

**PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS INITIATION
SCHOOLS: THE CASE OF NKOLOLA IN CHOMA
DISTRICT OF SOUTHERN ZAMBIA**

BY

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, **Kennedy Wina** do hereby solemnly declare that this dissertation represents my own work and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree at the University of Zambia or any other university.

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APPROVAL

The University of Zambia approves this dissertation of **Kennedy Wina** as fulfilling part of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Education in Sociology of Education.

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DEDICATION

To my wife Elitah Moondoma, my mother Maria Galela, my children, Boris, Bethel, Dennis and Lindiwe, my bother Dennis and sisters Dorothy, Gladys and Mary and a chain of all my nieces and nephews.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to establish parental attitudes towards Nkolola initiation school system in Choma district of Southern Province. The objectives of the study were to: investigate parental attitudes towards Nkolola education; examine pupils' views concerning their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola education; establish the value of Nkolola as an initiation school, and determine how the positive values of Nkolola as an initiation school could be taught to learners.

The study was a descriptive case study. The descriptive approach was preferred by the researcher because the study involved attitudes which are not easy to quantify. The target population for the study comprised parents and pupils in some selected secondary schools of Choma district. A sample of 60 respondents was selected. It consisted of forty (40) parents and twenty (20) pupils.

The study was guided by the 'Comparative Perspective Theory' which explains change in attitudes as a result of rational thinking. Another theory which guided the study was the 'Modern Evolution Theory' which explains social change as a result of society's level of technology and economic development.

Data was collected using structured interviews and questionnaires. Interviews were held with parents while questionnaires were administered to pupils. The study largely used the qualitative research paradigm. Data analysis was done qualitatively by categorization and coding of themes. Quantitative data was presented in percentages and frequency tables using a scientific calculator.

The findings of the study revealed that parental attitudes towards Nkolola School were affected by modernity and urbanization, religious affiliation, cultural and traditional beliefs, location and educational background.

From the responses and views of respondents, it was discovered that the Nkolola school system played an influential role in teaching initiates issues to do with morality, human relations, family values and sexuality, which were largely absent in the modern Zambian school system.

The study recommended that: The Ministry of Chiefs and Traditional Affairs and traditional authorities should sensitise communities in Choma on the important values transmitted by the Nkolola education system; the custodians of the Nkolola school should revisit the Nkolola school curriculum by taking on board the needs of modern times and doing away with aspects of Nkolola that had a negative impact on girls and women; the Ministry of Health should give Nkolola Instructors tips on how to provide effective counseling on the dangers of pre-marital sex; the Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education should consider incorporating some important aspects of Nkolola education into its school curricula and also seriously implement the localized school curriculum with the participation of the local people.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the background to Initiation schools. It also presents the statement of the problem, purpose and objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, theoretical framework, delimitation and limitations of the study and lastly, the chapter looks at operational definitions.

1.1 Background

Every society has its own distinct education system, designed to pass on to the younger generation the values and beliefs which gives it an identity and helps to preserve its existence (Fafunwa, 1974). The Tonga people of Southern Province, like all other African societies, had an education system even before the coming of Europeans. In traditional Zambian society, traditional education was a tool used to train young ones to fit into their communities. After all, education as Kneller (1964) observes, is a process by which society deliberately transmits its cultural heritage through schools, colleges, universities and other institutions. In other words, education involves the passing on of cultural heritage, values, traditions, language, knowledge and skills, good attitudes and aspirations from generation to generation.

One of the most important components of the unwritten curriculum of traditional education was the initiation schools. An initiation school was a structured and more formal part of traditional education, in which a concentrated course of instruction was

given to girls or boys upon reaching puberty (Kibera and Kimokoti, 2007). The training that initiates received prepared them for adult life. Initiation schools changed the social boundaries from childhood to adulthood (Lincoln, 1981).

In Zambia, different ethnic groups have different types of initiation schools, which include, Mukanda for boys among the Luvale, Lunda and Chokwe; Sikenge for girls among the Lozi; Ichisungu for girls among the Bemba, and Nkolola for girls among the Tonga. Despite the differences in names, the initiation schools' methods of teaching and subject content followed similar lines (Raisings, 2001).

Over the years, the number of parents sending their children to attend initiation schools has been on the decline. Increased westernisation in terms of western education and urbanization have all contributed to making parents reluctant to allow their children to attend initiation schools. Chesswas (1969) argues that as a result of westernisation and especially urbanization, traditional institutions have broken down. Initiation schools have been undermined by modern life.

The increased abandonment of initiation schools has come with a price. It has left a moral vacuum as modern education is mostly devoid of human values and relationships relevant to specific ethnic groupings (Kibera and Kimokoti, 2007). The exclusion of lessons on human values and relationships in modern education has led to superficially educated young ones with questionable morals and attitudes (Singani, 2012). Today, much of what was good and useful in initiation schools is fast disappearing and the tragic

consequence is that many Zambian parents have been thrown into a state of confusion (Ocitti, 1973). Many parents have been left caught between two worlds: one modern and the other traditional.

Initiation schools had a heavy component of moral education. The neglect of initiation schools seems to have contributed to the Zambian society's experiences of social disorder and moral decay. Sexual crimes seem to be on the increase (Singani, 2012). Initiation schools had special teachers that were equipped with relevant knowledge and skills which they imparted to the young generation using the ascendant approach. The aged were the repositories of knowledge and skills, the moving and talking libraries (Brown and Hiskett, 1975).

Conditions have changed drastically and the modern family cannot be modelled on exactly the same lines as older ones. However, certain values inherent in initiation schools which constituted the foundation of humanity or '*ubuntu*' should not be ignored but instead should be revisited. There were elements of real value in initiation schools and it should not be forgotten that, the past has a way of asserting its influence on the present (Castle, 1966). Alternative ways of preserving the precious heritage and important elements of Nkolola and other initiation schools has to be found. It should be noted that although the past tense has been used, Nkolola as an initiation school persists today, to a limited extent, in various areas of Southern Province.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Despite the important values that Nkolola initiation schools transmitted to learners, the researcher has noticed a decline in the number of parents sending their children to the schools. Studies have also revealed that initiation schools are becoming unpopular (Fafunwa, 1994). This change in parental attitudes towards Nkolola poses a serious challenge, since this school system was a transmitter of positive social values. This made it necessary to conduct a study of this nature to establish factors behind parental attitudes towards the education of their children through Nkolola among the Tonga of Choma district.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

This study sought to establish parental attitudes towards Nkolola initiation school system among the Tonga of Choma district.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study were to:

- a) investigate parental attitudes towards Nkolola education, in Zambia's Choma district.
- b) examine pupils' views concerning their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola education.
- c) establish the value of Nkolola as an initiation school.
- d) determine how the values of Nkolola as an initiation school could be taught to learners in schools.

1.5 Research Questions

- a) What are parental attitudes towards Nkolola in Zambia's Choma district.
- b) What are pupils' views concerning their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola education?
- c) What are the values of Nkolola as an initiation school?
- d) How can the values of Nkolola as an initiation school be taught to learners of Choma district?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The findings of the study may help promote value education among learners. This is because determination of the value tenets of Nkolola School may make parents amenable to it and thereby support any measures or activities designed to enhance its education.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The Comparative Perspective Theory of Max Weber guided the study in conceptualising attitudes as a result of how people view the world around them. Traditional people consider particular actions right and proper solely because they have been accepted for so long, while modern people favour rationality. For example, the latter choose to think and act on the basis of present and future consequences. They evaluate jobs, schooling and relationships in terms of what they put into them and what they expect to receive in return (Schaefer, 2005).

Another theory that guided the study is the Modern Evolution Theory of Social Change by Gerhard Lenski, who explained the importance of the level of technology and society's economic base in the revolution of social life (Laverne, 1995).

1.8 Delimitation

The study was conducted in Choma District of Southern province.

1.9 Limitations of the study

This study should have been extended to other districts of Southern province but was only confined to Choma district due to limited time and financial resources. The findings might, therefore, not reflect a complete picture of parental attitudes towards Nkolola as an educational system among the Tonga. This is because important parental attitudes from other districts of southern province were missed. Considering that it was a case study with a limited number of respondents, the findings' generalization was equally limited.

1.10 Operational definitions

Attitudes: Combination of beliefs and feelings that influence a person to behave in a certain way.

Hakamwale: Traditional Nkolola instructor.

Initiate: One who is in the initiation school.

Initiation: A rite of transition from childhood to adulthood.

Initiation school: Traditional institution where those who came of age were taught and trained.

Nkolola: Initiation rite for girls among the Tonga of Southern Province.

Ritual: A set of fixed actions or words performed or said regularly.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores documented literature on the historical and descriptive perspectives of Nkolola as an initiation school. It also highlights and presents some of the important values of initiation schools and different attitudes towards initiation schools. Lastly, this chapter reviews available literature on the alternatives and modifications to initiation schools.

2.1 Historical and descriptive perspectives of Nkolola

The Tonga believed that growing up was not a simple process of maturation, but involved a thorough preparation for the role to be played in adult life. For the Tonga girl, one of the most important rites of adolescence was that of puberty (Colson, 1958). As is the case with other ethnic groups in Zambia, the culmination of education and training given to a girl came when she reached the puberty stage (Mwanakatwe, 1974). Immediately the girl had her first menses, as Colson (1958) observes, she was secluded to a solitary place, which could be a bush lodge or hut, for a period of time. Tonga girls went through the initiation school individually or as a group of two at the most. In some cases, to keep the girl company during this period of confinement, the elders chose a friend. The period of confinement varied between six weeks to three months in different parts of Tongaland (Mwanakatwe, 1974). The confinement was meant for the initiate to learn without destruction (Ocitti, 1973).

The place of seclusion was regarded as an initiation school because the institution had teachers, a structure where the initiate(s) learnt from, a curriculum that was followed and practical examinations that had to be passed at the end of the programme (Turner, 1974; Mikombe, 2006). During the confinement, the girl was screened off casual visitors and normal life and was subjected to intensive training given by senior women of the community (Colson, 1958). At this special time, women could visit the girl initiate or 'mooye' but men were excluded. Before formal western education became popular, the confinement was done in the cold season, that is from May to August, when food was plentiful (Maambo, 2007).

The seclusion or confinement ended with a public ceremony or graduation, to celebrate the girl's attainment of adulthood status (Read, 1959). The new status of the initiate(s) was made public at the re-birth ceremony. Usually, the graduation ceremony was characterised by killing of chickens, goats, pigs and cattle and much song and dance. The girl received gifts from parents, relatives and well-wishers. The public announcement of the new status of the initiate(s) was usually followed by marriage (Datta, 1984). The puberty ceremony was a necessary prelude to marriage. It was after the puberty ceremony that a girl's full sexual life could begin (Colson, 1958). A girl-child who conceived before undergoing initiation was considered to be a bad omen or 'malweza' to the community (Colson, 1958).

2.2 The value of initiation schools

Initiation schools among the Bantu people of Central Africa are considered to be of central importance in the life cycle of the individual (Ocitti, 1973). Initiation schools inculcated the values of life that had evolved from experience and tested in the continuing process of living. Initiation schools not only conferred adulthood status on the initiates but were an orientation towards marriage (Datta, 1984). Initiation schools were often the first real opportunity for an individual to loosen the bonds which linked him or her as a child to the parents. In most ethnic groups of Zambia, all youths initiated together constituted an exclusive life long fraternity (Stardate, 2003).

The purpose of seclusion was for the initiates to be taught tribal norms, values, observance of certain taboos; and for them to be subjected to hardships and ordeals. On the whole they were less harshly treated (Castle, 1966). During the lessons of trials of courage and endurance, older women tried to reform the girls of the defects they had earlier observed in them. If a girl had been impolite, she was rebuked and even beaten (Pierre, 1981). Folk songs, folk dances and folk tales punctuated the girls' training in women's social obligations and etiquette in marriage (Read, 1959). Strictly guarded secrets of sex techniques were taught to the initiates. The seclusion period also played the role of socializing individuals to fit and participate adequately in the development of his or her society (Sheffield, 1973). During this period, formal instruction was given on the importance of one's loyalty to the clan. Much emphasis was laid on the solidarity of the extended family as being supreme (Brown and Hiskett, 1975).

According to (Benetta, 1976) initiation schools mainly focus on marriage matters, which result in stable marriages. Such schools go beyond marriage issues nevertheless, to include all aspects of everyday life. The uncleanness of menstruating women is a wide spread idea among the Bantu people (Klepp, 1988). Therefore, knowledge about personal hygiene especially during menstruation was given to the initiates. Other instructions that were given to the initiates included, obedience to elders, child-care, co-operation in communal work, hospitality and self-discipline (Castle, 1966). Initiation schools also fostered the spirit of pride of membership to the ethnic group. Stardate (2003) argues that initiation schools promote cohesiveness at the expense of individualism. Kimilu (1975) calls this function of initiation school as that of social stability and social control. Initiation schools also preserved the cultural heritage of a given group (Ocitti, 1973).

Cosmological ideas were passed on to the initiates during initiation schools. Initiation sessions were usually accompanied by prayers and worship to the Supreme being and the ancestors in the form of libation and sacrifices (Raising, 2001). The supernatural aspect of initiation schools included instruction in the respect for sacred objects. In this way, the initiates' faith in the supernatural was deepened (Ocitti, 1973). Initiation schools also taught the initiates to be intimate students of their physical, social and spiritual environment. Initiates were taught how to manipulate their natural environment so as to survive (Kimilu, 1975). Snelson (1970) spells the economic benefits of the initiation school to the individual as well as to the community. During the initiation period, the initiates were taught various practical skills and small crafts and other household utensils

were made. Herbal medicines for common local diseases were also taught to the initiates (Wanjohi, 1999). Initiates were equally taught how to make beauty enhancing oils (Kimilu, 1975).

It was and still is, in areas of human values and relationships that initiation schools have proved to be more successful than modern education which, being somewhat theoretical, seem to have failed in inculcating values in young ones (Ocitti, 1973). The inculcation of human values in initiates has been the hallmark of initiation schools (Brown and Hisket, 1975). Initiation schools taught the initiates to be like warriors who would exercise self-restraint in sexual matters (Kibera and Kimokoti, 2007). During initiation, the initiates were taught the values of keeping their virginity before marriage. They were also properly instructed on the choice of marriage partners. They were warned not to be misled by external beauty when looking for marriage partners. After initiation, the graduates were expected to think and weigh all aspects of a situation before talking or taking action (Turner, 1974). Mwanakatwe (1974) observes that the virtues of upright moral conduct which the initiates were required to uphold were extolled. This is one of the most important teachings of initiation schools which could have a vital effect in the fight against the HIV and AIDS pandemic. Initiation schools have a heavy component of moral education (Kibera and Kimokoti, 2007).

2.3 Different attitudes towards initiation schools

The decision by a parent as to which school to send his or her child is based on a number of factors, but perhaps the most important of them all is the perceived quality of the

institution and the graduate it produces (Wallis,1984). Fafunwa (1974) argues that the strength or weakness of any educational system can be best judged by the relative happiness of the masses or graduates who go through it. Attitudes towards initiation schools are divided. People who have adopted western ways of life have rubbished initiation schools as old fashioned, outdated and conservative institutions which should be done away with completely (Wanjohi, 1999). Some parents, who are Christians, have labeled initiation schools as pagan institutions that perpetrate harmful traditional practices and horrors to the young ones which go against Christian teachings (Loretta, 2001). Some parents who are advocates of human rights view the practice of confining or keeping initiates indoors against their will, as a form of slavery that should be done away with (Wallis, 1984).

Some people have accused initiation schools of limiting women's participation in the formal sector. They argue that initiation schools offered the home as the woman's right place (Oxenber and Wolper, 1996). Women have at times appeared as the custodians of tradition and thus agents of their own subordination. Initiation schools have been viewed by other people as tools for women's subordination to men (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1976)

Other parents think that sexuality values inculcated into girl initiates during initiation prompt them to experiment what they have been taught and then go on rampage having sex before marriage, resulting in unwanted pregnancies, early marriages, prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS (Maambo, 2007). However, Singani (2012) has strongly objected to this proposition, on the ground that initiated girls having

been taught self-control and restraint in sexual matters, are better placed than the uninitiated girls to restrain themselves from indulging in casual sex. Some people think that initiation schools put young people at risk of getting infected with HIV/AIDS, as they encourage graduates to have many sexual partners to prove that they were taught well during initiation school. The initiation school teachings on the use of herbs and love potions to enhance sex have exacerbated the problem. However, some parents have argued that, initiation schools could be avenues through which traditional instructors and marriage counsellors could teach the initiates about the dangers of pre-marital sex and risks of being infected with HIV and AIDS (Wanjohi, 1999). Equipped with such knowledge, graduates from initiation schools could be able to make informed decisions.

Some parents give preference to modern school education and professional development over initiation schools and marriage lessons. They are more concerned about their children's performance at school (Wallis, 1984). Such parents view initiation schools as a complete waste of the child's time and resources. The modern school calendar is more important than the mastery of initiation lessons (Mundumuko, 1990). These parents argue that, it is the subjects taught in modern schools which lead to examinations and the award of certificates, diplomas and degrees which count, not uncertified lessons in marriage (Chesswas, 1969). Others have argued that initiation schools can no longer enable children to adjust themselves comfortably to modern dynamics of life (Ocitti, 1977).

Other people contend that culture is dynamic and we can not expect the modern family to be modelled on exactly the same lines as older ones (Ocitti, 1977). They feel initiation

ceremonies cannot be practiced the way they used to be in pre-colonial times (Wanjohi, 1999). Increased urbanization and the fact that many girls now reach puberty while at school, makes it difficult for them to be initiated (Mundumuko, 1990). However, some of these people feel that good aspects of the initiation schools should not be left to fall into oblivion (Ocitti, 1977). A way should be found to fuse or synthesise the good in initiation schools with western education.

Some modern people do not take initiation school seriously as the pre-colonial people did (Mizinga, 1995). Initiation schools are no longer held sacred. Most initiation schools have been relegated to some form of entertainment to those who go to witness the coming out of initiates. On the other hand, some people see initiation schools as one way of re-discovering their culture eroded by what Chiinga (2006) refers to as cultural imperialism.

There are those individuals who feel that the abandonment of initiation schools, has left a moral vacuum which has led to a rise in sexual crimes (Kibera and Kimokoto, 2007). These feel that society can only be restored to normality if initiation schools are revived in their original form. Initiation schools, they contend, should offer original and undiluted practical information to the initiates on how to live safely and responsibly (Sheffield, 1973). Singani (2012) strongly supports the re-introduction of initiation schools not only for cultural and traditional heritage but for the purpose of building the learners' positive mental attitudes towards life.

2.4 Modification and integration of initiation schools

Over time, modifications to, alternatives to and integration of initiation school lessons into modern school curricular have been made in order to teach the positive values taught in these schools to young ones. There have been many modifications to initiation schools. One such modification has been the timing to hold initiation lessons (Mundumuko, 1990). In some places, the seclusion period has been reduced and adjusted in order to suit the school calendar (Maambo, 2007). Since initiation schools usually extended over the school term, initiation lessons could be done after school and during weekends though as Mundumuko (1990) puts it, this would affect the mastery of initiation lessons. Some parents in urban areas send their children to spend school holidays in rural areas so that they could be taught traditional values and practices (Wallis, 1984). Other parents hire individuals to undertake the training of their children in vital lessons of initiation schools instead of subjecting them to the ‘bush house school’ (Kimilu, 1975).

Another modification has been in the area of content and methodology. Wallis (1984) argues that, in order for initiation schools to attract clients in this increasingly modern competitive market, initiation schools should improve the quality of their service. Maambo’s (2007) findings point to certain modifications that should be made to initiation schools in general and Nkolola in particular. Among these are: to deliver the knowledge and skills in an ascendant manner, whereby these are to be acquired at the right time and for the right purpose. This would involve teaching puberty girls about hygiene and self-discipline. Later on, when the girls are about to get married, they could then be taught

about marriage and other practices that go with married life. Another alternative is to reserve initiation schools for out of school girls and that their lessons should take place just before marriage (MoE, 2005). The restrictive initiation school teaching methodology and its prescribed behaviour by the learner and non-questioning of transmitted knowledge which is in conflict with modern interactive teaching methods should be changed. The initiates should challenge and question those aspects of initiation schools that are considered unprogressive. The initiates should have full understanding of what they learn (Chesswas, 1969).

Alternatively, some aspects of initiation schools could be brought or integrated into the modern education system. One way is to graft the content of initiation schools into the school localized curriculum. Kimilu (1975) advances topics that could possibly be incorporated in the learner's lessons. These include; human values and relationships, sex education, tribal stories, folk-lore, tribal songs and dances, tribal law and customs, tribal occupation and crafts and tribal knowledge. This knowledge is embedded in songs, stories, dances and other experiences in the learner's immediate environment (King, 2004).

Already some schools in Zambia are promoting a new system of education that combines modern education and traditional education that is suited to the Zambian child's need. This is true of Rhodes Park that claims to offer a high standard of education with a modern approach that has not abandoned the traditional values (Rhodes Park School, 2012). Although initiation schools no longer monopolise the upbringing of the young in

modern Zambian societies, some feel that initiation schools should remain complementary to western education (Wanjohi, 1999). In a nation like Zambia that is still striving to create a suitable national system of education representative of its own values and cultures, the values taught during initiation school like Nkolola may be reflected in the Zambian school curriculum at one time. The fusion of the best of initiation schools with the best of modern western education could be a better approach (King, 2004).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology employed in the study. It gives the description of the research design, target population, sample size, sampling procedures, research instruments, data collection as well as data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The study took the form of a historical and descriptive case study. A case study as a research design offers rich in-depth information and better understanding of attitudes not usually offered by other research designs (Kombo, 2006). A descriptive approach was preferred because the study involved attitudes which are not easy to quantify. Yin (1994) explains that descriptive case study aims at explaining causes underlying given phenomena. The nature of the study was a historical case study in that a number of sources were used to investigate a particular contemporary phenomenon like initiation schools (Robson, 1993).

This study was to a large extent qualitative. Qualitative methodologies usually, put emphasis on words rather than quantification in the collection of data (Yin, 1994).

3.2 Target population

The target population comprised all pupils in grades ten to twelve and parents of pupils in all the secondary schools of Choma District.

3.3 Sample size

The study sample consisted of four secondary schools in Choma district. Two of these were from the rural areas and the other two from the urban area of Choma district. In terms of respondents, forty parents (that is twenty male and twenty female), and twenty pupils were involved in the study, making a total of sixty (60) respondents.

3.4 Sampling procedure

In the first stage of sampling, all the secondary schools in the target population of Choma district were divided into two groups; one urban and the other rural. The first group consisted of five secondary schools located in Choma urban and the second group had seven secondary schools found in the rural areas of Choma district. Names of the five secondary schools of Choma urban were written on pieces of paper and put in one box. The box containing these pieces of paper was shaken for the papers to mix. Then a simple random sampling was done and the first two schools picked from the box were chosen for the study sample. The two schools selected were Chuundu and Njase Girls Secondary schools.

Then names of all the seven rural secondary schools of Choma district were written on pieces of paper and put in a box. The box was shaken for the pieces of paper to mix and the first two schools picked from the box were chosen for the sample. Macha Girls and Sikalongo Secondary schools formed the other two schools in the study sample.

In the second stage of sampling, twenty pupils were randomly selected for the study sample. Random sampling provides equal opportunity of selection for each element in a population (Yin, 1994). From each of the four secondary schools in the study sample, five (5) pupils were targeted. Only girl pupils in grades ten to twelve classes were involved in answering the questionnaires, as these were old enough to provide the required information for the study. At each of the four secondary schools under study, two pieces of paper written 'Yes' and 'No' on them were put in one box and shaken so that they could mix. The monitors of classes from grades ten to twelve were invited to make the draws. The classes of those monitors who picked the 'Yes' paper were involved in answering the questionnaires. The girl pupils in those classes chosen were then randomly selected and had questionnaires administered to them.

In the last stage of sampling, forty (40) parents were purposively selected for the study. Parents with children in grades 10 to 12 classes in the secondary schools of Choma District were targeted. The parents were also chosen on the basis of easy reach and availability. This was because it was extremely difficult at times to find parents at home, especially in rural areas, as most of them were out in their fields working. Therefore the researcher found the said method to be convenient. The power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information rich in in-depth analysis (Bless, 1995).

3.5 Research instruments

In collecting data for this study, the following instruments were used: structured interview schedules were used to collect information from parents and questionnaires were employed to collect information from pupils. Bell (1993) states that questionnaires

are a good way of collecting information quickly and are relatively cheaper. They secure standardised results that can be tabulated and treated statistically. In short, questionnaires as instruments of data collection in research provide objective, consistent and quantifiable data (Bowling, 1999).

Interviews are flexible and applicable to different types of problems in that the interviewer may change the mode of questioning if the occasion demands. Unclear responses from the respondents can be clarified when the interviewer rephrases the question. For the purpose of triangulation, books, reports and newspaper articles were also consulted.

3.6 Validity of instruments

A pilot study was undertaken at Francis Davidson Secondary school in Choma district. The pupils in grades ten to twelve were subjected to draft questionnaires. Parents living near Frances Davidson high school were subjected to a structured interview schedule. Bell (1999) asserts that validity is the extent to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to meet. Therefore, before the study was conducted, the validity of instruments to be used was ascertained.

3.7 Data collection procedure

Data was collected in the field from respondents over a period of three months. A structured interview was conducted with parents. The researcher made a programme for places that were visited. Appointments with parents visited were done in advance. Data from interviews with parents was recorded in the researcher's note book. Later it was

properly written at home. As for the pupils, the researcher sought permission from administrators of the sampled schools to directly administer questionnaires to them. The researcher's administering of the questionnaire personally proved beneficial as the questions asked by pupils with regards to the questionnaire were clarified there and then. Equally important, is the fact that this method ensured retrieval of all questionnaires from pupil respondents.

3.8 Data analysis

Qualitative data was analysed qualitatively. Responses from respondents were put into categories according to themes that emerged from the questions, and then analysed and interpreted objectively. Some of the data was converted manually and summarised in order to obtain concise measures for making descriptive statistics. This data like the quantitative one obtained through the questionnaire were presented quantitatively as percentages and in frequency tables using a scientific hand calculator.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Consent was sought from respondents for their information in the study. No respondent was forced to participate in the research but did so freely and voluntarily. During data collection, both parents and pupils were assured that the information they would give was to be kept strictly confidential and would not be used for other purposes other than for the intended study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents finding of the study conducted to investigate parental attitudes towards Nkolola initiation schools in Choma district. The findings are presented in categories according to themes, starting with responses from parents and then those from the pupils.

4.1 Parental attitudes towards the Nkolola initiation schools

One of the objectives of the study was to investigate parental attitudes towards Nkolola initiation schools. In addressing this objective, female parents were asked if they had gone through Nkolola education system. Their responses are as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1: Whether or not female parents went through the Nkolola school system

Type of Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	05	25
No	15	75
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

The table shows that most of the female parents interviewed, (75 percent) did not go through Nkolola initiation school. Only 25 percent of them had gone through Nkolola initiation school.

Parents who had gone through the Nkolola initiation school were further asked to state whether they liked having experienced it. Their responses are as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Whether or not respondents liked having gone through the Nkolola initiation school.

Did you go through the Nkolola school system?	Frequency
Yes	04
No	01
Total	05

Source: Field data

The table shows that 4 of the 5 parents who went through Nkolola initiation school liked having been in that school while one did not like having been in it.

Respondents were again asked to state reasons for liking or disliking having gone through Nkolola initiation school. Various responses were given for liking or disliking having been in the Nkolola initiation school. The only respondent who disliked having been in Nkolola school said: “I disliked being beaten and having the flesh of my arms and legs twisted as a means of correcting my mistakes”. The other four respondents who liked having been in Nkolola school gave the following reasons: being taught everything women were expected to know; the friendliness and patience of traditional trainers or ‘bahakamwale’; freedom from work; greater access to food and gifts brought to her during the seclusion and the teaching of real life issues such as the need for moral uprightness and acceptable human relations.

4.1.1 Whether or not parents had sent their children to attend Nkolola school system

Parents were asked if they had sent their children to attend Nkolola school system. Their responses were as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Whether or not parents had sent their children to attend Nkolola school system

Types of Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	02	05
No	38	95
Total	40	100

Source: Field data

The table shows that 38 (95%) of the respondents had not sent their girl-child to attend Nkolola initiation school, while 2 (5%) had sent their children to the Nkolola School.

Respondents who had not sent their children to Nkolola School were further asked to give reasons for not having done so. Their responses were as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Parents’ views on why they had not sent their children to attend Nkolola initiation school.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
No Nkolola schools in my area	11	28.94
Having children from mixed marriages and cultures	01	2.63
Under age girls in the family	07	18.42
No girls in the family	12	31.58
Loss of tradition among the Tonga	03	7.90
Nkolola school outdated and out of fashion	04	10.53
Total	38	100

Source: Field data

The Table shows that out of the of 38 respondents who had not sent their children to Nkolola initiation school, 31.58% of them said they had no girls in the family; 28.94% that there were no Nkolola initiation schools in their areas while 18.42% of them said they had under-age girls. Out of the 7 respondents whose girls were under-age to be admitted into Nkolola initiation school, only 1 respondent said, he would have his girl-child initiated under Nkolola school upon attaining the appropriate age. The other respondents said they would not send their children to attend Nkolola initiation school. For 3 parents (7.90%) loss of tradition among the Tonga was the reason behind their not sending their children to attend Nkolola initiation school. Those that said Nkolola initiation school was outdated and out of fashion represented 10.55%.

The two respondents, who had sent their children to attend Nkolola school, gave the following responses for doing so: “I wanted my girl to learn about Tonga traditional

issues, so as to preserve the precious Tonga heritage.” The other respondent pointed to the vital role Nkolola initiation school would play in the future marital life of the girl by making her aware of her obligations and responsibilities to her future husband, his relatives and to the whole community.

4.1.2 Influences of parental attitudes towards Nkolola School

Parents under study were asked to indicate what they thought strongly influenced their attitude towards Nkolola school system. Table 5 below shows their responses.

Table 5: Influences of parental attitudes towards Nkolola initiation school

Kind of influence	Frequency	Percentage
Religious beliefs	09	22.5
Educational background	07	17.5
Modernity and urbanization	15	37.5
Respect for human rights	04	10.0
High cost of living	00	00
Cultural and traditional beliefs	05	12.5
Total	40	100

Source: Field data

The table shows that modernity and urbanization (37.5%) was the greatest influential factor on parental attitudes towards Nkolola initiation school. This was followed by religious beliefs (22.5%), educational background (17.5%), cultural and traditional beliefs (12.5%) and respect for human rights (10%).

4.1.3 Whether all values taught in the Nkolola School should continue being taught

Parents were asked whether all values taught in Nkolola school should continue being taught to girls. Their responses were as shown in table 6.

Table 6: Whether or not all values taught in Nkolola school should continue being taught to initiates

Type of Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	20	50
No	20	50
Total	40	100

Source: Field data

Table 6 shows an equal percentage (50) for those who thought that all values taught in Nkolola should continue being taught to girl initiates and those who thought that certain values should not be taught to initiates during Nkolola.

Those who responded that certain values should not be taught to initiates during Nkolola school mentioned bedroom issues or sex techniques, subordination of wives to husbands and herbal use to enhance love, fertility and sexual prowess as the values that should be left out.

Some of these reasoned that, after the process of initiating girls in sex techniques, most girls started to experiment or put in practice what was learnt, thereby resulting in teenage pregnancies, contraction of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS and early marriages for the girl-child.

The respondents who said that lessons that taught girls to be servants of their prospective husbands should not be taught said that such lessons were retrogressive. They reasoned that in the ideal home, wife and husband should be equal. They further argued that wife battering and sexual harassment by husbands go unreported due to this traditional teaching given to girl initiates that women should do what their husbands order them to do.

Those who pointed to the use of herbs to enhance husbands love for their wives, fertility, and sexual enjoyment as being undesirable teachings argued that these were bad teachings as they could lead to actions that would result in diseases, mental illnesses and divorce. They argued that true love between husband and wife comes from the heart, not herbs.

4.1.3 Whether or not Nkolola as an initiation school should continue

Parents were further asked to clearly state their position as to whether Nkolola as an initiation school should continue. Table 7 shows their responses.

Table 7: Parents' views on whether Nkolola school system should continue

Types of response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	22	55
No	18	45
Total	40	100

Source: Field data

Slightly above half of the parents interviewed (55%) were of the opinion that, Nkolola as an initiation school should continue, while (45%) felt that Nkolola should be done away with. When asked to give reasons for their answer, those who wanted Nkolola education to continue gave the following reasons: a) wives' good sexual behaviour gave satisfaction to their husbands; b) wives' submissiveness to husbands contributed to stability of marriages.

4.2 Findings from pupils' questionnaires

The second objective of the study was to examine pupils' views concerning their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola school system. Information was collected from twenty (20) pupils who were in grades ten to twelve, using questionnaire.

4.2.1 Pupils' rating of their parents' attitudes towards the Nkolola school system

Pupil respondents were asked to indicate their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola as an initiation school. Their responses were as indicated in table 8.

Table 8: Pupils' rating of their parents' attitudes towards the Nkolola school system

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Very good	02	10
Good	03	15
Bad	01	05
Very bad	01	05
No idea	13	65
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

Table 8 shows that 15% of the pupil respondents saw their parents' attitude towards Nkolola as being good; 10% as being very good, 0.5% as being bad and another 5% as being very bad. The remaining 65% had no idea.

4.2.2 Factors that pupils thought strongly influenced their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola school system

Respondents were asked as to what factors strongly influenced their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola school system. Their respondents were as shown in table 9.

Table 9: Factors pupils thought strongly influenced their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola school

Factor	Frequency	Percentage
Religious affiliation	08	40
Educational level	01	05
Modernity and urbanization	08	40
Cultural and traditional beliefs	03	15
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

The Table shows that two groups of respondents AT 40% each said modernity/urbanization and religious affiliation; 15% said cultural and traditional beliefs, while the remaining 5% said parents' education level, were factors that strongly influences their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola school.

4.2.3 Pupils views on whether or not poverty contributed to parents not sending their children to Nkolola schools

Respondents were asked if poverty in their communities contributed to parents not sending their children to attend Nkolola School. Table 10 shows their responses.

Table 10: Pupils' views on whether or not poverty contributed to parents not sending their children to attend Nkolola school system

Types of response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	02	10
No	18	90
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

A greater majority of respondents, (90%) disagreed with the view that poverty contributed to parents not sending their children to Nkolola schools. Only 10% agreed that indeed, poverty was a contributing factor to parents not sending their children to attend Nkolola.

The respondents were further asked to explain why they thought poverty was a contributing factor to parents not sending their children to attend Nkolola School or not. Those who said poverty was responsible for parents not sending their children for Nkolola cited expenses involved in terms of buying food for the graduation ceremony, payment of the traditional instructor (Hakamwale) and buying new clothes for the girl initiate or 'mooye' to wear when she graduates. Those who thought that poverty was not responsible for parents not sending their children to attend Nkolola, said that this type of education was offered freely and very little money was spent on activities connected with it. They argued that modern education was very expensive compared to Nkolola

education and yet parents faced with financial constraints still managed to send their children to modern schools.

4.2.4 Pupils’ opinions on whether or not location influenced parents’ attitudes on towards sending their children to attend Nkolola

Respondents were asked to indicate whether location had an influence on parents’ decision on whether or not to send their children to Nkolola schools. Table 11 shows their responses.

Table 11: Pupils’ opinions on whether or not location influenced parents’ decisions towards sending their children to attend Nkolola

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	17	85
No	03	15
No response	00	00
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

The greater majority of respondents (85%) thought that location had an influence on parents’ attitudes towards sending their children to attend Nkolola, while 15% of them thought that location had nothing to do with parents’ attitudes towards sending their children to attend Nkolola education.

Respondents were further asked to explain as to why they thought that location was or was not a factor that contributed to parents’ attitude towards Nkolola education for their children. Those who saw location as a factor argued that, those who lived in towns found it difficult to send their children to far away places to attend Nkolola initiation schools.

On the other hand, those who thought that location was not a factor in parental attitudes towards sending children to attend Nkolola education, explained that it did not really matter where a parent lived, rural or urban; and that those in urban areas could still organise Nkolola within their homes, as only one room was required or alternatively, could send the girls who had become of age to attend Nkolola school in rural areas during school holidays.

4.2.5 Pupils’ views on whether or not cultural isolation was responsible for their parents not sending their children to attend Nkolola school

Respondents were asked as to whether cultural isolation was responsible for parents not sending their children to attend Nkolola school. Table 12 shows their responses.

Table 12: Pupils’ views on whether cultural isolation contributed to parents not sending their children to Nkolola school

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	20	100
No	00	00
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

The Table shows that all the 20 pupils who responded to the questionnaire said that cultural isolation was responsible for parents’ not sending their children to attend Nkolola schools. They gave various reasons as to why they thought cultural isolation was responsible for parents not sending their children to Nkolola schools. They argued that most parents have broken ties with or abandoned their cultural beliefs and as such,

consider initiation schools such as Nkolola as being old fashioned and outdated. They further stated that parents felt that all that a child needed to learn about life could adequately be addressed by the modern school system.

4.2.6 Pupils' attitudes towards Nkolola education

Pupil respondents were asked about their own attitude towards Nkolola. Table 13 shows their responses.

Table 13: Pupils' perceptions of Nkolola education.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Nkolola is very valuable	11	55
Nkolola makes you nervous and stressful	00	00
Nkolola is outdated and old fashioned	06	30
Nkolola is a form of slavery	00	00
Nkolola is irrelevant	03	15
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

The table shows that 55% of pupil respondents considered Nkolola school education as being very valuable, 30% that it is out-dated and old fashioned and 15% that it is irrelevant to modern life.

4.2.7 Pupils' degree of agreement or disagreement as to whether Nkolola school system should continue

Respondents were asked to indicate whether agreed or disagreed that Nkolola school system should continue. Their responses were as recorded in Table 14.

Table 14: Pupils' degree of agreement or disagreement on whether or not Nkolola school system should continue

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	06	30
Agree	09	45
Disagree	03	15
Strongly disagree	02	10
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

The table shows that 45% of the respondents, agreed that Nkolola initiation school system should continue, 30% strongly agreed, 15% disagreed and 10% strongly disagreed.

4.3 Parents' responses on the values of Nkolola education

The third objective of the study was to establish the values of Nkolola as an initiation school.

4.3.1 Parents' answers on the lessons taught during Nkolola

Respondents were asked as to what lessons were taught in Nkolola schools. The following were the responses: husband care, home keeping and childcare; instructions on upright conduct; traditional hygiene; correct behaviour towards elders; hospitality to visitors; cooperation in common tasks; self-restraint and endurance in the face of hardships, pride in one's membership in the tribal group; and responsibilities as well as the rights of married life.

4.3.2 Parents' answers on whether lessons taught during Nkolola were of benefits to initiates

Respondents were asked to indicate as to whether the values taught during Nkolola were of any benefit to the initiates. Their responses were as shown in table 15.

Table 15: Parents' answers on whether lessons taught during Nkolola were of benefits to initiates

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	38	95
No	02	05
Total	40	100

Source: Field data

The table shows that the majority of respondents (95%), agreed that the values taught during Nkolola were of benefit to the initiates as opposed to only 5% who thought that the values taught were not beneficial to the initiates. The 95% of respondents who regarded Nkolola as being beneficial to the initiates mentioned the prospect of a well developed individual in all areas of human development and that of a promising happy and successful marriage, as among the main benefits of this school system. The two respondents who were of the view that Nkolola was not beneficial to initiates argued that Nkolola does nothing to the girl-child apart from teaching her to be submissive to their future husbands. The two respondents further argued that Nkolola was of benefit to the husband to be rather than to the Nkolola initiate herself.

4.3.3 Parents' views on whether the values taught during Nkolola were of benefit to the community

Respondents were asked as to whether the values taught during Nkolola school were of benefit to the community. In response, all the 40 respondents agreed, and mentioned the following benefits:

- (i) enabling the community to have well behaved women and submissive wives which resulted in fewer divorces;
- (ii) making communities healthy because of lessons in hygiene that are taught;
- (iii) fostering of good human relations among people in the community as women help promote these and teach them to their children, and
- (iv) ensuring proper child care and care of the aged in the community.

4.3.4 Parents' views on whether there were differences between Nkolola educated and none Nkolola educated women

Respondents were asked whether there were differences between Nkolola educated and none Nkolola educated women. Their responses were shown in table 16.

Table 16: Parents' views on whether there were differences between Nkolola educated women and non-Nkolola educated women

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	40	100
No	00	00
Total	40	100

Source: Field data

Table 16 shows that all the participants agreed that there were differences between Nkolola educated women and non-Nkolola educated ones.

When asked to indicate the actual differences between Nkolola educated women and non-Nkolola educated ones, the respondents' answers were as follows: Nkolola educated women are submissive and docile while non-Nkolola educated ones are assertive; Nkolola educated women are well vested in their traditions and cultures while non-Nkolola educated ones are not well acquainted with their traditions and cultures; Nkolola educated women satisfy their husbands sexually while non-Nkolola educated women have little knowledge in sex techniques; Nkolola educated women are well behaved and responsible while non-Nkolola educated women tend to be ill behaved and irresponsible; Nkolola educated women endure hardships in marriage more than non-Nkolola educated ones; Nkolola educated women have practical survival skills unlike non-Nkolola educated women; and Nkolola educated women are hardworking, dependable, trustworthy, talk and dress in traditionally acceptable manner unlike non-Nkolola educated women.

4.4 Pupil responses on the value of Nkolola education

The researcher asked the pupils in the questionnaire whether they had undergone Nkolola education. Their responses were as shown in Table 17.

Table 17: Pupils' responses on whether they had undergone Nkolola education

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	06	30
No	14	70
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

The data show that only 30% of the respondents had undergone the Nkolola education system while the greater majority (70%), had not gone through it.

The 70% respondents who had not undergone Nkolola were further asked as to whether they would have attended Nkolola school if an opportunity had arisen. Their responses were as recorded in Table 18.

Table 18: Pupils’ responses as to whether they would have attended the Nkolola if a chance arose

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	09	64.38
No	01	7.14
Not sure	04	28.58
Total	14	100

Source: Field data

The table shows that 64.38% respondents would have attended Nkolola education school had an opportunity arisen as opposed to only 7.14 who would not have attended. 28.58% of the respondents were not sure whether they would have attended or not.

4.4.1 Pupils’ answers on what they considered to be the benefits of the Nkolola school system

The respondents were asked to indicate what they considered to be the benefits of Nkolola school system. The following were their responses: Nkolola initiation school strengthened the adolescent girl during puberty which was a time of crisis in the girl’s life; during Nkolola girls were trained in skills, discipline, good morals, right attitudes

which helped them to become responsible wives and mothers; special sex techniques were taught to initiates during Nkolola, which included secretive bedroom dancing skills to enhance sexual enjoyment for the husband; lessons in hygiene were given especially on how to handle menstruation; teaching was provided on the procreation process; on how to keep one's virginity until marriage; on respect for one's traditions and culture and on how to live peacefully with other members of the community.

4.4.2 Pupils' answers regarding whether or not the lessons taught during Nkolola had relevance to modern life

The respondents were asked as to whether lessons taught during Nkolola initiation school had relevance to modern life. Their responses were as shown in table 19.

Table 19: Pupils' responses on whether lessons taught during Nkolola had relevance to modern life

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	11	55
No	09	45
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

Table 19 shows that 55% of the respondents considered the lessons taught during Nkolola as being relevant to modern life while 45% saw no relevance of Nkolola lessons to modern life.

4.5.3 Pupils' views on whether all the lessons taught during Nkolola should continue being taught to girls

Respondents were asked as to whether all the lessons taught during Nkolola should continue being taught to girls who had become of age. Table 20 shows their responses.

Table 20: Pupils views on whether all the values taught during Nkolola initiation school should continue being taught to initiates

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	06	30
No	14	70
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

The table shows that 30% of respondents agreed that all lessons taught in the Nkolola initiation school should continue being taught to initiates while 70% of the respondents were opposed to the idea.

Respondents who supported the continued teaching of all Nkolola lessons to initiates argued that any subtraction of lessons meant diluting the content and true value of Nkolola education system, as such, Nkolola lessons should be taught in totality. Respondents who were opposed to the teaching of all values of Nkolola school initiates, viewed some Nkolola lessons as being not only outdated but harmful to the initiates. They felt that lessons on bedroom issues should be left out as these made girls to practice what they learnt thereby resulting in unwanted pregnancies, early marriages and sexually transmitted diseases.

4.5 Modification and integration of Nkolola education system: Parents' responses.

The last objective of the study was to determine how the values of Nkolola as an initiation school system could be taught to learners.

Respondents were asked to state when girls should be sent to attend Nkolola school. Their various responses were as shown in Table 21.

Table 21: Parents’ proposed time for girls to be sent to attend Nkolola initiation school.

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Immediately they have their first menses	02	05
During school holidays	15	37.5
After secondary education	02	05
When they are about to get married	09	22.5
Between the ages of 12-16 years	02	05
Not at all	10	25
Total	40	100

Source: Field data

Table 21 shows that 37.5% of the respondents were of the view that Nkolola lessons should be held during school holidays, with some emphasizing that, Nkolola school should be held during the August holiday when food is plentiful and there is little work in the fields. Ten respondents (25%) said girls should not be sent to attend Nkolola at all while 22.5% said girls should be sent to attend Nkolola school when they are about to get married. Three categories of respondents of 5% each said that girls should be sent to attend Nkolola school immediately they had their first menses; that they, should be sent to Nkolola school after secondary school, and that they should be sent when are between the ages of 12 to 16 respectively.

4.5.1 Parents' proposed time duration for girls to attend Nkolola school

Parents were asked to state how long girls should attend Nkolola school system. Their responses were as shown in Table 22.

Table 22: Parents' proposed length of time that girls should attend Nkolola initiation school

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Less than a month	01	2.5
1 month	14	35
2-3 months	09	22.5
4-5 months	04	10
6 months	02	5
Not at all	10	25
Total	40	100

Source: Field data

The table shows that 35% of respondents proposed one month as the period of time that girls should take at Nkolola school, 22.5% proposed two to three months while 25% said that girls should not spend time in Nkolola school at all.

4.6 Pupils' responses to the question on when girl initiates should be sent to attend Nkolola initiation school

Respondents were asked as to when children should be sent to attend Nkolola school.

Their responses were as shown in Table 23.

Table 23: Pupils’ proposed time for girls to be sent to attend Nkolola initiation school

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Immediately they reached puberty	01	5
During school holidays	01	5
After completing school	03	15
When they were about to get married	12	60
Not at all	03	15
Total	20	100

Source: Field data

The table shows that 60% of the respondents felt that girls should be sent to attend Nkolola initiation school when they were about to get married, 15% of them said girls should be sent to attend Nkolola school after completing school, 5% that they should be sent immediately they reached puberty and another 5% that they should be sent during school holidays. The remaining 15% said that girls should not be sent to attend Nkolola school at all.

4.7 Parents’ views on whether there was something modern school education system could learn from Nkolola education

Parent respondents were asked on whether there was something that the modern Zambian educational system could learn from Nkolola initiation school system. Their responses were as recorded in Table 24.

Table 24: Parents’ views on whether there was something that modern Zambian educational system could learn from Nkolola school system

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	38	95
No	02	05
Total	40	100

Source: Field data

Table 24 shows that the majority of respondents (95%) agreed that there was something that modern Zambian educational system could learn from Nkolola school system while 5% of them indicated that there was nothing that the modern Zambian educational system could learn from Nkolola school system.

Parents were further asked to state what the modern Zambian educational system could learn from Nkolola as an initiation school system. Respondents cited the following: lessons on morality, human relationships, family values, rules of personal hygiene and maintenance of customs, traditions and cultural heritage of the Tonga people. Equally mentioned by respondents was the teaching methodology of Nkolola school involving the use of interactive techniques like folk-tales, folk songs, folk dances.

Respondents were asked as to what aspects of Nkolola as an initiation school could be integrated within the modern school curriculum. Their responses were as follows: lessons on care for the less privileged in society like orphans, widows and the elderly; topics on apprenticeship in self reliance or survival skills; personal hygiene and use of traditional herbal medicines; lessons on acceptable sexual behaviour; cultural and traditional values; lessons on self discipline, value of work and inculcation of good work culture, and

lessons on home management and obligations and rights of women in society. Others were family planning through traditional methods and preparation of traditional foods.

Respondents were asked as to how the mentioned important aspects of Nkolola school system could be integrated into the modern school curriculum. Their responses were that this could be done:

- Through the localized school curriculum, whereby beneficial aspects of Nkolola school system could be adapted in line with local needs and circumstances, and
- Through the fusing of vital Nkolola lessons into related modern school subjects. Lessons on morality, sexuality and human relationships could be fused into Religious Education and Civic Education. Care for the home, children and husband and personal hygiene could form part of Home Economics, Home Management and Biology lessons. Topics on cultural and traditional values could be integrated into History, Zambian Languages and Geography. Practical or survival skills could be integrated into Industrial Arts, Agriculture Science and Commerce.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter discusses the findings of the study. The study sought to establish parental attitudes towards Nkolola initiation school in Choma District. The findings are discussed four themes, namely: parental attitudes towards Nkolola education; pupils' views concerning their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola education; the values of Nkolola as an initiation school; and the modifications and alternatives to Nkolola initiation schools.

5.1 Parental attitudes towards Nkolola education

The study revealed that Nkolola as an initiation school was on the decrease as evidenced by the statistical data obtained from the study. Out of 40 parent respondents, only five had gone through Nkolola School and out of the 20 pupil respondents only six had gone through it. Additionally, out of the 40 parent respondents, only two parents had sent their children to attend Nkolola initiation school. These findings are consistent with that of Mundumuko (1990) who pointed out that initiation schools in Zambia were fast disappearing. The study established that the low numbers of Nkolola school graduates has unquestionably led to lack of models who would have encouraged others to pass through Nkolola school.

The findings of this study also showed that parental attitudes towards Nkolola initiation school were influenced by a number of factors. These are: modernity and urbanization; religious beliefs; educational background; cultural and traditional beliefs and respect for human rights.

The respondents pointed out that increased modernity or westernization has brought a number of social and economic changes that have made it difficult for parents to send their children to attend Nkolola school. Modern parents, respondents pointed out, have opted to have the girl-child finish her education and pursue a career, rather than attend Nkolola school. This has been further encouraged by the fact that many girls now reach puberty while at school. The respondents argued that when people moved from villages to towns like Choma, the worst thing that happened was the erosion of their culture and tradition and a heavy embrace of the western culture.

Urbanization, respondents contended, has contributed to some parents to view Nkolola school system as old fashioned and conservative with limited goals that cannot adequately meet the basic needs of a modern girl-child. Most parents viewed Nkolola school as an outdated tradition, a liability with no monetary gains. This radical parental attitude change towards Nkolola education as a result of modernity and urbanization is in line with Max Weber's comparative perspective theory which states that traditional people consider certain actions right and proper solely because they have been accepted for so long. On the other hand, modernised societies choose to think and act on the basis of present and future consequences, evaluating schools to attend, careers to undertake and even relationships to enter into, in terms of what they expect to receive in return (Schaefer, 2005).

The rapid spread of Christianity as an extension of the western culture, respondents contended, had a hand in the change of parental attitudes towards Nkolola initiation school. Many parents in Choma district who professed the Christian faith have

abandoned sending their children to attend Nkolola school, and have labelled Nkolola initiation school as pagan as it has in its content, practices and taboos that are not in line with Christian values and principles. This study finding agrees with Mundumuko (1990) who argues that Christianity has had a corrosive effect on Zambia's initiation schools.

The advent of western education has, according to respondents greatly undermined Nkolola school system. Modern schooling opportunities for girls, have led to formation of new modern values, resulting in loss of respect for tradition, including Nkolola school system. They reasoned that since Nkolola schools can no longer enable children to adjust themselves comfortably to modern dynamic life, it was modern school education that was important in creating various vocational opportunities. Additionally, modern education has brought a change in women's status. Increasingly, today's girls have more freedom to decide whether to attend Nkolola school or not, unlike the girls in the past who would be tricked, forced or beaten into accepting to be initiated in the Nkolola school system. Parents out of fear of violating the rights of the girl, have been careful by not sending their children to attend Nkolola schools against their will. Unquestionably, the modern school system has had a greater appeal to Tonga girls in Choma than the Nkolola school system.

Although the majority of respondents indicated that cultural and traditional beliefs were not a major factor in parental attitudes towards Nkolola school system, a few of them showed that a number of Tonga traditionalists who were ardent supporters and followers of the precious Tonga cultural and traditional heritage still felt duty bound to send their children to attend Nkolola school against all odds. It was the parents who had abandoned

their cultural and traditional roots as a result of the impact of western culture and civilization, who viewed Nkolola school as not being a necessity but as simply a village entertainment ceremony with little significance. This finding is consistent with that of Chiinga (2006) who pointed out that Tonga traditionalists still felt obliged to attend Tonga ceremonies because they strongly believed in them.

5.2 Pupils' views concerning their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola school

The findings of the study showed that pupil respondents rated their parents' attitude towards Nkolola school as good and very good at 15% and 10% respectively. The other respondents had no idea about their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola school at 65%. The no idea response was attributed to the absence of discussions on culture and tradition between parents and their children. This attribution is in line with the findings of Wanjohi (1999) who argued that parents have lost touch with their children on cultural and traditional issues as most of them feel embarrassed to discuss cultural and traditional matters with their children. Only a small percentage of respondents considered their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola school as bad and very bad at 5% for each category.

The respondents mentioned the following: parents' religious affiliation (40%); modernity and urbanization (40%); parents' cultural and traditional beliefs (15%); and parents' level of education at (5%) as factors that strongly influenced their parents' attitudes towards Nkolola school, arranged according to their preferences. The pupil responses were not so much different from those of parents, as both ranked modernity and urbanization and religious affiliation as very strong factors that impacted heavily on parents' attitudes

towards Nkolola school. This finding confirms the findings of Castle (1966) that initiation schools have been adversely affected by westernization, urbanization and western Christendom.

A greater majority of pupil respondents (90%) saw poverty as a non-contributing factor to parents' not sending their children to attend Nkolola schools. They convincingly pointed to the virtually free nature of Nkolola education for instance, the fact that it does not cost much to back their view point. They further strengthened their position by pointing to the ability of parents to send their children to the much more expensive western type modern schools.

Respondents mentioned that location had an influence on parents' attitudes towards sending their children to attend Nkolola school in Choma. The pupil respondents argued that, to a certain extent access to Nkolola education depended on where the parents lived. Parents who lived in Choma town, found it difficult to send their children to distant places in remote areas of Choma, to attend Nkolola schools while those who lived in rural parts of Choma district had easy access. Respondents further stated that most parents who had broken ties or had abandoned their cultural beliefs had negative attitudes towards Nkolola and as such did not see any need for sending their children to Nkolola schools. Parents whose roots in culture were strong, still found it as their duty and obligation to respect their cultural heritage by sending their children to attend Nkolola. This finding is consistent with that of Kimilu (1975) who points out that people with deep cultural roots take traditional schools seriously.

5.3 The values of Nkolola as an initiation school

The findings revealed that there were some misconceptions about the Nkolola school initiation system in Choma. To some respondents, Nkolola was simply a marriage school. This misguided conception of Nkolola school has unquestionably contributed to parental negative attitudes towards Nkolola school. Respondents argued that, if Nkolola was mistaken to be solely a school where marriage lessons were offered, what would be the benefit of sending a girl to Nkolola school, who was not ready for marriage? This misconception of Nkolola school is shared by Brown and Hisket (1976) who understood initiation schools as simply orientation institution towards marriage. The majority of respondents in Choma reasoned that while Nkolola initiations ceremony was mainly for marriage issues, it actually goes beyond the confines of marriage to include all aspects of everyday life. The respondents' balanced view of Nkolola school confirms Wanjohi's (1999) description of initiation schools as formalised institutions in which those who had become of age were instructed on moral norms, responsible living, sex and marital duties.

The findings of the study showed that respondents regarded certain lessons of Nkolola school as being important and these were: husband care, home keeping and child care; moral uprightness; traditional hygiene; obedience to elders; hospitality to visitors; cooperation in community work; self-restraint and endurance in the face of hardships as well as rights and obligations of married life. The majority of respondents agreed that these important Nkolola lessons were of benefit not only to the individual initiate but also to the community. Respondents indicated that the Nkolola school produced a woman who was acceptable to both the husband and the Tonga society at large. To the individual, the

benefits are that of being a well-rounded and developed human being and having a happy and successful marriage. Benneta (1980) attributes increases in unhappy marriages, adultery and the apparent rise in divorce rates to the failure to initiate women through schools or ceremonies like Nkolola.

The respondents mentioned: healthier communities; improved relations among members of the community; respect for authority; being hospitable and generous members of the community; uprightness of conduct as benefits that communities would have if girls underwent Nkolola initiation school. This finding confirms Ocholla-Ayayo's (1976) findings that communities benefited from initiation schools by having community members who were hospitable and generous to relatives and even strangers; community members who would avoid telling lies, keep secrets and who would abstain from theft and aggressiveness.

It was indicated by respondents that certain Nkolola aspects should not be taught to initiates during Nkolola, and these were: blind submission to the authority of the husband and sex and sexuality lessons long before marriage. The use of intimidation and torture as teaching techniques during initiation was also not welcome.

They strongly felt that the teaching that women must accept the husband's authority in the home, was harmful as it made women to be docile and dependent on men. They further argued that the value behind this teaching not only depresses the girl-child but it circumscribes her goals, aspirations and options in life. The value made girls to believe

that they were not as good as boys and that their rightful occupation was that of a house wife. Many respondents saw the value of wife submission to the husband's authority as perpetuating the oppression of women by men. Oxenberg and Wolper (1996) argue that initiation lessons on wife submission to husband are a violation of women's rights.

The study further revealed that the value of women submitting to their husbands was necessary in the olden days before the widespread of technology. The respondents contended that surviving in a predominately agricultural Tonga economy required a labour force that was submissive, hence the teaching that girl initiates be submissive to the authority of their husbands. This finding is consistent with that of the Modern Evolution Theory of Social Change by Gerhard Lenski who explained the importance of the level of technology and society's economic base in changing attitudes in social life (Laverne, 1995).

They further argued that values related to sex and sexuality inculcated into initiates during Nkolola school were embarrassing to the initiates because they were not yet ready for marriage. However, such issues also encouraged the graduates to start practicing the sex techniques and skills they learnt. Respondents argued that the consequences of practicing what was learnt resulted in pre-marital sex, unwanted pregnancies, child marriages, and girls getting infected with sexually transmitted diseases including HIV and AIDS. This finding is in line with the findings of Maambo (2007) that initiated women found it easier to have many sexual partners so as to prove that they were taught well in techniques of handling men in bed during sex. Some respondents mentioned the

use of herbs and love potions to enhance sex pleasure as harmful practices taught to initiates during Nkolola school. They commented that such practices result in diseases and divorce. This finding confirms the observations made by Nyondo (2013) that initiation schools should be condemned for allegedly initiating girls into sexual activity at an early age.

Respondents pointed out that Nkolola school values that put initiates at the risk of having sex before marriage and getting infected with HIV and AIDS could be kept in check by strengthening the lessons in Nkolola schools on self-restraint in sexual matters and including lessons on the values of abstinence. Additionally, traditional initiation instructors or counselors could be encouraged to tell the initiates all they needed to know about HIV and AIDS, early marriages, unwanted pregnancies and other sex related issues. This observation by respondents confirms the argument by Wanjohi (1999) that traditional initiation instructors should play a vital role in educating the initiates on the dangers of HIV and AIDS in an effort to halt the spread of the HIV and AIDS epidemic.

The respondents asserted that in Nkolola schools, initiates are subjected to mental and physical torture. Respondents pointed to beatings, pinching of the flesh and being denied food as a way of disciplining initiates. This finding agrees with that of Colson (1958) who argued that older women reformed the initiate girl by beating her or twisting the flesh of her arms or legs, of the defects they had earlier observed in her. Sometimes the initiates were forced to take a cold bath at night or dance and sing all night long. These methods, respondents pointed, out were a violation of the rights of the girl as the initiates

were taught to be submissive to authority by intimidation. The initiates were taught to keep quiet when elders were talking or not to answer back when being rebuked. They contended that such practices made women to keep quiet when their rights were being violated; to suffer in silence when husbands sexually, emotionally and physically abused them.

Data showed that more than half of the parent respondents (55%) supported the idea that Nkolola initiation should be continued. Among the pupil respondents, 45% and 30% agreed and strongly agreed that Nkolola initiation system should continue. Respondents argued that Nkolola initiation school system complemented the modern school system in its deficiencies, especially in family and human values. They argued that modern education was giving to society graduates with confused ideas about life, devoid of human values with questionable morals and attitudes. Maambo's (2007) findings were confirmed by this study on the revelation that Nkolola initiation schools should be continued but with modifications.

5.4 Modifications and alternatives to Nkolola initiation school

There was overwhelming evidence from parent respondents that Nkolola initiation can no longer enable children to adjust themselves comfortably to the modern dynamics of life. Parents contended that alternative methods have to be found to teach the positive values of Nkolola school to learners. Respondents were very consistent in their contention that Nkolola school should either be modified or its vital lessons should be integrated in the modern school system.

Respondents pointed out that one modification of Nkolola school would involve holding sessions for Nkolola during the school holidays when pupils were not very busy with school work. This argument that Nkolola school should be modified is in line with the Ministry of Education (2005) directive that initiation schools should not withdraw and confine girls when school was in progress. It should be noted that this modification of Nkolola school was already taking place in parts of Choma district at the time the research was being undertaken.

Most respondents interviewed were of the view that Nkolola school should be held during the August holiday when people were not be busy in their fields and food was plenty as this was a period just after harvest.

Another modification would involve the teaching of knowledge and skills to initiates at specific stages as the girls progressed from childhood to womanhood. Respondents argued that initiates should only be taught about good manners, hospitality, self-restraint, obedience to elders and hygiene when they are still young. They further suggested that lessons on marriage and sex skills and techniques should be reserved for girls who had completed school, whose need of knowledge of marriage issues had grown and were ready and about to get married. The findings of this study are consistent with the findings of Maambo (2007) who found out that one major modification to Nkolola could be teaching the skills in stages to puberty girls.

Integration of Nkolola lessons in the modern school system, respondents pointed out was possible. They argued that the best way of integrating Nkolola lessons within the modern school curriculum could be combining the best of Nkolola school with the best of western education to come up with an education system that would be more relevant to local Zambian interests.

On the topics to be moved from Nkolola school into the modern school curriculum, the respondents mentioned the following: care for less privileged in communities; apprenticeship in life skills; hygiene during menstruation; herbal medicines; traditional reproductive health, discipline, traditional and cultural values; morality; family and human values. Additionally, respondents pointed out that folk stories, folk songs and folk dances could also be incorporated, as these embodied traditional knowledge and skills. This finding agrees with that of Kimilu (1975) who found out that tribal stories, folk-lore, tribal songs and dances, tribal law and customs, community projects, tribal occupation and crafts and tribal economic sources, human relations, family values and morality were critical elements from initiation schools that could be synthesized with the modern education system.

It was suggested by the respondents that the mentioned important subjects of Nkolola school system could be integrated into the modern school system through the localized school curriculum and Nkolola lessons could also be fused into related modern school subjects.

The localization of the school curriculum would allow schools in Choma district to adapt aspects of the curriculum to local needs and circumstances. The implementation of the localized curriculum in Choma district would enable learners acquire indigenous knowledge, values and practical skills offered by Nkolola initiation schools. Parent respondents argued that in planning the contents of the localized curriculum, local people with necessary experience and commitment should be consulted. Further still, they strongly felt, local people with relevant knowledge and skills in Nkolola education should be invited to take up the challenge of teaching the localized curriculum content. This finding is in agreement with the proposed curriculum framework by the Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education (2011) which views the objective of the localized curriculum as that of providing some compensation for the indigenous knowledge, values and practical skills that learners would have acquired in their home environment if they had not been attending school.

The study findings revealed that the modern school curriculum could be revised to accommodate vital teachings of Nkolola school. This could be done, by fusing relevant Nkolola lessons or topics into related modern school subjects. Lessons on morality, sexuality, family values and human relations could be fused into Religious Education and Civic Education. Care for the home, children and husband, personal hygiene and reproductive health could be fused into Home Economics, Home Management and Biology. Traditional and cultural topics could be co-opted into History, Chitonga and Geography. Practical and survival skills could be fused into Industrial Arts, Agriculture Science, Commerce and Physical Education. This finding confirmed the previous

research undertaken by UNESCO (2005) that concluded that indigenous knowledge could be preserved and developed by incorporating it into the modern school subjects.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study. It provides a summary of the main findings of the study with regard to the objectives and their accompanying questions. It also gives recommendations that point to the way forward for the Nkolola educational system.

6.1 Conclusions

It is clear from the foregoing data and discussion that:

- (i) Parents have negative attitudes towards Nkolola and that Nkolola as an initiation school was on the decline going by the number of Nkolola graduates in the recent past.
- (ii) Most pupils considered their parents' attitude towards Nkolola as being negative.
- (iii) The value tenets of Nkolola school system were identified as:
 - (a) inculcation of good morals and behavior among women and the fostering of stable marriages.
 - (b) promotion of good human relations
 - (c) promotion of good health as a result of hygiene lessons that are taught to initiates
 - (d) helping initiates to acquire survival skills
 - (e) inculcating the need for being hospitable, self-disciplined and co-operative
 - (f) fostering the skills of child care and care for the husband

- (iv) The teachings of Nkolola should be incorporated into related modern school subjects for instance,
 - (a) Lessons on morality, sexuality and human relations could be made part of Religious Education
 - (b) Child care and hygiene lessons could be fused into Home Economics.

6.2 Recommendations

In order for Nkolola school to succeed in attracting clients in the midst of negative attitudes towards it, it is recommended by the study that:

- (i) The Ministry of Chiefs and Traditional Affairs and traditional authorities such as chiefs and village headmen should sensitize communities in Choma district on the important values transmitted by the Nkolola education system.
- (ii) The custodians of the Nkolola school system should revisit the Nkolola school curriculum to take on board the needs of with modern times and to make it more appealing to prospective clients. Values that impact negatively on the girls and women should be removed. Additionally, Nkolola school should be held at a time when girls are not busy with school.
- (iii) The Ministry of Health should give Nkolola traditional instructors tips on counseling so that they can effectively provide initiates with relevant advice and practical information on the dangers of pre-marital sex and how to live safely and responsibly.

- (iv) The Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education should ensure continuous revision of the school curriculum to accommodate the important aspects of Nkolola education system in related modern subject areas.
- (v) The Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education should implement the localized school curriculum. Since the success of the localized curriculum depends largely upon the involvement of local communities, it is important that local people are consulted when drawing up the content of the localized curriculum.

6.3 Suggestions for future research

The following are possible topics for future research:

- (i) Investigate the role of Nkolola school system in the fight against the HIV and AIDS pandemic.
- (ii) Examine the relevance of Nkolola to modern life.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

**TOPIC: PARENTAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS INITIATION SCHOOLS: THE
CASE OF NKOLOLA IN CHOMA DISCTRICT**

Dear Respondent

I am a postgraduate student at the University of Zambia conducting a research on the above stated topic. You have been randomly selected as a participant in this questionnaire. Kindly answer the questions as honestly as possible. Be assured your response will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used for purposes of this study.

Instructions

1. Do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.
2. Tick in the brackets to indicate the appropriate option of your choice,
3. You are only allowed to write your answer where options are not provided.
4. Answer all the questions in this questionnaire.

Section A

1. Personal details

- (a) How old are you?
- (b) In what grade are you?
- (c) What is your religious denomination?

2. School details

- (a) Name of School.....
- (b) Status of school (a) Rural [] (b) Urban []
- (c) District

Part B

- 1. What do you understand by the term Nkolola?
.....
- 2. Have you gone through the Nkolola initiation school?
Yes [] No []
- 3. If 'no' what if opportunity arises, would you desire to attend Nkolola?
Yes [] No []
- 4. If 'yes' what do you consider to be the benefits of Nkolola?
 - a)
.....
 - b)
.....
 - c)
.....
- 5. Do you think that the values taught during Nkolola initiation school are of any relevance to modern life?
Yes [] No []

6. (a) Should all the values taught in Nkolola initiation school continue being taught to those who have become of age?
 Yes [] No []
- (b) Please, give reasons for your answer.

7. During which time should children attend Nkolola?
- (a) Immediately they become of age []
- (b) During school holidays []
- (c) After completing school []
- (d) When they are about to get married []
8. What are your parents' attitudes towards Nkolola as an initiation school?
- (a) Very bad []
- (b) Bad []
- (c) Good []
- (d) Very good []
- (e) No idea []
9. What factor(s) strongly influence parents' attitudes towards Nkolola?
- (a) Their religious affiliation []
- (b) Their educational level []
- (c) Modernity and Urbanisation []
- (d) Others, specify

10. (a) Do you think poverty is responsible for parents not sending their children for Nkolola?

Yes [] No []

11. (a) Does location influence parents attitudes towards sending their children to attend Nkolola initiation school?

Yes [] No []

12. (a) Do you think cultural isolation is responsible for parents not sending their girl-child to attend Nkolola?

Yes [] No []

(b) Please, explain

.....

.....

13. What is your perception Nkolola?

(a) Nkolola is very valuable []

(b) Nkolola makes you nervous and stressful []

(c) Nkolola is outdated []

(d) Nkolola is irrelevant to modern life []

(e) Others, specify

.....

.....

14. How agreeable or otherwise are you about the need for Nkolola to continue as a school system?

(a) Strongly agree []

(b) Agree []

(c) Strongly disagree []

(d) Disagree []

15. Do you have any suggestions to make concerning Nkolola as an initiation school?
If so, what are the suggestions?

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

Thank you for your co-operation

APPENDIX II

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARENTS

A. Personal Information

1. Gender
2. What is your occupation?
3. What is your religious denomination?
4. What is your education background?

B. Meaning and value of Nkolola as an initiation school

5. Do you know what the word Nkolola implies?
6. What does it imply?
7. What important lessons are taught during Nkolola?
8. a) Do you think the values taught during Nkolola initiation school are of any benefit to the initiates?
b) Mention the benefit(s) of Nkolola to the initiates.
9. Do you think the values taught are of benefit to the community? How?
10. Are there differences between Nkolola educated women and none-educated ones.
If so, what are the differences?

C. Parental attitude towards Nkolola

11. Did you go through the Nkolola school system?
12. Did you like being in that school?
13. What reasons do you have for liking or disliking being in that school?
14. Have you sent any of your children to the Nkolola school? Give reasons for your answer.

15. What do you think strongly influences your attitude towards Nkolola?
- (a) Religious beliefs
 - (b) Educational background
 - (c) Modernity and Urbanisation
 - (d) Respect for human rights
 - (e) Others, specify
16. Should all values taught in Nkolola continue being taught to girls?
- Yes [] No []
17. If no, what values do you think should not be taught to girls and why?
18. In your opinion, should Nkolola as an initiation school continue?
- Yes [] No []
19. If 'yes' when and for how long should girls be sent to attend Nkolola?
20. Is there something that the modern Zambian educational system can learn from Nkolola as an initiation school? State what this is.
21. What aspects of Nkolola as an initiation school should be integrated within the school curriculum?
22. How should the integration of those aspects in the modern school curriculum be made?
23. What comments or recommendations would you like to make concerning Nkolola as an initiation school?

End of Interview