Human Networks in Southern Province, Zambia: An Overview

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Abstract

The objective of this study was to clarify quotidian human networks of Tonga people living in Southern Province, Zambia, which is located in the semi-arid tropics (SAT) of an unstable ecological environment. The construction and reconstruction of these everyday human networks are discussed in this paper.

Human networks observed in research sites were kin networks, neighborhood networks, religious networks, scholastic networks, recreation networks, and networks in activities earning income.

The formation of human networks is divided into construction of new networks and reconstruction of existing networks. Opportunities of the former are migration, marriage, school attendance, and job gain. Examples of the latter are marriage, migration, divorce, graduation, resignation of job, change of church affiliation, and separation of new villages from old villages. In this paper, I focused on marriage as related to the construction and reconstruction of family networks and discussed the formation of human networks. It was evident in the study area that there were many marriages between members of neighboring villages, and a high percentage of marriages were between members of the same old neighborhoods of origin.

1. Introduction

Human networks, as represented in Fig. 1, are constructed in daily life. Some networks are utilized to solve ecological and social problems. Therefore, human networks are one component of resilience in social systems.

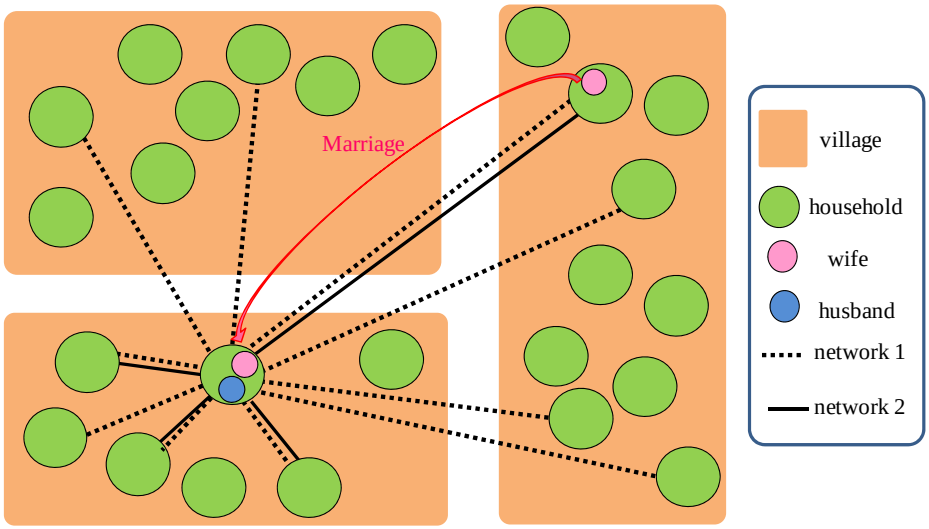

Fig. 1 Schematic Diagram of Human Network
* In this figure, there are networks between households.
Individuals and communities have networks as well.

Networks are chosen according to circumstances; the same ones are not always utilized to solve problems. Accordingly, to begin with, it is important to consider the entire picture rather than discuss networks in specific emergencies. The objective of this study was to clarify quotidian human networks of Tonga people living in the Southern Province of Zambia, which is located in the semi-arid tropics (SAT) of an unstable ecological environment. I studied the construction and reconstruction of these quotidian human networks.

In this study, “human networks” refers to both the structure of connections between people and the flow of things and actions in these connections; I discuss the former in this paper.

2. Research Outline

Research sites were located in lower flat land “Site A”, middle slope “Site B”, and upper flat land “Site C” at Sinazongwe area, Southern Province in Zambia. On every site, most of the residents were Tonga people. Fig. 2 indicates the locations of research villages. Red points show villages researched by other project members, and blue points show research villages added by the author. At Site A, I chose two villages of lakeside area, five villages of middle area and five villages of mountainside area, paying attention to differences in ecological environments.

The research period was from 20 June to 29 October 2008. The end of June was after harvest; the end of October was just before the start of rainy season. Research methods were direct observation and interview using a questionnaire. Research topics included kinds of human networks, features of each network, and marriage and birthplaces.

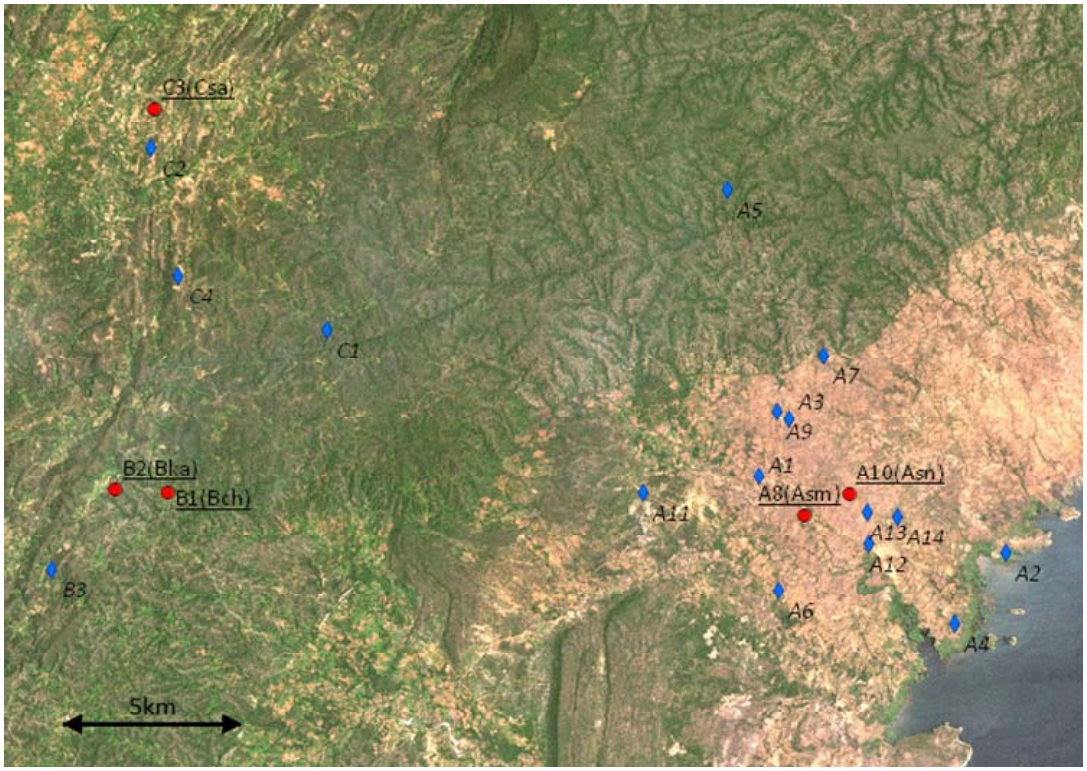

Fig. 2 Location of Research Villages

*1See table 1 for names of research villages.
*2 Drawn by Megumi YAMASHITA

Table 1　Names of Villages

	Name of village	Research village
A1	Chande	●
A2	Chilele	●
A3	Chizu	●
A4	Mambova	●
A5	Maunga	●
A6	Nagombe	●
A7	Nchete	●
A8:Asm	Siameja	●
A9	Siamvwem	●
A10:Asn	Sianemba	●
A11	Siansima A	●
A12	Siansima B	●
A13	Simwela	●
A14	Sinanjola	●
A15	Bbune	
A16	Chagobola	
A17	Chimkobo	

	Name of village	Research village
A18	Kalangwa	
A19	Kaluli	
A20	Kasanse	
A21	Makula	
A22	Malede	
A23	Manyonga	
A24	Mukalanga	
A25	Munyati	
A26	Mutwamasiku	
A27	Muvwali	
A28	Muzanbalika	
A29	Siamufunde	
A30	Siamunyembe	
A31	Siamutuna	
A32	Sianchinda	
A33	Siangwinda	
A34	Siankwazi	

	Name of village	Research village
A35	Sianyuka	
A36	Siapoke	
A37	Siazwela	
A38	Sikaputa	
A39	Simagwali	
A40	Sinachilundu	
A41	Sinagainbi	
A42	Sinalulongwe	
A43	Tobonte	
A44	Lusinga	
B1:Bch	Chanzika	●
B2:Bka	Kanego	●
B3	Siajanba	●
C1	Mubanga	●
C2	Mwemba	●
C3:Csa	Siachaya	●
C4	Siamusana	●

3.　Overview of Human Networks

Human networks observed at research sites were kin networks, neighborhood networks, religious networks, scholastic networks, networks in recreation, and networks in activities earning income.

3-1. Family Networks

The following is a description of the members of kinship groups in the Tonga people. I focus on marriage as a case study of a family network in chapter four.

The Tonga people were divided into Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga (Fig. 3). Most people at Sites A and B belonged to Valley Tonga, and people at Site C belonged to Plateau Tonga.

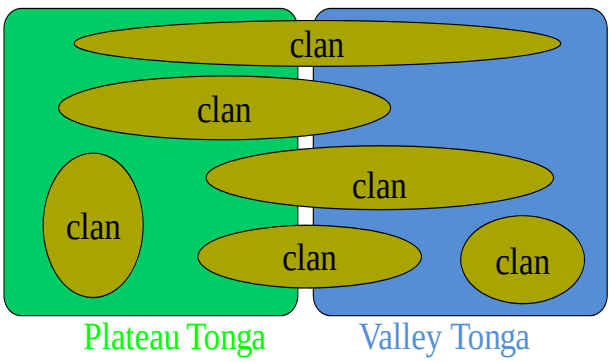

Fig. 3　Sub-Group of Tonga People

There were clans called “*mukowa*” which were smaller groups of Tonga than either Valley or Plateau Tonga. The clans had names of animals like cattle “*muwiinde*”, baboon “*muchinba*”, goat “*mulea*”, zebra “*mugonka*”, dog “*mukuli*”, crocodile

"*muetwa"*, and rabbit "*musanje";* there were also names related to plants like seed of pumpkin or "*mutanga"*. Many clans belonged to both Valley and Plateau Tonga. Members of the same clan had uncles and nephews among men of different generations and brothers among coeval men.
Regarding the institution of marriage in Tonga, people practiced polygyny and patrilocality. Children used the father's name as their surname, and they succeeded their mother's "*mukowa"*. Children inherited land from their father typically; however, it was possible to inherit land from their father's side and mother's side in the case of a land shortage.

3-2. Neighborhood Networks

Construction of Kariba Dam caused forced migration and remigration; it changed neighborhood networks. In this study, I focused on village organization or typical neighborhood networks. I discuss first the members of villages at research sites, and second the features regarding establishment of villages on each site.

The members of villages were mixed with people of more than one *mukowa* or clan with village members being autonomous units. Unused land belonged to the villages, and the headmen and committees of villages were allowed to use it. Members of villages dealt cooperatively with work projects like road maintenance and were recipients of aid programs such as food aid.

Regarding the establishment of villages, as can be seen in Fig. 4, new villages increased rapidly on Site A after construction of Kariba Dam in 1957, and new ones also increased on Sites B and C subsequently. The establishment year in Fig. 4 was the year in which the traditional chiefs gave villages headmanship; however, it may be that people started to live there before the establishment year. In Fig. 4, no information is shown regarding non-research villages because I could not acquire enough information about these villages.

People were forced to migrate from the valley area at the moment of dam construction, and they built a lot of new villages on Site A. The villages, which were located close together before migration, still belonged to old neighborhood groups like *Chilonga*, *Dangwe*, *Landani,* and *Njola*. The villages which developed before dam construction had the original name *Buleya*. But some villages were established after dam construction. A6 of Fig. 4 was separated from A8, A40 was separated from A1.

Fig. 5 is separated by color for each old neighborhood group in villages on Site A. Names of villages are put in position of latitude and longitude by headman or vice headman. In Fig. 5 it is apparent that villages of *Buleya* were grouped along the Nagombe River and that villages of other groups were established around them; in particular, the villages of *Chilonga* and *Landani* were scattered similarly.

On Site B, there was a lot of unused land. When the condition of the land worsened in new villages on Site A, many people continued to remigrate to Site B. New villages consisted of people who came from several villages.

On Site C, some villages were built before the construction of Kariba Dam. When land conditions deteriorated in the new villages on Site A, many people remigrated to Site C.

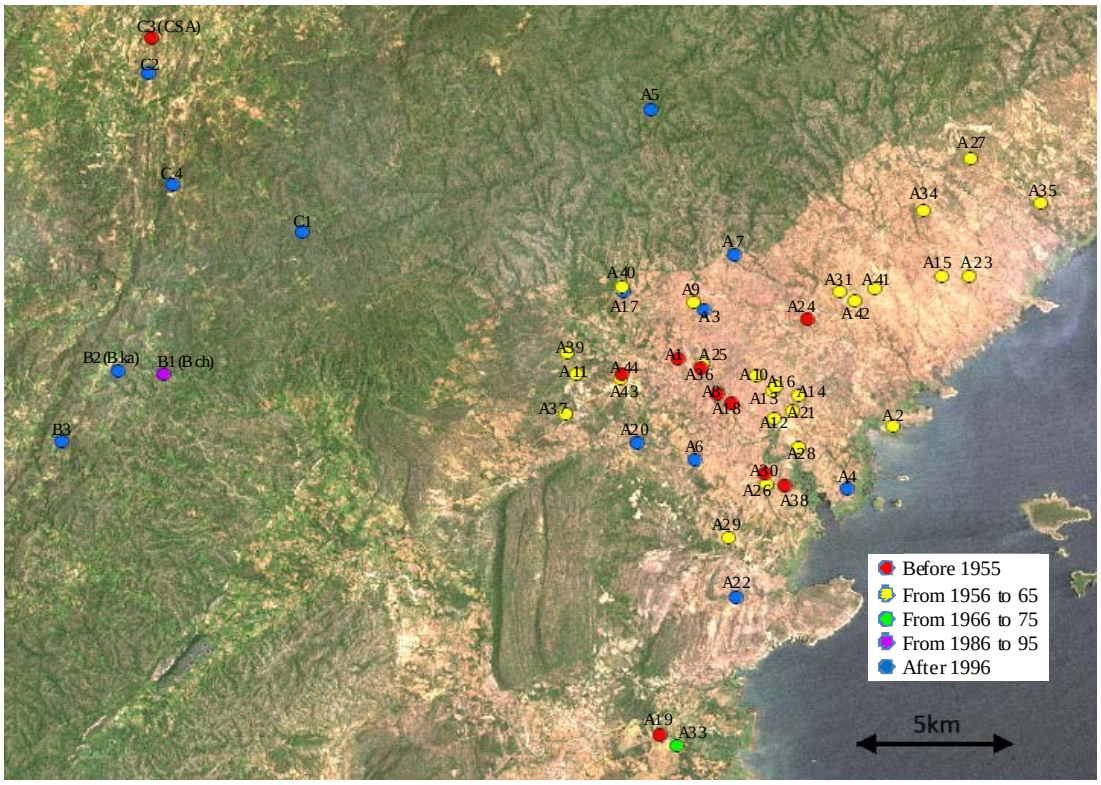

Fig. 4 Establishment of Villages

*1 See table 1 for names of research villages.

*2 Drawn by Megumi YAMASHITA

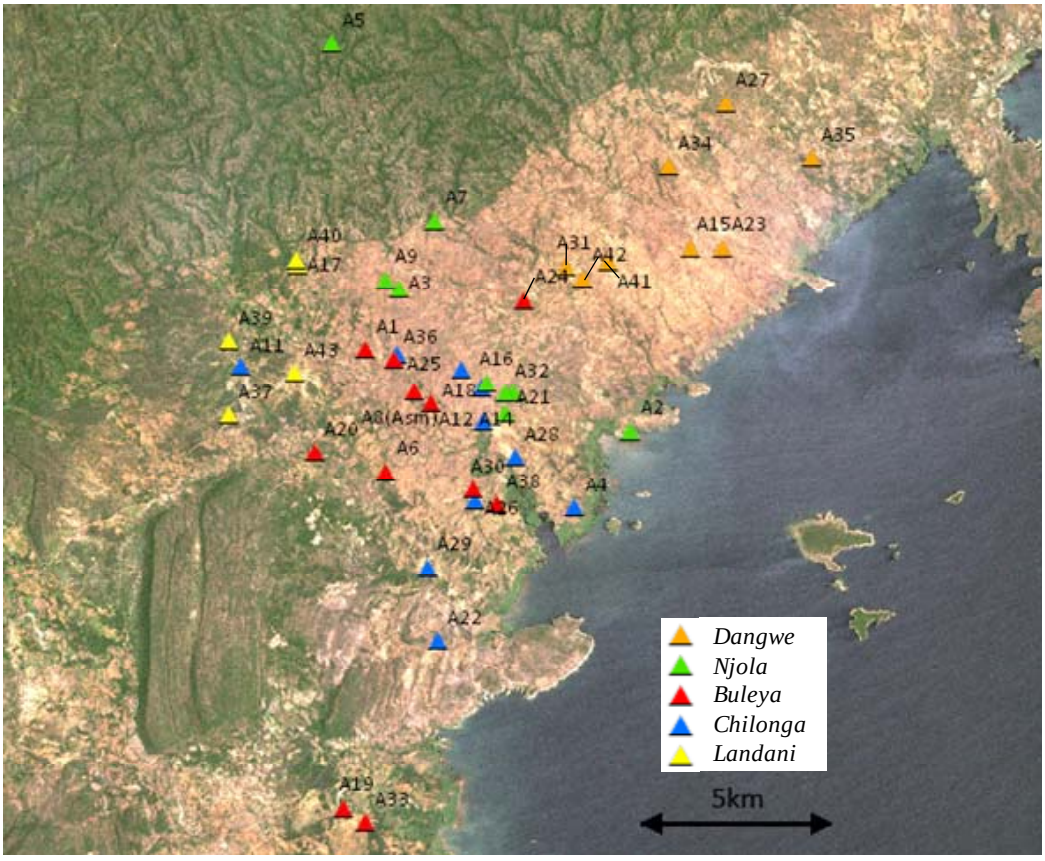

Fig. 5 Old Neighborhood Groups of Villages

*1 See table 1 for names of research villages.

*2 Drawn by Megumi YAMASHITA

3-3. Religious Networks

In the research area, most people were Christians. There were multiple sects of churches in this area, including Pentecostal, Seventh-Day Adventist, the United Church of Zambia, and the New Apostolic Church. Churches were built not only in towns but also in villages. Some villages had no church and others had churches of different sects, as seen in Fig. 6. People went to church in order to pray, typically on the weekend, although some did not go to church. Those who attended chose their own sect from the several ones available and did not necessarily attend the nearest church. In most couples, both went to the same church. Church provided not only a place to pray but also a place to acquire medical treatment and education in a big town.

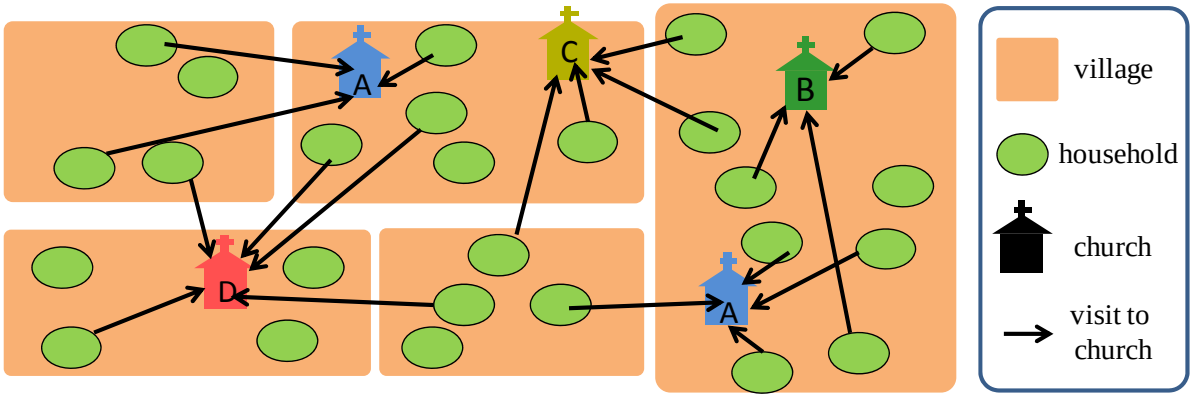

Fig. 6 Visits to Church by Residents

Each church sect organized 2 or 3 big meetings each year. For example, the New Apostolic Church organized meetings for Good Friday in April and Harvest in August, in which members of every branch participated (Fig. 7). The church also organized meetings of comity in October, which members of branches in some districts attended. There were other small meetings like music festivals as well (Fig. 8). People deepened their relationships with church members through the practicing of hymns, having meals and sharing lodging during these meetings.

Fig. 7 Preaching in Congregation

Fig. 8 Church choir singing

3-4. Scholastic Networks

There was a basic school serving several villages, providing pupils with friends outside their own villages (Fig. 9). Not only pupils, but also their parents acquired new relationships. Parents, especially those in the areas of community schools managed by themselves and not government, developed strong relationships with each other. There were very few high schools, and most students stayed in dormitories. An example of such a high school was in Maamba, Sinazongwe District. Given these circumstances, students in high school made many friends from a larger area than did pupils at basic schools.

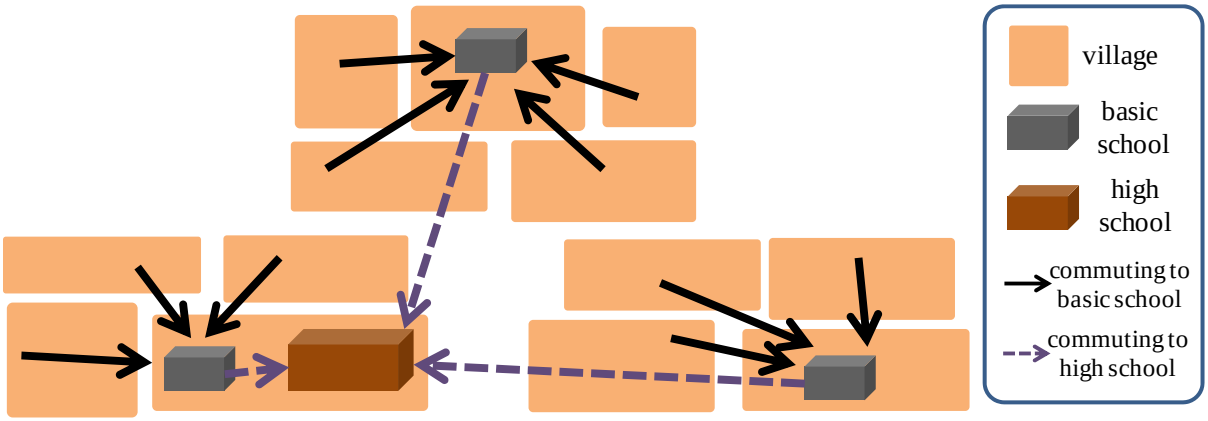

Fig. 9 Commuting Area of School

3-5. Networks in Recreation

The recreation of playing football is discussed because it involved not only players but other people as well. During dry season, there was a football tournament in Sinazongwe district, and all villages organized their own teams to participate. From the end of April, after harvest, to September, about 10 teams from each zone played in a round robin tournament. From October to November, before the start of rainy season, the top two of approximately 20 zones played in a knock-out round for the championship.

Not only players but also supporters went to away matches; consequently, players and supporters had good relationships. At the same time, they built intimacy with members of away teams, with whom they had matches many times.

3-6. Networks in Income Earning Activities

Networks in activities earning income were formed through being employed by companies, as well as through labor migration and other commercial activities.

Companies operating in research areas included agricultural companies, companies selling small fish or *Kapenta*, road construction companies, and mining companies. Labor migration was practiced in cities of Southern Province like Livingstone and Choma, the capital Lusaka, and cities of Copperbelt Province. Commercial activities in research areas included selling products such as cotton, okra, and fish to buyers; vegetables, fish, and forest products, for example, were sold in local markets. Store management and truck transport were also commercial businesses in the areas.

4. Formation of Human Networks

The formation of human networks can be divided into construction of new networks and reconstruction of existing networks. Examples of the former include marriage, school attendance, and job obtainment, as well as migration that results in getting new neighbors. Examples of the latter are divorce, graduation, resignation from a job, change of church affiliation and separation of new villages from old villages, as well as migration, which can change relationships with people around an old residence. Marriage could be included in the latter rather than the former in cases where the two people had been relatives before marriage, thus reconstructing an existing network. In this paper, I focus on marriage and its connection with the construction and reconstruction of kin networks, and discuss the formation of human networks.

4-1. Catalyst for Marriage and How Couples Met

I interviewed all couples in every village about the catalyst for marriage and how they met. The most common answers were that they met as relatives, neighbors, schoolmates and church mates before marriage. Other answers were that they met at markets, football grounds and traditional dances. People formed networks of affinal relationships through use of networks as discussed in chapter 3. In the following, I will analyze results of these interviews in detail.

4-2. Formation of Networks Throughout Marriage

I investigated marriages to explore how people formed the structure of human networks throughout their marriages. I analyzed each birthplace of husband and wife related to proximity between residence and birthplace, as well as their relationships with old neighborhood groups. In this report, I chose *Buleya* villages as villages started before migration, and *Chilonga* villages as villages formed through forced migration. *Buleya* villages chosen were Siameja, Nagombe and Chande; *Chilonga* villages chosen were Sianemba, Mambova and Siansima A.

In Fig. 10, I analyzed the degree of proximity between research villages and birthplaces of couples. In Fig. 10-1, I compared whether couples were born in villages of Site A or other areas. In the figure, the village of Site A represents the birthplaces of both husband and wife being located in Site A. Other area represents the birthplace of husband or wife being located in other areas. Percentages in Village of Site A were from 57% to 80%. In Fig. 10-2, I detailed degree of proximity between residence and birthplace when both birthplaces of the couple were located in Site A. In this figure, RN means that the birthplace of husband or wife was located in a research village or in the next village; NBO means that the birthplace was located two villages away, and OSA means that the birthplace was located at another village in Site A. The rates of birthplaces of couples that were RN were from 44% to 77%. The rate of birthplaces of couples that were RN and NBO were from 52% to 84%. It became evident that in the villages analyzed, there were many marriages between members of vicinal villages.

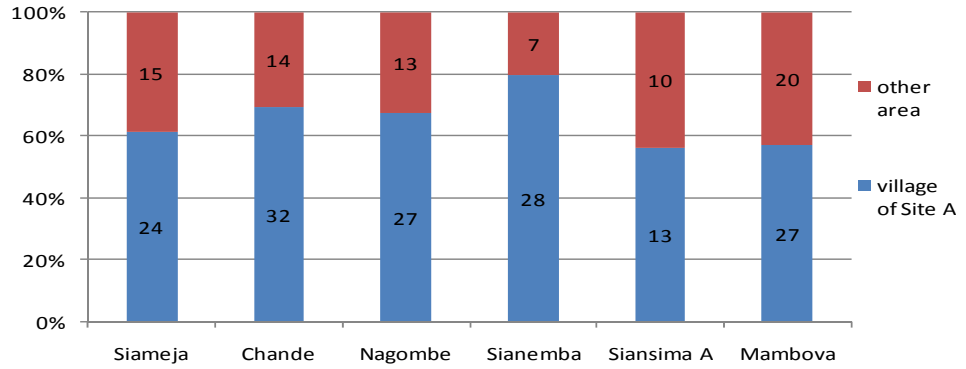

Fig. 10-1 Comparison of Birth Place; Site A or Other Area

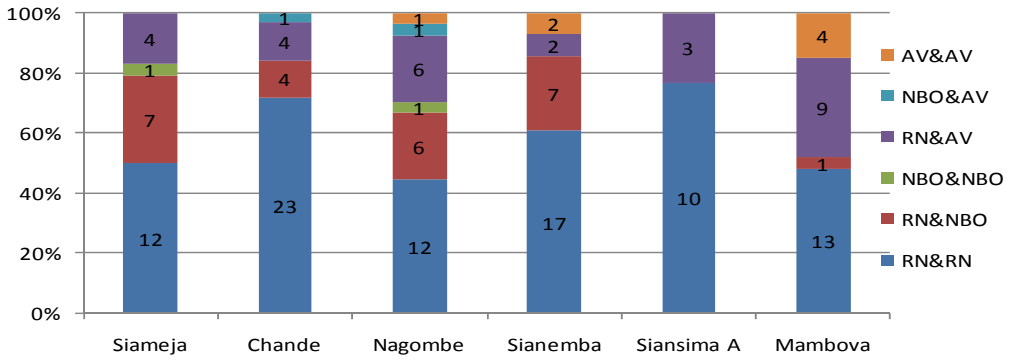

Fig. 10-2 Degree of Proximity between Residence and Birth Place in Site A

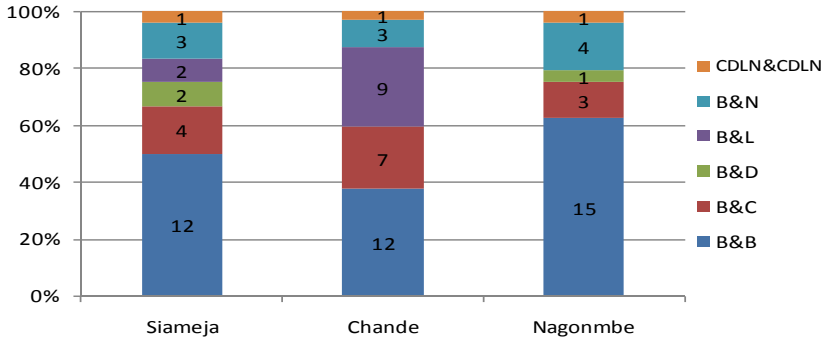

Fig. 11-1 Comparison about Old Neighborhood Groups of Villages Where Couples living in Villages of *Bulea* were Born in

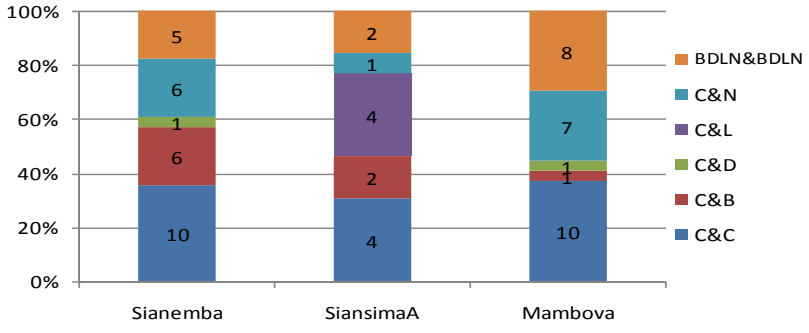

Fig. 11-2 Comparison about Old Neighborhood Groups of Villages Where Couples living in Villages of *Chilonga* were Born in

In Fig. 11, I compared which old neighborhood groups husband and wife belonged to when both members of the couple had been born in Site A. In these Figures, B was *Buleya*, C was *Chilonga*, D was *Dangwe*, L was *Landani*, N was *Njola*, and a combination of letters in the figure indicates the couple was from that pair of native groups. Fig. 11-1 indicates that couples born in *Buleya* occupied 38% to 56% of villages of *Buleya*. Fig. 11-2 indicates that couples from *Chilonga* occupied 31% to 37% of villages of *Chilonga.* From these figures, it is apparent that couples who had resided in the same original old neighborhood groups made up the highest percentage of couples in villages analyzed.