline of doctoral research plans gone awry, and of chance happenings and resulting transformations in focus, region, and scholarship. In my case, the meandering path included initial graduate training focused on Caribbean anthropology, including religion and ethnomusicology, but eventually crystallized around household economy and social organization in Haiti. Political upheavals in 1991, which reached a peak within a month of my return from preliminary research, made it clear that I needed to reframe my research plans to accommodate an alternative research site. At about the same time, one of my graduate advisors became involved in a collaborative research project on aging in Zambia. Since he was a demographer familiar with highly quantitative data, and his Zambian colleague was a sociologist specializing in public health, and they knew my anthropological research interests centered on aging and household economics, they asked if I would consider joining their project as an ethnographer, to provide the ethnographic context and qualitative data that would complement the survey research they were proposing.