THE EFFECTS OF NKOLOLA INITIATION CEREMONY
ON WOMEN IN SOUTHERN PROVINCE:
A CASE STUDY OF MONZE DISTRICT

BY

MARY MAAMBO

A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfillment of the requirement for award of the degree of Master of Education in Sociology of Education

University of Zambia

Lusaka

(2007)
DECLARATION

I, Mary Maambo, do hereby declare that this piece of work is my own, and that all the work of other persons has been duly acknowledged, and that this work has not been previously presented at this University and indeed any other University for similar purposes.

Signed: 

Date: 23-06-08
APPROVAL

This dissertation of Mary Maambo is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Education in Sociology of Education by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

Initiation ceremonies are normally a means of passing on of the society’s culture from the old to the young generation. It has been observed that during initiation, the girl is instructed by some elderly women who are vested in the culture of the society. The emphasis is on domestic and agricultural duties, respect for elders and her future husband, respect for the future husband’s clan members, sexual and food taboos. The girl is also taught how to run a home.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of the Tonga people's Nkolola initiation rite on women’s behaviour in Monze District of Southern Province of Zambia.

The sample included one hundred female respondents - fifty initiated women and fifty initiators. Primary data were collected through two sets of interviews – one for initiators (trainers) and another for initiated women. Secondary data were collected from literature on initiation rites. The data collected through the interviews were analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package of Social Sciences) and qualitative methods by means of themes.

The study showed that Nkolola has influence on women’s behaviour. Both initiators and initiated women stated that initiated women are taught how to behave well towards others, especially to elderly people; they tended to portray a
behaviour which is acceptable in the traditional society unlike the women who were not initiated. The initiated women are also seen to have self control in matters of sexual relationships. Some respondents said that women who are not initiated are likely to fall prey to early pregnancies when they involve themselves in sexual relationships because they have no knowledge of when they are near to have their ovulation.

On the other hand, the study revealed that women who went through Nkolola initiation rites are vulnerable to prostitution. It was stated that because of the great desire these initiated women had to experiment what they were taught during the ceremony, they ended up having more than one sexual partner which they said was not the case with the women who were not initiated.

It was concluded that Nkolola initiation ceremony should be continued, but certain modifications should be made. One of the major modifications was to teach the skills in stages. For example, at puberty girls should only be taught about hygiene, cleanliness and self-discipline. Later on when they were about to get married, they could be taught about marriage and all the practices that go with it, like caring for the husband in general.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. P. C. Manchishi, Prof. Shamitiba Kanyanga for their encouragement. Special thanks to Dr. O. C. Chikulimba and Dr. E. Lungu my supervisor and co-supervisor for their invaluable assistance and constructive corrections. Other thanks go to all my fellow students who made my life comfortable at the University of Zambia. Extended thanks go to the women of Monze District for their participation in this research.

I would like to express my gratitude to my husband Yifwayabo Kanyimbo, my daughters Suzgo, Precious and Joy, my son Zacharia, nephew Febber, niece Prudence and my brother in-law Chiyala for allowing me to be away from home for two years.

Last but not the least, I thank all those who rendered me their secretarial services, in particular, Aaron Tembo from the University of Zambia for typing the final copy of this dissertation.
### ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECZ</td>
<td>Evangelical Church of Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Roman Catholic Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>Seventh Day Adventist church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistical Package of Social Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>Sexually Transmitted Diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCZ</td>
<td>United Church of Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Funds Population Agency</td>
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</table>
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Background Information

Initiation rites are an intrinsic part of traditional societies (Raising 2001). They have existed for many centuries and can be traced back to at least 400 AD (Roberts and Ahmed, 1976). Jafarey (2004), in his work on initiation, confirms that initiation is as old as human society and that the age at which one attains this stage varies from society to society and from one individual to the other. According to Jafarey (2004), this is attained at the age of nine years in some societies, while in other societies this is attained at the age of twenty-one.

Brown (1963) defines women initiation ceremony as consisting of one or more prescribed ceremonial events, mandatory for all girls of a given society and celebrated between their eighth and twentieth years.

Research by Raising (2001) has shown that initiation rites or ceremonies are similar from one culture to another with few differences across cultures. Values, norms and behaviours taught to girls are similar in most African societies. They express solidarity among women from different generations. During the initiation ceremony, norms and values concerning gender, production and reproduction as well as cosmological ideas are passed on to the initiate.
Similarly, in Zambia, most ethnic groups practice initiation rites for girls. The Tonga call the novice or girl *mooye*, the Bemba call her *Nachisungu*, the Chewa call her *Namwali* while the Lozi call her *Mwalanjo*. The basic principles like inculcating morals in girls are the same with only a few variations. During initiation, the girl is instructed by some elderly women who are well vested in the society’s culture. Emphasis is placed on reproductive roles within marriage. These include domestic and agricultural duties, respect for elders and her future husband, sexual and food taboos. The young girl is taught how to behave in marriage, and how to run a home by performing most of the domestic duties while in her mother’s home.

Among the Tonga of Southern Province of Zambia, initiation is a rite that marks the passage from childhood to adulthood. It takes place just after a girl has had her first menstruation. This initiation ceremony sets a basis for adult life by developing a new identity for a woman. It is associated with key points in the life cycle: birth, transition from childhood to adulthood, marriage and death. An initiate, or a novice, locally called *mooye*, is secluded and receives instructions from her tutor called *Hakamwale* or *Kalindizi* in Tonga which may be translated as ‘traditional midwife’ or ‘mentrix’ (Raising 2001).

During the process of initiation, she is taught a vast body of social attributes that a woman is supposed to know and deal with throughout her life. The social attributes taught to a novice include how to conduct herself in the society, how to
behave towards the elderly people and how to receive visitors. Nkolola initiation ceremony is a kind of traditional education which was considered to preserve the cultural heritage. It also fostered obedience, unselfishness and endurance of hardship, encouraged honesty, self-restraint and respect for the rights of others.

At the end of the Nkolola Initiation Ceremony, the novice graduates into an adult woman. The girl is now said to be ready for marriage and other social responsibilities that come along with adulthood. Snelson (1970), points out that in a traditional society, education provided a thorough and well balanced preparation for life. This could also be said of the Nkolola initiation ceremony.

In this study, the concern was with the effects of Nkolola initiation ceremony on the women of Monze District in the Southern Province of Zambia. It was intended to find out whether the ceremony had an effect on women's behaviour.

It should be noted that in this study, Nkolola initiation ceremony is discussed in light of socialization, a ceremony that involves transition from childhood to adulthood or education in the area of imparting moral values in the initiated women. It is discussed as moral education is discussed in the school system.

Statement of the problem

Much research has been done on initiation ceremonies. Most of this has focused on the positive attributes, values and norms of the ceremonies. But not much has been done on Nkolola initiation ceremony and especially on its effects on
behavior of women who have gone through it. In light of this assertion, this study sought to investigate whether Nkolola initiation ceremony contributes to the change of behaviour of women that go through it.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to assess the effects of the Nkolola initiation ceremony on the behaviour of women who had been through the initiation ceremony in the Southern Province of Zambia.

Objectives

The following were the objectives of this study:

a) To find out the impact of Nkolola initiation ceremony on behaviour and cultural practices of Tonga women.

b) To find out what women who have been through the Nkolola initiation ceremony think are its benefits to the married and unmarried women.

Research Questions

a) Has Nkolola initiation ceremony made any impact on behaviour and cultural practices of Tonga women?

b) What do women who have been through the Nkolola initiation ceremony think are its benefits to the married and unmarried women?

Significance of the Study

Initiation ceremonies for girls who have come of age remain an essential tool for educating women in the traditional set up. The role that the initiation ceremonies
play in the lives of people who practice them is very cardinal to the development of any society. It is therefore, important to have a better understanding of the roles, responsibilities and incentives that these ceremonies have. This can help assess the contribution of these ceremonies to the local community and to the country at large.

The findings of this study would be useful to both policy makers and future scholars who may decide to study the effects of the initiation ceremony on the women who undergo it.

The study may serve as an evaluation of Nkolola initiation ceremony with reference to women vulnerability to HIV/AIDS and to male domination. The study may also provide information useful for promoting Nkolola as one of the traditional ceremonies in Zambia being used as means of passing on the Tonga culture from one generation to the other.

**Limitations of the Study**

During the formulation of the proposal up to writing of a report, the researcher faced limitations which included the following;

a) It was not very easy to carry out this study because of the confidentiality on the part of initiators, and it was deemed a taboo to disclose what was taught during the ceremony. Nevertheless, the required data were
collected after a long discussion with the initiators and initiates who were assured that the study was purely for academic purposes.

b) The study involved a very small sample of the population of women in Monze District, thereby making it difficult for this study to have a representative view of Tonga women on Nkolola Initiation Ceremony. This was due to limited financial capacity to enable the researcher cover a wider area of Monze District.

**Theoretical Perspective**

This research is based on the Socialization Theory. Primarily socialization theory as formulated by Oetting (1999) and his associates emphasizes the transmission of societal norms during childhood and adolescence within society's three major socializing agencies: family, school, and small, intimate peer groups (Sommer, 1969). The norms transmitted may be pro social or deviant, with pro social norms more likely to be transmitted through strong bonds to healthy families or schools. Personality traits and other personal characteristics influence negative outcomes, such as deviance or drug use, only to the extent that they interfere with socialization.

Socialization theory covers the process of maturing out of deviance, which perhaps results in a reaffirmation of the legitimacy of norms transmitted earlier, and it also covers gender differences in their transmission and legitimization.
Socialization makes understandings that are pervaded with super-ego qualities. Participation in socialization grants access to social rewards that were previously unavailable. This includes societal norms and beliefs.

The term socialization is used by sociologists, social psychologists and educationalists to refer to the process of learning one’s culture and how to live within it. For the individual it provides the resources necessary for acting and participating within their society. For the society, inducting all individual members into its moral norms, attitudes, values, motives, social roles, language and symbols is the ‘means by which social and cultural continuity are attained’ (Clausen 1968: 5)

Organisation of the Study

This chapter has presented the background information to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, operational definitions of key concepts and the limitations of the study. Chapter two focuses on literature review. It provides a review of the relevant literature to the problem under study. Chapter three discusses the research methodology used in the study. It includes; Research Design, Target Population, Study Sample, Sampling Method and Procedure, Research Instruments, Data Collection and Data Analysis. Chapter four provides the research findings, while chapter five discusses the findings and also provides the summary, recommendations and the conclusion of the study on the effects of the Nkolola initiation ceremony. In this chapter, the findings are discussed under the Objectives of the study using the data drawn from the interviews.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction
Many studies have been done on initiation ceremonies in Zambia and other parts of the world. Various scholars have discussed the positive and negative effects of the initiation ceremonies. This chapter therefore, discusses the initiation ceremonies and their positive and negative effects as highlighted in the reviewed literature.

Positive Effects of Initiation Ceremonies
According to Brown (1963), the educational purpose of initiation rites is one that has often been stressed by ethnographers, who see in these ceremonies the equivalent of the schooling received by children in Western societies. A very large number of rites do indeed contain periods of instruction and/or tests of competence for the initiate, and this fact certainly lends support to the idea that the purpose of these ceremonies is educational. Brown (1963) argues that during the initiation ceremonies, the girls being initiated are taught many things that are important in one’s life. These lessons are seen to help in development and prevention of certain diseases. For example a girl who is being initiated is taught how to be hygienic during her menstruation periods and how to keep
herself healthy during pregnancies. These can help in the prevention of diseases that are caused by dirty and also reduce infant mortality rates.

Bennetta (1980) states that, the importance of women’s ceremonies is associated with the division of labour within a community. He emphasizes that while some aspects of women’s work change radically in the transition from an agrarian to an urban or semi urban existence, the responsibilities of childrearing and care of the household remain remarkably similar. A group may value these responsibilities in the same way that it did previously. According to Benneta’s case-study on a Lusaka shanty town, residents wished to retain as many of the organizational aspects of their villages as possible: for example, they ate in a dare or closed dirt courtyard in front of their houses and preferred to entertain visitors there rather than in a sitting room within their homes.

Stardate (2003) emphasizes the ceremony’s promotion of group cohesiveness at the expense of individualism. He states that individuals end up becoming loyal to the initiation groups and remain loyal for the rest of their lives. He further stresses that if they have some sort of agenda, they are more likely to adopt that agenda as their own so as to maintain and promote the group and help it to work to achieve its goal. For Stardate (2003), initiation is a tool for social unity of the people in the same cohort. He argues that since individuals are loyal to the initiating groups, they tend to unite them to achieve the intended goals of the group.
Bruce (1981), in his work on initiation, shares the same views as those of Stardate. He also confirms that initiation is a mark of solidarity in which women set themselves apart from men, affirming themselves and their differences from males around them. Rather than an act of oppression, initiation becomes an act of unity among women just as in the theory participation in socialization grants access to social rewards that were previously unavailable which leads to unity among women.

Benneta (1980) states that, the emergence of women’s initiation practices in an indigenous Christian church suggests an attempt to hold the domestic circle intact by retaining critical aspects of the woman’s traditional status. Despite new pressures toward autonomy and occupational diversification, these church ceremonies emphasize the continued importance of the bride’s virginity and her contribution as a producer of offspring and labour for her husband’s lineage and her own in the urban context. Women’s initiation becomes a vehicle of cultural preservation in conditions of social flux. While a close-knit, traditional community is difficult to preserve in town, the family unit can be sustained. Voluntary associations seeking to revitalize parts of the traditional community do so largely through the restoration of the family in new forms. Initiation as an indicator of the preservation of the domestic unit thus becomes a key to the process of cultural change.

Another illuminating work to this study is the one by Murphee (1969), who stipulates that initiation is marked by observance of a number of taboos
associated with the initial menstruation. Such taboos are there to teach the girl hygienic practices associated with menstruation.

Raising (2001), in her study on initiation, dwells on issues of reproductive health, marriage, domestic and agriculture duties, respect for elders, her future husband, sexuality and food taboos. She argues that initiation ceremonies for women help them to learn issues concerning reproductive health. This reduces the death caused by complications that come about because of failure for women to remain healthy during their pregnancies. Agriculture duties learnt also help women to be productive and increases food security in the households.

Snelson (1970) brings out the economic benefits of the ceremony to the initiates as well as to the society. The novice is taught how to make household utensils and equipment. These are the ones the lady would use in her home when she is married. Crafts made included things like mats, baskets, brooms, pots and many others. Snelson (1970) also states that the education provided at the initiation ceremony is thorough and well balanced in the preparation of the girl for life. He points out that initiation ceremonies are a kind of traditional education that is regarded as one preserving the cultural heritage of the community. It also fosters obedience, unselfishness and endurance of hardship, encourages honesty and self-restraint and respect for the rights of others. All these attributes are inculcated in the young women that undergo initiation. The novice is taught some difficult tasks that will help shape her into becoming a hardworking woman.
Bennetta (1976) states that the girl is also taught endurance in life, for instance, she may be asked to pick up beads with her foot. All these symbolize that she will have to do difficult things in life. She is going to be married and marriage is difficult. She will remember this, so that she does not give up on her marriage easily.

In line with the above argument, Mwanakatwe (1968) concludes that the whole essence of seclusion is to strengthen the individual at a time of crisis in her life. This will sanction her new status in society after a period of exclusion and instruction and also to assert the authority of society over the individual through the solemnity and rigour of the ritual.

Work by UNFPA (2005) collaborates with that done by Raising (2001). UNFPA also looks at initiation as an institution that teaches girls how to deal with menstruation and how to be good sexual partners with their future husbands. For this reason, certain foods believed to affect fertility are prohibited and the instructress during seclusion teaches the girl the importance of good sexual intercourse in marriage and how this should be done. The initiation ceremonies are rooted in deep, conservative traditions. For African females, ceremonies marking their entry into the realm of adults are also a public announcement to the community that she is ready to take up responsibilities as an adult African woman. African life revolves around the family and therefore female African initiation ceremonies tend to focus heavily on the preparation of young girls to be good wives and mothers. The mother of a young girl selects a ‘ritual mother’ for
her daughter. Like a favoured aunt, the ritual mother prepares the young girl for her future role as a wife and mother. The young girl learns the art of cooking and household management (a skill she has been performing beside her own mother since she could walk), music and beautification. The girl is encouraged to leave behind her jaunty, carefree childhood ways and adopt the stature of a woman full of dignity and grace (www.thebeadsite.com 2002). Encouraging a girl to leave behind her jaunty and carefree way of life help to reduce immorality in the traditional society which can consequently help to reduce the prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS.

According to Raising (1996), the high rates of teenage pregnancy in many modern societies are attributed to a lack of initiation rites. They do not know how to face the world and so they end up being prey to the vices in society. It is assumed that initiation rites may help prevent unmarried girls from participating in sexual relationships which can lead to pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS.

According to Bennetta (1980), the practice of women initiation ceremony in many societies has recently begun to disappear and with it a confidence in the stability of marriages among many traditional families. Benneta's (1980) findings attribute increases in adultery and the apparent rise in the divorce rates to the failure to initiate young women and train them gradually in wifely duties and the spiritual
dangers of infidelity. She argued that initiation ceremonies helped to reduce the divorce rates in the societies and also dangers of infidelity.

Ocholla-Ayayo (1976) states that among other things that girls learn at the initiation ceremony is the importance of being hospitable and generous to relatives and even to strangers. She is also taught virtues like avoiding telling lies, abstaining from theft and aggressiveness.

Bennetta’s (1976) study on initiation ceremonies focuses on the importance of practical demonstrations of all the teachings and instructions given to the novice at such ceremonies. He cites a few examples. For instance the instructor would demonstrate a cooking lesson by actually cooking, beginning with the first part of the cooking process up to the end.

Another ritual that is fading, to the approval of many women’s rights groups, is that of female circumcision. This practice is still quite common among the Masai and Himba people of southern Africa (www.thebeadsite.com 2002). As in most African societies, a young girl is considered an adult once she is eligible to marry. For the Masai and Himba, a young girl will not be suitable for marriage unless she undergoes the circumcision ceremony. Female African initiation ceremonies, much like their male counterparts, provide instructions to females on what society will expect of them as adults. Having imitated their mothers from birth, most girls are already fully aware of what will be expected of them as women. The ceremony, however, is the public expression of this expectation by the society –
a positive form of peer pressure. In most cultures, the initiation ceremony is something a young girl eagerly looks forward to, prepares for, and honourably takes part in. In essence, the ceremony is the ultimate expression of her flowering womanhood (www.thebeadsite.com 2002).

NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE INITIATION CEREMONIES

Oxenberg and Wolper (1996) have argued that women’s rights are violated in many ways every day but these violations are ignored. They claim that the mere extension of existing human rights protection to women is insufficient. Women rights protection must also take into consideration the traditions that tend to reduce women’s power to make decisions. This involves traditional ceremonies.

Research by Mbozi and others (1998) on HIV/AIDS has raised a different dimension on initiation ceremonies. The study raises concerns about the values inculcated into a woman with regard to sex and sexuality during initiation ceremonies. They believe that the emphasis on submissiveness of woman to man and sexual satisfaction partly accounts for the disempowerment of the woman. The woman fails to negotiate for safe sex in order to please the husband. The idea of ‘dry sex’ is emphasized. This is a practice which is regarded as another widespread culturally inspired sexual habit in Zambia. But with HIV/AIDS, concerns have been raised linking it to HIV transmission due to genital ulceration of both male and female organs during sexual intercourse. This in turn facilitates the exchange of blood agents including HIV.
There are a few negative attributes of initiation ceremonies that put women at the subordinate position. For instance, the research done by UNIFEM (2000), stipulates that women are initiated to practice dry sex, this involves women using herbs to tighten their vaginas and absorb the vaginal fluids. The advocates of initiation ceremony regard this aspect as very important because it is assured that men enjoy having dry sex. The consequences are that dry sex makes most women become more vulnerable to cancer and HIV infections. This comes about because bruises are caused in the vagina since the man has to force his way in. Blood contact enhances the easy spread of HIV/AIDS.

Bennetta (1980) argues that ceremony instructs young women in their customary familial responsibilities and loyalties. While the situation of men as labour migrants and wage earners may change extensively, this rite symbolically proposes that the responsibilities of the wife and mother will remain intact. This perpetuates the inequalities in the society between men and women. Women are not seen to be wage earners but only as wives who are supposed to be at home taking care of the children. This reduces the power of women as decision makers since the majority will have low levels of education and will not have the sources of income. Women will then remain vulnerable to the abuse of the male counterparts. Brown (1963) states that ritual mother will also school the young girl in the art of seduction during the initiation ceremony. The ability to please a man in every way is an art taken seriously by the initiating women. A special string of beads may be worn loosely about her hips as a visual gift to her
husband. This focus on seduction, however, can lead to a high-rate of promiscuity. The girls after being initiated can start practicing the skills they learnt and even start involving themselves in sex before marriage to see if the lessons had changed their way of handling men in bed during sex. This can be a recipe for increase in the levels of sexually transmitted diseases and even early marriages and the number of school dropouts. All these have adverse impact on the development process of the individual and the society as a whole.

Another study by UNFPA (2005), also confirms that initiation rites reinforce gender stereotypes, encouraging young men to assume dominance and young women to accept their lower status. Therefore, after initiation it has been proved that most girls take less interest in school. All they think of is marriage or simply having sex with men so that they can practice the skills learnt. This results into early marriages, unwanted pregnancies and increases on the number of girls who drop out of school.

Although the goal of the ceremony is to celebrate a young girl's new maturity, it is also a forum for attracting a husband. To afford the best possible selection, the girl will travel with her female mentor to nearby villages to perform the ceremony (www.thebeadsite.com 2002). This also encourages early marriages.

From the discussion above, it is clear that many initiation ceremonies have positive and negative effects. The study tried to find out if the Nkolola initiation ceremony had the same effects on initiated women. However, since different studies revealed different effects, this can be as a result of the environment in which the studies were undertaken.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter discusses, Research Design, Target Population, Sample Size and Sampling Procedure, Data Collection Procedures and Data Analysis.

Research Design

The researcher employed descriptive techniques because the study intended to find out how the initiators and initiated women perceived and interpreted the effects of the Nkolola initiation ceremony on the women of Southern Province of Zambia. This approach was preferred because the study involved beliefs, attitudes and behaviours which are not easy to quantify. Further, it provided data to allow for in depth probe into the effects of Nkolola initiation ceremony on the initiated women.

Target Population

The study population consisted of elderly women who were normally involved as initiators of the Nkolola initiation ceremony. The second category was that of women that underwent Nkolola initiation ceremony.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

From the target population of initiated women and initiators, a sample of one hundred women altogether was involved in this study.
a) Initiated women: this included fifty women who had undergone the Nkolola initiation ceremony but were not actively involved in the initiation processes of the girls who had come of age.

b) The initiators: this category included fifty women who had undergone the Nkolola initiation ceremony and were actively involved in the initiation process of the girls that were coming of age.

The sample size of one hundred was arrived at through Purposive Sampling Method. This helped target the samples of initiated women and the initiators of the Nkolola initiation ceremony.

**Characteristics of the Respondents**

**Marital status**

The respondents were asked about their marital status and their responses are presented in Table 1 below.
Table 1: Marital status of the respondents

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 above shows that the majority (62%) of the initiated women were married while only 44% of the initiators were married. There were more divorce cases in the initiators category (14%) as compared to the initiated women who were just 2 (4%).

Level of Education

The researcher also wanted to find out the level of educational background of both categories (initiators and the initiated women). So the respondents were asked about their literacy levels and the results are presented in Table 2 below
Table 2: Educational Background of the Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower primary</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper primary</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior secondary</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 2 above, it can be seen that none of the initiators had attained a university education. Only 1 (2%) had attained college education out of the 50 initiators who were interviewed. On the other hand, 2 (4%) of the initiated women had attained university education. There were more women who had no education from the initiators (40%) as compared to 2% from the initiated women.

Religious Denomination of the Respondents

The respondents were also asked about their religious affiliation and their responses are presented in Table 3 below.
Table 3: Religious Denomination of the Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious denomination</th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th></th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic faith</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C.Z</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C.C</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.D.A</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No church</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 shows that only 1 (2%) of the respondents from the initiators category had no church where they used to go to.

**Occupation of the respondents**

The researcher also wanted to know the occupation of the respondents. The findings on the occupation of the respondents were then recorded in Table 4 below.
Table 4: Occupation of the respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 shows that more than three quarters 43 (86%) of the initiators were farmers. On the other hand, there was no occupation that was dominant from the category of the initiated women.

The percentage of initiators who were farmers was more than twice the percentage of the initiated women who were farmers. The percentage of the initiated women who were housewives was higher than that of the initiators who
were housewives. There were also more teachers from the initiated category than initiator's category.

**Data Collection Procedures**

Data were collected from the initiators and the initiated women. During data collection, interview schedules were used.

Data were collected in a period of four months, from May to August 2007. Two groups of respondents were interviewed—the initiators and the initiated. In the initial stage, the researcher asked for the company of an elderly woman who knew both initiators and initiated women. The researcher used to go with the elderly woman to their homes.

The interview schedule was preferred because it allowed respondents to express their views freely. This was appropriate for the study because most of the women especially elderly ones were illiterate. Most of them were of low education background. Therefore, a research assistant was engaged to help interpret the questions into Tonga, the local language. This method also helped to clarify questions in order to reduce ambiguity. It also provided an open discussion with the respondents. The face to face interview was conducted individually, in privacy and answers to the questions were recorded in writing there and then. This was preferred to the questionnaire so as to avoid the low return rate of questionnaires.
Data Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative research techniques were used in the data analysis. Qualitative data were analysed by themes, while quantitative data were analysed using Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS). This helped produce frequency tables showing percentages.

Problems Encountered while Collecting the Data

The interviews could not be carried out on the initiators and initiates who were in Nkolola initiation ceremony at the time of collecting the data. The reason that hindered this was that the initiators could not allow the researcher to go in the Nkolola where they were teaching the girls. For one to be allowed to enter that place she has to be one of the initiators. Therefore, the researcher was disqualified on those grounds.
CHAPTER FOUR
PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction
This chapter discusses the findings of the study. It first discusses the meaning of Nkolola and what is taught during the ceremony. It then presents the results according to themes which are based on the objectives of this study.

Respondents' definition of the Nkolola initiation ceremony
It was discovered that different respondents understood Nkolola initiation ceremony differently. To some, initiation ceremony was when a girl had her first menstruation. They said that initiation ceremony involved a girl changing from childhood to womanhood. There were however, other respondents who saw initiation ceremony as just a traditional ceremony conducted when a girl child reaches puberty stage.

There were respondents who said that initiation ceremony was the process of preparing a grown up girl for marriage. They said that during this ceremony, girls were taught how to take care of their husbands and the in-laws. Also the girls were taught how to take care of themselves especially during menstruation while some said that it was just a ceremony conducted when a girl child reached puberty stage. Some said that initiation ceremony was when a girl became matured and responsible of her body.
Teaching of traditional customs was also seen as initiation ceremony by other respondents. They argued that when elders teach the traditions of the tribe to young ones that constituted initiation ceremony. There was a group of respondents from both categories of initiators and the initiated women who said that initiation ceremony was when a girl was taught how to be a responsible person in the society and in her home. They argued that initiation ceremony should involve preparing a girl for responsibilities that come with adulthood.

Some respondents said that women's initiation ceremony was when a girl became of age. They argued that it is only after Nkolola initiation ceremony that a girl became a woman.

There were respondents who said that initiation ceremony was the ceremony conducted when the girl reached the age of 14 years. When a girl reached puberty stage, they conducted Nkolola initiation ceremony where a girl was taught how to be a real woman. Some said that initiation ceremony involved changing the young girl into a woman by teaching her marriage principles and old traditions that were only known by elderly women who were responsible for initiating the girls who had come of age.
Respondents' responses on what was taught during Nkolola initiation ceremony

In this study, one of the things was to find out the impact of Nkolola initiation ceremony on behaviour and cultural practices of Tonga women.

From the findings, one of the norms and values of the ceremony that the girls who went through the initiation ceremony were taught was to beat the traditional instruments which were used during the initiation ceremony. This lesson was meant to prepare the girls for future duties as initiators. The elderly women taught the beating of the traditional instruments to the girls who were initiated to make sure that Nkolola traditional ceremony was preserved. The initiated girls were also taught cultural values in marriage. They were taught how a woman was traditionally supposed to behave in her home when she got married. The girl was expected to be good to the husband and the in-laws, so initiated women were taught how to be submissive to their husbands and their in-laws. The initiated women were also taught how to manage their homes in terms of how to prepare some food stuffs and how to take care of their babies.

Welcoming visitors was another lesson that the initiated women went through. Since a woman was believed traditionally to be always at home, they were taught that it was their duty to receive visitors. So they were supposed to know how to receive visitors properly, especially visitors from the husband's side.
The initiated women were also taught how to respect their husbands, the elderly people and the importance of doing so. They were also taught how to dress. Traditionally, they believed that there were certain clothes that a woman was not supposed to wear. For example, a woman was not allowed to wear a pair of trousers, short dresses, short skirts or any cloth that exposed their thighs or breasts. Hygiene was also taught during the initiation ceremony. A woman being initiated was taught how to take care of the home in terms of cleanliness. For example, she was taught how to bath the babies and how to behave and what to wear during her menstruation.

Initiated women were also taught how to satisfy their husbands sexually. They were taught how to handle their future husbands during sexual intercourse. This was because a woman traditionally was supposed to perform certain acts in bed during sexual intercourse with the husband which they believed helped in satisfying their husbands.

Wearing of the beads called entertainers was another lesson which initiated women learnt during the initiation ceremony. Traditionally, women were supposed to wear beads around their waists. These were believed to help in arousing their husbands sexually. They were taught how to “warm” their bodies. This was because traditionally women were supposed to have a “warm” body to entice their husbands during sexual intercourse. The body of the initiated was “warmed” using some herbs. During the Nkolola initiation ceremony, the elder
women (initiators) prepared the body of the woman being initiated for sex. The respondents said that during the ceremony, there was lengthening of the private parts (labia elongation) so that they can now be involved in sexual relationships.

**Respondents' views on the difference between initiated and the non-initiated**

This study further wanted to establish whether there was a difference between the initiated women and those that were not initiated. The responses are shown in Table 5a below.

**Table 5a: Respondents' views on whether there was a difference between initiated women and those who were not initiated**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5a above shows that the majority (70%) of the initiators said that there was a difference between initiated women and those who were not initiated. More than three quarters (90%) of the respondents from the initiated women category felt that there was a difference between the women who were initiated and those who were not initiated.
Some of the differences which the respondents highlighted are recorded in Table 5b below.

**Table 5b: Respondents’ views on the differences between initiated and non initiated women**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference in behaviour</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband satisfaction</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress code</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurrence of divorces</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early marriages for the initiated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High respect for the initiated</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in prostitution after initiation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warming of the body</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No difference</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to why there was a difference between the initiated women and the women who were not initiated, the respondents gave a number of reasons.
Some (6% from the initiators and 8% from the initiated women) argued that since initiated women were taught how to behave towards others especially elderly people, they tended to portray a behaviour which was acceptable in the traditional society unlike the women who were not initiated.

The initiated women were also seen to have the ability to control their behaviour especially where getting involved in sexual relationships was concerned. Some respondents said that women who were not initiated were likely to fall prey to early pregnancies when they involved themselves in sexual relationships. These included 16% from the initiators and 8% from the initiated women. They argued that since these women were not taught how to know when they were near to have their ovulation, they were vulnerable to having unplanned pregnancies.

The respondents also saw the difference between the initiated women and those who were not initiated in terms of the respect society accorded them. The respondents (16% from the initiators and 14% from the initiated women categories) argued that since women who were not initiated were considered not to be fully grown into real (grown up) women, they were given lesser respect as compared to the respect which was given to the initiated women.

Some respondents also saw the difference between the initiated women and those who were not initiated in terms of their way of dressing. They argued that initiated women wore the clothes which were decent as compared to the women
who were not initiated. This included 12% of the respondents from the initiators and 10% from the initiated women. They argued that since initiated women were taught how to clothe their bodies, they never exposed their thighs or their breasts unlike the way the women who were not initiated. These were said to dress indecently, exposing their bodies. Women who were not initiated, according to the respondents, had a tendency of wearing short skirts which exposed their thighs and also some tops which left part or the entire of their breasts exposed.

The women who were not initiated were said to have the bodies which were not well prepared for marriage, unlike the initiated women. Only 2% of the respondents from the initiators category argued that Nkolola initiation ceremony prepared the bodies of women for marriage responsibilities. During the ceremony, the women who were being initiated had their bodies “warmed” up. This helped in the sexual satisfaction of their husbands during sexual intercourse. Women, who were not initiated, did not have their bodies “warmed” up so their bodies were considered to be cold and did not satisfy their husbands compared to the women who were initiated. The initiated women were said to wear the entertainers (beads) around their waists but those who were not initiated never used the entertainers. Entertainers were believed to have been used as one way of entertaining the husbands.
The initiated women were said to have their private parts prepared for intercourse with their future husbands while the private parts of the women who were not initiated were considered not prepared for this.

The women who were not initiated were said to have less knowledge about handling family issues. The respondents stated that women who were not initiated did not know how to receive visitors, especially the in-laws. This caused problems in the marriages of the women who were not initiated and consequently caused more divorce cases in the marriages of the women who were not initiated compared to the marriages of the initiated women.

Some of the respondents felt that the difference was that initiated women used to get married at an early age as compared to those who were not initiated. They argued that after Nkolola initiation ceremony, the girl became interested in experimenting what she was taught. As a result, this led to higher occurrences of early pregnancies among the initiated women than among the women who were not initiated.

Initiated women were also said to be vulnerable to prostitution. Some respondents argued that because of the great desire these initiated women had to experiment what they were taught during the ceremony, they ended up having more than one sexual partner which they said was not the case with the women who were not initiated.
On the other hand, there were few respondents who felt that there was no difference between the women who were initiated and those who were not initiated. They argued that variations or differences in behaviour was as a result of the individual's different backgrounds. They further argued that initiation ceremony had no bearing on someone's sexual performance or the way a woman received visitors. They said that there were women who were not initiated but received visitors very well compared to the women who were initiated.

**Reasons for being initiated**

The study tried to find out if the respondents had any specific reasons as to why they decided to undergo the Nkolola initiation ceremony. Their responses are shown in Table 6 below.
Table 6: Respondents' responses as to why they went through the initiation ceremony.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society awareness</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare for marriage</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is tradition</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Create strong society</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reason</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn morals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn adult duties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To grow up</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two percent (2%) of the respondents from the initiators' category and 6% of the respondents from the initiated women's category felt that they went through the Nkolola initiation ceremony because of the knowledge they were going to get from the ceremony concerning the duties they were supposed to be doing as adults in the society. They stated that some values learnt from the ceremony were important to someone’s life so it was necessary to learn them.

Some felt the main reason they went through the Nkolola initiation ceremony was because they wanted to be prepared for marriage. These comprised 54% of the
respondents from the initiators' category and 50% of the respondents from the initiated women's category. They said that it was important for a woman to be initiated before she went into marriage because during initiation ceremony, women were taught how to endure in marriage and how to behave in order to sustain their marriages. They also said that initiation helped them in knowing how to make their husbands happy so it was necessary for a woman to go through it.

From the initiators' category, 4% said that they got initiated because of the traditions and only 2% of the respondents from the initiated women's category said that they got initiated because it was their tradition. Traditionally they said, a Tonga woman was supposed to go through the Nkolola initiation ceremony for her to be recognized as a fully grown woman.

There were also some respondents who said that they got initiated because they wanted to be taught good morals. These consisted of 14% of the respondents from the initiators' category and 18% from the initiated women's category. They argued that during the Nkolola initiation ceremony, a woman was taught some good morals which were beneficial to her and the community as a whole.

From the initiators, 2% of the respondents felt they went for Nkolola initiation ceremony to show to society that they were now fully grown women, while 6% of the respondents from the initiated women category also felt the same. Since for a woman to be considered fully grown, she was supposed to undergo the Nkolola
initiation ceremony, others felt they were also supposed to go through the Nkolola initiation ceremony in order for society to be aware that they were now fully grown up women.

Knowing how to take care of a home was one of the reasons which some respondents gave. They argued that since during the Nkolola ceremony, a woman was taught how to take care of a home and knowing that at one point in their lives they were going to manage homes, they perceived the ceremony to be important for them to go through it. Those who felt that they went for Nkolola initiation ceremony because it helped to make society strong comprised 5% of the respondents from the initiators' category and 6% of the respondents from the initiated women's category. They argued that since the ceremony taught women how to behave traditionally, the ceremony helped to uphold some important traditional values which played an important role in preserving the traditional society.

Respondents' views on whether the values learnt were important to the community

The respondents were asked whether the values learnt during the initiation ceremony were important to the community. Their responses are recorded in Table 7 below.
Table 7: Respondents’ responses on whether or not values learnt are important to the community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the findings in Table 7 above, it is clear that all the initiators or trainers saw the values learnt during Nkolola initiation ceremony to be important to the community. More than three quarters of the respondents from the initiated women category said that the ceremony was important to the community. Only 1 (2%) of the initiated women said that the ceremony was not important to the community.

Respondents’ views on whether the values learnt were important to someone’s life

After finding out what the respondents felt on whether the values learnt from Nkolola ceremony were important to the community, the researcher further asked the respondents whether the values learnt were important to someone’s life. The responses are shown in Table 8 below.
Table 8: Respondents’ responses on whether values learnt are important to someone’s life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the respondents from both categories saw the Nkolola initiation ceremony to be important to someone’s life.

**Respondents’ views on when a woman becomes a real woman**

The researcher wanted to find out at what stage the respondents thought was the stage when a woman became the real (grown up) woman. The findings are then recorded in Table 9 below.
Table 9: Respondents' responses on when a woman becomes a real woman

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After initiation in Nkolola</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After attaining a certain age</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When she has a child</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When she is married</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 9 above, more than three quarters (94%) of initiators and 78% of initiated women felt a woman became a real woman only after she had gone through the Nkolola initiation ceremony. Without this, a woman, regardless of the age, was considered to be not fully grown up. Only a small proportion (6%) of the initiators indicated that a woman became a real woman after a certain age.

Respondents’ views on how society perceives them as initiators and initiated women

The researcher also wanted to know what the initiated women and the initiators thought the society perceived them. The respondents gave various views.
Having gone through the Nkolola initiation ceremony, some respondents felt that society perceived them as women who had been taught good morals. This was because in traditional set up of the Tonga people a woman who had gone through the Nkolola initiation ceremony was expected to have a unique behaviour which differentiated her from those who were not initiated. Those who were not initiated were considered to be women who were not taught good morals.

Other respondents felt the society perceived them as real women who were able to run a home and satisfy their husbands. They argued that during the Nkolola ceremony, they were taught how to manage a home and even take care of their husbands’ needs. They also said that since the initiators taught them how to satisfy their husbands, men in society perceived them as a ‘must have’ thing because of the training they received during the initiation ceremony. They argued that since they were initiated, men were very much attracted to them than to women who were not initiated. They also said that since they were initiated, they were considered as wives (for those married) who respected their husbands.

On the other hand, there were some respondents who said that society perceived them as ordinary persons who were not different from those who were not initiated. They said that they never felt any effect of being initiated and before initiation.
Married respondents were further asked how their husbands felt about their status as initiated women. Some of them said that their husbands were happy because of the preparation their wives went through during the Nkolola initiation ceremony.

**Respondents' views on behavioural change after initiation**

The researcher wanted to know whether the initiators and the initiated women thought the ceremony changed the behaviour of those that went through it. The responses are shown in Table 10 below.

**Table 10: Respondents' responses on whether the ceremony changed their behaviour**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the findings in Table 10 above, the majority 34 (68%) of the respondents from the category of the initiators said that Nkolola initiation ceremony changed the behaviour of the women that went through the initiation ceremony. On the other hand, more than three quarters 44 (88%) of the initiated women
respondents felt that Nkolola initiation ceremony changed the behaviour of the women that went through the initiation ceremony.

The researcher further wanted the respondents who said that there were changes in the behaviour of those who went through the Nkolola initiation ceremony to give illustration of those changes by means of examples.

Behavioural change in marriage was one of the examples which the respondents gave. They said that some women who first went into marriage before initiation ceremony were finding difficulties in their marriages because they were arrogant towards their husbands. Some respondents said that before going through the initiation ceremony, usually girls did not know how to greet elderly people in a traditional way but after they went through the Nkolola initiation ceremony, they became experts where traditional greetings were concerned.

The other change in behaviour which the respondents felt occurred when a woman went through the Nkolola initiation ceremony was in line with the ability to solve their problems. Respondents said women who never went through Nkolola initiation ceremony had difficulties in solving their problems or quarrels amicably, instead they resorted to violence.

The way women treated their husbands where sex life was concerned was another change which the respondents highlighted. The respondents said that
women, who did not go through Nkolola initiation ceremony, did not know the importance of satisfying their husbands sexually.

But some of the respondents said that Nkolola initiation ceremony had an adverse impact on the young women's behaviour. They argued that since during the initiation ceremony women were taught how to handle men during sexual intercourse, these young women started engaging themselves in sexual relationships. This led them into early marriages, becoming prostitutes or getting early pregnancies.

In addition to the objectives we have discussed, the researcher wanted to know whether the Nkolola initiation ceremony should continue.

**Respondents’ views on whether to continue with the Nkolola initiation ceremony**

The researcher wanted to know what the respondents thought on whether to continue teaching the values taught in the Nkolola initiation ceremony to those who had come of age. The responses are shown in Table 11 below.
Table 11: Respondents’ responses on whether to continue teaching the values or not

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the findings in Table 11, more than three quarters 44 (88%) of the trainer respondents and 70% of the initiated women respondents said that values which were taught in Nkolola initiation ceremony should not continue being taught to those that became of age.

The researcher further wanted to know the reasons which the respondents had on why they thought the values taught in the Nkolola initiation ceremony should or should not be taught to those girls that became of age.

The respondents who argued that the values taught during the Nkolola initiation ceremony should continue being taught to those who became of age gave the following reasons:

- Some of the respondents said that the values helped women to be responsible members of the community since they were taught how to
behave properly. They also argued that values taught gave women the knowledge on how to behave when they got married. They said this helped to prevent divorces since the divorces were perceived as being caused by lack of knowledge by women on how to behave in marriage.

- Further, the respondents said that the values helped to preserve traditional societies. They argued that since the values were being passed on to the young women, there was guarantee that the traditions were being preserved. Values were also seen to be up holding good behaviour in the society.

- Values were seen to help in preventing men from cheating on their wives, since the values learnt helped the women to know how to treat their husbands. Values were also seen to help women to relate with other women. In so doing they argued, the society was being strengthened.

Those who said that the values that were taught in the Nkolola initiation ceremony should not be taught to those girls who became of age gave the following reasons:

- Values learnt from Nkolola initiation ceremony were said to have bad influence on the girls that were being initiated. The respondents argued that since the values were only concentrated on how women should treat
their husbands in marriage and how to satisfy their husbands sexually, this led to young girls wanting to experiment, resulting into early marriages and more girls dropping out of school. In line with this reason, some respondents said that the values encouraged prostitution since young girls wanted to experiment what they were being taught.

- Some said that the values were not necessary since when a girl became of age, they were big enough to take care of themselves so there was no need to be taught. Others said that some values taught were contradicting with the bible.

- Some respondents said that these values should only be taught to a girl after she completed school because the exclusion of the girl had an adverse effect on their school attendance. Some respondents said that there was need to postpone the teaching of marriage related issues until the woman was big enough to get married.

- Introducing of bible principles was also highlighted by the respondents that they would help in removing the values which were not good.
Respondents' views on who should be involved in modification of the curriculum

The researcher also wanted to find out from the respondents who should be involved in modification of the curriculum. Their responses are recorded in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Respondents' responses on who should be actively involved in modification of the curriculum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initiators/trainers</th>
<th>Initiated women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiators</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person being initiated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the findings in Table 12 above, it is clear that more than three quarters 39 (78%) of the initiators and 64% of the initiated respondents said that the initiators were the ones who were supposed to actively be involved in the modification of the curriculum. The majority 32 (64%) of the respondents from the category of the initiated women said that the initiators were the ones who were supposed to get actively involved in the modification of the curriculum.
Recommendations from the respondents

The researcher asked the respondents to give the recommendations on how to improve or modify the Nkolola initiation ceremony. The recommendations they gave included the following:

a) Adjusting on the values that were in contrast with the bible principles.

b) Girls were supposed to be encouraged to undergo the Nkolola initiation ceremony.

c) There was a fraction of respondents that said that the ceremony should be stopped.

d) Some respondents said that the churches were supposed to play a major role in teaching young girls who have come of age.

e) Some respondents said that government should get involved especially in modifying what is taught in Nkolola initiation ceremony.
CHAPTER FIVE
DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction
This chapter discusses the findings of the study, gives the summary, recommendations and the conclusion of the study on the effects of the Nkolola initiation ceremony on the women of Southern Province.

Discussion
Initiation is a rite of passage ceremony marking entrance or acceptance into a group or society. It could also be a formal admission to adulthood in a community. In an extended sense it can also signify a transformation in which the initiate is 'reborn' into a new role. Examples of initiation ceremonies might include Christian baptism or confirmation, Jewish bar or bat mitzvah, acceptance into a fraternal organization, secret society or religious order, or graduation from school or recruit training (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Initiation 2006).

In Zambia, most ethnic groups practice initiation rites for girls. In this study, the concern was with the effects of Nkolola initiation ceremony on the women of Monze District in the Southern Province of Zambia. Nkolola is girls' initiation rite which involves confinement of a girl for a period ranging from three months to six months, even one year in some cases. This is practiced among the Tonga in Southern Province.
The objectives of the study were:-

a) To find out the impact of Nkolola initiation ceremony on behaviour and cultural practices of Tonga women.

b) To find out what women who have been through the Nkolola initiation ceremony think are its benefits to the married and unmarried women.

The Nkolola ceremony is of great importance to the behaviour and cultural practices of the Tonga women. It is also significant to both married and unmarried women’s life. Findings in Table 10 show that women thought that the initiation ceremony influenced change in behaviour of those that went through it. Out of the 50 respondents from the category of the initiators, 34 (68%) said that the Nkolola ceremony had influence on the change in behaviour of the women who went through initiation. Respondents from the initiated women category who said that the ceremony had a significant impact on the change and cultural practices of the Tonga women were 44 (88%).

In the theory, one of the aspects discussed is that socialization is used by sociologists, social psychologists and educationalists to refer to the process of learning one’s culture and how to live within it just as in the discussion of the findings, one of the positive effects that Nkolola had on women was that it encouraged unity in the society. The theory states that socialization provides the resources necessary for acting and participating within the society for the individual while in the discussion of the findings from table 9, 10% of the respondents from the initiators’ category and 6% of the respondents from the
initiated women's category said that since women were taught how to behave well in society, it reduced violence or quarrelling among the members of the society. In the theory, it is indicated that for the society, inducting all individual members into its moral norms, attitudes, values, motives, social roles, language and symbols is the 'means by which social and cultural continuity are attained' (Clausen 1968:5) while the respondents also felt that because of the good morals that the girls were taught during the Nkolola initiation ceremony, they were able to see what was good and bad. This helped them to avoid bad behaviour which consequently helped in building a strong and united society. It also brought unity among women because during the initiation ceremony, women came together to teach values to the novice and this led to solidarity among women.

One of the positive effects that Nkolola had on women was that it encouraged unity in the society. From Table 9, ten percent (10%) of the respondents from the initiators' category and 6% of the respondents from the initiated women's category said that since women were taught how to behave well in society, it reduced violence or quarrelling among the members of the society. All women behaved themselves and treated other people with respect. These respondents also felt that because of the good morals that the girls were taught during the Nkolola initiation ceremony, they were able to see what was good and bad. This helped them to avoid bad behaviour which consequently helped in building a strong and united society. The Nkolola initiation ceremony also brought unity among women because during the initiation ceremony, women came together to
teach values to the novice and this led to solidarity among women. This interaction also built the sense of belonging in these women.

This is in line with the study of Stardate’s (2003) which emphasized that rites promoted group cohesiveness at the expense of individualism. He stressed that the individuals ended up becoming loyal to the initiation groups and remained loyal for rest of their lives. He further stressed that if they had some sort of agenda, they were more likely to adopt it as their own and maintained and promoted the group and helped it to achieve its goals. From this finding and the study of Stardate’s (2003), it can be concluded that the Nkolola initiation ceremony had a positive effect in terms of uniting women.

The other positive effect that the Nkolola initiation ceremony had on the women was hygiene. During the initiation ceremony, the women were taught how to take care of their homes. The findings showed that women also were taught how to take care of themselves during their menstruation. This helped them to take extra care and also helped them to know what to use during their menstruation. This finding also collaborated with the study conducted by Murphee (1969) who stipulated that initiation is marked by observance of a number of taboos associated with the initial menstruation. Such taboos were there to teach the girl hygiene practices associated with menstruation.

Further Nkolola initiation ceremony taught the women issues of reproductive health. Women were taught how to take care of themselves during their
pregnancies and how to avoid getting unplanned pregnancies. This helped the women to know how to remain healthy during their pregnancies and even how to maintain the number of children of their choice. This was supported by Raising (2001) who, in her study, dwelt on issues of reproductive health. In her studies, she came up with the conclusion that during initiation ceremony, women were taught issues on reproductive health. For instance, certain foods which were believed to affect fertility were prohibited.

The findings also show that another effect that the initiation ceremony had on women was that initiated women tended to be good to the relatives and even strangers since the Nkolola initiation ceremony taught them how to extend hospitality to the relatives and strangers. This finding was supported by a study which was conducted by Ocholla-Ayayo (1976) which argued that among the other things that the girls learnt at the initiation ceremony, was the importance of being hospitable and generous to relatives and even strangers. The initiation ceremony also taught them virtues like avoiding telling lies, abstaining from theft and aggressiveness. From this finding, it can be said that Nkolola initiation ceremony plays an important part in strengthening and maintaining the ties in the society between relatives and other society members.

The findings also showed that the Nkolola initiation ceremony had, to some extent, economic benefits. Since women were taught how to run a home and how to prepare traditional foods which are usually cheap, they became more
effective in running their homes. The lessons women had during the initiation ceremony, helped them to run their homes cheaply. This is because the traditional foods which they were taught how to cook could be accessed cheaply and some times at no cost as they were planted in their own fields. Women were also taught craft work which can be used to raise money when put to good use especially now when the tourism industry is booming. This was in line with Snelson (1970) who brought out the economic benefits of the initiation ceremony to the initiated and as well as to the society. The study showed that a novice was taught how to make household utensils and equipment. These were the ones that they used in the homes when they were married. Women in traditional society were hardworking and mainly stayed in their homes doing house chores.

Endurance in life was another thing which women learnt during the Initiation ceremony. They were taught that a man expects a woman to cultivate. On the other hand, a man was also expected to marry many wives. This helped them to endure even in times of troubles.

Other respondents saw the difference in the way initiated women took care of their husbands. From Table 5b, 15% of the respondents from the initiators and 36% respondents from the initiated women category argued that since initiated women were taught how to take care of their husbands, they were more likely to take care of their husbands properly compared to the women who were not
initiated. Initiated women were also said to keep the marital secrets better than the women who were not initiated.

Since the girls were taught to respect their husbands, this put them in the position where they were not able to challenge their husbands even if their husbands were wrong. From the findings in Table 5b, 8% of the respondents from the initiators category said that during the Nkolola initiation ceremony, they were taught how to satisfy their husbands during sexual intercourse. Ten percent of the respondents from the category of initiated women said that during the ceremony, they were taught to satisfy their husbands.

The ceremony was also seen to be helping changing behavioural patterns of those girls who were promiscuous before the initiation ceremony. For example, in Table 5b, 16% of the respondents from the initiated women’s category said that the girls were taught not to have sex before marriage. Only 10% of the respondents from the initiators category felt the same. This could have a significant impact especially in the fight against HIV/AIDS. The lessons on dressing during the Nkolola initiation ceremony also helped women to dress decently. This can have a significant impact on the fight to reduce rape and defilement cases.

The other significant impact the ceremony has is that it helps to reduce the prevalence of divorces in the society. Since women are taught how to handle
their husbands well, this helped to reduce friction in marriage consequently reducing the number of divorces. In Table 5b, 24% of the respondents from initiators’ category and 16% from the initiated women’s category said that there were less divorces among marriages of the women who were initiated as compared to women who were not initiated. This shows that the ceremony successfully helps to reduce the divorce rates in the society.

From the findings in Table 7, respondents from both the initiated and initiators’ category had wrong perception on when a woman became a real woman. This is clear because more than three quarters (94%) of the respondents from the initiators’ category said that a woman became a real woman only after initiation while 78% of the respondents from the initiated women category also said that a woman became a real woman only after initiation ceremony. Only 6% and 18% from the initiators’ and initiated women respectively said that a woman became a real woman after attaining a certain age and 2% of the respondents from the initiated women category said that a woman became a real woman only after she was married. From these findings, it can be said that Nkolola initiation ceremony has an impact on women’s perceptions on when a woman becomes a grown up (real woman).

Initiated women are very vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases. This is because they are taught to obey their husbands and satisfy them sexually. Initiated women are not allowed to ask their husbands on any behaviour for this
is considered to be mistrust and disrespect to their husbands. This makes them fail to negotiate for safe sex as they are only interested to please the husbands. This finding is also in line with the findings of the research carried out by Mbozi (1996) on HIV/AIDS which raised concern about the values inculcated into a woman with regard to sex and sexuality during initiation ceremony. The values learnt perpetuate submission of women to man and sexual satisfaction partly account for disempowerment of women.

The other negative effect is that after the girls have gone through the initiation ceremony, they go into early marriages. This has a negative impact on the level of education of these women. After the ceremony where they are taught how to handle men in bed, all they are interested in is marriage or simply having sex with men so that they can practice the skills learnt. This is evident in table one which shows that the majority 32 (62%) of the initiated women were married. Some of these who were married were of the ages below 25 years and had no or low levels of education.
Summary of the Findings

From data analysis, it was concluded that Nkolola initiation ceremony changed the behaviour of those who went through it. Change in behaviour however, was seen to be positive by respondents.

The findings also revealed that the women who were initiated were considered to be more prepared for marriage than those who were not initiated. The argument for this was that since women who were initiated were taught how to run their homes and how to satisfy their husbands during sexual intercourse, their husbands were satisfied with their wives. In line with this finding the research revealed that initiated women were said to have more respect towards their husbands than the women who were not initiated.

Further, the findings revealed that initiated women and the initiators thought that the Nkolola initiation ceremony helped to reduce divorces in the society. There were fewer problems in the marriages of the initiated women due to the teachings they had received.

The findings also revealed that the women who were not initiated were considered to be not fully grown into a woman. This was because they were thought to have missed the teachings which were cardinal for some to turn into a real woman. The women who were not initiated were also seen to have “cold”
bodies and since they did not have entertainers in their waists, they were not able to satisfy their husbands sexually.

The research findings show that the Nkolola initiation ceremony taught women about hygiene, especially concerning menstruation period. This was meant to help women to have knowledge about how to handle themselves during their menstruation periods.

On the other hand, the research findings revealed some negative effects of the Nkolola initiation ceremony. One of them was that it encourages early marriages. The argument was that since young girls are taught how to handle their future husbands during sexual intercourse, after coming from the initiation, some of the girls want to experiment what they learnt during initiation. Because of this they end up having pregnancies and went into early marriages. Because of this zeal to experiment, some of them even turn into prostitutes.

**Conclusion**

From the research findings, it can be concluded that though the Nkolola initiation ceremony has some positive effects on the women's behaviour, it also has negative effects. If the Nkolola ceremony is well conducted and eliminate the values that perpetuate the oppression of women by men, it can be a powerful
tool of bringing about unity in the society. Nkolola initiation ceremony can be used to unite women and can also be used to teach hygiene among women. Socialization theory points out that personality traits and other personal characteristics influence negative outcomes, such as deviance or drug use, only to the extent that they interfere with socialization, as Nkolola initiation ceremony also has negative effects like values that perpetuate the oppression of women by men which can interfere with socialization as concluded from the research findings.

If teaching of marriage related issues to a girl being initiated should be postponed until she is fully grown up for her to go into marriage, it can be a very good idea. This can reduce on the incidences of early marriage and pregnancies that are as a result of these girls' desire to experiment what they learn in Nkolola initiation ceremony.

Initiating girls during learning days is not a good idea. This is because initiation ceremony affects the girls' school attendance since they are quarantined for some time. This can have an adverse impact on their performance at school. Also lesson on HIV/AIDS should be included in the curriculum of the Nkolola initiation ceremony. This can help them to know how to behave when they graduate from the initiation ceremony.
Only good values should continue being taught. Values considered to be immoral should be discarded and eliminated completely from what is taught in Nkolola initiation ceremony. Big girls of about twenty (20) years and above should be initiated.

In the research findings, the respondents said that Nkolola initiation ceremony helps to preserve the traditions, teaches hygiene and how to monitor pregnancies.

The study revealed that Nkolola initiation ceremony helps women to have the ability to control their behaviour. This is a serious revelation, as this means that there is need to improve especially where getting involved in sexual relationships is concerned.

The findings also generally indicated that Nkolola initiation ceremony changes women's behaviour because it makes them know when they are near to have their ovulation.

**Recommendations**

The researcher recommends the following based on the research findings:

a) Since Nkolola initiation ceremony helps to preserve the traditions and because of its positive values especially that hygiene and health
reproduction are observed, it is recommended that it continues. This can help women to have a healthy life even during their pregnancies.

b) There is need to initiate women because Nkolola initiation ceremony helps women to have the ability to control their behaviour especially where getting involved in sexual relationships is concerned.

c) Nkolola initiation ceremony changes women's behaviour for it makes them know when they are near to have their ovulation. They also tend to behave maturely, responsibly and become well disciplined. If they happen to get married, they make good and submissive wives.

Suggestions for further studies

a) However, since this study was restricted to Monze District only, there is still room to carry out the same study in other Districts of the Southern Province where Nkolola initiation ceremony is practiced. This can help to test the validity of this study and other research findings on the initiation ceremonies.

b) A study to find out men's perspective about the impact of Nkolola initiation rite would be in order. This could be carried out among men who have married initiated women. This would give us another perspective on the Nkolola initiation rite.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE INITIATORS/TRAINERS

RESEARCH TOPIC: THE EFFECTS OF NKOLOLA INITIATION CEREMONY ON WOMEN IN SOUTHERN PROVINCE: A CASE STUDY OF MONZE DISTRICT, Zambia

(For the initiators/trainers).

1. How old are you? [ ]

2. What is your marital status?
   (a) Single [ ]
   (b) Married [ ]
   (c) Widowed [ ]
   (d) Separated [ ]
   (e) Divorced [ ]

3. Level of education
   (a) Not been to school [ ]
   (b) Lower primary: Grade 1-4 [ ]
   (c) Upper primary: Grade 5-7 [ ]
   (d) Junior secondary: Grade 8-9 or Form 1 – 2 or Form 1-3 [ ]
   (e) Senior secondary [ ]
   (f) College [ ]
   (g) University [ ]
4. What is your religious denomination?

5. What is your occupation?

6. What do you understand by the term initiation ceremony?

7. What do you teach in Nkolola initiation ceremony?

8. Do you think the values taught during the ceremony are of any relevance to the community and to someone's life?  
   Yes [ ] No [ ]

9. Do you think the values taught during the Nkolola initiation ceremony are of any relevance to someone's life?  
   Yes [ ] No [ ]

10. When do you think a woman becomes a real (grown up) woman?
    a. After she has been in Nkolola initiation ceremony [ ]
    b. After attaining a certain age [ ]
    c. When she has a child [ ]
    d. When she is married [ ]

11. Do you see any difference in behaviour between those who are initiated and those who are not? [ ]
12. If yes, what is the difference in behaviour?

13. Why do women get initiated?

14. As initiators/trainers, how do you perceive those who are not initiated?

15. (For married women) what is your husband’s view towards your status?

16. Do you think Nkolola initiation ceremony changes the behaviour of those that go through it? Yes [ ] No [ ]

17. If yes, illustrate by means of examples.
18. Should all values taught in Nkolola initiation ceremony continue being taught to those who become of age? Yes [ ] No [ ]

Give reasons for your answer.

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........................................................................................................................................

19. If no, what modifications would you suggest are made to the curriculum?

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........................................................................................................................................

........................................................................................................................................

20. Who should be actively involved in the modification of the curriculum?

   a. Government [ ]
   b. Initiators/trainers [ ]
   c. Novice/person being initiated [ ]
   d. Community [ ]

21. What comments, questions or recommendations do you have to make?

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........................................................................................................................................

End of interview

Thank you for your cooperation.
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE INITIATED WOMEN

RESEARCH TOPIC:  THE EFFECTS OF NKOLOLA INITIATION CEREMONY ON WOMEN IN SOUTHERN PROVINCE: A CASE STUDY OF MONZE DISTRICT, ZAMBIA

Interview Schedule

(For the initiated women).

1. How old are you? [   ]

2. What is your marital status?
   (f) Single [   ]
   (g) Married [   ]
   (h) Widowed [   ]
   (i) Separated [   ]
   (j) Divorced [   ]

3. Level of education
   (a) Not been to school [   ]
   (b) Lower primary: Grade 1-4 [   ]
   (c) Upper primary: Grade 5-7 [   ]
   (d) Junior secondary: Grade 8-9 or Form 1-2 or Form 1-3 [   ]
   (e) Senior secondary [   ]
   (f) College [   ]
   (g) University [   ]
4. What is your religious denomination?

5. What is your occupation?

6. What do you understand by the term initiation ceremony?

7. What is taught in the Nkolola initiation ceremony?

8. Do you think the values taught during the ceremony are of any relevance to the community?  
   Yes [ ]  No [ ]

9. Do you think the values taught during the ceremony are of any relevance to someone’s life?  
   Yes [ ]  No [ ]

10. When do you think a woman becomes a real (grown up) woman?  
    a. After she has been in Nkolola initiation ceremony  
       [ ]
    b. After attaining a certain age  
       [ ]
    c. When she has a child  
       [ ]
    d. When she is married  
       [ ]

11. Do you see any difference in behaviour between you who are initiated and those who are not?  
    [ ]

12. If yes, what is the difference in behaviour?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

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13. Do you have any specific reasons as to why you were initiated?

14. That you are initiated how does society perceive you in comparison to the non initiated?

15. (For married women) what is your husband’s view towards your status?

16. Do you think Nkolola initiation ceremony changes the behaviour of those that go through it? Yes [ ] No [ ]

17. If yes, illustrate by means of examples.

18. Should all values taught in Nkolola initiation ceremony continue being taught to those who become of age? Yes [ ] No [ ]

Give reasons to your answer.
19. If no, what modifications would you suggest are made to the curriculum?

20. Who should be actively involved in the modification of the curriculum?
   a. Government [ ]
   b. Initiators/trainers [ ]
   c. Novice/person being initiated [ ]
   d. Community [ ]

21. What comments, questions or recommendations do you have to make?

End of interview

Thank you for your cooperation.
I have come to talk about initiation ceremony.

Are you willing to tell me whether or not you have gone through this ceremony?

Are you clear on what this research is trying to accomplish?

I give my concert to fill in this form.

Signature: ........................................