

**DECLINE AND CHANGE IN THE MILAKA AND SIKENGE
INSTITUTIONS OF THE LOZI : 1886 - 1975**

BY

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To my mother, Nalishebo, for sacrificing so much for my education; my wife Mary, for her love; and to the memory of my beloved father, Mundumuko, who never lived to see me mature into a man he had always wanted me to be.

DECLARATION

I, SINVULA MUNDUMUKO, hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own research work, and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other University.

Signed:

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of **SINVULA MUNDUMUKO** is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History by the University of Zambia. **SINVULA**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines how and why the indigenous educational institution of milaka died out and that of sikenge changed in the period 1886-1975. In pre-colonial Bulozii, the institutions of milaka for boys and sikenge for girls were important in transmitting Lozi norms and values and in preparing boys and girls for their social and economic roles as adults in the Lozi society. In the twentieth century, however, the institution of milaka died out and the sikenge institution underwent change.

In examining the dying out of milaka and the change in sikenge, the dissertation focuses on changes that were taking place both within and outside Bulozii. In chapter one, we discuss the evolution and functions of milaka and sikenge institutions in the pre-colonial period. The evolution of the two institutions was closely related to the social and economic activities of the Lozi. We examine the influence of the Bulozii flood plain, the arrival of the Mbunda, the Kololo and the Ila slaves on the development of the milaka institution. We also discuss the influence of the Mbunda and the Kololo on the development of sikenge. In chapter two, we discuss the dying out of milaka education and the change in sikenge. In particular, we discuss the impact of cattle trade, cattle diseases, the introduction of the Christian faith, the western school system and wage labour on milaka. A combination of these factors led to the abandonment of milaka education by both the milaka instructors and the initiates. In sikenge, the introduction of the Christian faith led to the abandonment of some of the taboos and

other sikenge practices that were not in line with Christian life. The influence of the western school system, urbanization and the trade in western domestic wares brought about the abandonment of some of the skills taught in sikenge. The period of sikenge was adjusted in order to suit the school calendar. As a result of the Christian influence and urbanization, three versions of sikenge had emerged by the end of colonial rule. These were the village, the Christian and the urban versions of sikenge.

In chapter three, we have shown the role of accelerated social and economic change in the post independence period in bringing about further change in sikenge. Though sikenge was still commonly practiced by 1975, it had lost most of its functions. It was, however, still practiced because of the continued importance of female labour in the domestic economy. Sikenge also survived because of the support it received from the Lozi male population, elders and parents who continued to see its importance in producing a woman who was acceptable to both the husband and the Lozi society at large. Its position, however, was threatened by a few educated women who saw it as perpetuating the oppression of women by men and by the initiates who no longer saw the need for preparing for married life at a time when one was not ready for such a life.

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associated with such a task.

I would also like to express my sincere thanks to all my informants for sharing their knowledge and experiences with me despite my age and sex. I would, however, like to urge my female informants and all the womenfolk to be more open to future researchers into institutions such as the sikenge. Our culture can only be preserved if it is well researched into. It can no longer be preserved by the secrecy of the closed societies.

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I would like to conclude my acknowledgements by stating that none of the people or organisations mentioned above shoulders the blame for any errors or omissions in this dissertation. I, alone, take the blame.

GLOSSARY OF SOME OF THE SILOZI WORDS USED IN THE TEXT

- Iiya - Beverage made of sour milk and mealie meal
- Imutongo - Chief herdsman
- Induna - Territorial, court or council advisor
- Kabanga - Ceremonial axe
- Kanalubeso - Ceremonial hoe
- Kashambeli - A young girl who watches over the pubescent girl
- Kafunda - The practice through which the Lozi acquired cattle from a relative's herd in the presence of a witness and in day light.
- Kulumisa - To make one bite food in a ritualistic manner.
- Kuta - Public court or council
- Likeyenge - A name choosing dance performed by the pubescent girl at the coming out ceremony.
- Lilalo - Territorial divisions or sub districts (Singular - Silalo).
- Litunga - Lozi paramount chief
- Lobola - Dowry
- Makolo - Kinship, labour and patronage groups used for labour or War purposes.
- Misisi - Lozi women's ceremonial dress
- Mukanda - Pubescent girl
- Nalikwandangile - A play performed by the pubescent girl and an elderly woman during which the girl is made to follow the elderly woman at the coming out ceremony.
- Nasando - Official messenger from the chief sent to recruit children of school going age for school.
- Nsima - Staple food in form of a thick porridge. Also known as buhobe.
- Pala - Herdboy's flute like musical instrument used in driving cattle.

- Patelo - A wide opening at the centre of the village.
- Siyeke - A private enclosure built for the pubescent girl for training purposes. It is also used to refer to the training on the eve of the coming out.
- Tukenge - Neck straps worn by pubescent girls (singular - Kakenge).

ABBREVIATIONS

- A.M.E.C. - African Methodist Episcopal Church.
- B.N.S. - Barotse National School
- B.S.A. - British South African Company.
- Y.M.C.A. - Young Men's Christian Association.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Initiation was practised by the Lozi in the period before 1900. In this dissertation, the term Lozi is used to refer to the Luyi who inhabited the Lozi flood plain. We also refer to initiation as the process of learning that was taking place in indigenous learning institutions. Initiation was important in the inculcating and consolidating of beliefs, values, ideas, knowledge and skills. Boys were initiated through the institution of milaka and girls through sikenge. Through the milaka institution, boys acquired knowledge, skills and character expected of Lozi men.¹ They also acquired knowledge about the use of medicine for curing both human and cattle diseases. After milaka education one entered adulthood. Milaka education took place whilst boys were looking after cattle. It started at the age of about 8 years and continued until about the age of 20, when one attained marriageable age. The period of milaka was punctuated by short visits to the villages to fetch food from parents or to be attended to in case of serious illnesses.

Sikenge was a period of seclusion for Lozi girls during which a girl received 'instruction in all the things she had learnt previously [from her family] and was introduced to new facts relating to womanhood, as a final preparation for her entry into adult life.'² Practical aspects of sikenge included basket, mat and pot - making. It was also a period during which girls were taught to be 'hardworking, obedient, courteous, humble, soft spoken They [girls] had to learn to keep secret all their marriage problems They were to be submissive to their husbands and men in general.'³ The duration of sikenge depended on how quickly the Mwalyanjo mastered her lessons.⁴ The normal duration was about 6 months.

In the twentieth century, however, male initiation died out and female initiation underwent change. The purpose of this study is to examine the functions of milaka and sikenge and to explain why and how milaka died out and sikenge changed.

Literature in English on the two institutions under study has mainly been written by travellers, anthropologists, missionaries and educationists.⁵ These works have tended

to be descriptive and have not been concerned with change. They have assumed a static position on the institutions. They, however, remain useful in that they give us some insight into how initiation was done. Historians have not written much on the subject of initiation. They have only commented on the subject in passing, mainly because historians are usually concerned with political and economic themes.⁶ In all this literature, milaka has received less attention than sikenge. This is because milaka, unlike sikenge, was less structured and lasted for many years. In the study of male 'traditional' education in African societies, more emphasis has been put on those institutions which had circumcision as part of the rites marking the change of status into adulthood. Circumcision and religious ritual that characterised the period of seclusion in such institutions as the mukanda have attracted the attention of scholars. Little is known about non-circumcision practising societies. Where male education of non-circumcision practising societies has been written about, it has been reduced to a rather unconscious process of learning or socialisation.⁷

Milaka was in many respects similar to such institutions as the mukanda. It had its own instructors and a code of conduct. With the exception of the religious function, milaka had similar functions to the mukanda institution.

There is literature in Silozi on milaka and sikenge. Of particular interest to this study are : Mubyana's Kayama Simangulungwa and Paliso ya Bulozii on milaka and Akapelwa's Bupifo Bwa Sepo on sikenge. Though these works are presented in novel form and were written at a time when the institutions were no longer in their original form, they still remain fairly useful in recollecting the types of endurance, the codes of conduct and the punishments meted out to unruly boys and girls. Furthermore, their Silozi vocabulary takes the reader close to the original meanings in milaka and sikenge.

In this study, we have also where possible reflected upon and compared the two institutions to other institutions already studied elsewhere. Of particular significance is Richards' book entitled, 'Chisungu : A girl's Initiation Ceremony Among the Bemba of Zambia'. In this book, Richards locates female initiation within the Bemba

social and cultural setting. She demonstrates how female rituals relate to economic and social activities of the Bemba. Hinfelaar's study, 'Religious Change Among the Bemba Speaking Women of Zambia' provides useful insights into the changing role of female initiation and how political change affected the position of women in Bemba land. Turner's study on Ndembu ritual gives an explanation on why female initiation is located within the village while that of males is done in the bush or outside the village.⁸ Geisler and Carsteins' works are particularly useful in the analysis of change in initiation. Geisler noted that initiation survived longer where pre-capitalist gender relations were tolerated under capitalism.⁹ Carsteins' study presents the view that initiation should be seen in terms of its relevance to a given society in time and space. The survival of initiation would therefore depend on how much it contributes to the social and economic organisation of a given society.¹⁰ These studies have enabled us to draw general conclusions on factors responsible for the dying out of milaka and change in sikenge.

This study has been organised in three chapters. In chapter one, we discuss the functions of the two institutions and the extent of change during the nineteenth century in order to assess how accommodating the institutions were, prior to western influence. Our argument in this chapter is that the institutions contributed greatly to the social and economic survival of the Lozi Kingdom. The teachings of the institutions reflected the daily social and economic activities of the Lozi. Change in the activities of the Lozi was extended into the institutions. The institutions were, therefore, adaptive.

In chapter two, we investigate the dying out of milaka education and the change in sikenge during the colonial period. We discuss the impact of western education, the Christian faith, cattle diseases, wage labour and urbanization. Our argument in this chapter is that a combination of the above factors led to the dying out of milaka education and the change in sikenge. Sikenge was able to survive because of its ability to adapt and it did not seriously clash with the demands of the colonial economy. In fact there was a correlation between the teachings of

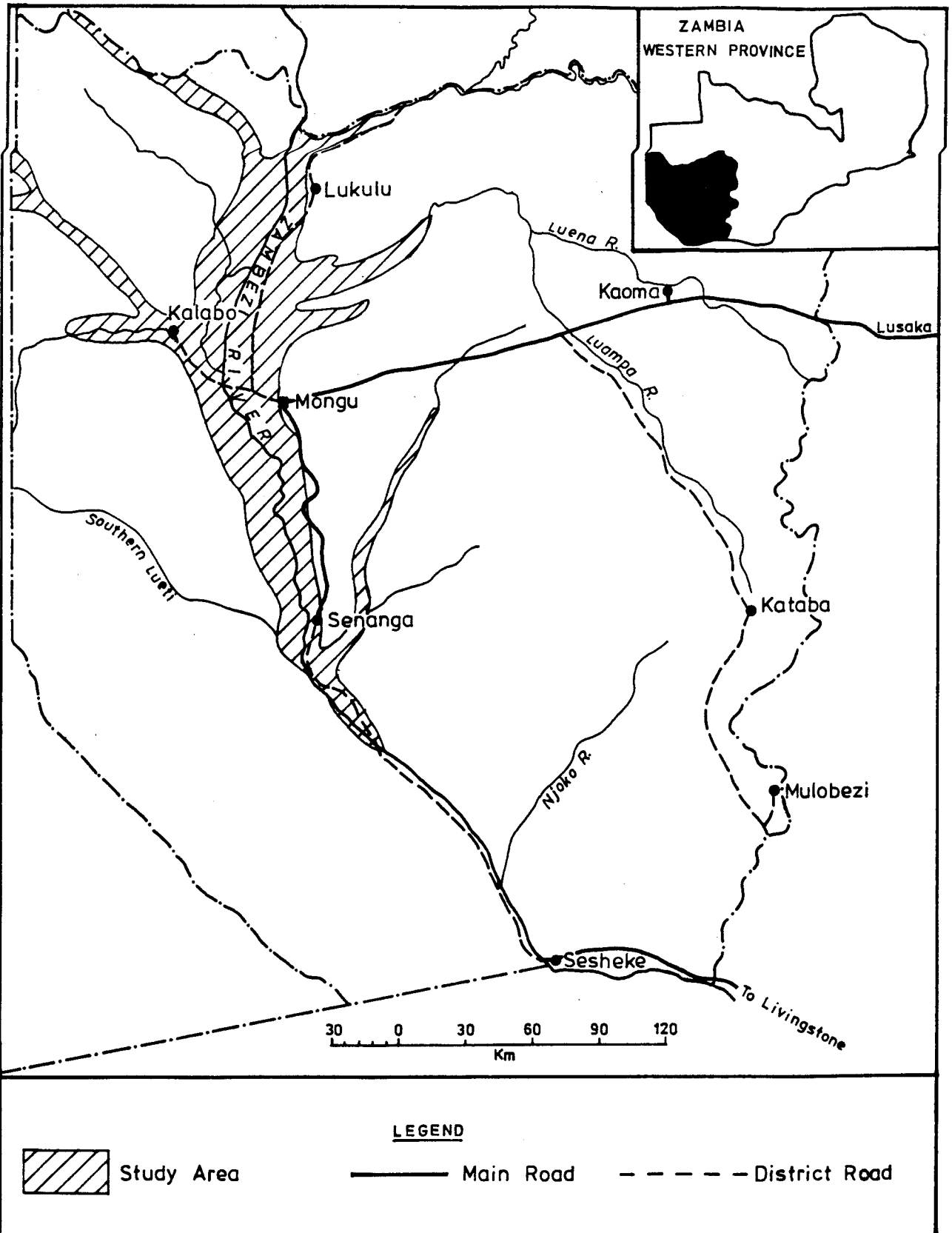
sikenge and the demands of the colonial economy.

In chapter three, we further examine the impact of accelerated social and economic change, brought about by political independence on sikenge. Our argument is that through increased educational and employment opportunities, many females contributed less to the subsistence economy. Sikenge once an institution preparing girls for their participation in this sector was reduced mainly to marriage counselling. *Even its role in marriage counselling has been threatened since most of its graduates remained in school long after graduation.* The marriage function, therefore, became less significant. To a few educated women, the institution has been seen as a factor in the oppression of women by men. Its existence, therefore, has been further threatened.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

This study was undertaken in the districts of Mongu and Senanga in the Western Province of Zambia. The study concentrated on the Barotse (hereafter Bulozzi) flood plain. The plain, formerly 'Bulozzi proper', is between $14\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and 16° south latitude.¹¹ It runs for 70 kilometres at its widest points. It lies just below 3,500 feet above sea level.¹² The area receives annual rainfall from about November to April and the flood lasts from about January to May. The Zambezi River and its tributaries form the flood plain. The plain has rich agricultural land around mounds. The soil on the edges of the plain is also good for agriculture.¹³ The plain also offered very good pastures for Lozi cattle.¹⁴ The forest hinterland and damboes, especially in the west of the plain, were used as grazing areas during the flood period.

Study Area : The Bulozhi Flood Plain



Source: 1:250,000 Sheet No. SD 34-16

METHODOLOGY

We have consulted both primary and secondary materials in the University of Zambia Library. Among primary sources, we consulted colonial annual reports, Coryndon's diaries and the reports of the General Missionary Conference. Secondary sources consulted were books, articles, dissertations, theses and seminar and research papers. This was our starting point. The library sources gave us a broad view of how the two institutions of milaka and sikenge were conducted and how initiation in general has been interpreted by scholars.

At the Mass Media Complex, we consulted the South Western Star Newspaper of the early independence period and the Liseli Newspaper of the 1970s. These helped us to capture scenes of events, especially for the female coming out ceremony. We also carried out our research at the National Archives of Zambia. The archival material consulted gave us an insight into the practice of initiation and the factors leading to the collapse of milaka and change in sikenge. We also consulted documents at the Livingstone Museum and the Sefula Book depot in Mongu. The depot houses some of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society's documents and their early school readers. These sources helped us in assessing the impact of missionaries on milaka and sikenge. The consultation of all these sources took place between July, 1988 and January, 1989.

The areas of Mongu, Kalabo and Senanga were originally chosen for this study because they comprise the area formerly known as 'Bulozi proper.' Although the area in which these interviews were conducted now has various other tribes and intermarriages have taken place, it was still possible to identify some informants with inside knowledge of the institutions. The Lozi provide an interesting case for this study because male initiation declined whilst the female one continues.

The year, 1886 has been chosen because it is the year in which Francois Coillard opened the first permanent school at Sefula, representing a major starting point for western influence. The study examines further the impact of the post colonial period on sikenge to 1975. We felt that by 1975, sikenge had changed fundamentally in both its educational content and the material outlook of its balyanjo.

It was not, however, possible to carry out research in Kalabo district mainly because of the high floods during the time of our field work. There was also a problem of delayed and inadequate funding. Due to the delayed funding, it was only possible to research for two instead of the allocated five months. Despite this limitation, it was still possible to gather some information from Kalabo by interviewing a few people from Kalabo.

It has not been easy to get information on sikenge. Information on sikenge is not normally released to people who have not gone through the institution. Having been aware of this limitation, we devised four approaches to data collection. Firstly, we conducted written interviews with the help of female research assistants. This approach did not prove very helpful as most people chose to remain silent on sensitive issues. Secondly, we sought the help of friends and relatives who either had the knowledge of the two institutions or could introduce us to people who had the knowledge and experience of the institutions. This approach was very helpful in easing both the selection of people to interview and communication. Thirdly, we arranged group discussions through heads of government institutions. The discussions that followed helped us in two ways: they officially introduced us to the people and made it possible to identify those with deeper knowledge of the institutions. This enabled us to arrange follow-up interviews. Fourthly, we also interviewed elderly men with knowledge of the educational processes in sikenge. Getting information on milaka was not very difficult. People were willing to give information. The major problem, however, was that there are now very few people still alive, who have gone through milaka.

It has not been possible to support most of our argument with statistical data. This is because of lack of statistics on such aspects as the increase or decline in initiation, decrease in polygamy and post colonial rural - urban migrations. Most of our conclusions are, therefore, based on the informants' observations of trends in milaka and sikenge.

Some of our informants insisted on remaining anonymous. This was because sikenge still remained a closed society and they, therefore, feared possible rebuke from the womenfolk. In the bibliography, the serial number under which an anonymous informant appears, is used as her identification number. The same number is used in the notes when acknowledging such an informant.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF MILAKA AND SIKENGE IN PRE-COLONIAL BULOZI : 1600 - 1886

This chapter has been divided into two parts. The first part is an attempt to reconstruct the history of milaka in the period 1600 to 1886. By discussing the influence of the Lozi flood plain, the Mbunda, the Kololo and the Ila peoples on the cattle rearing practices of the Lozi, the section discusses the evolution of milaka into an educational institution.

The term milaka had two meanings in pre-colonial Bulozhi. Firstly, the term was used to refer to the period during which boys received their education at the cattle posts. Secondly, it was also used to refer to the cattle posts.¹ Our main concern in this study is the educational aspect of milaka. We are, therefore, concerned with the first meaning of milaka. Because of the significance of cattle in Bulozhi, boys received their education at milaka in line with the pastoral practices of the Lozi. Cattle were carefully looked after. They were used as sacrifice and as payment for various fines. Cattle were, therefore, an important asset in the Lozi society.

In the second part of this chapter we discuss the processes involved in sikenge and its religious, social and economic functions. Though we discuss some of the influences of the Mbunda and the Kololo on the institution, we have not been able to present a more historical interpretation of sikenge, especially in the period before the arrival of the Mbunda. Oral and written sources on how and when the institution emerged among the Lozi are difficult to find. It is, therefore, difficult at the moment to show change in the institution before the advent of colonial rule because we know very little of the original form of sikenge and the extent to which it was influenced by the incorporated tribes. Our discussion concentrates on sikenge as it was on the eve of colonialism.

EVOLUTION OF MILAKA EDUCATION AND ITS FUNCTIONS

By the end of the nineteenth century, all the boys of the Lozi flood plain were passing through milaka education. Entry into milaka was either voluntary or by force. Those who resisted were forced into the institution either by being caned, deprived of food at several meal times, ridiculed or a combination of all the three factors.² The age at which boys could enter milaka varied between nine and eleven years. Parents decided when a boy could enter milaka. Boys remained in this institution for long periods. They left the institution at the time of marriage, usually from about late teenage to mid twenties.

Boys paid occasional visits to the villages to collect food or to be attended to in case of illnesses. The number of boys at milaka was not fixed. In most cases, all the eligible boys in a given village would attend. This was because boys were expected to herd their parents' cattle. In the cases where the cattle for one village were not sufficient to allow a big number of boys to go out herding, cattle for several villages in a given area, were combined and herded jointly. Those whose parents had no cattle, a rare case in pre-colonial Bulozil, were also allowed into milaka since cattle were regarded as a public resource.³ Boys were placed under the responsibility of the Imutongo.

The Imutongo was the chief herdman in charge of several herdboys. His main duty was to ensure that cattle were well cared for. He also held formal counselling sessions on issues of interest such as marriage and the Lozi social and political organisation.⁴ He was the most feared and most respected man at milaka. He was in charge of both the discipline and the welfare of all the young men and boys at milaka. He had the final word on issues affecting either the herdmen or the cattle. Discipline, courage and love for cattle were important qualities looked for before one could be appointed to the position of Imutongo.⁵ The Imutongo was normally a young man in his twenties. The appointment to the post of Imutongo was made by the elders of a given village

or villages.⁶ For royal herds, the Litunga made the appointment.⁷ Next to the Imutongo in the milaka hierarchy was his deputy who also had similar functions. After the deputy Imutongo were the older herdboys followed by the new recruits. Apart from the Imutongo and his deputy, the seniority of the other herders depended on age.⁸ It was the duty of the senior herders to educate their juniors in the different aspects of milaka life. Boys received instructions in such aspects as milking, cattle diseases and their cures and skilled crafts such as making butter from milk and wood carving. They were expected to co-operate, to be independent, self reliant and to persevere under hard conditions.⁹ Punishment was severe for offending boys.

It is not clear as to how and when the Lozi developed the institution of milaka. This is because the place of immediate origin of the Lozi in the north-west of Bulozii had poor pastures and was, therefore, unsuitable for large scale cattle keeping.¹⁰ The Lozi do not seem to have been large scale cattle keepers prior to their arrival in Bulozii. The amassing of large stocks of cattle took place after their arrival in Bulozii, in about 1600.¹¹ In order to properly manage their stocks of cattle, the Lozi developed the milaka institution. Pastures in most parts of Bulozii were seasonally available. Cattle were moved to the forest margins or the bush damboes during the flood season and to the plain during the dry season. The plain provided rich pastures. During these cattle migrations, boys were assigned to herd them.¹² This seems to have been the beginning of milaka education. The long periods of absence from the villages made it necessary for the boys to receive their education at milaka. Their stay away from the villages made it difficult for the boys to be instructed in the different aspects of Lozi social and economic life at home.

Cattle herding was a male enterprise in Bulozii. It was convenient for men to send boys to herd cattle whilst they (the men) attended to other duties such as fishing, hunting and raiding. In this respect, milaka developed as a labour institution, for herding purposes. The development of milaka enabled the Lozi to effectively manage their cattle stocks. The factors that necessitated milaka

were the Bulozii flood plain and the yearly floods.¹³ The institution of milaka was, therefore, developed and became popular after the Lozii settled in Bulozii.

The original nature of milaka is not, at present, easy to determine. This is because information on methods of cattle keeping among the people who came to constitute the periphery of the Lozii kingdom and from whom the Lozii had acquired cattle is not available. These subject tribes have since been closely integrated with the Lozii thus making it difficult to isolate which aspects of milaka were initiated by the subject ethnic groups. It is also not easy to isolate those aspects which were not initiated to the Lozii. It is, however, very unlikely that the subject groups had developed a similar institution on the lines of milaka. This is because most of them lived in the forest areas and were, therefore, less affected by the floods. Long periods of herding far away from home were minimal amongst these people. Their milking and herding practices were, however, learnt by the Lozii since some of them, as slaves were involved in herding their Lozii masters' cattle.¹⁴

The arrival of the Mbunda, a non-cattle keeping people from Angola, introduced a variety of skills into milaka. The Mbunda arrived in Bulozii in the early nineteenth century. This was during the reign of King Mulambwa. The Mbunda were good at wood carving. The Lozii were not originally good at wood carving.¹⁵ After the arrival of the Mbunda, Lozii boys increasingly took to wood carving, especially when herding in the forest areas. They learnt how to make paddles, cooking sticks, stools, spoons, milk pails and axe handles.¹⁶ Most of these items were previously obtained through barter trade between the forest areas and the plain. Though this trade continued long after the arrival of the Mbunda, many youngmen came to possess the knowledge and skills of wood carving. Thus by 1887, Coillard, after his arrival in Bulozii was able to note that the Lozii were very good at wood carving.¹⁷

The Mbunda were also good hunters¹⁸ and were skilled at trapping animals and shooting with the bow and arrows. The Lozii adopted the use of traps, the

bow and arrows in hunting and in fighting. Milaka boys made use of these traps in hunting and had bows and arrows for practicing purposes.

Another influence on milaka came from the Kololo. In about 1840, the Kololo from the south conquered Bulozhi. The Kololo, like the Mbunda, represented a major cultural influence on the Lozi. The Kololo introduced the use of reedmats instead of grass mats for sleeping purposes. Soft cattle hides came to be used as blankets. Big soft game skins and cattle-hide skirts came to be used by men and women respectively.¹⁹

This influence on the Lozi society in general brought about change in milaka. The Kololo, like most South African pastoral communities, had good knowledge of cattle care techniques.²⁰ Milaka boys adopted from the Kololo the use of reedmats as umbrellas during heavy rains.²¹ Herding thus became more comfortable. The Kololo came from an area with advanced medical practices for cattle diseases. The Kriges had observed that for most South African communities, 'a herdboyc walking along with you (would) give you the names and uses of almost every tree you pass (ed)'.²² This medicinal background of the Kololo enabled them to introduce a number of disease cures in Bulozhi. However, in the absence of information on stock movements, diseases and their cures in pre-Kololo Bulozhi, it is difficult at the moment, to assess which diseases and cures were introduced by the Kololo. Linguistic evidence on this aspect is difficult to find. thus Coillard was only able to note that 'the Kololo initiated them (the Lozi) a little into pastoral life.'²³ He, too, could not categorise the different elements introduced by the Kololo into milaka.

The Kololo, however, introduced the age-set system into milaka. The age-set system as used by most circumcision practicing people of Southern Africa was essentially a military and civil institution. It was used for public works in peace times and was a regiment in times of war. It could combine pastoral duties with strategic military assignments.'²⁴ The

period of circumcision. The age-set system as it operated among the Lozi was different. The Lozi did not form age-sets which were primarily based on circumcision. Despite Mbunda and Kololo influence, the Lozi continued to despise circumcision.²⁵ For the Lozi, the sets were used for herding purposes and were not in any way regimental groups. This was because at milaka, it was only the Imutongo men who went out fighting in their respective Makolo. It was also the duty of the Imutongo to protect cattle.²⁶

The age-set system at milaka, like in many other similar societies, was used in order to break down the number of boys into manageable groups and to instil a sense of competition, discipline and respect.²⁷ The Lozi did not develop the age-set system into a regimental society since they had a different form of a military and civil institution. This was the makolo.

The Makolo were 'Kinship, labour and patronage groups.' Though 'some members of the makolo groups were scattered far afield, there was a general tendency for makolo divisions to correlate with Lilalo territorial units.'²⁸ Membership to a Likolo (singular for makolo) was primarily based on one's kin membership, unlike in the age-sets where it was based purely on age. Boys were, therefore, members of different makolo even before entering milaka. They were members of makolo by birth. Milaka education provided the basic experience necessary in makolo.

Lewanika's raids on the Ila in the late nineteenth century were also an important influence on milaka. During these raids, the Lozi captured cattle and utilized the herding practices of the Ila. Notable in this respect was the blowing of the pala (a kind of a flute made from wood or reeds). The pala provided music for the entertainment of the herdboys. It was also used in driving cattle to far away places as the music kept the cattle trotting.²⁹ This made it possible to drive cattle to different places in a relatively short time. This method of driving cattle was very useful to the herders since they had to cover long distances when moving cattle onto or out of the plain during the dry or flood periods. Other influences of the Ila on the Lozi are, at the moment, difficult to document due to

lack of data. Ila influence on the Lozi herding practices seems to have been important since, as Gluckman observed, the Lozi 'liked to have the Ila herdmen and eulogise Ila knowledge of cattle-herding and curing.'³⁰ These herdmen provided valuable information and instruction to Milaka boys in the art of cattle keeping. Through these various influences, milaka had become an important educational institution by the end of the nineteenth century.

Lozi men organised their economic activities in groups. Herding, hunting, fishing and raiding were usually organised in groups.³¹ Both the learning of these skills and the group nature of their performance were learnt at milaka. The boys also learnt how to make fishing baskets from grass and nets and cattle ropes from fibres.³² Like in the case of the Tswana cattle herding, milaka 'afforded the youths opportunities to cultivate group responsibility and to learn several salient crafts.'³³ In the performance of their tasks, boys were not only required to exhibit the skills learnt but were also expected to show obedience, perseverance and physical strength as well.

. At milaka, boys underwent various hardships. They were expected to perform their duties despite the discomforts of hunger, thirst and bad weather.³⁴ The different fighting and wrestling competitions which were organised between members of different milaka made boys acquire valuable strengths to make them physically fit. Thus herding among the Lozi, like among the Zulu, helped in 'breeding up a vigorous and robust type of manhood.'³⁵ This was very important to a community which was drawing a large amount of its cattle resources and slaves from raiding.

The institution was also of social value to the Lozi. It trained boys to keep secrets, control their anger and tempers. 'Each boy had to keep what he saw, heard and did to himself and not pass it on to the people at home. This characteristic of secrecy can still be detected among many Alui [Lozi].'³⁶ In the control of anger and tempers,

all boys were taught to argue and reason intelligently without losing tempers. Anyone who became annoyed was mercilessly teased until he learned to take things

lightly and laugh at himself. Sometimes boys were provoked purposely as part of temper training. Anger and losing temper were looked upon as childish characteristics. These values were important in promoting harmony within the Lozi society. ³⁷

Milaka, like the mukanda institution, brought boys into contact with other young people, thus promoting a sense of unity among peers. In both milaka and mukanda sex education and marriage counselling were important in the boys' socialization process.³⁸ At milaka early signs of impotence were attended to by using a variety of herbs. Among such herbs were mufufu, nibi, zani, puli, munyanyu, mubafu and kafufu.

Boys also received lessons in the Lozi political structure. They learnt the names and functions of the different political offices and councils in Bulozii. They also learnt how to communicate with each of these offices and councils.³⁹ Milaka also complemented makolo in the appointments of Lozi men to important offices in Bulozii. Apart from one's kin and family origins, leaders were chosen according to certain qualities - bravery, fore-sight, kindness and patriotism.⁴⁰ Though these qualities were exhibited either in makolo or in one's general dealings within the Lozi society, boys were expected to have initially developed them at milaka.

At milaka, boys were prepared for their various roles in the Lozi society. Those from slave parents received the worst treatment. They could be flogged, made to sleep in the cold and deprived of food. They had the least protection. Boys from the royal family were rarely illtreated. They were, in most cases, well respected and were given better food.⁴¹

By the end of the nineteenth century, milaka had become an important educational institution. The advent of colonial rule greatly altered its functions. With the introduction of western 'civilisation' milaka life was reduced to just a cattle post with little educational significance.

SIKENGE EDUCATION AND ITS FUNCTIONS

Sikenge was closely connected to the religious, social and economic life of the Lozi. Like in the case of the Bemba's chisungu, sikenge was meant to celebrate the first menstrual blood flow which was seen as 'a miraculous divine event when the young girl received the gift of her sexuality from her forebears.⁴² It was a stage during which the pubescent girl had to come close to her ancestors to receive her gift of parenthood. Among the Lozi, it was believed that without sikenge, a girl would never bear children. This was because she had not been blessed by her ancestors.⁴³ Since the attainment of maturity was a sacred event, it was surrounded by myths and religious ritual. If ritual was not conducted in sikenge, misfortune would either befall the mwalyanjo or her family. The condition of the mwalyanjo was believed to be contaminating to those who had not been through sikenge.⁴⁴ Thus her seclusion was not only to facilitate her learning, but to also reduce the risk of contamination to the Lozi society.

Sikenge, unlike chisungu did not train young women to be the 'main celebrants of marital life.'⁴⁵ This was because among the Lozi, religious worship or ritual was not a preserve of women. Men could also participate in the family or home rituals. In the performance of these activities, age rather than sex mattered most.⁴⁶ Sikenge was an occasion during which the Lozi came close to their ancestors through ritual and was also a time to prepare for adulthood.

In addition to its religious importance, sikenge was important in preparing women to effectively discharge their duties within the sexual division of labour. The Lozi society, like many other societies, had a 'division of labour based upon gender categories which might be seen as a metaphor for procreative sex. As both male and female [were] required for sexual reproduction of society, so they [were] also required for production of goods and services to sustain and integrate it.⁴⁷

Sikenge was therefore important in imparting the necessary knowledge and skills to enable women to participate effectively in the Lozi religious, social and economic life.

Seclusion into sikenge was normally at the first menstruation of a girl. One went into seclusion voluntarily or was forced into it. In pre-colonial Buluzi, most girls went into voluntary seclusion. Those who did not were considered unruly. Such girls were severely punished once in sikenge.⁴⁸ Seclusion was meant to mark the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood. Like among the Zulu, the purpose was 'none other than to emphasise the fact that the coming celebration was indeed 'a coming out', an entrance or debut upon a new stage in life.'⁴⁹ Seclusion, therefore, formed an important part of sikenge.

On the first day of seclusion, the mwalyanjo was given a symbolic beating, ku natwa ka mwila. She was also pinched and teased. The beating, pinching and teasing could, however, be severe if a girl had previously been unruly. The symbolic beating which was administered by the principal tutor, mahe mwalyanjo, showed that the elders still had authority over her despite her having attained maturity.⁵⁰ In cases where it was severe, it was meant to make the mwalyanjo more receptive in her learning. As was the case among the Ndembu, it was important in that the girls'

malleability which [was] increased by submission to ordeal, their reduction to a uniform condition, [wêre] signs of a process whereby they [were] ground down to be fashioned anew and endowed with additional powers to cope with their new station in life and the essence of complete obedience of the neophytes [was] to submit to the elders but only in so far as they [were] in charge of the common good and represent[ed] in their person the total community.⁵¹

Corporal punishment was frequently applied to the initiate as a means to compel her to learn faster and bear in mind what she was taught. The principal tutor was appointed for the mwalyanjo by the elderly women. The qualification

of the tutor was that she should have a living born child, ya yemisize mba ya pili and that she should be a close relative of the mwalyanjo. Such a person was believed to have been blessed with parenthood by her ancestors. She could therefore serve as a medium through which the mwalyanjo could receive the gift of parenthood. At the end of the first introductory session, the principal tutor carried the mwalyanjo back home on her back. This was 'meant to demonstrate the relationship that existed between the two. Being 'newly born,' the mwalyanjo was to be carried by her 'mother' in the same way as babies are carried by their mothers.'⁵² The mother was expected to instruct the mwalyanjo in most aspects of womanhood. Apart from the principal tutor, any other woman was free to either teach or punish the mwalyanjo if she was found offending.

Another person who was chosen for the mwalyanjo was the Kashambeli, the mwalyanjo's mouthpiece. The kashambeli was expected to always accompany the mwalyanjo. The kashambeli was a small girl of 'six to eight years old.'⁵³ She was to reveal to the women the problems the mwalyanjo was facing as well as her private life.⁵⁴ The choice of a little girl was based on a widely accepted belief that a young girl would rarely tell a lie. Her narration would normally be as she was told or had seen the way in which something happened. She would reveal the mwalyanjo's private affairs if she came to know about them. The kashambeli was, therefore, a good attendant of the mwalyanjo.

Studies on other societies, suggest an additional function of the use of children in rites. Among the Lobedu, Venda and Kgatla, for example, van der Vliet observed that 'pre-pubertal children [were] often essential to communal rituals Many rites require[d] participants who [had] not been contaminated by sexual intercourse or menstruation.' She further noted that child participation in rituals was important as it introduced the child to the social relations of adulthood.⁵⁵ Among the Lozi, the belief and fear of contamination may be inferred from the fact that girls about to attain the age of puberty were not used as tushambeli.

The ceremony of kulumisa, which was performed on the second day of entry into sikenge had an important religious significance. In a ritualised fashion, the mwalyanjo was made to bite and spit a small lump of ashima to the east, north and then to the west from a broken potsherd.⁵⁶ The woman officiating at the kulumisa ceremony would then tap her on the chest and on the back with the broken potsherd whilst the mwalyanjo clapped her hands. Like in the case of the principal tutor, the woman officiating at the kulumisa ceremony was one with a living first born child and also of good conduct. It was believed that the mwalyanjo would 'inherit' these characteristics from the woman. She, too, would be of acceptable conduct and her children would survive.⁵⁷ The eating from the broken potsherd and the spitting of food had symbolic meaning. It was believed that using a heavy substance like the broken potsherd

would ensure a 'heavy heart' for the mwalyanjo i.e. one that was able to keep secrets. This was necessary since she had entered a stage of life where she would be introduced to and expected to keep a great many secrets. The spitting of food on the other hand had a religious bearing; and implied giving food to the mwalyanjo's ancestral spirits. Traditionally, giving food to spirits was normally done to remind them (the spirits) that they had not been forgotten and to solicit their support for success of these ventures/functions.⁵⁸

The kulumisa ceremony, therefore, had three functions. Firstly, it expressed to the mwalyanjo the type of behaviour expected of her. Secondly, it provided the Lozi with one of the mediums through which they could get in touch with their ancestral spirits. Thirdly, it was a request to the ancestral spirits to ensure the success of sikenge. Kulumisa was an important medium since misfortune or illness of the mwalyanjo was associated with the displeasure of the ancestral spirits.

The mwalyanjo received instructions in the making of kitchen and household items. In a ritualised fashion, she was made to touch various household items. This was meant to show the importance of such items to womanhood. She was expected to master the use of each one of them.⁵⁹ The mwalyanjo was taught how to make most of these items. She was taught how to make baskets, brooms and mats and how to mould pots and grow food crops.⁶⁰

After the arrival of the Kololo, the mwalyanjo came to receive instructions in plastering walls and smearing the floors. She was also taught how to make skirts from cow-hides.⁶¹ Prior to the arrival of the Kololo, women had supplied grass needed for the construction of the simple round huts the Lozi used. The Kololo introduced big rectangular houses with plastered walls and smeared floors.

The skills taught in sikenge were important in that a good and mature woman was not expected to ask for food or borrow household utensils from her neighbours. She was, however, expected to co-operate with other women in food or item producing ventures. Despite the fact that the mwalyanjo normally went through sikenge alone, and it was, therefore, likely to encourage individualism, the educational content was carefully designed to emphasize the importance of co-operation and kinship relations. This was done by making the mwalyanjo do any work presented to her by any female relative. This included pounding mealies, fetching firewood and drawing water.⁶² This helped to strengthen the extended family bond. Sikenge, therefore, encouraged self sufficiency, co-operative work and discouraged begging.⁶³ The ability to make different household and kitchen items was important in marriage. To most men, a woman who could only cook for the husband was not desired. A good wife was one who could make baskets, pots, brooms, grass sieves and mats.⁶⁴ Sikenge helped to ensure that its graduates became desirable wives.

The mwalyanjo also received some instruction in sex education which started through an act known as ku kwalula mazebe (opening the ears).⁶⁵ Aspects taught during this period were to be applied only in marriage. The arrival of the Mbunda in about 1800, introduced a number of erotic dances into sikenge.⁶⁶ Incisions

were also made on the back of the mwalyanjo and in front just below the navel. In some cases, they were also made around the thighs and upper arms. The incisions were used in sexual stimulation. It was believed that a man was sexually stimulated by fondling them.⁶⁷

The mwalyanjo also received instructions in general behaviour. She was taught not to pick a quarrel with her husband, especially in public; not to insult him even when provoked; to love all relatives and visitors of her husband and to love any children from his previous marriage if there were any. She was also taught to be hardworking; not to reveal the secrets of her home; and how to behave in a polygamous marriage, a common feature in pre-colonial Bulozhi.⁶⁸

The mwalyanjo was also introduced to a set of taboos, which did not only reflect Lozi beliefs but also governed her conduct. If the mwalyanjo pleased her ancestral spirits by not violating certain taboos, she would remain a good woman throughout her life. Sikenge was believed to influence the future of the mwalyanjo through some mystical forces. Some of the taboos regulating the conduct of the mwalyanjo were: not to eat left overs lest she became a pauper; not to finish any food she ate and not to eat anything alone lest she became greedy; not to move about in case she became a vagabond; not to sleep during the day lest she became lazy or would lose one of her parents or a close relative; and not to walk or run across the village lest she continued behaving like a child.

The mwalyanjo remained dirty throughout the period of sikenge. She would neither bath nor comb her hair for weeks. She was also not to cut her nails. The neglected appearance of the mwalyanjo was intended to put off boys who might otherwise propose love to her. It was also to make her look 'new' on the day she 'graduated' from sikenge.⁶⁹ Her parents were also not to cut their hair or finger nails. This was to show that they had a mwalyanjo.

THE COMING OUT CEREMONY

The coming out ceremony was the last stage of sikenge. In the pre-colonial period, the duration of sikenge was determined by whether or not the mwalyanjo had finished making her household equipment and how well she could exhibit the learnt behaviour and skills.⁷⁰ Food and beverages for this occasion included nshima with fresh fish or beef and ilya, a milk and porridge drink. With the arrival of the Kololo, beer was added to the list. The Lozi previously had no alcoholic drink.⁷¹ Despite the fact that the Mbunda had previously used beer in Buluzi for medicinal purposes,⁷² the Lozi did not then adopt it as a drink. Parents prepared a new costume made from cowhides. They also prepared beads and bracelets. After the arrival of the Kololo, treated cow skins which were easy to use in dress making were introduced.⁷³ Those from the royal families appeared differently for the coming out ceremony as they wore ivory bangles.⁷⁴

The basic teaching in sikenge was similar for all classes in Buluzi. The difference was in the treatment of balyanjo. Those from the royal families were better treated. Those from the slave classes received the worst treatment. Unlike the balyanjo from the royal and aristocratic classes, the slave balyanjo could be severely beaten since they received little or no protection from their relatives. Slave parents or relatives had no rights over their children. Both the slave parents and their daughters belonged to the slave owners.⁷⁵ In this way sikenge helped in the preparation of girls for their different roles in society.

On the evening before the day of the ceremony, the mwalyanjo was carried to a nearby stream, washed and then carried back to the village on the back of her 'mother'. This signified being born again into a new society, that of adults. Once in the village, dancing and singing continued till people retired to bed. The following morning, the mwalyanjo had a hair cut, ku kutiwa ngulawela. She was dressed and perfumed in readiness for the public appearance.⁷⁶ She was then carried onto the patelo, a wide opening in the centre of the village, where she remained seated on a mat. It was here that members of the public had a chance of seeing her. She was showered with gifts such as baskets, pots, mats, brooms, hoes and many others.⁷⁷ She then danced likeyenge and chose a name. The

choosing of the name marked her changed status into womanhood. After likeyenge, the mwalyanjo was

made to follow a staggering old woman with a cup of water balanced on her head. The balancing of the cup was meant to indicate how well she had mastered the facts of life she had been taught; while the old woman signified her parents were heading towards old age and that it was her responsibility to assist them when in need.⁷⁸

The play during which she balanced a cup of water, following an aged woman was known as nalikwendangile. Nalikwendangile depicted the mwalyanjo's new role in society. The old woman represented not only her parents but all the aged and the needy in her community. The ceremony ended with this occasion.

The coming of the Mbunda brought about change in the ceremony. The Mbunda introduced the siyeke system. After bathing on the evening before the ceremony, the mwalyanjo was taken to a private enclosure known as siyeke. At siyeke elderly women examined her in most aspects she had learnt. More teaching was done wherever there was need. Because there were usually so many aspects to be examined and perfected, siyeke lasted overnight. Another aspect introduced by the Mbunda was the uncovering of the mwalyanjo with a ceremonial axe, kabanga and the ceremonial hoe, kanalubeso, after she had been brought onto the patelo. The father and mother holding kabanga and kanalubeso respectively, together uncovered the mwalyanjo for the public to see.⁷⁹ The introduction of beer drinking into Bulozil also transformed the ceremony fundamentally. It was an added cost to the parents and relatives. It also meant that people could stay long into the night whilst drinking beer. Beer drinking continued after the mwalyanjo had been presented to the public. Beer, therefore, was an added form of entertainment to the ceremony.

Most of what the mwalyanjo learnt during sikenge was examined later in marriage. She was expected to exhibit most of the skills and behaviour pattern she had learnt in sikenge. The first day of her marriage was important. She was expected to impress her husband sexually. She was also expected to be a virgin. If a newly married woman did not meet these expectations, her husband would express his disapproval by placing an axe loose in its handle and would also not place any white beads outside his door. The elderly women playing the role of examiners would also not ululate if they witnessed such a situation, the morning after the wedding. This expressed their lack of success. If the man still wanted his wife, she was taught all aspects of sikenge with emphasis on those aspects which led to her coming back. She was also severely punished. Because of the fear of being divorced or returned home for more instructions and the punishment that followed, most girls were determined to master most of what they learnt in sikenge.⁸⁰ The urge to master the lessons in sikenge and the expectations of most husbands made wives to be more acceptable to their husbands. Once in marriage, women were expected to serve their husbands as taught in sikenge.

Sikenge was, therefore, important in developing obedient, respectful and hardworking wives ; preparing women for the effective discharge of their economic roles within the Lozi economy; and in the transmission of Lozi beliefs, values and new skills.⁸¹ In spite of the surbodinate position of women in marriage, Lozi women enjoyed some rights in the Lozi society. In fact the status of women was relatively high in pre-colonial Buluzi. Women were entitled to ownership of property. Like men, women from the royal family were allocated land upon which they could establish their own villages.⁸² Upon attaining maturity, women from commoner families

could also be allocated land for cultivation by their fathers.⁸³ Like their menfolk, women could also own cattle and had a share in the inheritance of the patrimony.

Women could also hold important political offices. Before the Kololo conquest, women could participate in Lozi politics through a council of women known as Anatambumu which was led by Makoshi.⁸⁴ Since the reign of King Sipopa, women could be appointed at Litungas to the Southern Capital.⁸⁵ In villages, elderly women took part in decision making. They were consulted on issues concerning the general welfare of the villages.⁸⁶

There were, however, some structural weaknesses discernible in the Lozi political and economic system that worked against women. They could not, for example, be appointed to the more senior Litungaship at the northern capital.⁸⁷ Though they could be appointed to important political offices, the entire Indunaship was male dominated, thus limiting the authority of the women in political positions. Apart from the members of the royal family, women from the commoner groups could not be granted land directly by the Litunga. They could only be granted land by their fathers. This seriously limited the movement of women to places of their own choice. Though the level of subordination was lower in pre-colonial Bulozí, it laid ground for the later exploitation of women during colonial rule.

NOTES:

1. I.M. Mbikusita - Lewanika, 'Learning to Live in Pre-colonial Bulozii' Ph.D. Thesis (New York University, 1979), 303; Interview, Liyungu Kalaluka, businessman, Senanga, 3 March, 1989; and Interview, Induna Inguu Lutangu, Kuta Induna, Limulunga, 10 March 1989. All the three agree on the two meanings of milaka.
2. Interview, Maxwell Mwiya, retired mine employee, 11 March, 1989.
3. G. Prins, The Hidden Hippopotamus : Reappraisal in an African History : The Early Colonial Experience in Western Zambia (London : Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 84.
4. Interview, Sinvula Simasiku Likokoto, Village Headman and retired Head Teacher, Kashombo Village, 16 March, 1989; See also Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 310.
5. Interview, Lubinda Sazinga, Traditional Cattle 'healer', Nañoko, 15 March, 1989.
6. Interview Sazinga
7. Y.W. Mupatu, Bulozi Sapili [Barotseland in Days Past] (Cape Town : Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 26-7.
8. Interview, Mwiya.
9. See Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 305-11, for a detailed discussion on learning at milaka.
10. M. Gluckman, Economy of the Central Barotse Plain (Manchester : University Press, 1968), p. 8.
11. Gluckman, Economy, p. 8.
12. See also Gluckman, Economy, p. 48.
13. Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 304-5.
14. Interview, Likokoto.
15. Interview, Mwiya.
16. Interview, Honourable Chief Chiengele Nyumbu, Mbunda Chief, Nañoko, 17 February, 1989.
17. F. Coillard, On the Threshold of Central Africa : A Record of Twenty Years Pioneering Among the Barotsi of Upper Zambezi (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), p. 292.

18. Mupatu, Bulozi, p.9.
19. M. Nalilungwe (Manuscript Translation By H. Zulu), Makololo ki ba (Here are the Makololo), n.d., p.8.
20. Interview, Likokoto; and interview, Sazinga. The two informants cited the use of maize in helping cows which were taking too long in labour or whose placentas could not come out after delivering as one of the techniques introduced by the Kololo. Cows with such problems were forced to eat maize and they delivered or their placentas came out almost immediately afterwards. This information was corroborated by many informants.
21. Interview, Kufekisa Luni, retired Police Officer, Nanoko, 19 March, 1989.
22. The Kriges as quoted by V. van der Vilet, 'Growing Up in Traditional ociety', W.D. Hammond Tooke (ed.), The Bantu Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p.222.
23. Coillard Threshold, p.297.
24. J.M. Chirenje, Chief Kgama and his Times: The Story of a Southern African Ruler (London: Rex Collings, 1978), p.2.
25. A Jaila, 'initiation School for Boys in Barotseland', Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia, 1927 (Lovedale : Lovedale Institution Press, n.d.), p.121.
26. See Nalilungwe, Makololo, p. 1; and interview, Likokoto. Both sources agree on the fact that it was only the Imutongo who went out fighting.
27. Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 306-7.
28. M. Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings: Political Evolution and State Foramtions in Pre-Colonial Zambia (London: Longman, 1973), p.50.
29. Interview, Luni.
30. Gluckman, Economy, p.21.
31. Mupatu, Bulozi, p.2
32. Interview, Nyumbu; and interview, Indopu Nalishuwa Njamba, retired Boarding Master, Senanga, 1 March, 1989.
33. Chirenje, Kgama, p.2 See also Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live' 309 on group work.
34. Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', p.309.
35. Bryant, Zulu, p.178; See also van der Vilet, 'Growing Up', p.220 on Swazi herding.
36. Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', p.309.

37. Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 309.
38. Interview, Mwiya.
39. Interview, Likokoto; See also Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 310, on channels of communication.
- 40.. Mupatu, Bulozi, p. 12.
41. Interview, Nyumbu.
42. H.F. Hinfelaar, 'Religious Change Among the Bemba Speaking Women of Zambia, Ph.D. Thesis (University of London, 1989), 11.
43. Interview, Mutinta Walubita, nurse, Mongu, 20 February, 1989.
44. Interview, Walubita; See also V. Turner, The Forest of Symbols : Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (New York : Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 97, for a similar belief among the Ndembu.
45. Hinfelaar, 'Religious Change', 35.
46. Interview, Mutumba Mainga Bull, Provincial Political Secretary for Science and Technology, 31 March, 1990.
47. C.P. Mac Cormack, 'Nature, Culture and Gender : A Critique', C.P. MacCormack, and M. Strathern (eds.), Nature, Culture and Gender (London : Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 15..
48. Interview, Walubita.
49. Bryant, Zulu, p. 649.
50. Interview, Josephine Mubyana, House Keeper, Mongu, 20 February, 1989; Interview, Justina Katanekwa, hospital worker, Mongu, 20 February, 1989; Interview, Getrude Munalula Mushiba, hospital worker, Mongu, 21 February, 1989; Interview, Agness Simukwela, Nutrition Demonstrator, Senanga; and G.N. Sumbwa, 'Sikenge : Female Adolescent Education Among the Lozi of Western Zambia', Unpublished Seminar Paper, Educational Research Bureau, University of Zambia (21 April, 1988), 12. All these sources listed here agree on the importance of beating, pinching and teasing.
51. Turner, Forest, p. 102.
52. Sumbwa, 'Sikenge', 13.
53. Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 317.
54. Interview, Lileko Muha, Businesswoman, Mongu, 24 February, 1989: Interview, Christina Kasiku Zaza, District Homecraft Organiser, Mongu, 25 February, 1989; Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 219-20. All these sources agreed on the meaning and

use of Kashambeli.

55. Van der Vliet, 'Growing Up', p.235.
56. Interview, Muha; Interview, n. 59 retired Teaching Assistant; Likunge Village, 19 March, 1989; and Sumbwa, 'Sikenge', 13.
57. Interview, Muha; and interview, Njekwa Namusunga, Businesswoman, Mongu, 24 February, 1989.
58. Sumbwa, 'Sikenge', 14.
59. See also Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 334-6.
60. Interview, no. 51, grandmother, Limulunga, 18 March, 1989.
61. Interview, Katanekwa.
62. Interview, Munalula; and interview, Zaza.
63. K. Muyunda (Manuscript Translation by D.W. Lukonga), Craftsmanship in Barotseland (Bukwala mwa Bulози) (n.d.), p.16.
64. Interview, Florence Monde Mashebe, Businesswoman, Mongu, 24 February, 1989; interview, Muha; and Sumbwa, 'Sikenge', 14.
65. Interview, no. 51.
66. Interview, Nyumbu.
67. See also Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 324-30 for lessons in sikenge.
68. Interview, no. 56, female clerk, District Council, Mongu, 22 February, 1989.
69. Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 337-8.
70. Most of my informants argued that the Lozi, prior to the arrival of the Kololo, did not have any alcoholic drink. This, they argued, was well reflected in the old Lozi saying, malopulu kola a neta mwana a mului ku mu-ibaila (foreigners get drunk if they drink beer but if a Lozi tried to drink it, he would be dead drunk). The foreigners, the informants referred to were the Kololo.
71. Y.W. Mupatu (Manuscript Translation in Association with the Publication Bureau, Lusaka) Mulambwa Santulu Receives Mbunda Chiefs (Mulambwa Santulu u Amuhela bo mwene). n.d. p.5.
72. Interview, no.59.
73. Interview, no. 51.
74. Interview, Njamba; and interview, Luni.
75. Interview, no.54 grandmother, Senanga, 5 March, 1989.

77. Interview, Njamba.
78. Sumbwa, 'Sikenge', 20.
79. Interview, Njamba; interview, Nyumbu; and interview, no.51.
80. Interview, no. 59; and interview, no.56.
81. See also Sumbwa, 'Sikenge', 21-2.
82. Interview, Likokoto; and interview, Mwiya. Both informations argued that princesses could be allocated land.
83. D.U. Peters (N.W. Smyth (ed.), Land Usage in Barotseland (Lusaka; The Rhodes - Livingstone Institute, 1966), p. 47 and M.C. Milimo, 'Unequal Development: An Examination of the Situation of Women in Zambia's Development: A Theoretical perspective', G.F. Lungu and T.M. Singwe (eds), Women and Development in Africa (Lusaka, The Professors World Peace Academy, 1988), p.7.
84. Mainga, Bulozi, p.40.
85. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 144 and Milimo, 'Unequal Development', 7-8.
86. Interview, Mwiya.
87. Mainga, Bulozi, p. 114.

CHAPTER TWO

THE COLLAPSE OF MILAKA EDUCATION AND CHANGE IN SIKENGE: 1886 - 1963

This chapter is an examination of the collapse of milaka education and the change in sikenge. The chapter has been divided into two sections. In the first section, we discuss the effect of cattle diseases, western education, wage labour and other factors on the institution of milaka. The factors greatly upset the herding function of Lozi boys leading to the collapse of milaka education by the end of the 1940s. In the second section, we discuss the change in sikenge.

THE COLLAPSE OF MILAKA EDUCATION IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Cattle were the basis of milaka education in Bulozhi. The success of milaka education depended on the availability of large stocks of cattle and on the pattern of the use of cattle. In pre-colonial Bulozhi, cattle were a communal resource and could be acquired through raids, fines or as gifts or presents from the king, relatives, or friends and rarely through lobola.¹ They could also be acquired through the practice of kufunda which was a method of acquiring cattle from a relative's herd provided there was a witness and in day light.² In the twentieth century however, a more individual pattern of the use of cattle emerged. This came about because of the introduction of cattle trade after the rinderpest epidemic of 1895 and because of the cattle disease that attacked Lozi cattle after 1915.

After the rinderpest epidemic, which did not affect cattle in Bulozhi, Lozi cattle came to be in demand, especially among white farmers in the South. Many cattle were exported. The export trade in Lozi

cattle was, however, stopped after the outbreak of the bovine pleuropneumonia in 1915.³

Before the introduction of the hut tax in 1906, the Lozi sold their cattle only in order to acquire European goods such as cloths, blankets, pots, guns and gun-powder.⁴ After the introduction of hut tax, however, the selling of cattle was in part to meet the tax requirements. Between 1895 and 1915, cattle sales rose steadily. Sales estimated by one source states that 3,600 cattle were exported in 1901, and another says that Lewanika alone had an income of £1,500 from sales in 1905. Estimates for 1911 and 1912 suggest that 8,000 and 10,000 herd were exported in those respective years.⁵ The increase in cattle sales shows the increase in the commercial value of cattle. The changed value of cattle meant that they were no longer a communal resource. This was compounded by the fact that even the office of the Litunga, as shown in Lewanika's income realised from cattle sales, had privatised its cattle resources. The office of the Litunga was previously an important source of cattle for many Lozi families. No longer was it easy to acquire cattle through this office or through the practice of kufunda or gifts.⁶ The change in the value of cattle coupled with the desire of most cattle owners to closely take care of their stocks excluded many children, of those parents who had no cattle of their own, from milaka.

The privatisation of the cattle resources was further reinforced by the outbreak of the contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia in 1915. Due to the outbreak of this disease, the negative feeling towards communal

cattle-keeping was reinforced. This was exacerbated by government veterinary officers who went about emphasizing the need for isolating cattle in order to avoid infection.⁷ The disease, which was not successfully controlled until 1974, greatly depleted cattle stocks in Bulozì. This depletion was worsened by yet another deadly disease, the foot and mouth disease as from 1934. By 1964, Bulozì had experienced twelve major outbreaks of the foot and mouth disease.⁸ Since cattle were the cornerstone of milaka, death to them meant the death of the institution of milaka as well. Previously, as a matter of necessity, many boys were needed to herd the big herds of cattle. With the reduced stocks, only a small number of boys were needed to herd the cattle. The reduced numbers of boys at milaka made the institution less exciting and competitive.⁹

The development of mining centres and the consequent urbanization in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and later Northern Rhodesia brought Bulozì within the Southern Africa Economic Region in which it provided labour. Large scale recruitment started with the activities of the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau. By 1900, Clarke and Murray were already actively recruiting labour in the area.¹⁰ The process of labour migrations and recruitment continued to expand especially after the introduction of the poll tax in 1906. Through labour migrations, milaka lost most of its youngmen in the top strata, who had helped in the teaching of boys.¹¹ Unlike other institutions like the mukanda which acquired some mythical elements in order to protect its people from the wrath of tax collectors and labour recruitment agents,

milaka did not.¹² It did not become a sanctuary for its people. This meant that it could not control the rate of departure of its members.

By the time of the world depression of 1929, Lozi men had been closely integrated in the wage employment sector. During the depression, Bulozii experienced a shortage of wage employment. It became increasingly difficult to get employed either within or outside Bulozii. Many men were, therefore, prepared to take on any type of work they could get.¹³ The shortage of employment made the Lozi learn to 'appreciate both the value of money and their own economic worth to their employers.¹⁴ This explains how the Lozi became vulnerable to external crisis. The shortage of employment made the lust for wage employment even stronger. This led to people migrating in larger numbers, especially after the depression. This in turn led to further decline of the population at milaka, especially for those above the age of sixteen.

Within Bulozii, boys who were mainly above the age of sixteen, some of whom were milaka instructors could be employed as station hand-men and carriers at mission and government stations. They could also be employed as paddlers for the trading and transport companies. Others could also get employed by the royalty and other well to do families for petty jobs such as gardening.¹⁵ Others became carriers, especially along the Mongu - Mulobezi labour route. About twenty per-cent of the travellers along this route were carriers.¹⁶ By 1944, a total of 10,000 migrants were using this route.¹⁷ In the expanding money economy, wage employment became important to the Lozi.

Another important economic change contributing to the collapse of milaka was the decline in the hunting and raiding activities of the Lozi. At the beginning of colonial rule, colonial officers introduced fundamental changes in Bulozhi. Coryndon, for example, worked to put an end to the slave and cattle raiding activities of the Lozi, shortly after his arrival in 1898.¹⁸ Slavery was formally abolished through a proclamation by Lewanika in 1906.¹⁹ The abolition of raiding and slavery rendered some aspects of milaka education almost obsolete. Milaka has earlier taught fighting skills and had prepared boys for the tough hunting and raiding life by exposing them to bad weather and living conditions.

Under colonial rule, hunting too, became difficult. By 1907, large scale hunting in many areas of Bulozhi had ceased because of diminishing game resources. Long distance hunting expeditions were still, however, possible in the areas of Sesheke and Kasempa.²⁰

By 1936, hunting even in those areas had become difficult with new hunting regulations which were introduced. The Lozi were required to obtain a licence to be shown before hunting 'to the District Commissioner of the district in which they intend(ed) to hunt.'²¹ In most cases these licences were not given because large scale hunting was discouraged.²² Hunting, therefore, stopped being an aspect of milaka education.

The first permanent school was opened in 1886 by Collard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. This was located at Sefula, in Mongu district. In 1893, Coillard opened another school at Lwatile near Lealui. The second school was mainly aimed at Christianising children of the Lozi aristocracy and the royalty. These first schools were confined to mission stations, making the spread of both

Christianity and western education slow. In order to ensure the spread of both Christianity and western education at a fast rate, the mission decided to open village schools. The first one was opened at Mabumbu in 1898. 'By 1916 . . . 11 village schools were in operation and enrolment had reached 800 pupils. This number had grown to 2,300 in 1924 (41 schools) and to 4,600 in 1936, when the mission was running 73 schools.²³ The Paris Missionaries were joined by the Seventh Day Adventist Church (1928) and the Capuchin Fathers (1936) in the expansion of education in Bulozhi.

During the first decade of western education most commoners misconceived mission education as 'exclusively that of young princes; and those who attended to it [were], or by mere fact [became] their serfs and their slaves. That [was] enough to frighten the parents and the children themselves.'²⁴ This was because Lewanika, who also was the first to send his children to school, supported the missionaries in their missionary and education ventures. This had the effect that western education was first misconceived as a preserve of the royalty. There was widespread opposition from the indunas in Nalolo and Lealui against Lewanika's support for the missionaries. To show their discontent, the indunas 'declared that Lewanika had sold his children and the nation as well.'²⁵ Lewanika, however, did not despair. He sent his attendants to educate children and their parents on the importance of school and threatened to punish those who did not take school seriously.²⁶ Lewanika was particularly interested in the industrial education for the boys. He bought planes and saws so that boys could receive industrial education.²⁷

Lewanika, however, felt that the missionaries were offering inferior industrial education. In 1903, he invited the A.M.E.C. to open a technical school in Bulozhi. This effort was frustrated by the B.S.A.

Company who did not want the A.M.E.C. to operate in Bulozhi. In 1907, the B.S.A. Company opened the B.N.S. The B.N.S. was to provide technical education to Lozi boys.²⁸ This was complemented by missionaries who by 1915, were training 'teachers in carpentry which included making barges for river transport and scotch carts. Not until 1935, however, did the Paris Missionary Society open a trades school. This was at Senanga.'²⁹ Through the training of teachers and the trades school, industrial education, especially carpentry spread to many parts of Bulozhi.

Lewanika's support for western education in turn, frustrated milaka education. His efforts to bring about industrial change meant that he was officially substituting milaka crafts education with the western industrial one.³⁰ Many boys, therefore, turned away from milaka to take up western education.

The missionaries did not launch a direct attack on milaka. Their influence on milaka was, however, seen in the schools which became centres of a campaign against milaka. This campaign was carried out through songs which were meant to turn boys away from milaka. One of these songs is as follows :-

mwanana ya hana kwa sikolo

(the child who refuses school)

mwanana ha zibi ze nde

(the child does not know good things).

mulisana tuwe, sikuba

(you foolish herdboy)

to bone ze lu ituta kwa sikolo

(come and see what we learn at school).

Such songs coupled with stories in school readers which ridiculed

and exposed the brutalities at milaka were meant to attract a lot more boys into school.³¹ By the 1930s, milaka was increasingly being seen to be for only those foolish boys who did not want to attend school. With the expansion of the wage employment sector both within and outside Bulozhi, western education became popular. Schools came to be seen as a means of securing a better paying clerical or technical job.

In areas far away from the district centres, schools and mission stations, milaka continued to be held though on a reduced scale. Milaka education in these areas had also declined because they, too, were affected by the cattle diseases and the labour migrations. In some cases, some parents resorted to hiding their boys away from the nasando, who were official messengers sent to recruit boys of school going age. When found, parents of such boys were advised to send them to school and were warned strongly against stopping their children from attending school.³² As many boys started going to school, their numbers declined at milaka. By 1930, the institution was on the brink of collapsing. By 1941, boys no longer herded cattle far-away from home. When grazing in far-away areas, especially during floods, cattle were handed over to close friends or relatives who lived in the forest margins or near bush dambos.³³ In return for herding, these friends and relatives had the use of cattle for fertilising their gardens and had the milk.³⁴

Labour migrants and other cattle owners who either could not herd or employ herders or had too few cattle to allow for individual herding contracted herders through the mafisa system. The mafisa system of herding was a contractual relationship where in return for

the herding services, the herder got a calf or a cow per fixed period of time agreed upon.³⁵ This system which was earlier used by the kingship to expand its influence replaced the use of boys for herding purposes.³⁶

Milaka, therefore, collapsed because the cattle trade after the rinderpest epidemic brought the individual use of cattle resources. This eliminated the children of those parents without cattle from the institution. Milaka had earlier survived on the communal use of cattle resources. The number of boys at milaka declined further with the outbreak of the contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia and the foot and mouth disease which greatly reduced the cattle stocks in Bulozhi leading to the use of few boys at milaka. The abolition of raiding and the reduction in big game hunting rendered the fighting and hunting aspects of milaka education almost obsolete. Milaka education finally collapsed because the expansion of the western school system, which was more potentially rewarding, diverted the boy population from milaka while at the same time, the young men who were the instructors to the boys were out at work.

The collapse of milaka education is comparable to the collapse of Nama boys' initiation. In his study of initiation among the Xhosa and the Nama, Carstens observed, among other factors, that the drop in Nama boys' initiation was a result of the decline in big game hunting, herding and the advent of mission stations.³⁷ This holds true for the Lozi as well. The study of milaka has shown that the Lozi hunting activities had dropped fundamentally during colonial rule. There was also a decline in herding as a result of cattle diseases, the introduction of the western school system, wage labour and other factors. The collapse of milaka education is, therefore, comparable to its Nama counterpart.

CHANGE IN SIKENGE

In this section, we discuss change in sikenge during the colonial period. By discussing how women responded to the introduction of Christianity, the western school system and the restrictions on women's movement into towns, the section explains why sikenge survived in the colonial period, especially before 1950. Though many women later became involved in Christianity and migrations into towns and many girls went to school, the change was slow. The vast majority of women remained in the subsistence economy. Thus sikenge, even though it was adjusting to new changes, continued to be relevant to the majority of the women. Its capacity to adjust led to the emergence of three versions of sikenge by 1963.

The early missionaries found it difficult to convert women to Christianity. Women were skeptical about the Christian teachings and were, therefore, fewer in church than men. In 1889, Coillard lamented that 'the evangelisation of the Zambesian women is the most arduous part of our work. We do not know how to reach them; they do not take an interest in anything and one cannot make them do so.'³⁸ The missionaries did not despair. They were quick to note that women were not willing to be converted to Christianity because of deep rooted Lozi tribal norms and values.³⁹ In order to dissuade women from tribal ways of life, a campaign against 'paganism' was launched. In 1905, among other customs, Jalla spoke of the 'horrors perpetrated in the initiation schools for girls [and of] customs which were as useless as debasing.'⁴⁰ He urged the kuta to ban sikenge. The kuta instead made it optional.⁴¹ The missionaries, thereafter,

persuaded girls to live at mission stations where they would not be made to go through sikenge.⁴² This strategy was not very successful because many could still be abducted from the mission stations by relatives into sikenge.⁴³ Despite missionary efforts and the option given for sikenge, the institution was still commonly practiced among the Lozi by 1927.

According to one woman interviewed by Jalla in 1927, if a girl did not undergo the puberty rites of sikenge, 'her heart would remain the heart of a child. She would be lazy, cheeky, wilful and loquacious; and above all, she would not be able to give birth to children.'⁴⁴ The missionary attack on sikenge in the early years, had little effect. Sikenge had a strong religious base as shown in its rituals. Change in sikenge came about with the missionary success at making Christian converts, especially from the female population.

By 1926, the missionary campaign against sikenge had been reinforced by Christian converts from both the male and female population. Notable in this respect were the teachers who were normally catechists and their Christian wives. These carried out their anti-sikenge campaigns in schools, churches and in private talks. Arguing that sikenge life had no meaning, they made balyanjo speak in public, ate with them and called them by their names.⁴⁵ All this was a violation of taboos related to sikenge. These aspects of sikenge were, therefore, being eroded. This was the beginning of 'Christian' sikenge. Like in many other societies, the church purged sikenge of those aspects it considered immoral and incorporated Christian values and practices.⁴⁶ At Mabumbu Mission School for girls, the missionaries invited elderly Christian women to teach girls in school premises if girls matured while in school. This practice continued well into the 1950s.⁴⁷

The Christian version of sikenge lacked those aspects considered cruel or unchristian. Among the practices that were stopped was the making of incisions on the mwalyanjo.⁴⁸ Songs and dances which were considered obscene were also stopped and they were replaced with church ones.⁴⁹ Women church elders took over the role of marriage counsellors. Siyeke was replaced by a few church songs before going to bed. The coming out ceremony was replaced by a church service in the morning.⁵⁰ This version of sikenge, however, was mainly confined to those brought up at the mission stations or to daughters of Christian parents who remained in the minority throughout the colonial period.

The missionaries, however, succeeded more in their dealings with the daughters of the slave class. They were least successful with the children of the aristocracy and the royal families. Members of this class collected their children from school at puberty, took them into sikenge before returning them to school.⁵¹ These parents used their influence to get their children from school into sikenge. The sikenge of the aristocratic and royal class was less cruel than that of the commoners.⁵²

Western education, like Christianity, did not affect a large Lozi female population, especially in the early years. For almost the whole colonial period, female education was to many unpopular. Many parents were reluctant to send their daughters to school. The opening of girls' boarding schools in 1916 and 1926 at Sesheke and Mabumbu respectively did not change the situation much.⁵³ Although 'parents were a little more willing to entrust their daughters to the lady missionaries than permit them to attend the village schools . . . opposition to girls' education was [still] deep rooted and lasted for many years.'⁵⁴ As late as 1952, the parents' attitudes towards girls'

education had changed little. This apathy towards female education, especially at the village and other co-education schools was because most parents could not entrust their daughters to male teachers. Some male teachers were physically attracted to some of their female pupils and also sent them to do domestic work at their houses.⁵⁵ The lack of interest in female education was also due to very few career prospects for women. Most of those who received western education could only be employed as dressers in the local clinics and as teaching assistants.⁵⁶ For a long time therefore, female education was not supported by most parents and remained unattractive. Female school enrollment figures remained lower than those of boys.

The low turnout in female education meant that western education did not reach a large female population. The few who received it, in most cases, only went up to the second year of primary education. This low education coupled with little employment opportunities meant that most girls did not graduate into the formal employment sector. They graduated into the subsistence sector where hardwork, motherhood, success in marriage, respect to elders and humility were still emphasized.⁵⁷ These were still important aspects of womanhood. They were, therefore, still emphasized in sikenge education. The impact of western education on sikenge in the period before 1950 was, therefore, minimal.

With the opening of more schools, especially after 1945, many people who were not necessarily Christians came to be employed as teachers. Unlike the early teachers who were also catechists, most of the teachers of the late 1940s and early 1950s respected the condition of mwalyanjo and would normally exempt her from most of the extra-

curricular activities.⁵⁸ Thus the teacher would not allow her to participate in sports. He would also ensure that she did not mix freely with boys and that she immediately went home after school.⁵⁹ Teachers would report the mwalyanjo to her parents or even punish her if she misbehaved.⁶⁰ This was a new element in sikenge. Men were not previously allowed to punish the mwalyanjo.

Schools took over some of the functions of sikenge. Homecraft lessons included lessons in basketry work. Many found it time wasting to continue these lessons in sikenge.⁶¹ Added to this was the fact that during the 1950s and 1960s, when more parents allowed their daughters to go to school, some of the crafts were no longer taught in sikenge. Pot-making as an industry, for example, had started to decline as early as 1922 after the introduction of metal pots and plates.⁶² The introduction of western wares, which were in most cases superior to African ones, therefore, contributed to the decline of sikenge crafts. Moreover, indigenous pots could be bought within Bulozhi. Many could acquire them even if they did not possess the pot-making skills. This also explains why by 1963, crafts education was no longer an important aspect of sikenge.

Sikenge lessons were also interrupted by the mwalyanjo's going to school. Sikenge was normally extended over the school term. This meant that the mwalyanjo could only attend her sikenge lessons after school and during weekends. This affected her mastery of sikenge skills because of the reduced time allocated for the lessons.

Another aspect that contributed to the change in sikenge was the freedom of movement into towns granted to women after 1950. Prior to this period, the colonial government in collaboration with the Lozi native authorities restricted the movement of women into towns. Women together with their children were not allowed to leave Bulozhi.

The penalty for leaving or attempting to leave was a head of cattle payable to the native authorities.⁶³ Those who attempted to leave were normally apprehended.⁶⁴ This seriously limited women's economic advancement. For a long time women remained tied to the subsistence economy. Their continued participation in the subsistence sector favoured the survival of sikenge. It continued to be a useful institution preparing women for their participation in the subsistence economy.

Government policy towards female migrations into towns changed after 1950. This arose out of the need to bring 'balanced stability' between urban and rural population. Thus 'impediments to female migration to towns were ended so that urbanised families could be formed. By the 1960s female migrants to towns outnumbered male migrants.⁶⁵ This change brought about a new version of sikenge, the urban version. This version was held as close to the village one as was possible.⁶⁶ In the urban areas, it was difficult to feed instructors throughout the period of sikenge. Most parents, therefore, invited instructors shortly before the coming out ceremony.⁶⁷ This meant that there was a concentration of lessons within a very short time leading to inadequate mastery of most aspects taught in sikenge.

By the end of the colonial period, three versions of sikenge had emerged. Firstly there was the rural sikenge practiced among non-Christian communities. In this version, most of the aspects of the pre-colonial sikenge were maintained. Most rules and taboos were still enforced. Marriage counselling, motherhood, respect to elders, hard-work and other virtues were emphasized. The training programmes, however, were no longer as intensive as in the pre-colonial sikenge. Secondly, there was the Christian version which was mainly purged of

all that was considered morally harmful and, therefore, sinful by the Christians. It, too stressed hardwork, love and faithfulness to husbands. Instead of the principal tutor and her colleagues teaching the above aspects, female church elders provided instructions in keeping with Christian principles of living. Thirdly, there was the town version. Though this version was conducted as close as was possible to the village version, there was less mastery of sikenge lessons because of the concentration of instructions on the eve of the coming out ceremony.

In both the urban and Christian versions, religious rituals had been lost. Religious rituals, which had earlier characterised sikenge, either became difficult to perform owing to the town environment or were considered pagan. Taboos which had governed the life of the mwalyanjo and were an important reflection of Lozi beliefs and religion also disappeared. The mwalyanjo could move freely without her blanket cover and could easily talk to friends or men. Clapping as a sign of respect to elders began to die away. In both versions, the mwalyanjo received advice from family friends or church elders some of whom were not Lozi. These offered their advice in line with their own traditions or beliefs. In all the three versions, sikenge was adjusted so as to suit the school calendar. Thus lessons were usually limited to after school hours and to school holidays. Important skills such as basketry work and pot-making had been lost. Further change in sikenge occurred in the post-colonial period.

NOTES:

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26. Snelson, Educational Development, p. 45.
27. Snelson, Educational Development, p. 40.
28. H.K. Mutumba, 'The History of the Barotse National School : 1907-1934.' M.Ed. Dissertation (University of Zambia, 1984), 17-8.
29. Snelson, Educational Development , pp. 44-5.
30. Interview, Musiyalike Mukanda, former Ngambela for Western Province, 10 February, 1989.
31. Paliso ya Bulozii : Buka ya Pili (1948), pp. 56-58.

32. Interview, Lubinda.
33. Gluckman, Economy, 53.
34. Gluckman, Economy, p. 53.
35. Prins, The Hidden Hippopotamus, p. 87.
36. Interview, Sichechani Akakulu, retired Education Officer, Senanga, 5 March, 1989.
37. P. Carstens, 'The Socio-Economic Context of Initiation Ceremonies Among Two Southern African Peoples,' Canadian Journal of African Studies, 16, 3, 1982, 517.
38. Coillard, On the Threshold, p. 399.
39. Coillard, On the Threshold, p. 399.
40. A. Jalla, 'Initiation Schools for Girls in Barotseland,' Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia 1927 (Lovedale : Lovedale Institution Press, n.d.), p. 124
41. Jalla, 'Initiation Schools for Girls,' 124.
42. Jalla, 'Initiation Schools for Girls,' 125.
43. Jalla, 'Initiation Schools for Girls,' 125.
44. Jalla, 'Initiation Schools for Girls,' 127.
45. Jalla, 'Initiation Schools for Girls,' 126-7.
46. W.V. Lucas, 'The Educational Value of Initiatory Rites,' The International Review of Missions, 16, 62, April 1927, 197.
47. Interview, Mutumba Mainga Bull, Provincial Political Secretary for Science and Technology, Lusaka, 31 March, 1990.
48. Interview, Chief Chiengele Nyumbu, Mbunda Chief, Nañoko, 18 February, 1989.
49. Interview, no. 51, grandmother, Limulunga, 18 March, 1989.
50. Interview, no. 59, retired Teaching Assistant, Likunge Village, 19 March, 1989; Interview, no. 53, Grandmother, Sefula, 22 February, 1989.
51. Coillard, On the Threshold, p. 347; Interview, no. 59
52. Interview, no. 55, Mother, Limulunga, 18 March, 1989.

53. Snelson, Educational Development, p. 47.
54. Snelson, Educational Development, p. 47.
55. NAZ, K SR 2/1, Senanga District Notebook, 1907-63.
56. Interview, Indopu Nalishuwa Njamba, retired Boarding Master, Senanga, 1 March, 1989.
57. Interview, Njamba.
58. Interview, Likokoto; and Interview, Njamba.
59. Interview, Njamba; and Interview, no. 59.
60. Interview, Likokoto.
61. Interview, no. 56, female clerk, District Council, Mongu, 22 February, 1989.
62. D.W. Stirke, Barotseland : Eight Years Among the Barotse (London : John Bale, Sons and Danielson Ltd., 1922), p. 56; Interview, no. 51.
63. NAZ, KSH 2/1 , vol. iv, Kalabo District Notebook, 1906-1962.
64. NAZ, NR 3/57, Provision of Rest Camps.
65. I.M.G. Schuster, New Women of Lusaka (California : May Field Publishing Company, 1979), p. 20.
66. Interview, no. 54, Grandmother, Senanga, 5 March, 1989; See also I.A. Crowther, 'Female Initiation Ceremonies (sikenge) as Practiced by the Subiya of Barotseland, Northern Rhodesia,' Nada , 9, 1, 1964, 54, for a discussion on the Subiya urban version of sikenge.
67. See also Crowther, 'Female Initiation,' 54.

CHAPTER THREE

CHANGE IN SIKENGE IN INDEPENDENT ZAMBIA, 1964-1975

In this chapter, we examine further the extent of change in sikenge. By focussing on increased educational and employment opportunities for women, urbanization and other social and economic changes, the chapter explains change and resilience shown in sikenge up to 1975. It is important to note that it has not been possible to separately study change in the three versions of sikenge which had emerged by the end of the colonial period. This was because in the post colonial period, it was the village sikenge which was changing more towards the Christian and town versions. Through the influence of the factors mentioned above, the village version became more vulnerable to change than the other two versions. Furthermore, change in the village version was reflected in the other two versions. In the post colonial period, the two versions were practiced as close as possible to the village version. We have, therefore, concentrated on the village sikenge.

The independent government of Zambia was committed to an expansion programme in the field of education. In 1965, under the Emergency Plan, 1,360 primary school places were created in Bulozhi. In the same year, Senanga Secondary School was opened with an initial intake of 53 boys and 8 girls.¹ This was followed by the opening of other co-educational secondary schools such as Kalabo, Kaoma and Sesheke. Holy Cross Girls Secondary School was opened in Mongu. Many new primary schools were also opened. Thus by 1975, the government

had increased primary school enrollment in Bulozhi to 77,440, out of which 34,876 were girls and secondary school enrollment to 5,964. From the total secondary school enrollment, 2,031, were girls.² Though the girls' enrollment in both primary and secondary schools does not compare favourably to that of boys, it shows the marked transformation that had taken place in female education. By this time parents had become more willing to send their daughters to school. This was because of the increase in female employment opportunities. Female education was also seen as increasing the chances of marrying a husband with a better paying job. Parents charged high lobola for educated and working daughters.³ The effect on sikenge of the transformation that had taken place in female education was fourfold.

Firstly, the expansion of western education widened the influence of the school system on sikenge as many more girls were brought into school. As many parents got concerned about their daughters' performance at school, sikenge was increasingly being confined to school holidays. In the cases where girls had to travel long distances to the villages for initiation, sikenge could even last for only a week.⁴ The result was less mastery of the skills and virtues taught in sikenge. This contrasted greatly with the colonial period where, in the majority of cases, sikenge was extended over the school term. Due to the lack of adequate time for sikenge lessons in the post-colonial period, the criteria which was used in considering one for the coming out ceremony also changed. Unlike before, when the mwalyanjo could be considered for the coming out ceremony only after she had properly mastered all that was taught and was able to exhibit the learnt behaviour, this was no longer the case by 1975. The school calendar

became more important than the mastery of sikenge lessons. A girl could be considered for the coming out ceremony on the grounds that she was about to go back to school.⁵

Secondly, more aspects of sikenge were stopped. The post colonial teacher, unlike his colonial counterpart, was expected to handle a bigger number of pupils. His protection over the balyanjo was, therefore, becoming less and less.⁶ By 1975, girls could freely talk to boys at school; stopped wearing tukenge; and were not to remain dirty.⁷ At the coming out ceremony, the hair cut for graduates was no longer in the ngulawela fashion. These aspects were stopped because of two reasons. Firstly, most of the pubescent girls did not want to be identified as undergoing sikenge or as sikenge graduates. Secondly, the hair cut style had become unfashionable and, therefore, embarrassing to the graduates.⁸

Thirdly, the function of sikenge had become less significant, especially for the few who remained in school long after attaining puberty. Sikenge had prepared its graduates to take up their roles as adults in the community and as wives. By 1973, however, most parents were already giving preference to school education and professional or semi-professional training over their daughters' early marriages.⁹ It was becoming unusual for a girl to join her husband immediately after sikenge. Most girls went through sikenge at the end of their primary education. It was, therefore, many years before they could marry. The immediate role of sikenge, therefore, became less significant. The time lapse that followed between sikenge education and the time that one married led some informants to argue that the institution was promoting immorality among its graduates.¹⁰ The

attack centred on sex education. It was generally felt that sex education came too early. The institution was also said to confer adult status before the girls could be out of school. The conflicting demands between the school disciplinary code and the adult status accorded to the girls through sikenge had led to problems of maintaining discipline both at school and within the community as a whole. *The problem of discipline, however, should be seen as an individual weakness rather than an institutional one.* Sikenge, itself, emphasizes a high level of discipline which included refraining from sex before marriage.¹¹

Fourthly, the expansion of western education increased the rate of female migrants outside Bulozhi. The government pursued a policy of having uniform national cut-off points for marks obtained at grades 7 and 10 levels.¹² This meant that as long as a pupil was above the cut-off mark, she was free to go to school in any part of the country. This, added to the fact that Bulozhi had one teacher training College and one nursing school increased female migrants to areas outside Bulozhi.¹³ Those who could not enter these institutions went outside Bulozhi for their studies. This enhanced cultural interaction between the Lozi and other Zambian people.

The improved transport network between Bulozhi and the urban areas reinforced the process of cultural interaction.¹⁴ In 1971, an all-weather road between Mongu and Lusaka was completed. Travelling between Lusaka and Mongu was reduced from 3 to 1 day's journey.¹⁵ The Nakatindi road between Sesheke and Livingstone was also completed by 1973. The result was rapid urbanization of the Lozi population. Many migrated in search of wage employment both within and outside Bulozhi.

The increase in migrations in turn led to a high incidence of inter-regional marriages. These intermarriages brought about conflict over the position of sikenge as regards children of such marriages.¹⁶ In some cases, if one of the parents was opposed to certain aspects of sikenge, the girl would not undergo a full sikenge course. In other cases, sikenge was completely abandoned, especially if one of the parents was completely opposed to the practice of sikenge.¹⁷

There were, however, some positive elements of cultural interaction. From the Luvale of north-western province, for example, the Lozi by about 1970, had adopted the use of chitenge flags at the coming out ceremony.¹⁸ The flags symbolised the successful completion of the sikenge training and the joyous ceremony that followed.¹⁹

There were also other changes that had taken place and had influenced sikenge. The decline in the incidence of polygamy was one such example. Polygamy declined because of a number of factors. These included the influence of the Christian teachings which forbade polygamy, the increased cost of maintaining a polygamous marriage and the reduced pressure on women's domestic responsibilities.²⁰ Most families in good paying jobs could employ servants and gardeners. Originally these could only be employed by the aristocratic and chiefly classes. The reduction in the incidence of polygamy in turn led to less emphasis on the teaching of behaviour in polygamous marriages.²¹ In addition the increase in modern amenities such as houses connected to electricity and water supplies reduced the tasks of cutting and carrying firewood and water, especially in urban and peri-urban areas. The increased use of tractor and ox-driven ploughs in agriculture also helped to reduce women's agricultural tasks.²² Instruction in sikenge in these aspects was also lessened, especially in those areas where the

services were provided. This was taking place despite the fact that most women lived in areas where these facilities were not available. This erosion of practical skills that had started during the colonial period was extended into the post-colonial period. By 1975, sikenge had started to confine itself to marriage counselling.²³ Instruction in practical skills especially for the urban based families was no longer emphasized.

There was, however, a realisation of the importance of some of the skills formerly taught in sikenge. Women's groups began to re-teach some of the skills. As early as 1965, the Y.M.C.A. in Mongu had become active in the domestic education of women. Under the leadership of Wright, the association among other lessons, started teaching such skills as basket making.²⁴ The Y.M.C.A. was joined by other women's associations formed by church groups and the government Department of Community Development. By 1975, this reteaching included pot-making.²⁵ These activities were being carried out in order to re-inculcate the old skills in domestic life. They were also taught because of the importance of passing knowledge to new generations.²⁶ The skills which had once been important lessons in sikenge were then being taught to grown-up women outside sikenge.

The teaching outside sikenge was less effective as a means of transmitting knowledge. It was less cohesive and its learners were not keen to learn.²⁷ This was because the skills were not relevant to their lives. Apart from the cultural significance attached to such lessons, the lessons had little immediate applicability to the learners.²⁸ This discouraged most of the learners.

The expansion of the cash-economy in the post colonial period influenced the practice of sikenge. Class differences became more distinct in the practice of sikenge. By 1968, many of the poor had

stopped initiating their daughters at the first menstruation.²⁹ The first menstrual blood was no longer the only qualification for entry into sikenge. This was because many could not afford to procure the basic necessities to make sikenge possible. The preparedness of the parents before a girl could be initiated became of prime importance.³⁰ This was a reversal of the belief that if a girl menstruated several times without being initiated, one of her parents or a close relative would die. In this way, money had become a constraint on sikenge. It was becoming difficult for the poor to host sikenge.

The difficulties of the poor were increased by the rising cost of basic necessities for the coming out ceremony. These were misisi, foodstuffs, beer and other beverages. Misisi, a traditional dress which required about 9 metres of cloth to make a full set became too expensive. By 1975, misisi were beginning to be replaced by cheap dresses.³¹ The financial constraint made the poor resort to a ritual coming out known as kutapisa. In this version, the mwalyanjo was ritually bathed and given a name.³² The cost was minimized as there were not many items required. The coming out ceremony of the rich contrasted greatly with that of the poor. The rich people's ceremony was characterised by feasting. Cattle were slaughtered and a lot of beer was brewed. In some cases feasting lasted for three days.³³

Misisi as a type of dress were, however, slowly being abandoned. The dress was no longer fashionable. Moreover, the dress was incompatible with the new dancing styles at the coming - out ceremony.³⁴ They were too heavy and obscured the dancer's skills. This became particularly noticeable when the balyanjo began to dance to entertain the public. Dancing had become important because of the need to attract a big audience.³⁵ The success of the ceremony was also seen

in terms of the number of people in attendance.

The dancing skills of the mwalyanjo were important in raising money at the coming - out ceremony.³⁶ A good dancer was likely to get more money from friends, relatives and well - wishers. This money was shared between the principal tutor and the mwalyanjo.³⁷ A trend was emerging by 1975, where tutors were being hired to train balyanjo. This was because of the need to produce balyanjo who would be good dancers and have an interesting ceremony.³⁸ In urban areas, the scarcity of tutors made their services even more expensive. Many preferred to hire Mbunda women as these were believed to have exceptional dancing qualities.³⁹ Tutorship was, therefore, becoming a profession. In this way, sikenge was also being used as a commercial undertaking. Its capacity to become more entertaining and resourceful was an important aspect in its continued survival in the post colonial period.

A major reason, however, for the survival of sikenge was that the subsistence economy which had been an important base for the institution continued to be a significant means of survival for the majority of Lozi families. Sikenge as an institution preparing women for their participation in this sector continued to be relevant to most of these families. Lozi women, like those in other parts of Zambia, dominated the subsistence sector.⁴⁰ Though the contribution that sikenge has made to this sector has been reduced, it is still hoped that women could be integrated in the subsistence economy despite the reduced content. The contribution of sikenge to marriage was still relevant.

Sikenge was also able to survive because of its continued support from the menfolk. Men preferred to marry women who had gone

through sikenge. A satisfactory wife was one who acted and behaved according to the teachings of sikenge.⁴¹ In order to secure their marriages, women complied with the teachings in sikenge. It is important to note that the attitudes of Lozi men, like those of other men in many parts of Africa, were supported by secular opinion. Their criticism of laxity in women's behaviour was supported by traditional norms and values which constituted good behaviour.⁴² Lozi men secured their women's continued adherence to the tribal norms and values through sikenge. Thus their support for sikenge was important in the survival of the institution.

Elderly men and women continued to support sikenge because they saw it as a way of upholding morality among the Lozi. Morality was important in promoting harmony between children, parents and the elders. Sikenge helped to produce a woman who was humble, obedient and feared the authority of the elders in her society. Such a woman was expected to transmit such morals to her children as well.⁴³

Sikenge also survived because it received little or no opposition from women or women groups. Most women felt that sikenge did not contribute to women's submissiveness to men.⁴⁴ To them sikenge did not mean an acceptance and a consolidation of men's superior position. It helped to perfect the would be wife's domestic skills and developed her to be of good service to her husband, children and relatives. The oppression of women by men was seen as a societal arrangement.⁴⁵

This view has, however, come under attack from some educated women who argued that instructions such as learning to be submissive

to a husband; to fear him; and to take instructions from him amounted to an acknowledgement of men's superior position which the men capitalised on to subordinate women in public life.⁴⁶ Since sikenge offered domestic education, it was also accused of limiting women's participation in the formal sector.⁴⁷ This was because it offered the home as a woman's rightful place. This criticism of some of the elements of sikenge shows that the position of sikenge has begun to be threatened.

By the 1970s, sikenge had become unpopular, especially among the initiates. Many girls did not want to go through sikenge because it was embarrassing to receive instructions in marriage and sex education at a time when one was not ready for marriage.⁴⁸ The perception of respect, humility and authority of the elders in sikenge was also different from that of the girls.⁹ Clapping or kneeling down when answering or giving an item to an elderly person as a sign of respect was beginning to die away.⁴⁹ Respect as taught by the western school system was becoming more acceptable to many girls.⁵⁰ Instead of becoming popular,⁵¹ sikenge was becoming unpopular. This was evidenced by an increasing number of girls who had to be tricked or forced into sikenge. In both urban and rural areas, most girls were either beaten into accepting or lured into the bush where a group of women lay in ambush.⁵²

Though sikenge was still commonly practiced by 1975, the institution had lost most of its content. It had become too brief and was concentrating mainly on marriage counselling. It was offering marriage counselling because most families still expected their daughters to marry. The institution of sikenge came to be seen only

as an institution preparing girls for marriage. As earlier discussed in chapter 1, the marriage function was only one aspect of sikenge. The erosion that had taken place in sikenge seriously affected the integration of girls into the subsistence sector and the filial relations between parents and their children. The high incidence of female school drop - outs resulted in many girls graduating into the subsistence sector where the virtues earlier taught in sikenge mattered a lot. At the same time, the erosion that had taken place in sikenge meant that girls were not adequately prepared for their participation in this sector. These girls were psychologically less adjusted for this sector. This resulted in wide-spread complaints by many elders that girls of post-colonial Bulozii were cheeky, wilful and lazy.⁵³

NOTES:

1. 'New School places in Barotseland,' South Western Star, March,3, 1965.
2. Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education : Development and Planning Unit - Education Statistics - 1975, p. 16, for primary school enrollment and p. 72 for secondary school enrollment.
3. Interview, Mutinta Walubita, Nurse, Mongu, 20 February, 1989.
4. Interview, no. 56, female clerk, District Council, Mongu, 22 February, 1989.
5. Interview, Getrude Mushiba Munalula, female helper, Mongu, 21 February, 1989.
6. Interview, Sinvula Simasiku Likokoto, Village Headman and retired Head Teacher, Kashombo Village, 16 March, 1989; Indopu Nalishuwa Njamba, retired Boarding Master, Senanga, 1 March, 1989.
7. Interview, Likokoto.
8. Interview, Munalula; Interview, no. 56; and Interview, Muyapekwa Sikwibele, Deputy Headmistress, Nañoko, 15 February, 1989.
9. 'Mukiti wa Mwalyanjo,' Liseli, February 8, 1973; Interview, no. 52, grandmother, Village Kashombo, 17 March, 1989; Interview, Njamba.
10. Interview, no. 56; Interview, no. 58, Nurse, Senanga, 2 March, 1989.
11. Interview, no. 52; Interview, Sikwibele. Both informants argued that sikenge emphasized a high disciplinary conduct. Sex outside marriage was highly discouraged and pregnancies outside marriage were rare.
12. Interview, Njamba; and Interview, no. 50, grandmother and retired teacher, Limulunga, 18 March, 1989.
13. Interview, no. 50.
14. Interview, no. 50; and Interview, Likokoto.
15. Interview, Njamba; and Interview, Likokoto.

16. Interview, no. 50; and Interview, Walubita.
17. Interview, Walubita.
18. Interview, no. 52.
19. Interview, no. 52.
20. Interview, Likokoto; and Interview, Chiengele Nyumbu, Mbunda Chief, Nañoko, 14 February, 1989.
21. Interview, no. 50. The informant observed that there has been a considerable decline in instructions on how to behave in a polygamous marriage. She attributed the decline in instructions to the decline in polygamy. In her days the mwalyanjo was told about what to expect in such marriages and how to conduct herself. Since polygamy was widely accepted, it was rare that one could divorce simply because a husband married a second wife.
22. Interview, Lileko Muha, retired nurse and now Businesswoman, Mongu, 24 February, 1989; See also M. Wilson, For Men and Elders : Change in Relations of Men and Women Among the Nyakyusa-Ngonde People, 1875-1971 (London : International African Institute, 1977), p. 29. My informant agreed with Wilson that modern amenities such as domestic electricity, piped water and mechanized agriculture have lessened women's domestic responsibilities. Muha argued that it was previously common for the mwalyanjo to be introduced or instructed in such aspects but this changed because not many girls would like to permanently live in the villages. They attend school and so, they hope to get a better job after school.
23. Interview, Muha; See also Mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live, ' 347.
24. South-Western Star, March, 31, 1965
25. Liseli, November 27, 1975.
26. Liseli, November 27.
27. Interview, Christina Kasiku Zaza, District Homecraft Organiser, Mongu, 25 March, 1989.
28. Interview, Zaza.
29. Interview, Munalula ; and Interview no. 56. Both informants observed that by the late 1960s and early 1970s,

the poor had problems in initiating their daughters at the first menstruation. Munalula's parents were such an example. It had become expensive to host sikenge. Many parents preferred to postpone the initiation of their daughters till they obtained some of the basic necessities for sikenge.

30. Interview, Munalula; and Interview, no. 56.
31. Interview, Muha; and Interview, Musiyalike Mukande, former Ngambela for the Western Province, Sefula, 10 February, 1989. These informants observed that it was becoming too expensive to buy misisi for the mwalyanjo but since it was customary that the mwalyanjo should wear a new attire at the coming out ceremony, many opted for cheap ordinary dresses.
32. Interview, Muha.
33. Interview, Muyapekwa Sikwibele.
34. Interview, Mary Makai, Businesswoman, Mongu 24 February 1989; and Getrude Kongano, Businesswoman, Mongu, 24 February, 1989.
35. Interview, Makai.
36. Interview, Makai.
37. Interview, Makai.
38. Interview, Makai; and Interview, Mutumba Mainga Bull, Provincial Political Secretary for Science and Technology, Lusaka, 31 March, 1990. Both informants observed that the hiring of tutors was contrary to tradition but had become necessary because knowledgeable tutors were rare to find especially in towns. Makai observed that it was also because dancing as a means of raising money had become important as it enabled the mwalyanjo to raise some money for some of the new clothes she needed, especially after graduation.
39. Interview, Makai; and Interview, no. 52.
40. See M.C. Milimo, 'Unequal Development : An Examination of the Situation of Women In Zambia's Development, A Theoretical Perspective', G.F. Lungu and I.M. Sihyangwe (eds.), Women and Development In Africa (Lusaka : The Professors' World Peace Academy, 19880, p. 12; and mbikusita-Lewanika, 'Learning to Live,' 348.

41. Interview, Nyumbu.
42. Interview, Nyumbu; See also A. Southall, 'Introductory Summary', A. Southall, Social Change in Modern Africa (London : Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 53. Nyumbu agreed with Southall that men's criticism of laxity in female behaviour carried more weight because it was backed by tradition. Nyumbu argued that it was necessary for a woman to behave in accordance with what constitutes 'good behaviour' because this would enable her to marry and would not be a source of discontent even among relatives and friends.
43. Interview, Nyumbu.
44. Interview, Muha; Interview, Florence Monde Mashebe, Business-woman, Mongu, 24 February, 1989; and Interview, Iñutu Ikasaya, teacher, Mongu, 24 February, 1989.
45. Interview, Ikasaya; and Interview, A.L. Sikwibele, Lecturer, Lusaka, 28 March, 1990.
46. Interview, no. 56; Interview, no. 58; Interview, no. 60, teacher, Kitwe, 10 May, 1989; Interview, A.L. Sikwibele; and Interview, R. Shakakata, Librarian, Lusaka, 2 April, 1990; See also Mbikusita - Lewanika, 'Learning to Live', 335.
47. Milimo, 'Unequal Development', p. 11.
48. Interview, no. 56; and Interview, no. 57, nurse, Mongu, 13 March, 1989. These informants confessed that they had never wanted to go through sikenge and felt they gained little from the institution. Since they still wanted to remain in school and were not ready for marriage at the time when they went through sikenge, they did not pay much attention to their lessons. To them it was simply a tradition to be endured but which had no significance to their lives. They further argued that they could marry even without sikenge.
49. Interview, Likokoto. My informant argued that the young had found it embarrassing or inconveniencing to follow the traditional ways of respect to elders, especially in public places or streets. They, therefore, could not clap hands or kneel down before their elders.
50. Interview, Likokoto; and Interview, Muyapekwa Sikwibele. These informants observed that respect as taught in schools was believed by the young to be less inconveniencing. Most of all, the young wanted to

identify themselves with 'modernity'.

51. G.N. Sumbwa, 'Sikenge : Female Adolescent Education Among the Lozi' of Western Zambia', Unpublished Seminar Paper, Educational Research Bureau, University of Zambia (21 April, 1988), 22.
52. Interview, no. 56; Interview, Inonge Mabuku, peasant, Sefula, 27 February, 1989; and Interview, Josephine Mubyana, House Keeper, Mongu, 20 February, 1989.
53. Interview, Nyumbu; Interview, Njamba; Interview, Muha; Interview, Zaza; and Interview, no. 52.

C O N C L U S I O N

Our argument in this study has been that to fully understand the collapse of milaka and the change in sikenge, we have to understand the changes that were taking place both within and outside Bulozhi. In pre-colonial Bulozhi, the two institutions evolved from the social and economic activities of the Lozi. During herding, Lozi boys received important lessons in cattle care techniques, marriage and parenthood, fighting and hunting and the Lozi social and political set-up. They also received instructions in such important traditional crafts as wood carving and the making of butter from milk. Milaka prepared the boys for their roles in the Lozi society. Similarly, Lozi girls were also prepared for their roles as agricultural cultivators, mothers and wives. Sikenge aimed at producing a woman who was acceptable to her husband and the Lozi society as a whole. The arrival of the Mbunda and the Kololo brought notable changes in milaka and sikenge. Milaka was also able to acquire some aspects of cattle herding from the Ila slaves. The institutions' capacity to absorb new elements had turned them into important educational institutions by the time colonial rule was introduced.

We have also shown that milaka fell into disuse because of a combination of factors. The introduction of capitalist enterprise in the Southern African region, the selling of cattle after the rinderpest epidemic, the outbreak of cattle diseases, the ending of cattle and slave raiding and the introduction of poll tax all reduced the participation of Lozi men within the Lozi economy. Many of the male population opted for wage employment. The involvement of Lozi youngmen

in the consequent labour migrations led to their departure from milaka. The outbreak of the contagious bovine pleuropneumonia in 1915 and the foot and mouth disease in 1932, greatly reduced the cattle stocks in Bulozil. Since milaka very much depended on the prevalence and the communal use of cattle, milaka as an educational institution declined with the decline in the number of cattle stocks. Milaka education finally disappeared as more and more boys went to school since the ages required for milaka coincided with those for western schools.

For sikenge, we have argued that change in sikenge was rather slow because women were not easily attracted into western schools and the Christian faith. At the same time, the general social and economic changes that were taking place in Bulozil had less effect on women's economic roles. Throughout the colonial period, women remained the main participants in the subsistence sector of the Lozil economy. This enabled sikenge to survive as women's duties were still in line with the teachings in sikenge. As many women were finally converted to Christianity and entered school, change occurred in sikenge. The Christians removed from sikenge education, all the elements of sikenge which they considered sinful. The period of sikenge was also shortened to suit school demands. Due to the introduction of western wares, basketry work and pot-making ceased to be lessons in sikenge. Practical craft skills, no longer determined women's contribution to the household. Products could be bought with money. Sikenge, therefore, had to change, taking into account the changed needs for women.

In the post colonial period, many more women received western education and moved into the formal sector both in the rural and

urban areas. They moved into positions of employment which were not previously accessible to them. The increase in educational and employment opportunities made women to be more mobile than before. This coupled with improved transport network led to a high rate of urbanization. These changes that were taking place brought new aspirations for women. Most women no longer aspired to remain in the rural subsistence sector. Their major aspiration was to participate in the formal sector. This change in aspirations brought about change in sikenge. Most of the elements of sikenge that had helped in women's integration into the subsistence sector were stopped. Most women, however, still looked forward to getting married. Marriage, therefore, remained a major aspect of sikenge. However, since most of the sikenge graduates did not immediately marry, even the marriage function of sikenge became less significant.

The Lozi today attribute the problem of indiscipline among boys and girls to the collapse of milaka and the erosion in sikenge. With the changes that were taking place in the two institutions, the concepts of submission to adult authority, obedience and humility also changed, leading to complaints of indiscipline among the young. The collapse and erosion in these institutions has therefore, seriously affected the moral and filial relations that had existed between the parents and their children.

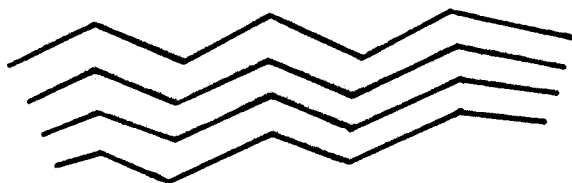
Many girls, presently, go through sikenge without appreciating the importance of the institution. Sikenge is, today, considered simply as a tradition without much significance. Its future is, therefore, bleak. Given the changing social and economic position of women, it is likely to fall into disuse in the next generation.

APPENDIX 1

INCISIONS MADE ON THE BACKS OR ON THE STOMACH JUST BELOW THE NAVEL OR AROUND THE THIGHS OR UPPER ARMS OF LOZI WOMEN



Lozi



Lozi and Mbunda

Source : Drawings provided by Chief Chiengele Nyumbu, Mbunda Chief, Nanoko, 17 February, 1989 and confirmed by many informants.

Note : These incisions were condemned by the missionaries as mere brutal mutilations. The Lozi had stopped making incisions by the 1930s.

APPENDIX 2

MALE AND FEMALE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN BULOZI, 1927-50

| YEAR | NUMBER OF SCHOOLS | MALES | FEMALES | AVERAGE NUMBER IN ATTENDANCE | |
|------|-------------------|-------|---------|------------------------------|---------|
| | | | | MALES | FEMALES |
| 1927 | 49 | 2595 | 412 | 2253 | 310 |
| 1929 | 49 | 1956 | 450 | 1530 | 338 |
| 1930 | 59 | 3472 | 807 | 2593 | 654 |
| 1931 | 76 | 3034 | 814 | 2496 | 603 |
| 1932 | 68 | 3082 | 790 | 2613 | 638 |
| 1933 | 43 | 2096 | 550 | 1728 | 445 |
| 1934 | 51 | 1884 | 379 | - | - |
| 1935 | 58 | 3072 | 711 | 2588 | 520 |
| 1936 | 56 | 3111 | 804 | 2796 | 624 |
| 1937 | 57 | 3742 | 974 | - | - |
| 1938 | 56 | 3225 | 789 | 2688 | 656 |
| 1939 | 60 | 3621 | 888 | 3218 | 698 |
| 1945 | 113 | 7287 | 3658 | 6483 | 3200 |
| 1946 | 121 | 7677 | 3782 | 6724 | 3222 |
| 1947 | 119 | 8181 | 3894 | 7382 | 3399 |
| 1948 | 121 | 7368 | 3309 | 6603 | 2915 |
| 1949 | 121 | 8162 | 3516 | 6368 | 2665 |
| 1950 | 119 | 7352 | 3083 | 6551 | 2661 |

Source : Prepared from the Northern Rhodesia Annual Reports Upon Native Education for the Years 1927-50

Note : From 1927 to 1938, the figures reflect only the enrollment of the B.N.S. and its out schools financed from the Barotse Fund and the P.M.S. schools aided by the colonial government. Figures for the schools which were run by the Capuchin Fathers and the Seventh Day Adventist Church are not included. After 1938, the figures reflect only the enrollment in P.M.S. schools.

APPENDIX 3

PERCENTAGE OF THE MALE POPULATION FROM BULOZI
WORKING FOR WAGES OUTSIDE BULOZI, 1941 - 1961

| YEAR | PERCENTAGE OF THE MALE POPULATION |
|------|-----------------------------------|
| 1941 | 44 |
| 1944 | 48 |
| 1947 | 45 |
| 1950 | 41 |
| 1952 | 37 |
| 1954 | 40 |
| 1957 | 44 |
| 1961 | 46 |

Source : J.A. Hellen, Rural Economic Development in Zambia 1890 - 1964 (Munich:Weltforum Verlag, 1968), p. 97.

APPENDIX 4

GIRLS' PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS
ENROLLMENT IN BULOZI 1969 - 75

| YEAR | PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT | SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT |
|------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1969 | 27,799 | 1,509 |
| 1970 | 29,473 | 1,680 |
| 1971 | 30,187 | 1,680 |
| 1972 | 32,251 | 1,745 |
| 1973 | 32,809 | 1,703 |
| 1974 | 34,743 | 1,742 |
| 1975 | 34,876 | 2,031 |

Source: Prepared from The Ministry of Education, Annual Reports for 1969 - 71 and The Ministry of Education, Development and Planning Unit : Educational Statistics for 1972 - 75,

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KSH 2/1, Kalabo District Notebook, 3, 1906-62
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| | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|---|-----------|-------------------|
| 1. | Aongola, Aongola | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 February, 1989 |
| 2. | Bull, Mutumba Mainga | Provincial Political Secretary-Science and Technology | Lusaka | 31 March, 1989 |
| 3. | Chiyesu, Elina | Kanyonyo Ward Chairlady | Mongu | 24 February, 1989 |
| 4. | Ikasaya Grace Inutu | Teacher | Mongu | 24 Feb., 1989 |
| 5. | Kabika F.M. | Principal Information Officer | Lusaka | 19 December, 1988 |
| 6. | Kalaluka Liyungu | Businessman | Senanga | 3 March, 1989 |
| 7. | Katanekwa Justina | Female Hospital Helper | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 8. | Katungu K. | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 9. | Konga J. | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 10. | Kongano Getrude | Imwiko Ward Vice Chairlady | Mongu | 24 Feb., 1989 |
| 11. | Kwalombota Inambao | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 12. | Lifasi M. | Co-operative Union Employee | Senanga | 1 March, 1989 |
| 13. | Likokoto Sinvula Simasiku | Village Headman and Retired Head Teacher | Mombo | 16 March, 1989 |
| 14. | Luni Kufekisa | Retired Police Officer | Nanoko | 19 March, 1989 |
| 15. | Lutangu Induna Inguu | Kuta Induna and Former Teacher | Limulunga | 10 March, 1989 |
| 16. | Lyandoma Ester | Peasant | Sefula | 19 Feb., 1989 |
| 17. | Mabuku Inonge | Peasant | Sefula | 27 Feb., 1989 |

| | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|---|-------------------|----------------|
| 18. | Mabuku Nalukui | Peasant | Sefula | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 19. | Makai Mary C. | Businesswoman | Mongu | 25 Feb., 1989 |
| 20. | Mashebe Florence Monde | Businesswoman | Mongu | 24 Feb., 1989 |
| 21. | Mubyana Josephine | House Keeper | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 22. | Mufungulwa Mubita | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 23. | Muha Lifeko | Retired Nurse | Mongu | 24 Feb., 1989 |
| 24. | Mukamba Muteletwa | Peasant Woman | Sefula | 16 Feb., 1989 |
| 25. | Mukande Musiyalike | Former Ngambela for Western Province | Sefula | 10 Feb., 1989 |
| 26. | Mulonda Kabika | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 27. | Munalula Getrude Mushiba | Female Hospital Employee | Mongu | 21 Feb., 1989 |
| 28. | Muyawa B.S. | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 29. | Muyunda Litumbe | Peasant Woman | Sefula | 21 Feb., 1989 |
| 30. | Mwanamwalye G. | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 31. | Mwiya Maxwell | Retired Mine Employee | Limulunga | 11 March, 1989 |
| 32. | Ndui Saboi | Cattle Healer | Nalongo- Mongu | 17 March, 1989 |
| 33. | Njamba Indopu Nalishuwa | Retired Boarding Master, | Senanga | 1 March, 1989 |
| 34. | Njekwa Namusunga | Businesswoman | Mongu | 24 Feb., 1989 |
| 35. | Nyambe M. | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 36. | Nyumbu Mwene Chiengele | Mbunda Chief | Nañoko | 17 Feb., 1989 |
| 37. | Sazinga Lubinda | Cattle Healer | Nañoko | 15 March, 1989 |
| 38. | Shakakata R.C. | Librarian and Member of ZARD | Lusaka | 2 March, 1989 |
| 39. | Sichechani Akakulu | Retired Education Officer | Senanga | 5 March, 1989 |
| 40. | Sikombwa Sibuyuni | Clerk | Mongu | 17 March, 1989 |
| 41. | Sikwibele A.L. | Lecturer | Lusaka | 30 March, 1990 |
| 42. | Sikwibele Muyapekwa | Deputy Headmistress | Nañoko | 15 Feb., 1989 |
| 43. | Sifumesii Martin | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 44. | Simbuwa J.M. | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 45. | Simonda Salikaya | Hospital Employee | Mongu | 20 Feb., 1989 |
| 46. | Simukwela A.I. | Nutrition Demonstrator | Senanga | 2 March, 1989 |
| 47. | Sinowe Marshal Mundia | Clerk | Mongu | 17 March, 1989 |

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|---------------------|----------------|
| 48. | Walubita M. Mutinta | Nurse | Mongu | 20 March, 1989 |
| 49. | Zaza Christina | Kasiku District Homecraft Organiser | | 25 March, 1989 |
| 50. | Grandmother and retired teacher | | Limulunga | 18 March, 1989 |
| 51. | Grandmother | | Limulunga | 18 March, 1989 |
| 52. | Grandmother | | Kashombo Village | 17 March, 1989 |
| 53. | Grandmother | | Sefula | 22 Feb., 1989 |
| 54. | Grandmother | | Senanga | 5 March, 1989 |
| 55. | Mother | | Limulunga | 18 March, 1989 |
| 56. | Mother and | Female Clerk District Council | Mongu | 22 Feb., 1989 |
| 57. | | Nurse | Mongu | 13 March, 1989 |
| 58. | | Nurse | Senanga | 2 March, 1989 |
| 59. | | Retired Teacher Assistant | Likunge Village | 19 March, 1989 |
| 60. | | Teacher | Kiwe | 10 May, 1989 |
| 61. | | Teacher | Limulunga | 15 Feb., 1989 |

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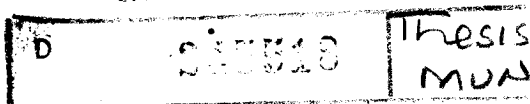
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