

INTRODUCTION

Sex work popularly known in literary discourse as prostitution, is perhaps the world's oldest "profession". Sometimes also referred to as sex-for-hire or commercial sex work in contemporary academic discourse, sex work existed since time immemorial. Evidence from the earliest times of human existence, indicates that men paid women in kind for sexual services rendered to them. Sex work has also existed in various forms throughout history, the earliest forms being connected to Greek religion and were called 'sacred' or 'temple' 'prostitution'.¹ This form of sex work was a common feature many centuries before the Christian era and was especially widely practised in ancient Greece.² This form of sex has also been traced to the Far East where it thrived and was highly valued from as early as 300 B.C.³

In some other parts of Europe, the practice became a common feature during the medieval era. Saint Augustine and Saint Aquinas, some of the leading fathers of the Christian faith, may have at different times, tolerated the practice, considering it as a safety net against rape, seduction and even adultery.⁴ Contradictions only emerged when beliefs in the biblical theory of sin, and the condemnation of erotic pleasures

¹ Harry Benjamin and R.E.L. Masters, *Prostitution and Morality: A Definitive Report on the Prostitute in Contemporary Society and an analysis of the Suppression of Prostitution*, (London: Souvenir Press, 1965), 36.

² Benjamin and Masters, *Prostitution and Morality*, 36.

³ Han Licht, *Sexual Life of Ancient Greece*, (London: Rutledge and Kegan Paul, 1953), 329.

⁴ William Sanger, *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes and Effects throughout the World*, (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1972), 43.

derived from the Hebrew Law came to the fore.⁵ Charlemagne enacted sex work laws in the eighth century, as did Fredrick Barbarossa in the twelfth century. Examples of penalties for sex work included, capital punishment, mutilation of some parts of the body such as hands or legs and even execution.⁶ The period also witnessed the first cases of Sexually Transmitted Infections and sex workers were blamed for the outbreak and the spread of these diseases. In the sixteenth century, an epidemic of syphilis broke out and spread throughout Europe compelling the British government to pass legislation that subjected sex workers to rigorous medical examinations to determine their Sexually Transmitted Infection status.⁷

In the nineteenth century, some European countries, notable among them Belgium, Britain, France, Germany and Italy embarked on territorial acquisitions in Africa and Asia. To achieve this objective, the use of the armies and the navies was essential. However, while on operations wives or girl friends were not allowed to accompany their soldier and naval husbands or boy friends. Soldiers and naval officers' sexual pleasures and desires could only be addressed by having sex with female sex workers.⁸ The service men often solicited for sex-for-pay from local women in the areas they served.

⁵ Benjamin and Masters, *Prostitution and Morality*, 51.

⁶ Benjamin and Masters, *Prostitution and Morality*, 53.

⁷ William Acton, *Prostitution Considered in its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects in London and other Garrison Towns*, (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1972), v-xii.

⁸ Acton, *Prostitution Considered in its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects in London and other Garrison Towns*, (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1972), v-xii.

Britain paid dearly when its army and navy constantly suffered a high rate of Sexually Transmitted Infections, especially syphilis and gonorrhoea. The British Government was compelled to pass the famous Contagious Diseases Act in 1866. In 1868 the Act was amended. In 1869 another Act was enacted to replace the 1868 one. These Acts were designed to monitor and regulate activities of sex workers in London and other garrison cities.⁹

In Africa, earliest evidence of existence of sex work comes from ancient Egypt where historical accounts show 'prostitution' as 'sacred' indulgence during the times of the Pharaohs.¹⁰ There is also evidence of flourishing sex work from trading centres and developing cities in pre-colonial East and West Africa.¹¹ In South Africa, sex for profit existed as far back as the era of voyages of discovery when sex was available to early European sailors and travellers who stopped at the refreshment station at the Cape as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹² Sex for profit, in the case of women, and pleasure for men, dates back to the late 1600 when a white settlement was established at the Cape.¹³

In Central Africa, sex work has been associated with the development of long distance trading activities when some African chiefs controlled and monopolised

⁹ Acton, *Prostitution Considered in its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects in London and other Garrison Towns*, v-xii.

¹⁰ Kenneth Little, *African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution*, (London: Longman, 1984), 88-94.

¹¹ Little, *African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution*, 88-94.

¹² Elizabeth B. Van Heyningen, "The Social Evil in the Cape Colony 1868-1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10, 2(1984), 170.

¹³ Van Heyningen, "The Social Evil," 170.

markets and routes that were located in and passed through their kingdoms. To have a monopoly of trade, chiefs provided services such as markets for foodstuffs, bridges, rest houses and even entertainment along trading routes and centres.¹⁴ Some chiefs even encouraged some women to offer sexual services to traders for payment in kind. After 1850, there was an increase in the number of Europeans coming to Central Africa and to pre-colonial Zambia in particular. Traders, hunters, prospectors, missionaries and even farmers, especially of British and Scottish background, came to Central Africa in large numbers. These immigrants were predominantly male and employed ‘Cook Boys’ or male domestic servants. ‘Cook Boys’ were also used to procure African women to offer sexual services to their employers at a fee. These women were referred to as ‘Cook’s Women’, a disguise title to conceal, especially by the British, the practice, since Victorian England prohibited British men from indulging into sexual acts with African women.¹⁵

In 1890, the British South Africa Company was given the mandate to administer the affairs of colonial Zambia. To address the fiscal needs of the territory the Company administration introduced Hut Tax in North Eastern Districts and Poll Tax in North Western Districts in 1901 and 1904 respectively, compelling adult males to pay tax. Initially the tax could be paid in kind, say a goat or chicken. Payment of tax in kind was shortly abolished and cash payment only was maintained. The need to raise money to meet tax obligations was one of the factors that forced male adults to leave

¹⁴ J. Vansina, “Long Distance Trade-Routes in Central Africa”, *Journal of African History*, 3, 3 (1962), 388 and Marcia Wright, *Strategies of Women and Slaves: Life Stories from East/Central Africa*, (New York: Lillian Barber Press, 1993), 9.

¹⁵ Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia 1900-1985*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1989), 88.

their rural areas for emerging industrial or farming centres in search of employment. Beginning 1902, male Africans from colonial Zambia were engaged in lead and zinc mines of Kabwe. Between 1904 and 1909 the construction of the railway line from Livingstone to Katanga in the Belgium Congo attracted a large body of men. In 1908 development work began at Kansanshi in Solwezi, attracting a large number of men seeking employment. In colonial Zambia, men in the employ of such British South Africa Company initiated projects needed women, not necessarily as wives, but for sexual pleasure and women were ready to meet these men's sexual challenges, not necessarily for pleasure but for profit.¹⁶

In colonial Zambia the tendency and desire for women to make profit from sexual services became manifest between 1920 and 1930 because of the development of large-scale mining on the Copperbelt, especially after 1926.¹⁷ On the Zambian Copperbelt, such female sex workers were known as 'good friends' because they could cook and wash for their clients.¹⁸ Female sex workers also became a source of comfort for men elsewhere. In Lusaka female sex activists in squatter compounds or illegal settlements that developed alongside workers residential areas provided sexual pleasure to some labourers after a hard day's work.¹⁹ Female sex workers

¹⁶ Diana Rosa Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*, (London: Zed Press, 1983), 21-23.

¹⁷ George Chauncey Jr., "The Locus of Reproduction: Women in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1927-1953", in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 7, 2 (1981), 135-164.

¹⁸ Chauncey Jr., "The Locus of Reproduction", 135-164.

¹⁹ Karen Tranberg Hansen, "Negotiating Sex and Gender in Urban Zambia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10, 2(1984), 224.

therefore, were also used as “comfort women”, a means of survival and comfort, which boosted the labourer’s morale.²⁰

The development and growth of mining settlements, especially on the Copperbelt and the rise in the number of sex workers was accompanied by a high prevalence of cases of Sexually Transmitted Infections. This development became a major concern for the urban authorities. In 1930, Native Authorities were mandated to expel from male workers compounds all unmarried women. The setting up, in 1936 of Urban African Courts increased chiefly powers against the existence in mine compounds of unmarried women in urban areas. To re-enforce the efforts of the Urban African Courts the colonial government set up in 1939 blockades at bus stops and major transit routes in order to reduce the number of unregistered women leaving rural areas for urban centres.²¹ Brothels also emerged along migrant labour routes where women offered sexual services to the outgoing and incoming labour migrants. Some routes even became known as “whores’ tracks”. The Mulobezi – Mongu migrants’ labour road, in the Western Province was famous for its brothels.²²

The presence of sex workers in urban settings sometimes provoked legal and political issues. In 1953, the Northern Rhodesia government, now Zambia, granted the Urban African Courts authority to issue marriage certificates to Africans resident

²⁰ Naomi B. McCormick, *Sexual Salvation: Affirming Women Sexual Rights and Pleasures*, (Westport: Praegar Publishers, 1994), 99. I have adopted the phrase from McCormick who used the phrase in reference to Korean women who were forced to provide sex to servicemen during the World War II.

²¹ Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*, 23.

²² R. Philpot, “The Mulobezi-Mongu Labour Route”, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 3(1974), 51.

in towns in order to legalise some marriages and in order to reduce the number of sex workers. This authority notwithstanding, sex for profit and for pleasure continued. Evidence shows that even some married women indulged in sex for profit in order to supplement their family incomes.²³

Defining Prostitution and Sex Work

Moralists define ‘prostitution’ as promiscuous unchastity for hire while sexologists define it as a relationship in which a man or woman engages in sex with strangers or known people for money but without affectional feelings.²⁴ Feminists define it as the institutionalised market place for sale of sex.²⁵ Bindman and Doezema defined sex work as “negotiation and performance of sex services for remuneration with or without intervention by a third party”.²⁶ They state that the usage of the term ‘prostitution’ implied that the practice was exploitative, debasing of human life and immoral. Bindman and Doezema argue that redefining it as sex work portrays the activity, not as a social or psychological characteristic of a class of women but as income generating activity or a form of employment for women. Spanger also avoided the usage of the term ‘prostitution’ because it reflected an identity rather than an act.²⁷ She found the phrase, “Women-who-prostitute” more ideal because it reflected an act or some discursive practice of women’s’ lives.

²³ Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*, 23.

²⁴ Benjamin and Masters, *Prostitution and Morality*, 25.

²⁵ McCormick, *Sexual Salvation*, 83.

²⁶ Jo Bindman with Jo Doezema. “Redefining Prostitution as Sex Work on the International Agenda. <http://www.wainet.org/csis/papers/redefining.html> .

²⁷ Marlene Spanger, “Black Prostitutes in Denmark”, Susanne Thorbek and Bandana Pattanaik(ed), *Transnational Prostitution: Changing Patterns*, (London: Zed Books, 2002), 121.

Fundamental to the definition of the two terms is the presence of sex for profit concept. This means therefore that the two terms are after all the same because they denote common objectives to gain remuneration. For the purpose of this study, the terms 'Prostitution' and sex work will be used interchangeably.

Statement of the Problem

Old views have held sex work as a vice that had to be eradicated whilst recent feminists look at it as work, a source of income like any other business venture. This study intends to build on recent feminists' works which contradict the old view by demonstrating that to the contrary sex work was beneficial to those women who indulged in it and also to suggest that it had a social role in a changing political environment.

Objectives of the study

This study;

- i. examines and discusses the dynamics of Sex Work in a changing pre-colonial and colonial political economy,
- ii. investigates 'politics' of Sex Work such as struggles to eradicate it,
- iii. and also analyses its commercial and social benefits.

Rationale

This study contributes to the historiography of women in Zambia. The study will also stimulate further research interests in the topic.

Literature Review

World wide literature on sex work is vast, but little has been written on Zambia. Most of the works that cover the nineteenth and twentieth centuries deal with sex work in Europe, America and other parts of Africa. This historiographical gap reflects shifting interests and perspectives in the writing of Zambian history. Many historians of Zambian history concentrated on political and economic dynamics, although in recent times there has been a shift to include a social historical discourse. This discourse attempts to analyse how changes in the political and economic environment affected the social lives of women thereby making some of them to engage in sex work as a means of earning an income.

Discourse on sex work in Europe and America comes from Licht²⁸, Acton²⁹, Sanger³⁰, Benjamin and Masters³¹, Thorbek³², Pattanaik³³, Walkowitz³⁴, and Doezema.³⁵ Licht focused on ancient Greece. In his chapter on sex work, he marvelled at the vastness of literature on the discipline which he attributed to its workers and the various terminologies used in the description of sex work. His

²⁸ Licht, *Sexual Life of Ancient Greece*, 329-410.

²⁹ Acton, *Prostitution Considered*, 1-2.

³⁰ Sanger, *The History of Prostitution*, 43.

³¹ Benjamin and Masters, *Prostitution and Morality*, 15-34.

³² Susanne K. Thorbek, "Prostitution in a Global Context: Changing Patterns" in Susanne Thorbek, and Banana Pattanaik(ed), *Transnational Prostitution: Changing Patterns in a Global Context*, (London: Zed Press Ltd, 2002), 3.

³³ Bandana Pattanaik, "Where do We Go from Here?" in Susanne Thorbek and Bandana Pattanaik(ed), *Transnational Prostitution: Changing Patterns in a Global Context*, (London: Zed Press Ltd, 2002), 224.

³⁴ Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1-9.

³⁵ Jo Doezema, "Loose Women or Lost Women? Re-emergence of the Myth of White Slavery in Contemporary Discourses of Trafficking in Women", *Gender Issues*, 18, 1(2000), 24.

works help us to identify the types of sex workers that existed in colonial Zambia. In nineteenth century England, the history of commercial sex provision is discussed by Acton who looked at the moral, social and sanitary aspects of sex work in London, other large cities and Garrison towns. As a medical practitioner, Acton concerned himself with the relationship between sex work, Sexually Transmitted Infections and the Contagious Diseases Acts and by this concern he, attempted to inculcate into Victorian England a more humane and reasonable solution to sexual matters which he saw as a social and to some extent even as an economic challenge. His works help us understand the social and economic dimensions of sex work.

Nearly a decade later, Sanger, perhaps influenced by Acton, suggested possible strategies to eradicate commercial sex before the introduction, in the late 1860's, of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Sanger discussed sex work from a regulationist perspective by arguing against the abolition of sex work and instead advocating for regulation, arguing that attempts to eradicate this form of sex would lead to problems such as child abuse, rape and indecent assaults as the case was during earlier attempts. His discourse contributes to our understanding as to why sex work could not be eradicated despite various attempts to stop it.

In the United States of America sex work is big business, like any other commodity, subject to laws of supply and demand. Benjamin and Masters argued that sex for pay in that country was sustained by men who constantly demanded for it. In defence of the practice, the two authors urged society not to blame sex workers, but instead

proposed that as a business, laws to regulate it were to be implemented on both the sex worker and her customer. To achieve this, Benjamin and Masters advised that society studies it to determine its psychological, economic, sociological and other backgrounds.³⁶

Their argument was supported by recent pro-sex workers' rights activists such as Pattanaik and Thorbek. Pattanaik advocated for the recognition of 'prostitution' as work and argued that as such it should be considered as productive labour, similar to any other work performed by other women under various social relations. Pattanaik also likened sex work to that of an artist or a therapist, a kind of service performed by skilled people, and also as a source of entertainment. She suggested that sex work should not only be viewed from the perspective of supply and demand, survival for women and sexual fulfilment for men, but also the possible skills that a sex worker could perform. Pattanaik concluded by stating that women sex workers had the right to self determination like anyone else.³⁷

Thorbek focussed on the changing patterns of sex work and also the different circumstances that drove some women into it. She suggested that sex work be studied in its social, economic and political context and also the power relations that it involved. Thorbek mentions the power relations involved as the customer, owners of brothels, the police, courts and society. She argued, these power relations had an influence on how policies on sex work were formulated. The three studies though

³⁶ Benjamin and Masters, *Prostitution and Morality*, 33.

³⁷ Pattanaik, "Where do we go from Here?" 224.

not on Zambia are essential to our study as they allow us to understand ‘prostitution’ as work and to examine how society, police and even court decisions affected sex work. The studies influenced our understanding and analysis of issues of sex work.

Feminist perspectives in the literature on sex for pay came largely from scholars such as Walkowitz and Doezema. Walkowitz argued that attempts to control sex work in mid-Victorian England often resulted from wrong information or anti-feminist orientation that English men had against English women. She argued that sex workers were sometimes wrongly accused of transmitting Sexually Transmitted Infections to ‘innocent women and children’. Walkowitz accused the Contagious Diseases Acts of perpetuating class and gender relations that came to characterise the mid-Victorian Britain. The Acts, she argued, provided a platform for the formulation of gender based ideology, public policy and social change.³⁸

Doezema, a contemporary pro-feminist advocate and scholar, attacked attempts to eradicate sex work, arguing that reasons advanced for its abolition were not any different from those advanced in the nineteenth century against prostitution as the difference was just in terminology change from ‘sexual slavery’ to ‘trafficking in women.’³⁹ Doezema argued that just like the Contagious Diseases Acts of the nineteenth century, ‘anti-trafficking’ campaigns had proved to be anti-feminist for they only targeted sex workers who had been subjected to restricted migration, policing and deportation and not the traffickers who were mainly men.

³⁸ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State*, 1-9.

³⁹ Doezema, “Loose Women or Lost Women?” 31-32.

Hyam⁴⁰, Jeater⁴¹ and van Heyningen⁴² discussed how Victorian England's sexual perceptions influenced English men in colonial administration towards prostitution. Hyam associated the expansion of England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries not with the desire to spread Christianity and to introduce modern commerce but also with "copulation and concubinage."⁴³ Early traders, hunters, prospectors, administrators and even missionaries, he argued, looked forward to sexual adventure in the colonies. Hyam also accused some English nationals of having contributed to a "free trade in prostitution."⁴⁴ He contributed to the understanding of the role played by early European pioneers in the evolution and growth of sex for pay. He too contributed to the understanding of English government's attempts to curb concubinage which had become rampant in most British colonies including Zambia.

Jeater, a pro-Africanist feminist, argued that British colonial officials used their Victorian views of English women to understand the sexuality position of African women. She explained how Victorian views were replicated in order to understand the sexual attitudes of women in the British colonies. Jeater also condemned literature suggesting that African women were highly sexual and incapable of sexual

⁴⁰ Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 24-49.

⁴¹ Diana Jeater, "The British Empire and African Women in the Twentieth Century", In Morgan D Philip and Sean Hawkins (eds), *Black Experience and the Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 228.

⁴² Van Heyningen, "The Social Evil", 189.

⁴³ Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, 35.

⁴⁴ Ronald Hyam, "Concubinage and the Colonial Service: The Crewe Circular (1909)," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 24, 3(1986), 170-171.

restraint and argued that such views were influenced by the late nineteenth century British patriarchal thoughts.⁴⁵ She argued, the British society at the time condemned and relegated women who freely expressed their sexual feelings to an underclass status because of their alleged promiscuity. She further argued that as a result, the British attitude to African female sexuality were a product of the specific nature of the ‘civilising’ mission.⁴⁶ Jeater narrated how the link between female sexuality, ‘prostitution’ and degeneracy had been imported from Victorian England and how the policy outcomes of the 1920’s in Africa culminated into restrictions on African women’s freedom of movement. She observed that the colonial gender ideology had become genuinely ‘Victorian’ in its attempts to eradicate what was defined as female ‘sexuality’ but as she conceived, was actually female independence.⁴⁷

Van Heyningen viewed sex work as a product of industrialisation. She also gave an account of the discriminatory nature of the implementation of the Contagious Diseases Acts. She argued that at the Cape Colony in South Africa, the Acts were only applied to sex workers and not to their clients. She also gave evidence that suggested that amongst the sex workers, the punishment fell heavily on black than white prostitutes.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Examples of some of the early accounts on African women’s sexual practices are; Charlotte Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia: A Journey through Southern Africa*, (London: Stanley Paul, 1909), 89-90. Cullen Gouldsbury and Hubert Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1911), 140-141 and Carl Von Hoffman, *Jungle Gods*, (London: Constable and Company, 1929), 163.

⁴⁶ Jeater, “The British Empire and African Women”, 234.

⁴⁷ Jeater, “The British Empire and African Women”, 242.

⁴⁸ Van Heyningen, “The Social Evil.” 189.

Literature reviewed so far either condemns sex work as a societal evil or supported it in the context of human rights discourse. But only few so far looked at sex work as a form of employment. In 1990 White's ground breaking book was published.⁴⁹ More or less in support of previous feminist scholars on sex work and using sex workers in colonial Nairobi in Kenya, White argued that, at least in Nairobi, sex work was a beneficial 'evil'. Sex workers raised incomes to the extent where they were able to support their families back home in rural areas. By arguing as above, White transformed the sex worker from a lonely, dehumanised victim into an entrepreneur.

Van Onselen⁵⁰, Chauncey⁵¹ and Sakala⁵² gave accounts of how some mining companies may have encouraged the influx of women at mining camps as a labour stabilisation strategy. Van Onselen explained the phenomenon in the context of the mines in colonial Zimbabwe. Chauncey explained the same issue pointing out that on the colonial Zambian Copperbelt, mine owners accepted the presence of women against the colonial policy as sex workers, in order to stabilise the labour force. Chauncey explained how, despite various attempts by government to bar women from mining compounds, mine owners encouraged the immigration of women. Sakala noted the same at Mufulira where the mining authorities also ignored anti-immigration of women laws because the presence of women was essential for labour stabilisation purposes.

⁴⁹ Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 10-28.

⁵⁰ Charles van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933*, (London: Pluto Publishers Ltd, 1970), 174-181.

⁵¹ Chauncey, "The Locus of Reproduction", 135-164.

⁵² Foster Sakala, "The Role of Women in Labour Stabilisation at Mufulira Mine, 1930-1964", (M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2001), 9.

Epstein⁵³ and Hansen⁵⁴ also viewed sex work as a survival strategy. Epstein discussed the struggles of urban women for economic survival mainly to supplement their husband's incomes and wages. He pointed out that the major sources of income for women were beer brewing supplemented by sex work. He also stated that it was difficult to establish the exact prevalence of sex work due to lack of proper records. Hansen attributed the rise of sex work to colonial policies on the employment of African women. She explained the high prevalence of sex work during the colonial period in the context of the government's policy on employment that discriminated against women. Denying employment of women in the formal sector of the economy meant also depriving them of official access to houses provided by employers. Hansen argued that this situation forced women to occupy houses in squatter compounds which became a haven for sex workers in Lusaka and other urban centres.

Mtisi⁵⁵ and Cutruffeli⁵⁶ attributed the rise of sex work to colonial administration's policy on labour migration and its consequent impoverishment of rural societies. Mtisi considered oscillating labour migration of males as a major cause of sex work in Chipata and Petauke districts of Eastern Zambia. He believed that the long absence of men, who left their wives behind, had an adverse impact on the

⁵³ A.L.Epstein, *Urbanisation and the Kinship Domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia 1950-1956*, (London: Academic Press, 1981), 1, 31 and 311.

⁵⁴ Hansen, *Distant Companions*, 84-153.

⁵⁵ Mtisi, "The Economic Impact of Colonial Rule on Eastern Zambia, 1900-1953: The Experiences of Chipata and Petauke Districts", 285-291.

⁵⁶ Cutruffelli, *Women of Africa*, 3.

agricultural dependant communities and as a result some households were unable to cope with agricultural work thereby contributing to the impoverishment of the area. The women who could not cope with the challenge migrated to industrial centres where, in consequence of failure to be employed 'forced' some of them to become sex workers. Cutrufelli wrote about the introduction of wage labour and its social implications on colonial Zambia. She related the growth of sex work to the colonial government's policy on sexual division of labour in which it sought to utilise the female and male labour force in the subsistence and modern sectors of the economy respectively. She argued that the policy contributed to the impoverishment of rural areas because the pre-colonial agricultural economy was dependant on sexual division of labour. Like Mtisi, she stated that some women during the colonial period opted to migrate to urban centres where they resorted to sex for hire as a means of income generating. Consequently sex work became an "exclusive, permanent, full time and remunerated job."⁵⁷

Schuster⁵⁸, Kapungwe⁵⁹ and Malungo⁶⁰ also wrote about prostitution in post-colonial Zambia. Schuster's study carried out in the early 1970's revealed that women in Zambia were much more often accused of acting like prostitutes more than they were of actually being prostitutes. Concentrating on the 1980's, Kapungwe

⁵⁷ Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa*, 3.

⁵⁸ Ilsa Marion Glazer Schuster, "Lusaka's Young Women: Adaptation to Change", (PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 1976), 254.

⁵⁹ Augustus Kapungwe, "Prostitution in Urban and Rural Areas of Zambia: A Comparative Study", (Unpublished Seminar Paper, University of Zambia, 1985), 10.

⁶⁰ J.R.S Malungo, "Emerging Patterns of Prostitution and Sexual Networking in Zambia: The Risk of Contracting HIV/AIDS and the Demographic and Socio-economic Implications", *African Social Research*, 51(2005), 41-66.

accounted for women's involvement in sex work as a profession, referring to it as a source of income, adventure or fun. Malungo agrees with Kapungwe when he stated that in Zambia sex work has been part of an income generating venture.

Literature reviewed shows that sex work has been a source of income for women and also used as pleasure for men through out the world and Zambia is no exception. It helps us examine male patriarchal attitudes towards sex work. It gives us an understanding of how British nationals in particular misunderstood the nature of African women's sexuality. Available works on sex work also give us an insight into gender and racial dynamics of attempts to eradicate sex work.

Methodology

Data for this dissertation is a combination of primary and secondary sources. The University of Zambia Library provided such documents as; *African Affairs Annual Reports*, *African Representative* and *Legislative Council debates*, the *Laws and Ordinances of Northern Rhodesia*, Journal articles, books, theses, dissertations and academic staff seminar papers. The National Archives of Zambia, a repository of government official documents, was a source of data from District and Annual Reports, British South Africa Company files, Tour Reports, Urban Advisory Council Reports, District Note Books and News Papers. I also conducted some oral interviews.

Organisation of the study

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. The first chapter discusses prostitution during the transition from pre-colonial period to colonial Zambia. Chapter two examines the development of sex work in relation to the imposition of colonial rule and the beginning of urbanisation. In chapter three I analyse the prevalence of sex work in an urbanised colonial Zambia. Chapter four examines some attempts by the colonial government and native authorities to control sex work. It particularly discusses why and how laws against sex work were formulated and implemented. Chapter five analyses the benefits of sex work. Chapters one, two and three follow a chronological sequence as they are narratives of the development and patterns of sex work from 1880 to 1918, 1919 to 1945 and 1946 to 1964 respectively. The three periods are indicative of shifts that occurred in the development and evolution of sex work in relation to the changing political and economic environment and as such are covered under a chapter each. Chapters four and five cover one theme each, that is, efforts to eradicate prostitution and the benefits of sex work respectively and as such they both cover the whole period of the study from about 1880 to 1964.

CHAPTER ONE

SEX WORK IN ZAMBIA: AN OVERVIEW, c.1880-1918

Introduction

This chapter reconstructs the history of sex work in colonial Zambia from about 1880 to the end of the First World War in 1918. It demonstrates that every phase of the capitalist economy had economic and social implications which affected both men and women. The chapter is divided into two sections. In tracing the evolution and development of sex work in Zambia, in section one I discuss early aspects of female sexuality and how African men and perhaps even women exploited them to their advantage. I also explore how Arab, Swahili and Portuguese traders with the assistance of African chiefs exploited the sexual services of African women. I also narrate how Europeans particularly of British origin, encouraged the development of sex work by engaging African women in concubinage arrangements and paying them some income for sexual services they offered.

In section two I argue that sex work emerged as a product of some social change within a given political and economic environment of the country. I base my argument on the assumption that attempts to change from a pre-colonial to a colonial economy had social and economic implications which “persuaded” men to seek the sexual services of women and also enticed women to offer their sexual services. I argue that attempts to make the economy conducive to specific needs at specified

times directly or indirectly led to a variety of sexual activities which were considered immoral thereby being considered a social challenge. These practices, perhaps not necessarily elements of sex work in the contemporary context, help us understand women's transformation of their sexual services into a source of survival through income generation. It argues that during this early period, women were forced and even enticed to offer sexual services to men and as such the development of sex work was an initiative of men. It therefore traces the development of sex work from sexual slavery, concubinage and eventually sex work.

Era of “Primitive” and “Social” Sex work

In 1867 when David Livingstone passed through the territory that later became Northern Rhodesia, he found African chiefs already exchanging ivory, cattle, guns and even women for calico, cloth, beads and other exotic items with Swahili speaking traders. Slave raiding and trade also contributed to the development of sexual slavery among African women. Pawned women were used to settle debts and were often forced to ‘prostitute’ themselves with traders while waiting for redemption.¹ At Abercorn, now Mbala, between 1897 and 1903 women were treated as assets to be seized, swapped and exploited.² Chiefs used women in order to maintain trade relations with the Swahili who had established bases at their capitals. While these traders waited to get ivory and slaves, chiefs offered them women to ‘entertain’ them.³ Similar services were offered along caravan routes, especially

¹ Marcia Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life Stories from East/Central Africa*, (New York: Lillian Barber Press, 1993), 9.

² Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women*, 125.

³ Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women*, 9.

those that passed through chiefs' palaces. In return chiefs received cloth and beads from the traders.⁴ Women in servitude, married to chiefs with many wives were sometimes forced to offer sex to the raiders as a reward for successful raids.⁵

Evidence of chiefs and even male commoners offering women to travellers of both African and European origins is available. Among the Lala, a husband with many wives could offer one of them to a visiting friend or even a stranger under his roof as a gesture of hospitality and sexual entertainment.⁶ During the 1890's an arrival in an African village, of European travellers would attract "a bevy of black beauties... who (sic) excitedly run down the path towards the travellers."⁷ While at a village near the Mulungush River, Stephenson and his colleague were given young women as a token of respect and appreciation for a successful hunt.⁸ A group of cheerful young girls were carefully selected and bathed and were ordered to offer sex to the visitors in order "to take the death of the Buffalo off their chests."⁹ Tapson observed:

A village headman will pay tribute to a white man travelling solo by sending him the plumpest and most luscious black 'morsel' out of his harem.¹⁰

However not all the chiefs who sent women to welcome visitors sent them for the purpose of offering sex to them. When Hugh Charles Marshall popularly known as 'Tambalika', who had established an administrative post at Abercorn, now Mbala, in

⁴ Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women*, 9.

⁵ Cullen Gouldsbury and Hubert Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia: Being Some of the Tanganyika Plateau*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1911), 167.

⁶ Carl Von Hoffman, *Jungle Gods*, (London: Constable and Company Ltd, 1929), 163.

⁷ Kathleen Stevens Rukavina, *Jungle Pathfinder: The Biography of Chirupula Stephenson*, (London: Hutchinson, 1952), 44.

⁸ J.E Stephenson, *Chirupula's Tale: A Bye-Way in African History*, (London: Geoffrey Bless, 1937), 79.

⁹ Stephenson, *Chirupula's Tale: A Bye- Way in African History*, 79.

¹⁰ Winifred Tapson, *Old Timer*, (Cape Town, Howard Timmins, 1957), 19.

1893 brought his wife, Beatrice, in 1904, she noted that: “women came dancing and singing and strewing flowers in our path.”¹¹ A ‘bevy of women’ could also have been an African way of welcoming visitors regardless of sex and some Europeans could have sometimes mistaken it for an offer of sex since there were very few European women visitors at the time. However, most accounts confirm that these women also offered sex to male visitors.

There were African customs that could have eventually easily made some women to indulge in sex for pay. In 1906, Nicholas stereotyped the Ila as “extremely immoral” because of the *Kependa* and *Lubambo* customs.¹² Through *Kependa*, an Ila woman was free to leave her husband even for two or three years offering sex for pay or living with different men at different times to accumulate material wealth and money. *Lubambo* also entailed that two men who were friends could lend each other their wives when ever they visited each other. There were also times when Ila women used sex to earn property. Smith and Dale noted that, a husband and wife would make an arrangement by which the woman would go out to commit adultery with another man. Upon her return, the woman would report to her husband who would claim compensation, usually in form of a cow, from the victim. This practice was known as *Kuweza Lubono* (to hunt for wealth) by ‘prostituting’ their bodies.¹³

¹¹ Marcia Wright, “Tambalika: Perspectives on a Colonial Magistrate in Central Africa”, *African Affairs*, 85, 338, (1986), 18.

¹² KTJ2/1. G.H Nicholas, Baluba Sub-District, March, 1906, Notes on Natives Inhabiting the Baluba (Chinenga) Sub District-Kafue District, 9.

¹³ Edwin W. Smith and Andrew Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, (London: Macmillan, 1920), 382.

The period after 1870 witnessed an increased influx of Europeans of different origins into the country via the Lozi Kingdom, now Western Province. Although evidence of the nature of the intermingling between African women and European men during this early period is scant, biographical accounts such as that of George Copp Westbeeche, who settled at Pandamatenga in 1871 and made the Lozi Kingdom his second home for the purpose of trade, provides an idea of sexual relationships between European men and African women. Westbeeche's sexual relations with Lozi women led his wife to abandon him permanently in 1878.¹⁴ She was incensed with his manner of living, especially his consorting with African women along the Zambezi valley. According to Sampson, Selous described Westbeeche and his trading partners George Philip and Fairbairn as "gentlemen by birth and education but bohemians by nature", largely because of consorting with African women.¹⁵

Besides traders such as Westbeeche and his colleagues, there were also among the early European pioneers of present day Zambia travellers, explorers, hunters, prospectors and missionaries. In the 1880s, 1890s and early 1900s, these men penetrated other parts of Zambia and recorded various accounts of their experiences and perceptions on the sexual practices of African women.¹⁶ There are accounts of African women consorting with European men although there are no statistics

¹⁴ Richard Sampson, *The Man with a Toothbrush in His Hat: The Story and Times of George Copp Westbeeche in Central Africa*. (Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1972), 69.

¹⁵ Sampson, *The Man with a Toothbrush in His Hat*, 69.

¹⁶ Examples of some of the early accounts on African sexual practices are; Charlotte Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia: A Journey through Southern Africa*, (London: Stanley Paul, 1909), 89-90. Cullen Gouldsbury and Hubert Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1911), 140-141 and Carl Von Hoffman, *Jungle Gods*, (London: Constable and Company, 1929), 163.

available to indicate the prevalence of the practice largely because most Europeans rarely discussed their sexual activities nor those of their colleagues.¹⁷

Historical accounts conflict on the initiators of sexual relationships between African women and European men. One view points to African women as initiators while the other “blames” European men. Accounts of African women, luring European men for sex, dates back to 1791, when Anna Falconbridge, a European woman pioneer in West Africa reported “dark skinned women” aspiring to be “mistresses of English inhabitants.”¹⁸ In 1909, one hundred and eighteen years later, Mansfield also “accused” African women in British Central Africa, present day Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi, of “bothering” European men by soliciting to be paid for sexual services.”¹⁹ However, the accounts of the two women could have been driven by a dislike of sexual unions between African women and European men due to racial biases. What were common were incidents of European men soliciting for the sexual favours of African women including the use of force.

Historical parallels of Zambian experiences are found in India and other parts of Africa. Parsons considers the period 1880 to 1914 the most coercive phase of British rule in Africa because British soldiers, adventurers, settlers and chartered company officials used force to apply their will on African societies.²⁰ This included forcing

¹⁷ L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, *The Rulers of British Africa 1870-1914*, (California: Stanford University Press, 1978), 241.

¹⁸ Roy Lewis and Yvonne Foy, *The British in Africa*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 158.

¹⁹ Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia*, 89.

²⁰ Timothy H. Parsons, “African Participation in the British Empire”, In Morgan D Philip and Sean Hawkins (ed), *Black Experience and the Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 262.

African women to offer them sex. Hyam gives accounts of how some European men used coercion to acquire Indian and African women.²¹ In Zambia, Hyam narrated various accounts where European men raped African women. In 1908 Harrison, Native Commissioner for then Mkushi Sub-District abused his official position to procure African women against their will. In 1909 Osborne, an official in the Department of Native Affairs in the Luwingu District was also accused of a similar offence when he took as concubine, Kasonde, the daughter of chief Kasonkha (sic). Osborne beat up Jeremiah, his African cook and even burned his belongings and fined him thirty shillings because he suspected him of having a sexual affair with Kasonde.²² Colonial Office did not take kindly to the sexual relations between African women and British men and as such some administrators were even dismissed for the offence.²³

About 1912 a situation whereby African women offered sexual services to European men emerged through the 'Cooks' Women'. 'Cooks' women', was a disguise title given to African women who regularly offered sexual services to British men because Colonial Office at the time did not condone sexual unions between the former and the latter. 'Cooks' Women' were African women procured by African male servants (cooks) for their European masters. 'Cooks' Women' were given clothes and some monthly allowance in monetary form for the sexual services they offered to British men. Murray-Hudges observed that these women were happy with

²¹ Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 174.

²² Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, 174.

²³ Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, 173. L.J McNamara, Native Commissioner for Gwembe District was dismissed in April 1910 for engaging in sexual relations with African women.

the arrangement because they were exempted from performing the daily household chores which women who did not consort with European men were involved in.²⁴ Some European farmers in Central Province, especially among the Lala did cohabit with African women whom they gave calico cloth as an enticement.²⁵ Evidence of sexual relationships between African women and European men was reflected in the little coloured offspring “crawling around the compounds”.²⁶

These women were not necessarily sex workers in the real meaning of the term, but their relationships with European men for material rewards and favours contributed to some women to regard sex as a means of earning an income or any other pleasures of their heart. From these narratives, it would be untrue to attribute the sexual intermingling of African women with European men to the former’s initiative only; hence earlier remarks by white women could be suspected of racism. What were common were sexual unions between African women and European men being initiated by men.

Indian men both of Hindu and Muslim backgrounds were also involved in such kinds of sexual relationships with African women. Muslim Indian men did not hide their sexual relations with African women as they temporarily cohabited with African women.²⁷ But African concubines were abandoned immediately Indian

²⁴ R.Murray-Hughes, “Kafue- Namwala in 1912, Part 2”, *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 1, 5(1962), 106.

²⁵ Von Hoffman, *Jungle Gods*, 243.

²⁶ Von Hoffman, *Jungle Gods*, 243.

²⁷ Floyd Dotson and Lillian Dotson, “Indians and Coloureds in Rhodesia and Nyasaland”, In Pierre L. Van Den Berghie (ed), *Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict*, (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), 269.

wives/women entered the territory. Hindu men preferred clandestine arrangements as the case was with some British men who consorted with African women. Hindu men opted to bring their wives as soon as they had settled. But prior to the arrival of their wives they 'quenched' their 'sexual thirsts' by having casual sex with African women whom they paid in cash or kind for the service.²⁸

Migrant Labour and Sex Work

Offering sexual services to male clients for reward either in cash or kind was also attributed to the development of labour migration which involved only male dominance. Jalla narrated that sex work existed in Barotseland, in present day Western Province of Zambia, in 1878 when Coillard was allowed to start preaching in the Kingdom.²⁹ He reported that sex work developed at the *Sipelu* dance, a dance performed at night, often outside the village and lasted all night. Both males and females participated in the dance, at which some returning migrant workers enticed women to offer them sex for pay.³⁰ Mackintosh, who passed through Western Province in 1903, observed that the *Sipelu* dance promoted sexual promiscuity.³¹ Kamwengo attributed the development of sex work to the *Lisepe* or *Mukumucha*, returning migrant labourers, who used the *Sipelu* dance to entice women to offer them sex for pay.³²

²⁸ Dotson and Dotson, "Indians and Coloureds", 272.

²⁹ NAZ/KSO4/5/1. J.H Jalla, "History, Tradition and Legends of the Barotse Nation", July 1909, 62.

³⁰ Jalla, "History, Tradition and Legends of the Barotse Nation", July 1909, 62.

³¹ C.W Mackintosh, *Lewanika: Paramount Chief of the Barotse and Allied Tribes, 1875-1916*, (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1920), 40.

³² M.M Kamwengo, "The Missionary Activities in Barotse Land (The Present Western Province of Zambia) from 1840 to 1930", (UNZA, Unpublished Seminar Paper, 1973), 16.

These migrant men perhaps learnt to pay for sex whilst in South Africa where sex work existed as early as 1868 at the diamond mines.³³ Mackintosh met about twenty Lozi men returning from the South African mines in 1903.³⁴ The introduction of taxation in Western Province in 1905 by the North Western Rhodesia Proclamation number 16 of 1905 merely exacerbated the practice of male labour migration and the development of the institution of sex work in the province as records show that prostitution was practised as early as 1878, if not earlier.

Imposition of Colonial Rule and Sex Work

Between 1889 and 1912 the British Government embarked on a military campaign to eradicate slavery and slave trade which in the understanding of the government was interfering with the recruitment of men for wage labour.³⁵ Men without wives were deployed on colonial plantations, farms, mines and construction works. Others worked as porters and cooks. The British South Africa Company administration was only interested in employing adult African men and not women.³⁶ The eradication of slave trade and slavery therefore had economic and social implications on African women as freed female slaves opted to attach themselves to a man as a wife or indeed as a concubine, yet others preferred sex work; some redeemed female slaves even went as far as Kinshasa in the Belgium Congo, now the Democratic Republic

³³ Elizabeth B. Van Heyningen, "Social Evil at the Cape Colony 1868-1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10, 2(1984), 172.

³⁴ C.W. Mackintosh, *The New Zambezi Trail: A Record of Two Journeys to North Western Rhodesia (1903 and 1920)*, (London: Marshal Brothers, 1922), 57.

³⁵ Lewis Gann, "The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa: 1889-1912", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 16(1954), 41.

³⁶ Gann, "The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa", 41.

of Congo, to live a life of prostitution.³⁷ Perhaps the relative freedom of ex-slave women encouraged the development of sex work.

The tendency of former slave women to engage in sex work was not only unique to Zambia. The development was also practised in Northern Nigeria between 1897 and 1905 following the British conquest of the region. The Caliphate of Sokoto looked after many slave women at its court most of whom were 'abused' as concubines. Once freed from the Caliphate's bondage, most of them turned to sex work. Lord Lugard, former Governor General of Northern Nigeria who had also previously worked in India and East Africa, was compelled, owing to his wide experience, to recommend that the process of redeeming slaves in British colonies be conducted in a gradual manner.³⁸

In Zambia, the challenge was not as demanding as that experienced in Nigeria. Nevertheless, of six freed female slaves monitored by Dugald Campbell, a missionary in the Abercorn district, present day Mbala, showed that one had become a prostitute at the Katanga mines in the present day Democratic Republic of Congo by 1914.³⁹ In 1911, the Magistrate for Tanganyika District, now Mporokoso, complained that the colonial courts 'spoiled' African women by over protecting them to an extent that some became prostitutes.⁴⁰ Chief Mporokoso also observed that women in his chiefdom became uncontrollable because of the outlawing of slavery.

³⁷ NAZ/KTN 1/1 Abercorn District Notebook Volume One, 1893-1963, 16.

³⁸ F.D. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in Africa*, (London: Frank Cass, 1965), 375.

³⁹ Dugald Campbell, *Blazing Trails in Bantuland*, (London: Pickering, 1934), 21.

⁴⁰ NAZ/KTN/1/1. Abercorn District Notebook, 72.

He too complained of the drop in birth rates because of women's acquisition of Sexually Transmitted Infections which increased through prostitution and promiscuity.⁴¹

Increasingly women offered sex for financial and material rewards because of the construction works that began soon after the establishment in 1890 of British South Africa Company rule. Abercorn, now Mbala, was founded as an administrative offshoot of the Nyasaland protectorate, now Malawi in 1894. Nyasalanders were employed by the Company until 1901. Sex work in the region was partially encouraged by the Nyasalanders in liaison with local men.⁴² Male Nyasalander's lived in construction camps and villages near Mbala. Local men encouraged these foreign men to develop relationships with local women to offer sexual services to them. Wright observed that local men promoted casual sex and sex work, a practice that developed from previous decades when women were used as a way of showing good hospitality to royal visitors when they traded with the Swahili.⁴³ Cases recorded at the Mbala Magistrate Court between 1904 and 1911 suggest increased number of sexual assault of women by men, especially the Nyasalanders.⁴⁴

The construction of the railway line from Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, to the Katanga mines in the Belgium Congo, reached the Southern Province in 1904. Both European and African men in the employ of the railway construction company were

⁴¹ NAZ/KTN/1/1. Abercorn District Notebook, 72.

⁴² Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women*, 139-140.

⁴³ Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women*, 139.

⁴⁴ AF3/1/1. Magistrate Court for Tanganyika District of North Eastern Zambia, case number 4 of 1907, held at Abercorn, 10th April 1907.

single, without female associates. Tonga women were consistently approached by European contractors and male Africans for sex.⁴⁵ Construction sites became hives of activity for women who offered sexual services to both African and European men for money.⁴⁶

With the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule after 1890 most regions in Zambia with European settlements witnessed the emergence of sex work. In Fort Rosebery district, now Mansa, Court Records for the years between 1905 and 1910 suggest some form of sex work having existed.⁴⁷ Colonial administrators often undertook tours of the areas under their administration supported by a corpus of African men as carriers, porters and cooks. On average, about twelve to thirty men were allocated to each Company official.⁴⁸ In 1906, Nawemba an African woman followed District Commissioner and Magistrate, H.T Harrington's, *ulendo* (tour) to offer sexual services to the Europeans as well as the African male porters and cooks on the trip.⁴⁹ Such women were enticed by the male workers who even induced some married African women to offer them sexual services at a fee.⁵⁰ In 1906, Saidi's wife

⁴⁵ Elizabeth Colson, *Marriage and Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*. (London: Manchester University Press, 1967), 293.

⁴⁶ Colson, *Marriage and Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, 293.

⁴⁷ NAZ KDF 4/1. Fort Roseberry Magistrate Court: Criminal and Civil Records, Volume I and II, 1893-1964.

⁴⁸ Gelfand, *Northern Rhodesia in the Days of the Charter*, 115.

⁴⁹ NAZ KDF 4/1. Fort Roseberry Magistrate Court: Criminal and Civil Records, Case Number 31, 26th February, 1906.

⁵⁰ NAZ KDF 4/1. Fort Roseberry Magistrate Court: Criminal and Civil Records, Case Number 35, 13th April, 1906.

complained of having been sexually molested by Bandawe, a Nyasalander, after she was offered only six pence to have sexual intercourse with him.⁵¹

By 1914, the social effects of male labour migration, was also noticed at Fort Jameson, now Chipata, in the Eastern Zambia. The absence of many young men from their villages in search of money to meet their tax obligations seems to have led to relaxation of moral and social discipline. The Dutch Reformed Church Mission teachers constructed a dance called *Chipe Chilye*, give it to eat, at which unmarried women, wives of absent migrant husbands and even married men participated regularly.⁵² The dance was a mixture of men and women who apparently sought sexual favours from each other. The dance was precipitated by the position of the church on monogamy. Some men, who were forced by the church's teaching on monogamy to divorce their extra wives, opted to keep one or two mistresses. The mistresses, however, were not restricted to divorced extra wives but also included the wives of men away in Zimbabwe.⁵³ Even some mission teachers remained unmarried and used the *Chipe Chilye* dance as an avenue for having casual sex in which some payment in cash or kind was made.⁵⁴

⁵¹ NAZ KDF 4/1. Fort Roseberry Magistrate Court: Criminal and Civil Records, Case Number 35, 13th April, 1906.

⁵² NAZ/AZ/1/15B. From Native Commissioner's Office Fort Jameson, to the Magistrate, Fort Jameson, 11th August, 1915.

⁵³ NAZ/AZ/1/15B. From Native Commissioner's Office Fort Jameson, to the Magistrate, Fort Jameson, 11th August, 1915.

⁵⁴ NAZ/AZ/1/15B. From Native Commissioner's Office Fort Jameson, to the Magistrate, Fort Jameson, 11th August, 1915.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed the role played by the changing socio-economic environment in the development of sex work. It argued that political and economic changes induced some women to indulge in sex work. It has unravelled that early aspects of sex work were in form of sexual slavery. However when slavery and slave trade were abolished some women were enticed to offer sexual services to men for pay especially in areas with large scale construction works which attracted a large number of unmarried men or men not accompanied by wives. In latter years however, some women opted to voluntarily engage in sex work as a means of earning an income. It has thus revealed that the introduction of colonial rule and a capitalist economy had varying implications which led to the development of sex work. It thus concludes that sex work for most women was not a matter of choice but was rather induced by changes in the economy which compelled them to indulge in sex for pay as a means of survival.

CHAPTER TWO

MIGRANT WOMEN IN SEX WORK, 1919 TO 1945

Introduction

This chapter discusses prostitution as a product of industrialisation during the inter war years. It argues that in the case of Zambia, the development of prostitution was not a matter of choice but was indulged in order to serve a specific need at a given time. This is evidenced by the fact that most of the women oscillated between marriage, concubinage and sex work. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section discusses prostitution in relation to the development of large scale mining and the beginning of industrialisation. It argues that just like the men folk who migrated into town in search of employment in order to benefit from the effects of a money economy, women also did the same. However, since the colonial administration did not employ women, some of them resorted to sex work as a means of earning an income. Section two discusses sex work in relation to the effects of the Second World War. It argues that the social and economic effects of the war led to an increase in cases of sex work because women also needed to survive in a difficult economic environment. Although certain patterns of sex work have been discussed at specific periods of time, most of them were prevalent through out the period of our study and are only attached to a certain period in order to show what was prominent at a given time.

'Kusebenza': Labour Migration and Sex Work

In 1902 and 1913, Broken Hill, now Kabwe, and Bwana Mkubwa mines came into operation respectively. This economic development suddenly transformed the social life of the inhabitants of Mumbwa and Ndola Districts which were within reach of the mines as alien elements were introduced into their lives. Some Africans wanted to acquire money, calico cloth and blankets and also to experience the “excitement” of town life. Returning migrant labourers came with these and other luxury items which enticed both men and women to trek to these emerging industrial centres. Lamba women in Ndola were perhaps among the first women to take advantage of the development and offered sex for pay to the miners.¹

Within thirteen years of the existence of Kabwe lead and zinc mines, concerns were being raised on the sexual activities of women. In 1923, the Native Commissioner for Mumbwa complained of “very large numbers of women involved in sex work at Kabwe”.² Evidently, some women migrated to the town hoping to get married to some miners, but whenever their effort failed, they offered their sexual services for cash or in kind to survive. But others intentionally migrated to towns to sell their sexual services, *Kusebenza*, working. Since the mines and the railways did not employ women at the time, *Kusebenza* in Melland’s understanding meant offering sex for money.³

¹ KSN3/1/5. Annual Report on Native Affairs, Ndola District. Kasempa and Luangwa Province by I.L. Keith, District Commissioner, 1933.

² NAZ/BS3/303. Letter from Native Commissioner Mumbwa to District Commissioner and Magistrate Mumbwa. February 18, 1923.

³ NAZ/BS3/303. Letter from the District Commissioner and Magistrate, Broken Hill to the Registrar, the High Court of Northern Rhodesia, Livingstone, November 5, 1923.

Some women were forced into prostitution by relatives. ‘Respectable men’ from Kabwe rural sometimes accompanied unmarried women to the town, pretending to be the girls’ parents or guardians.⁴ They visited the District Commissioner’s office to ask for permission to take the girls to town claiming the girls were going to visit an aunt or a sister when in actual fact they were taken to town to offer sexual services. In return the ‘respectable men’ earned some money through the practice.⁵ Some women were even taken as far as the Belgium Congo, using this strategy. Some men took periodic visits to Lubumbashi with three or four girls per visit. Trafficking in young women became difficult to control because the men involved when confronted by government authorities claimed that they had the consent of the girls’ parents or relatives and that the girls were being escorted for marriage and that *Chiko*, dowry, had already been paid. Mumbwa District was notorious for the practice, hence earning itself the name of the “Brothel of Northern Rhodesia.”⁶

Almost similar activities occurred at the Bwana Mkubwa Mine in Ndola. Although Court records and proceedings do not suggest that the women went to the mines for the purpose of offering sex for money, but for marriage. But evidence suggests that they turned to prostitution when they failed to get married.⁷ Some of these women were either divorced or simply engaged in sex work with approval of their

⁴ NAZ/BS3/303. Letter from the Native Commissioners Office, Mumbwa to the Magistrate Mumbwa. February 4, 1924.

⁵ NAZ/BS3/303. Commissioner at Mumbwa to District Commissioner and Magistrate Mumbwa, February 18, 1923.

⁶ NAZ/BS3/303. Letter from Native Commissioners Office Mumbwa to the Magistrate Mumbwa. February 4, 1924.

⁷ NAZ/KJT2/1, From Magistrate’s Office Broken Hill, to Native Commissioner Ndola, 12th May, 1923.

husbands.⁸ This type of sex work, however, was difficult to prove because some women oscillated between sex work, concubinage and even marriage.

Not all women who indulged in sex work came from places near Kabwe and Ndola. Unattached women from various districts and provinces of the country also found their way to these mining areas and other emerging towns. Labour migration indirectly and perhaps to some extent, directly, influenced and aggravated the development of prostitution and general laxity in sexual morals in some parts of the country.⁹ In 1922, the General Missionary Conference drew attention to the mass exodus of able bodied African men, especially from the Eastern and Northern parts of the country to industrial centres.¹⁰ Some women from Chipata and Petauke in the Eastern Province migrated to urban areas and to Zimbabwe “in search of husbands”.¹¹ Some of them resorted to sex work when they failed to locate their ‘husbands.’

‘Seeking Opportunities for Mating’: Sex Work in Industrial Centres

Some women who migrated to industrial centres offered sex for pay not only to African migrant labourers but to European men.¹² Such women regarded marriage as a waste of opportunity and were always on a “look out for the stranger with

⁸ NAZ/KTJ2/1, The Registrar: Rex versus Alali and Sokoni, Females: Unlawfully going to Bwana Mkubwa Mines for the purpose of prostitution against the Lawful Order of their Headman, Chief Chiwala, 25th October 1923.

⁹ The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia: *Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Held at Kafue, 9th to 15th June, 1924*, (Lovedale Institute, 1925), J.R. Fell (Rev), Resolutions of 1922 Conference on Taxation presented to Government, 16.

¹⁰ Fell, Resolutions of 1922 Conference on Taxation, 16.

¹¹ NAZ/KDG8/4/2. Tour Report, August, 1922.

¹² The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia: *Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Held at Kafue, 9th to 15th June, 1924*, 30.

money.”¹³ This search for “irregular unions, money and excitement” became a “real and uncontrollable evil.”¹⁴ Since the number of women migrating from rural areas was less than that of men, the latter took whatever woman was available and the women favourably responded to the demand.¹⁵ The relaxation of old modes of sanction and the resulting liberty thereof, became a ‘licence’ for some women to indulge in sex work.

After 1924, serious exploitation of mineral resources on the Copperbelt began, attracting a large number of both European and African miners. In 1930 there were 3,600 Europeans and 32,000 Africans in the employ of various mines.¹⁶ To stabilise the workers, the mining companies relaxed laws and regulations on the immigration of women into urban areas. As a result in 1931 mining companies began providing married quarters to their workers. This labour stabilisation strategy, however, had some short comings; it did not provide employment opportunities to women. The 1930 and 1933 legislations banned the employment of women in any sector of the national economic activity.¹⁷ As early as 1914, the laws of the country had even declared as illegal the brewing and selling of beer, an economic activity through which some women earned money.¹⁸ Because of such restrictions, some women who

¹³ *Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Held at Kafue, 9th to 15th June, 1924*, E.S.B Tagart, “Native Customary Law in Zambia”, 61. He also argued that the banning of polygamy by missionaries also led to the development of prostitution.

¹⁴ Tagart, “Native Customary Law in Zambia”, 61.

¹⁵ Tagart, “Native Customary Law in Zambia”, 61.

¹⁶ Northern Rhodesia: *Report of the Government Unemployment Committee 1932*, (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1933, 7.

¹⁷ Northern Rhodesia Government: *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia 1934*, Section 106, Cap 62, 256.

¹⁸ Northern Rhodesia Government: *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia Volume I*, (London: Waterloo and Sons, 1931), Cap 55, 292. The Law was put into effect on 7th October, 1914 entitled “Native Beer declared that in respect to any area declared to be a Municipality or a Township under the Municipal

migrated from rural areas to urban areas found themselves in survival challenges with provision of their sexual services as the only open avenue.

In 1931 the District Commissioner for Chipata complained that women from the district were increasingly migrating to the line of rail where they became sex workers.¹⁹ The movement of these women was facilitated by the opening of the Great East Road in 1929. African lorry drivers employed by Lusaka based transport companies and Indian lorry owners facilitated their movement.²⁰ Girls as young as 15 years of age involved themselves in prostitution.²¹ Some of these girls even went as far as Zimbabwe where they became prostitutes.²²

The development of markets, mainly for the sale of farm produce, along the line of rail also contributed to the rise in prostitution as they attracted and promoted sex work. The 1932 Ndola Tour Report, compiled by the Ndola District Officer, indicated that the inhabitants of the Southern, Lusaka and Eastern Provinces moved towards the line of rail as traders.²³ In the process, some male traders contracted temporary marriages with local women. These marriages would be terminated when the men decided to go back to their villages. Since Native Authorities did not

Corporation Ordinance, or Township Ordinance respectively prohibit or restrict the Making, Possession, introduction or removal of Native Beer save as may be prescribed by such regulations.

¹⁹ NAZ/KSJ/1/4. Fort Jameson. Letter from District Commissioner Fort Jameson to the Acting Provincial Commissioner Fort Jameson, July 2nd, 1931.

²⁰ NAZ/SEC2/1350. Letter from Southern Rhodesia Labour Office in Salisbury to the Native Commissioner, Fort Jameson, January 25th, 1941.

²¹ Letter from Southern Rhodesia Labour Office in Salisbury to the Native Commissioner, Fort Jameson, January 25th, 1941.

²² Letter from Southern Rhodesia Labour Office in Salisbury to the Native Commissioner, Fort Jameson, January 25th, 1941.

²³ NAZ/SEC2/1102. Ndola District Officer, 18th July to 19th August, 1932.

encourage inter-tribal marriages, women would move from one man to another. The problem was further compounded by the fact that accommodation at the mine compound at the nearby Nkana Mine, a few kilometres from Ndola, were still oriented to barrack like life unsuitable for married life by 1933 as some miners could not marry due to lack of accommodation.²⁴ Between such temporary unions some women resorted to sex work. Lamba women were labelled as prostitutes of the Copperbelt because of this kind of arrangement.²⁵ At Ndola, prostitution was encouraged by some 'detrribalised' Africans who had been granted farming plots on rent. In an attempt to raise money to honour their rental obligations, some of the tenants turned their plots into weekend 'pleasure resorts' at which sex and beer were sold.²⁶

For most part of the colonial period, labour migration remained the major cause of sex work because of the absence of men in rural areas. In 1935 Charles Dundee, the Chief Secretary to the government, complained that the situation in Eastern Province was worrisome, following the exodus, to Zimbabwe, of about fifty percent of able bodied men.²⁷ Dundee complained that Native Authorities were concerned because in the absence of these men some women also trekked to Zimbabwe to either accompany their husbands or to seek temporary unions and sex work.²⁸ The result was that a number of women and men left their village for urban areas. However,

²⁴ NAZ/ KSN3/1/5. Ndola Sub-District Annual Reports 1933-1937. I.L Keith, Annual Report on Native Affairs, Ndola District, 1933.

²⁵ NAZ/SEC2/1102. Ndola District Officer, 18th July to 19th August, 1932.

²⁶ NAZ/KSN/3/1/5. Central Province, Ndola District, Ndola Native Small Holdings: Report for 1935.

²⁷ Northern Rhodesia Government, *Native Affairs Report for the Year 1935*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1936), 8.

²⁸ Northern Rhodesia Government, *Native Affairs Report For the Year 1935*, 8.

since most such women were unskilled, and not allowed to engage in formal employment, some of them resorted to prostitution. Archdeacon Smith of the Universities Missions to Central Africa based at Msoro Mission near Chipata also expressed similar concerns. He stated that a number of women “ran off to the mines, seeking opportunity for mating denied them at home” and that some turned to sex workers as an avenue for survival.²⁹ In 1935, at one of the villages in Chipata, there were sixty three women in reproductive age against six men.³⁰ In 1936, Russell, the Provincial Commissioner for Eastern Province reported that the situation in the province was even worse than what had been reported in Nyasaland, now Malawi.³¹

Cartmel-Robinson, Provincial Commissioner for the Copperbelt, reported that the presence of unattached females in the locations, especially in Luanshya who were looking for their husbands, involved themselves in sex work with both European and African men.³² In November 1938 Luanshya experienced an increased influx of women from as far as the Belgium Congo for the purpose of sex work.³³ In 1939, the number of men going back to the villages for marriage was reported to have declined

²⁹ The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia: *Report of the Proceedings of the Seventh Conference held at Ndola, 7th to 13th June, 1935*, (Lovedale Press, 1935), 72. Paper presented by Ven Archdeacon A.H Smith of the Universities Missions to Central Africa, of Msoro near Fort Jameson on the effects of Industrialisation and its challenge to Missions (With special reference to the East Luangwa Province).

³⁰ *Report of the Proceedings of the Seventh Conference held at Ndola, 7th to 13th June, 1935*, 72.

³¹ Northern Rhodesia Government, *Native Affairs Annual Report for the Year 1936*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1937), 71.

³² Northern Rhodesia: *Minutes of Provincial Commissioners Conference 1939 Session Held at Lusaka, 8th to 10th March, 1939*, Appendix “B”, H.F Cartmel-Robinson, Western Province, Ndola to Honourable The Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 26th November, 1938, 2.

³³ Northern Rhodesia: *Minutes of Provincial Commissioners’ Conference 1939 Session Held at Lusaka From 8th to 10th March, 1939*, Appendix “B” From Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, Ndola to The Honourable the Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 26th November, 1938, 3.

because some of them could easily obtain women from the towns.³⁴ This made some women, especially the unmarried ones to increasingly migrate to the towns where some of them became sex workers. In Lusaka, even some married women were tempted to become prostitutes.³⁵

Labour routes also became a hive of sex work activities. In 1940, the Native Labour Department was established and immediately undertook an inspection of some labour routes with the aim of controlling the movement of men going out for wage labour.³⁶ Between 4,000 and 6,000 men used the Mulobezi-Mongu labour route each year. The Department discovered that a number of brothels had emerged along the route.³⁷ The migrants from Angola, derogatorily referred to as *Mawiko*, had settled at every stream or water pan along the route. The villagers in these settlements enticed the outgoing and incoming travellers to stay in their villages with a promise of beer and women. Most women in these villages were actually sex workers. The mode of payment for sexual services ranged from a handful of salt by “a poor man” travelling to South Africa to seek employment to as much as five pounds from those going back to their villages from the cities of South Africa. Thus the Mongu-Mulobezi labour route earned itself the name *Zila lya hule* (the prostitutes’ path).³⁸

³⁴ NAZ/SEC2/1102. Tour Report Number 5/1939, Ndola District, Western Province by District Officer, J.L Boyd Wilson, 4th December, 1939 to 20th December, 1939,3.

³⁵ NAZ/SEC1/1312, Report on the Causes and Effects of Native Labour Migration in Lusaka District, Central Province by District Commissioner, 1937.

³⁶ ZCCM/16/1/4E. Notes on Transport and Better Amenities for Natives traveling between their village and Place of Employment. Chief Secretary’s Letter dated 8th December, 1936, 2.

³⁷ R. Philipot, “The Mulobezi-Mongu Labour Route”, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 3 (1974), 51.

³⁸ Philipot, “The Mulobezi-Mongu Labour Route”, 52.

Aspects of Sex Work during the Second World War, 1939-1945

The Second World War contributed to a rise in sex work. Prices for both imported articles and food stuffs rose, especially on the Copperbelt where demand for such items was high on account of the war.³⁹ Hardships during war led to the increase in the number of women to leave their villages for industrial and mining areas. The District Commissioner for Ndola reported that about 3000 women were absent from the Lamba Reserve in 1941.⁴⁰ The 1942-1945 Kabwe Report also revealed that the uncertainty of war made some Africans to resort to excessive beer drinking.⁴¹ Beer-halls became a source of relieving tensions caused by the war situation. This affected the livelihood of especially unmarried women, some of whom patronised the beer-halls where they attracted men to indulge in sex for money.⁴²

The period also experienced high rates of venereal diseases.⁴³ Mining and Railway authorities at Kabwe had also given five acre plots to its workers hoping that women would grow food crops to supplement family needs. Inevitably, it was discovered that between 1940 and 1941, the plots became a haven for unmarried women who offered sexual services to both unmarried and married men.⁴⁴ Since unmarried

³⁹ ZCCM/16/1/8B.Mufulira Compound Magazine, Number 11, July, 1941, 10.

⁴⁰ NAZ/SEC/1320, Extract from Minutes of District Commissioners, Western Province, August 1941.

⁴¹ NAZ/SEC1/1770. From Native Commissioner Broken Hill to Chief Secretary, Lusaka. June 17th, 1943.

⁴² NAZ/SEC1/1770. From the Provincial Commissioner, Central Province, Broken Hill to the Honourable the Chief Secretary, Central Offices, Lusaka, 4th January, 1942.

⁴³ NAZ/SEC1/1770. From Provincial Commissioner Broken Hill to Chief Secretary, Lusaka. May 11th 1943.

⁴⁴ Godfrey Wilson, "An Essay on the Economics of Detribalisation in Northern Rhodesia, Part 2", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 6 (1968), 66.

women were not allowed in the mining and railway locations, some of them found ready accommodation in the shelters that had been built on the plots.⁴⁵

Reports of European women offering sex as a source of income were also prevalent during the Second World War. European prostitutes patronised Lusaka and the Copperbelt towns. This was mainly among some Polish prisoners evacuated by the British army. Polish Camps were erected in Lusaka and the Copperbelt where these prisoners of war awaited to be settled. Most of the Polish men and women had been peasants who worked all their lives on their portions of land on which they grew various farm products, some of which they sold to earn a living. In the camps, they became idle since the colonial government made no effort to engage them in meaningful employment. In 1943, some women in camps were reported to have resorted to sex work.⁴⁶ Under the cover of the night, in groups of two or three, they would go out to solicit for male clients. A “little coterie of Polish prostitutes and bullies” caused confusion at a camp in Ndola because they were known to resent any form of control.⁴⁷ This development became a matter of great concern to Europeans resident in the country simply because these women also offered themselves to African men, an act considered degrading and bad for prestige.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Wilson, “An Essay on the Economics of Detribalisation”, 66.

⁴⁶ NAZ/SEC1/1770. From Provincial Commissioner Broken Hill to Chief Secretary, Lusaka. May 11th, 1943.

⁴⁷ SEC1/1771. Monthly Intelligence Report, August 1943. Provincial Commissioner to Chief Secretary Lusaka, 6th September, 1943.

⁴⁸ NAZ/SEC1/1770. From Provincial Commissioner Broken Hill to Chief Secretary, Lusaka, August, 1943.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed sex work as a product of industrialisation. It has argued that the beginning of industrialisation and the introduction of a money economy contributed to the development of sex work among African women because they also wanted to benefit from the effects of civilisation just like their male counterparts since the colonial administration did not employ women. It has demonstrated that just like men migrated to industrial centres for work in the mines and other industries in order to acquire the luxuries of life, women also migrated from their villages to towns for the same purpose. However since most of them could not find formal employment in town, some women resorted to sex work as a means of earning an income. The chapter also discussed sex work in relation to the effects of the Second World War. In this context the chapter argued that the social and economic effects of the war led to an increase in cases of sex work because women also needed to survive in a difficult economic environment. The period also witnessed the emergence of European prostitutes of Polish origin who mainly patronised the Lusaka and Copperbelt areas.

CHAPTER THREE

SEX WORK IN AN URBANISED COLONIAL SOCIETY, 1946-1964

Introduction

This chapter is about sex work in an urbanised colonial society. The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section I discuss the after effects of the Second World War and shortage of urban accommodation in the contribution to an increase in cases of sex work. Section two argues that sex work became more prominent after the 1950's and that various types of sex work also emerged. The last part discusses sex work involving African women and European men, called 'Midnight Partnerships' between 1960 and 1964. It argues that sex work increased between 1960 and 1964 because the law at the time allowed both Africans and Europeans to visit the same bars, hotels and other public places.

Sex Work after the Second World War

The period following the Second World War witnessed an increase in sex work. Demobilisation created an opportunity for sex work among African women because, the returning *Askari*, African soldiers, popularised the industry. It had been predicted earlier before the end of the war that the *Askari*'s, experiences abroad would have an impact on the morality of communities where they came from.¹ The prediction was correct as evidence suggests that African women were encouraged to

¹ Major, The Reverend J.R Shaw, Methodist Missionary Society, "Demobilisation and Post War Problems", *General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Proceedings, 1944*, (Lovedale Press, 1945), 55.

engage in sex for pay by returning *Askaris*.² Women from Mbala and Chipata, for instance, were sometimes assisted to go to town by the *Askaris*, who developed sexual relationships with such women and the *Askaris* even paid for their fares.³ Mbala and Chipata were prone to the influences because the war drew large numbers of men from these areas.⁴ The *Askari*, who had a lot of money after being given their remuneration, easily aided the movement of women to the line of rail without fear of being fined, as they could pay the fines imposed by Native Authority Courts for aiding the movement of unattached women into towns.⁵ Once in town, some of such women engaged in sex work in order to survive because they could neither trace their relatives nor find husbands to marry them.⁶

The prevalence of sex work continued to rise during the period after 1945 because of shortage of accommodation which made some single women in urban centres to engage in sex work because they had nowhere to stay. More single women moved to town because the rules and regulations which had initially barred them from migrating to towns had been relaxed as a result of colonial government's realisation that African women, like their men folk, had the right to be in town irrespective of

² Shaw, "Demobilisation and Post War Problems", 55.

³ Extract From Minutes of Fifth Meeting of African Provincial Council, Western Province, Held at Kitwe on 24th to 26th June, 1946.

⁴ Northern Rhodesia: *Minutes of the Provincial Commissioners' Conference, Held at Lusaka from 17th to 21st September*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1940), 3 The telegram requested for 2200 recruits distributed as follows: 30% from the Bemba group, 30% from the Ngoni group and the remainder from the other tribes. This was in addition to the 200 or 300 already recruited from the two Provinces. Eastern Province also experienced a further exodus of able bodied men who fled to the neighbouring Portuguese territory (Mozambique) for fear of Compulsory Recruitment.

⁵ Paper presented by The Reverend J.L.C. Pauw, Dutch Reformed Church Mission, on "Post-War Problems and Demobilisation", *General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Proceedings*, 1944, 61.

⁶ NAZ/SEC1/1350. Extract from Minutes of Fifth Meeting of African Provincial Council, Western Province, held at Kitwe on 24th to 26th June, 1946.

their marital status.⁷ One of the measures government undertook in this regard was the demolition of African Labour Camps in order to replace them with better housing units so that more Africans could migrate to town. African women migrated at a much faster rate than the building of new housing units, contributing to an increased number of women who engaged in sex work.⁸

In 1949 the United Missions on the Copperbelt carried out a study that revealed the prevalence of sex work having been compounded by inadequate bedrooms in some homes which made some unmarried women and girls who migrated to towns to sleep in kitchens.⁹ The houses where most Africans lived at the time only had one bedroom and a kitchen attached to the house but with its own door. As such, only children or visitors of the same sex would sleep in the kitchen and those of the opposite sex would sleep with neighbours. Some of the adolescent children who slept outside the home even slept some distance away from their parental home with relatives and friends.¹⁰ Some of these adolescent girls took advantage of the situation to offer sex for pay to male clients because parents or guardians on one side, and relatives and friends from where sleeping accommodation was sought, on the other, thought the girls were still either side respectively.¹¹ Additionally, some married men

⁷ Northern Rhodesia Government, *Labour and Mines Department Annual Report for the Year 1950*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1951), 17-22.

⁸ Northern Rhodesia Government, *Labour and Mines Department Annual Report for the Year 1950*, 17-22.

⁹ Memorandum Presented by Miss Strudwick and Miss Graham Harrison, on "African Urban Housing", The Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia: *Report of the General Missionary Conference and the Third Meeting of the Council, Mufulira, 17th to 18th June, 1949*, 36.

¹⁰ Memorandum Presented by Miss Strudwick and Miss Graham Harrison, on "African Urban Housing", 36.

¹¹ Strudwick and Harrison, "African Urban Housing", 36.

even took advantage of the girls by offering them money for sex, especially when their wives were visiting their villages.¹²

The critical shortage of housing units also led to the development of unauthorised settlements in most urban centres on the line of rail.¹³ These settlements attracted a number of women who engaged in sex work. Chicken, who headed a commission which inquired on the problem of illegal beer brewing in unauthorised settlements, observed that, the irregular compounds harboured a large number of women who became prostitutes.¹⁴ Such women easily found accommodation in these squatter compounds because they did not fall under the control of Local Authorities. The uncontrolled rapid movement of African women into urban centres where accommodation was inadequate led to the emergence of a variety of types and patterns of prostitution in the 1950s.

New Patterns and Types of Sex Workers

After 1945 prostitution became a distinct method of earning an income as more unmarried women migrated to urban areas but without adequate employment opportunities for women. Government Labour and Mines Annual Reports reveal that very few African women were in formal employment by the 1950s. As late as 1952, even cooking and house keeping were still predominantly male occupations.¹⁵ New

¹² Strudwick and Harrison, "African Urban Housing", 36.

¹³ Northern Rhodesia: *Department of Local Government and Housing Annual Report for the Year 1949*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1950), 15, Paragraph 62.

¹⁴ ZCCM/16/1/4F. R.T Chicken, "A Report on an Inquiry into the Prevalence of Illegal Brewing and its Causes and Effects in the Urban Areas Near the Railway Line in Northern Rhodesia", 4.

¹⁵ Northern Rhodesia: *Labour and Mines Department Annual Report for the Year 1952*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1953), 22.

patterns and types of sex workers therefore emerged in the industrial centres. Some women became “runners”, instead of operating in one area they oscillated from one town to another in search of a “market”, the line of rail, between Copperbelt towns and Livingstone being their major areas of operation.¹⁶ Another group of sex workers called ‘Champions’ were reputedly known for their ‘expertise’ and prowess in sexual skills.¹⁷ Their ages ranged from the late teens to the mid twenties, a factor that enabled them to have freedom of choice of men they slept with. The ‘Champions’ carried themselves smartly, took part in ballroom dance and when possible attended most social functions in their spheres of influence. By their participation in these events, the ‘Champions’ were also regarded as women of “dubious moral character”.¹⁸ Unlike the other categories of sex workers, they did not only focus on money, but also on sexual satisfaction, a drive arising from their age.

Between 1951 and 1956 there emerged “girl town” prostitution. During this period some African families used to organise parties which became popularly known as *Sandauni* a vernacular corruption of ‘Sundowners’ referring to an activity introduced in the country by the early European pioneers who called their associates for a few drinks as the sun set at a period when there were no other forms of entertainment apart from ‘women (sex) and drink.’¹⁹ The practice became common, especially in Lusaka where men, women and even young persons were invited to attend these

¹⁶ ZCCM/16/1/4F.Yamba, Excerpt from the Chairman’s Report of Third Meeting of the Regional Council, Western Province, held at Wusakile Welfare Centre, Kitwe on 1st and 2nd May, 1945.

¹⁷ Hortense Powdermaker, *Copper Town: Changing Africa, The Human Situation on Rhodesian Copperbelt*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 168.

¹⁸ NAZ/212/043, A Paper written by Dr A.L Epstein and read by Mr. Brook at a Conference of Social Welfare Workers held in Lusaka, June, 1956, 13.

¹⁹ Charlotte Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia: A Journey through Southern Africa*, (London: Stanley Paul, 1909), 297-298.

parties at a fee. The parties were usually held on a Saturday evening and beer and other foodstuffs were sold and served to the patrons and matrons. Non workers prolonged the party well into the next day.

During an occasion of this kind, the host invited young women to “grace the occasions.”²⁰ The availability of these young women was made known to the patrons through some advertisements pinned on tree trunks and other places. These women were well known for their popular dance, a form of a modernised tribal dance called *Vulamatumbo*, literally translated as undress your intestines, probably due to the massive wriggling of the waist that was involved in the dance. The women who performed the dance were also called ‘girl town’ a corruption of the term ‘town girl’.²¹ They were called ‘girl-town’ to mean ‘town girl’, a common reversal of nouns and adjectives by Africans of lower educational standards at the time. It seems most ‘girl-towns’ were sex workers and offered sexual services to ‘gentlemen’ who wanted to enjoy ‘life-town’ [town life].²² At a function attended by a European male observer, who preferred to be anonymous, a special room was arranged with a ‘well spread bed’ for the any ‘customer in need of sexual services from the ‘girl-town’.²³ The ‘girl-town’ usually charged between one shilling and three shillings for a one round of sex.²⁴ The host ensured these sex workers were available at the party by paying their taxi fares and according them free entry into the premises, but the

²⁰ Anonymous, “An African Sundowner Party”, *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 4, 3 (1957), 299.

²¹ Anonymous, “An African Sundowners Party”, 301.

²² Anonymous, “An African Sundowners Party”, 298.

²³ Anonymous, “An African Sundowners Party”, 301.

²⁴ Anonymous, “An African Sundowners Party”, 302.

proceeds from the sexual encounters were paid to the sex workers only whereas the host gained money from guests' entry fees and also the sale of food and beer.

Ba Kapenta Milomo were yet another type of female sex workers. Such women applied lipstick as a means of attracting male clients, hence Africans, especially on the Copperbelt, referred to the application of lipstick as 'painting' of the lips or *ukupenta milomo*.²⁵ As such, women with painted lips were accordingly called *Bakapenta Milomo*. On the Copperbelt, and also elsewhere in the urban setting, *Ba Kapenta Milomo* or in short *Ba Kapenta* was used as a synonym for sex workers. These women were not bound by wifely rules and an attitude of self restraint of married women. Although with a low level of education, *Ba Kapenta* carried a self image of urban sophistication. However because they were sex workers, they preferred to prepare quick meals as their way of life did not give them much time to carry out full time domestic chores. The most common dish was *Nsima* or *Ubwali* (thick maize or millet porridge) and small dry fish, which were easier and faster to prepare. The small fish were given the term "*Kapenta*" to mean the relish for *Ba Kapenta* or simply relish for sex workers.²⁶

"Mid Night Partnerships", 1960-1964.

Shortly before or after 1960 prostitutes changed their strategy for search of customers. 'Street Walking', a form of prostitution in which women paraded themselves at strategic places along streets or close to bars and hotels, assumed

²⁵ Interview with Diana Chiwenda, John Howard Compound, Lusaka, 24th August, 2010.

²⁶ Interview with Diana Chiwenda, John Howard Compound, Lusaka, 24th August, 2010.

prominence, especially those that had been previously the preserve of Europeans. In 1960 the Race Relations Ordinance which allowed both Africans and Europeans to go to the same cinemas, restaurants and hotels, was effected.²⁷ Some prostitutes who had hitherto patronised African bars shifted to the bars predominantly patronised by Europeans in the hope of ‘having a go’ at European customers who paid higher rates for sex than their African customers. In 1961, some women from locations in Ndola would leave their homes and proceed to town to *Kwila*, the Bemba word for work.²⁸ During *Kwila*, such women would enhance their beauty in order to attract European customers by putting on their best clothes for the occasion. On a ‘good night’, some sex workers earned as much as £10.00. Through their earnings, these women could buy expensive clothes which even some married women, could not afford to purchase.²⁹

A form of sex work in which prostitutes expected male clients to visit their rooms or premises (also called brothels) for sex, also assumed prominence during the period. In 1963 in Lusaka for instance, “Hollywood”, a place owned by a local Asian businessman and named after the famous residential area in Los Angeles, California in the United States of America, became a famous “centre” for prostitutes’ activities.³⁰ Most of the occupants were prostitutes from Zimbabwe who chose to live right in the ‘heart of town’ in order to be within easy reach of potential

²⁷ Northern Rhodesia: *Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the Year 1960*, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1961, 6.

²⁸ European Men Spend £300 per Month on Prostitutes”, *African Life*, 2, 20(1961), 12.

²⁹ *African Life*, 2, 20 (1961), 12.

³⁰ The nationality of the local businessmen was revealed in the *Central African Mail of Friday*, 14th May, 1964, 7.

European ‘Customers’.³¹ Some prostitutes could work during the day and only engaged in sex work at night. Local girls who had run away from their homes took advantage of the accommodation at the premises to offer sexual services. In March 1963 for instance, sex workers who operated from ‘Hollywood’ in the centre of Lusaka, earned as much as ten shillings if the client was an African and one pound if it was a European, per encounter.³²

Some sex workers were even visited by men from outside the territory; in early April 1963 for example, men from Katanga, in the Belgium Congo, now Democratic Republic of Congo, patronised the Copperbelt during weekends in search of sex workers. Women, who offered sex to the Katangese men, as Congolese were referred to at the time, raised as much as £30.00 through sex work per every weekend they were visited.³³ Katangese businessmen and also government officials made “nice time trips” to the Copperbelt over the weekends and were sported spending lavishly on ‘call girls in “local posh hotels”’.³⁴ Some women even went to live in Elisabethville, now Lubumbashi, in order to have an “easy reach of big immoral earnings” in what became known as “the pull of the Katanga Magnet.”³⁵ While some sex workers from Zambia were also involved, Zimbabwean prostitutes were the most popular because they were ‘better dressed and clean’ and also spoke good English for the purpose of effective communication. These sex workers were

³¹ Mail Reporter, “Black Girls in BIG VICE Racket: In the Heart of the N.R. Capital”, *Central African Mail*, Saturday 16th March, 1963, 6.

³² Mail Reporter, “Black Girls in BIG VICE Racket: In the Heart of the N.R. Capital”, *Central African Mail* 6.

³³ Mail Reporter, “Katanga Men in NR Vice”, *Central African Mail*, Saturday, 27th April, 1963, 10.

³⁴ Mail Reporter, Kitwe, “Katanga Men in NR Vice”, *Central African Mail*, Friday, 27th April, 1963, 10.

³⁵ “Katanga Men in NR Vice”, *Central African Mail*, 10.

organised in groups and had 'spheres of influence' which they jealously guarded against new arrivals.

'Hollywood' was not the only spot famous for sex workers in Lusaka. A survey carried out in December 1963 in the Emmasdale area revealed that not less than ten of the houses in the suburb were leased out to prostitutes who earned their income through sex work.³⁶ Some houses had as many as seven rooms with each accommodating, at least about four beds. Girls between the ages of 15 and 22 years old, offered sexual services to their male clients.³⁷ Most of them could neither read nor write English, but were able to utter some form of 'pidgin English' since most of their clients were European men.³⁸

The "High Society" was a new prostitutes' domain in a "relatively well-to-do area a few miles out of Lusaka City"³⁹ The girls who lived in these areas made fairly large amounts of money that even made them to "glide in and out the streets of Lusaka in motorcars"⁴⁰ They lived in houses more "decent and expensively furnished than their counterparts."⁴¹ Rampant prostitution was also practised in 1964 at Munali in Lusaka.⁴² Dingiswayo Banda, then Minister for Local Government and Social

³⁶ D. Maango, "Lusaka Slum Dens: The Menace Goes on", *Central African Mail*, Friday 20th December, 1963, 4.

³⁷ Maango, "Lusaka's Slum Dens: The Menace Goes On", 4.

³⁸ Maango, "Lusaka's Slum Dens: The Menace Goes On", 4.

³⁹ Maango, "Lusaka's Slum Dens: The Menace Goes On", 4.

⁴⁰ Maango, "Lusaka's Slum Dens: The Menace Goes On", 4.

⁴¹ Maango, "Lusaka's Slum Dens: The Menace Goes On", 4.

⁴² Mail Reporter, "New Bid to Stamp out Vice: Banda Follows Kaunda's Foot Steps", *Central African Mail*, Friday, 14th February, 1964, 22.

Welfare, blamed unemployment as one of the reasons for the increase in the “Vice Dens” in the territory.⁴³

‘*Shebeen* Queens’, prostitutes who operated from *shebeens* or homes from where beer was sold, also increased during the period because of the Beer hall ban which was put into effect due to heightened political antagonism prior to the independence of the country in October, 1964. African men also imposed a ban on women from entering beer halls. This led to the development of *shebeens* in some residential areas at which African beer was sold. In Ndola, *Shebeen* houses often became areas of regular sex work.⁴⁴ The *Shebeens* not only became popular for women but also because the beer offered had an ‘extra kick.’ Since shebeen houses were not regulated by the Local Authority, even some school girls between twelve and fourteen years of age ‘visited’ the premises, to the annoyance of older prostitutes who were denied potential clients.⁴⁵ Sexual unions between African women and European men through sex work were also called “Mid Night Partnerships.”⁴⁶ They were termed as such because as the period witnessed heightened political tensions between Europeans and Africans in the quest to wrestle for the reigns of power, some African women and European men were having secret sexual alliances, usually at night, through prostitution and other sexual unions.

⁴³ Mail Reporter, “New Bid to Stamp out Vice: Banda Follows Kaunda’s Foot Steps”, *Central African Mail*, Friday, 14th February, 1964, 22.

⁴⁴ “School Girls in Shebeens”, *Central African Mail*, Supplement, Friday, 9th October, 1964, 1.

⁴⁵ “School Girls in Shebeens”, 5.

⁴⁶ “The New Black and White ‘Marriage’”, *Central African Mail*, Friday 18th September, 1964, 12.

‘Kubika Mapoto’: Oscillating between sex work and Concubinage.

The tendency of women to waver between sex work and concubinage persisted even at the close of colonial administration in 1964. European men often invited prostitutes to stay with them in their houses or flats for longer periods. This system was called in Cibemba *Icupo ca buwelewele*, in Cinyanja, *Cikwati ca ubwenzi* and in Shona, *Kubika Mapoto* or to ‘cook pots.’⁴⁷ The system on the Copperbelt was popularly known as *kubika Mapoto* as most of the women involved in the practice came from Zimbabwe. Women who offered their services to European men were even referred to as “my wife”, when in public.⁴⁸ In such relationships the women performed other wifely duties such as cooking, washing and cleaning the house. European neighbours appeared to have accepted the practice as none of them ever complained. These women were well looked after and they in turn acted as ‘respectable wives’. The practice was popular amongst the unmarried Europeans. Prostitutes who offered sexual services to European men through such an arrangement commanded some kind of respect because they were more or less settled than the “Roving type.”⁴⁹

Era of ‘Mulamu’

‘Hotel sex workers’ also became popular around the Copperbelt and Lusaka, where sex workers were assisted in finding clients by African male agents who also operated from the hotels. The agents organised African women for European clients.

⁴⁷ “The New Black and White Marriage”, 12.

⁴⁸ “The New Black and White Marriage”, 12.

⁴⁹ “The New Black and White Marriage”, 12.

The Nkana Hotel in Kitwe became popular for such activities in the early 1960's.⁵⁰ Due to the apparent respectability of the premises, women entered the hotel in the company of African male agents; the law at the time did not allow unaccompanied women to enter hotels. In the hotel, a table would be arranged at which these women and their African male agent would seat. After the deal was sealed, an African 'escort' would make a sign to the European client. The European customer would then move to the couple's table where cash transactions would be arranged. The African male escort would then receive the money on behalf of the prostitute. Then the client would proceed to pay for a room in the hotel.⁵¹ Cases of cheating and stealing were not uncommon as there were reports about "some 'over-zealous' European men who, after paying both the pimps and the girls in advance, ended up losing both the 'Champion'(prostitute) and cash."⁵²

Pimps or male agents also operated from multi-racial night clubs in Lusaka. They were identified by their tendency to wear "loud clothes, like multi-coloured ties and slim waisted Jackets."⁵³ Any European who picked an African or coloured woman was forced to seek "permission" from African men who claimed that the woman was his *mulamu* (brother's wife).⁵⁴ The role of the pimps was also to lead women to parked cars in the dark lanes or even in brightly lit streets, including Cairo road in

⁵⁰ "M.P Promises Ruthless War on Vice Gangs", *Central African Mail*, February 28(1964), 7.

⁵¹ "M.P Promises Ruthless War on Vice Gangs", 7.

⁵² "M.P Promises Ruthless War on Vice Gangs", 7.

⁵³ "Lusaka After Dark with Saidi: A Case of the Dismayed Lusaka Pimp", *Central African Mail*, Friday, 14th February 1964, 17.

⁵⁴ "Lusaka After Dark with Saidi: A Case of the Dismayed Lusaka Pimp", 17.

Lusaka.⁵⁵ Payment for the pimp would range from a pint of beer to as much as ten shillings.⁵⁶

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the role played by urbanisation and the changing socio-economic environment in the development and spread of sex work between 1946 and 1964. It has discussed how returning African soldiers aided the movement of unmarried women from rural to urban areas and also how the shortage of accommodation in urban areas led to high prevalence rates of sex work. Various patterns of sex work have also been discussed. The last part described operations of 'Hotel Sex workers' and the tendency of African men called pimps to escort sex workers to these premises. The basic argument was that political and economic changes induced some women to indulge in sex work as a means of survival in an urbanised colonial society. It concludes that various changes had varying implications which led to different patterns of sex work. However, most of the patterns overlapped and even persisted in almost all the stages of the socio-economic environment from 1946 to 1964.

⁵⁵ Mail Reporter, "Black Pimps Harass Whites", *Central African Mail*, Friday, 3rd July, 1964, 3.

⁵⁶ Mail Reporter, "Black Pimps Harass Whites", 3.

CHAPTER FOUR

ERADICATING THE “SOCIAL EVIL”, c. 1880-1964.

Introduction

This chapter examines attempts made by various institutions to eradicate sex work from about 1880 and 1964. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the attempts made by missionaries, the British South Africa Company administration, Traditional Leaders and Colonial government to control sex work from about 1880 and 1935. In this section, the fight against sex work is associated with the spread of Sexually Transmitted Infections which were attributed to the presence of sex workers. The main focus of the fight was the barring of women from going to industrial centres and repatriation of unattached women who had managed to evade the authorities. In section two I examine the efforts made by Native Authorities, Urban Native Courts, and the colonial government to control sex work between 1936 and 1956. Repatriation and barring of unmarried women from going to town still remained the main weapon against sex work, although in the latter part when it was realised that women could not be kept in rural areas, measures such as the issuance of passes and marriage certificates in order to trace ‘undesirable’ women were used. The third section discusses attempts by the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress and the United National Independence Party to combat sex work between 1957 and 1964. During this period the fight against sex work was oriented towards the fight against interracial sexual unions owing to heightened racial tension during the struggle for independence.

Although reasons for fighting sex work are similar, a chronological sequence has been attached in order to show the shifting trends in the fight against sex work from about 1880 to 1964.

Missionaries and Sex Work

Early attempts to reduce the prevalence of sex work were the initiative of some missionaries. In Western Province promiscuity and sex work were believed to have been rampant as a result of the influx of European traders and hunters, especially in the period between 1880 and 1900 when a large number of Europeans visited Bulozhi. The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society clerics were saddened by the 'high' rates of promiscuity and even sex work in their sphere of influence. From about 1878, Francois Coillard constantly persuaded Lewanika Lubosi I, to stop promiscuity and sex work. In 1889 Lewanika issued a decree to arrest and cane any woman or girl found loitering and soliciting for sex-for-pay in the night after the *Mwenduko* drum had been sounded.¹ The *Mwenduko*, a small high pitched drum, was probably introduced as a means of restoring order in the Kingdom following a number of security risks that the Kingdom experienced following the installation of Lubosi, later renamed Lewanika, as the King of the Lozi.² In 1884, Lewanika was deposed by his cousin, Tatila Akufuna but following a bloody war, Tatila was subdued and Lewanika reinstalled. The drum, which was sounded from about 20:00 to 21:00 hours and at an interval of about five minutes, was a warning for everyone to remain

¹ NAZ/KSO4/5/1. J.H Jalla, "History, Tradition and Legends of the Barotse Nation", July 1909, 62.

² Interview with George Nyambe Sumbwa, University of Zambia, 30th May, 2011.

indoors in order to reduce chances of any group of people meeting to overthrow the Litunga.³ The drum was sounded at Limulunga and Lealui, the Litunga's Capital.

In 1896 Lewanika established a 'Police Force', despite the British South Africa Company already having established the Barotse Native Police in 1889, to among other things effectively monitor the activities of people considered trouble makers including sex workers.⁴ The 'police force' consisted of men, who were also the King's messengers called *Makandakundi*. The *Makandakundi* would cane anyone who disobeyed the King's orders, including the Litunga's elders, called *Indunas* in order to avoid any secret meetings to overthrow the King.⁵ Amongst people canned were those found walking aimlessly along foot paths at night and also those who took part in the *Sipelu* dance, where it was believed sex workers offered sexual services to their male clients.⁶

Melland's 'Reasonable Orders'

The British South Africa Company administration's direct intervention on the prevalence of sex work was in association with the alarming rates at which Sexually Transmitted Infections were spreading. Sexually Transmitted Infections will here refer to syphilis and gonorrhoea, the two most prevalent diseases during the period under study. Nkumbula, who later became a well known Zambian Nationalist, attributed the infections among the Ila in Southern Province to Portuguese explorers

³ C.W Mackintosh, *Lewanika: Paramount Chief of the Barotse and Allied Tribes 1875-1916*, (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1922), 40.

⁴ J.H Jalla, "History, Tradition and Legends of the Barotse Nation", July 1909, 62.

⁵ Sumbwa, interview.

⁶ Mackintosh, *Lewanika: Paramount Chief of the Barotse and Allied Tribes 1875-1916*, 40.

and Arab traders.⁷ Hyam blames the British in the prevalence of the two diseases and ascribed their origin to colonisation, 'the civilising mission' as he calls it.⁸ Perhaps he was right as reports of infections among Africans became manifest after 1900, the era of British rule. A case of Syphilis believed to have been contracted in 1904 was recorded in a court case at Abercorn, now Mbala, in 1907.⁹ Cases of syphilis reported by Thorncroft in Petauke District in 1908 were among returning migrant workers from Zimbabwe.¹⁰ In 1923 the diseases were reported to have been widespread in Mumbwa District in Central Province, where the District Commissioner declared the Ila 'a dying race' due to the low fertility caused by the diseases.¹¹ While it was a known fact that the development of Sexually Transmitted Infections in Zambia was attributed to men, when the prevalence rates were high, women in general and prostitutes in particular were blamed for the scourge.

During his tenure of office as District Commissioner and Magistrate for Mumbwa District between 1922 and 1924, Melland constantly received complaints from some headmen in the district about rising incidents of sex work. Village headmen were concerned about the development because they believed it was the cause of the high prevalence of Sexually Transmitted Infections in the district. The concerns raised by the traditional authorities persuaded Melland to formulate his 'Reasonable Orders' under proclamation 8 of 1916, Section 15, Number 11 of the Laws of Northern

⁷ H.M Nkumbula, "The Baila and their Troubles", *The Central African Post*, Thursday, 18th May, 1950, 7.

⁸ Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, (Manchester University Press, 1992), 3.

⁹ AF3/1/1. Magistrate Court for Tanganyika District of North Eastern Zambia, Case Number 18/07, 20th September, 1907.

¹⁰ NAZ/KSY5/1/2. Annual Report on Native Affairs- Year ending 31st March, 1908.

¹¹ NAZ/BS3/303: Native Commissioner, Mumbwa, to District Commissioner and Magistrate, Mumbwa. February 18, 1923.

Rhodesia.¹² The ‘Reasonable Orders’ empowered any village headman who, beyond any reasonable doubt, established that a woman leaving a village intended to do so for sex work in urban areas was not to be authorised to leave the village. A woman leaving a village against the order was liable for prosecution. The order further stipulated that a chief or headman who failed to execute the order was liable for prosecution.¹³ Melland’s vision and dream was to see the ‘Reasonable Orders’ being implemented beyond the borders of Mumbwa district, a vision that compelled him to circulate the orders to other districts.¹⁴ For Mumbwa traditional authorities, Kabwe was their focus area. Here they arrested unmarried women without their chief’s or village head’s authority. Much as the order could have been well meant by Commissioner Melland, overall it injured some innocent women who were arrested and charged without established proof that they indulged in sex work.¹⁵

It was also difficult for colonial officials to establish or determine the difference between sex work and concubinage. This resulted in arbitrarily arrests of women who genuinely cohabited with men. The “Orders” focussed on preventive strategy rather than on adjudication. Melland was convinced that previously, women who were involved in sex work began as concubines.¹⁶ However not all the colonial administrators were in favour of the scheme to marginalise even some innocent

¹² NAZ/KTJ/2/1. Luangwa District Circular Letter from J.H Melland, District Commissioner and Magistrate, July 7, 1922. NAZ/KTJ/2/1. Luangwa District Circular Letter from J.H Melland, District Commissioner and Magistrate, July 7, 1922.

¹³ NAZ/KTJ/2/1. Luangwa District Circular Letter from J.H Melland, District Commissioner and Magistrate, July 7, 1922.

¹⁴ NAZ/KTJ/2/1. Luangwa District Circular, July 7, 1922.

¹⁵ NAZ/KTJ/2/1. Criminal Case No. 71 of May 12, 1923.

¹⁶ NAZ/KTJ/2/1. Luangwa District Circular Letter from J.H Melland, District Commissioner and Magistrate, July 7, 1922.

women through the formulation of the “Orders.” At Bwana Mkubwa mine where a similar situation existed, the Native Commissioner at Ndola found it difficult to prosecute women who trekked to Ndola in contravention of the “orders”.¹⁷ Women from surrounding Chiwala and Mushili chiefdoms were arrested for allegedly indulging in sex work. The Native Commissioner at Ndola took the trouble to scrutinise the cases brought before him. Court proceedings showed that the women did not go to the mines for the purpose of sex work.¹⁸

In 1923, Alali and Sokoni were brought before Ndola Native Commissioner for trial for their alleged involvement in sex work.¹⁹ Both women were from Chiwala chiefdom and were accused of disobeying their village headmen’s order not to go to the mine for the purpose of sex work. The trial, handled by the Native Commissioner, Mr. Ingram, proved beyond reasonable doubt that there was no proof that the accused women had gone to the mine for sex work because the accused were merely co-habiting. Ingram noted that perhaps Chiwala acted as he did because he was apprehensive of being accused of encouraging sex work. Ingram also argued that concubinage did not imply sex work and hence it was inappropriate to conclude that any girl who went to the mines without a justifiable reason should be convicted of sex work. As such it was not correct that any girl who went to the mines without a justifiable reason could be convicted as a sex worker. A woman, he argued, that lived

¹⁷ NAZ/KJT2/1. The Registrar, Rex V. Alali and Sokoni, Females: Contr.5.16(5) of Pr 8 (16), Unlawfully going to Bwana Mkubwa Mine for the purpose of prostitution against the Lawful order of their headman, Chief Chiwala, given under 5.5(1) of Pr. 8/1916, Ndola, Native Commissioner, 136/23, 25th October, 1923.

¹⁸ The Registrar, Rex V. Alali and Sokoni, Females: Contr.5.16(5) of Pr 8 (16), Unlawfully going to Bwana Mkubwa Mine for the purpose of prostitution against the Lawful order of their headman, 25th October, 1923.

¹⁹ The Registrar, Rex V. Alali and Sokoni, Females: Contr.5.16 (5) of Pr 8 (16), 25th October, 1923.

with a man without the formality of marriage was a concubine and not a sex worker. Alali and Sokoni were, therefore acquitted of their alleged involvement in sex work.

Melland's 'Reasonable Orders' generated some legal controversy between 1923 and 1924. MacDonell, the Judge of Northern Rhodesia, declared the "orders" *Ultra vires* on the premise that the women were deemed guilty even before they explained their situation.²⁰ MacDonell's declaration attracted sympathy from the Legal Advisor and Public Prosecutor and the Secretary for African Affairs on the account that the orders restricted women's freedom of movement and gave undue authority to Mumbwa chiefs to arrest unattached women found living in Kabwe.²¹ The Legal Advisor and Prosecutor argued that chiefs carried out Melland's orders illegally because they had no powers outside the villages. The Secretary for Native Affairs found the orders suspect and further expressed unwillingness to control promiscuity and sex work through the Law.

Melland felt betrayed that his attempts to curb the much talked about 'vice' could receive such opposition from his superiors.²² He appealed to the Company administration to intervene on the matter by suggesting the formulation of at least some simple law to take care of such issues. He considered the opposing views a

²⁰ NAZ/BS3/303. Letter from Judge, P.T MacDonnell to the Registrar on the Rex versus Alali and Sokoni accused of Contravening Section 16(5) Proclamation 1916, March 28, 1923.

²¹ NAZ/SEC3/303. Notice Number 136/17/13. From the Legal Advisor, Livingstone, to the Secretary Native Affairs, Livingstone, November 28, 1923. NAZ/SEC3/303. Notice Number 136/17/13. From the Legal Advisor, Livingstone, to the Secretary Native Affairs, Livingstone, November 28, 1923.

²² NAZ/SEC3/303. Letter from the District Commissioner and Magistrate, Broken Hill to the Registrar, the High Court of Northern Rhodesia, Livingstone, 5th November, 1923.

‘severe blow and set back and administratively retrogressive’.²³ The Registrar considered the suggestion as being impractical due to high cost of printing and limited resources.²⁴

‘Separating Sheep from Goats’ Campaign

The failure of Melland’s scheme did not end attempts to stop sex work. While debate on the legality of Melland’s orders was going on, in 1924, participants at the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia requested government to control the movement of women to industrial centres through the enforcement of the law, preferably through the *Administration of Natives Proclamation of 1916*.²⁵ Unfortunately the suggestion lacked support. Targat, then Acting Secretary for Native Affairs who attended the meeting, questioned the language of the *Proclamation of 1916*, which did not imply unjustified restriction of movement or personal liberty of African women. He argued that the *Proclamation* could not be used to restrict and penalise women unaccompanied by husbands to centres of population.²⁶ Despite this advice, in 1927 the missionaries reiterated their position on sex work and urged government to mitigate the ‘great evil’.²⁷

²³ NAZ/SEC3/303. Letter from the District Commissioner and Magistrate, Broken Hill to the Registrar, the High Court of Northern Rhodesia, Livingstone, 5th November, 1923.

²⁴ NAZ/BS3/303. Letter from High Court Northern Rhodesia, Livingstone to the Legal Advisor and Public Prosecutor, November 9th, 1923.

²⁵ The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia: *Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Held at Kafue, 9th to 15th June, 1924*, (Lovedale Institute, 1925), item 1, “Prostitution and Gambling”, 30.

²⁶ E.S.B Tagart, “Native Customary Law in Northern Rhodesia”, *Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia held at Kafue, 9th to 15th June, 1924*, (Lovedale Institute, 1925), 61.

²⁷ The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia: *Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Held at Livingstone, 18th to 25th July, 1927*, (Lovedale Press, 1927), 31.

Chiefs also continued soliciting government to curb sex work not only on moral grounds but also due to high rates of Sexually Transmitted Infections. In 1928 rates of the infections in the villages around Chipata were so high that at one village, twenty five out of forty eight adults had syphilis.²⁸ In the Chiefdom of Nzamane thirty seven females reported to have been sex workers in Zimbabwe were believed to have brought the diseases with them when ever they visited their relatives at home.²⁹ The rapid spread of the infections was also attributed to a belief among infected males, that sexual intercourse with “clean women”, virgins in particular, would cure the infection.³⁰ Sex work and promiscuity was also blamed for the prevalence of the infections.

Perhaps as a response to missionaries’ and chiefly concerns, in 1930, in an attempt to reduce the prevalence of sex work and Sexually Transmitted Infections, the government amended the laws and enacted new ones. The government entrusted its authority to Native Authorities to minimise or possibly to eradicate sex work.³¹ To reinforce the regulation, in 1931 in Chipata, Lusaka based Transport Companies were prohibited from carrying unmarried women without prior permission of their parents or guardians.³²

²⁸ NAZ/EP4/2/2. Tour Reports 1927-1930, Report on Journey made by H.F.C Robinson, Assistant Magistrate, Fort Jameson Sub-District, 4th – 22nd February, 1928.

²⁹ NAZ/EP4/2/2. Report on Journey made by H.F Cartmel-Robinson, Assistant Magistrate, Fort Jameson Sub-District, 12th to 27th June, 1928.

³⁰ NAZ/EP4/2/2. H.F.C Robinson, Assistant Magistrate, Fort Jameson Sub-District, 4th – 22nd February, 1928.

³¹ Northern Rhodesia, *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia*, 1930(1), “Powers of Native Authorities (Cap 57)”, (London: William Claws and Sons, 1931), 473.

³² NAZ/KSJ/1/4/1. Letter from the Acting Provincial Commissioners Office, Fort Jameson, July 2, 1931.

In 1933, the laws of the country banned women from night walking, (walking along streets in the night to solicit for customers), loitering and patronising public places because they were suspected of engaging in sex work.³³ Section 13 of the Laws of Northern Rhodesia empowered all government Medical Officers, Health workers or any other persons with written instructions from Medical Officers, to enter with the help of police, any premises to search for men and women with Sexually Transmitted Infections. Sex workers were likely victims.³⁴ These controls notwithstanding, the challenge of sex workers continued to be a matter of great concern. Despite such measures, in 1933, the chiefs in Mumbwa District still felt repatriation of women from towns to the district under police escort was the best option in reducing the high rates of Sexually Transmitted Infections which they believed were spread by sex workers.³⁵

Following such concerns the government passed in 1936 the *Native Authorities and Native Courts Ordinance* that empowered Native Authorities not to allow women to leave their villages and to take back those already in towns to their villages.³⁶ But there were problems in implementing the Ordinance because it could not be directly enforced. To reinforce the Ordinance, the government established Urban Native Courts, also in 1936, as an instrument of traditional control of Africans, especially

³³ Northern Rhodesia: *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia*, 1934 (3), "The Township Regulations: Government Notice Number 174 of 1933", (London: William Clows and Sons, 1935), 132.

³⁴ Northern Rhodesia: *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia*, 1934 (3), "The Township Regulations: Government Notice Number 174 of 1933", (London: William Clows and Sons, 1935), 132.

³⁵ NAZ/KTJ/2/1. Mumbwa District Tour Report No. 1/1933 by R.S Hudson, District Commissioner, January 21 to February 1, 1933.

³⁶ Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: "Government in the Federation: The Development of Government in the Three Territories in the Period Leading to Federation in 1953", unpublished, 1958.

unattached women in urban areas.³⁷ As such the responsibility of repatriating African women from towns became the responsibility of Urban Native Courts.³⁸

Colonial authorities also took advantage of lapses in African customs on the rights of women and even used traditional authorities to restrict women's movement in order to control sex work. One such culprit against the freedom and rights of African women was the Acting Chief Secretary who in 1937 ambiguously wrote:

There is a tendency to emphasise too great an extent the liberty of the subject. If the tribal authority desires to interfere with that liberty on behalf of the community, its right to do so must be recognised. The movement of women must be restricted if it is thought necessary.³⁹

In 1939, a Member of the Eastern Electoral Area also justified the infringement on women's right of movement. The member complained that African women in the Eastern Province continually migrated to Zimbabwe, where some of them became sex workers. He urged government to bar such women from going to industrial centres despite not having any law against such a practice by taking advantage of native customs which he believed had no regard for the right of women. In his contribution to the Legislative Council he argued:

But now, fortunately it is realised that it is desirable for Native Authorities to control unattached women, and we know that in native custom there is no such thing as the *femme sole* of our English Law, there is no such thing as an independent woman, and it is right and

³⁷ Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: "Government in the Federation: The Development of Government in the Three Territories in the Period Leading to Federation in 1953", unpublished, 1958.

³⁸ SEC1/1312. Report on the Cause and Effectiveness of Native Labour Migration in Lusaka District, Central Province by District Commissioner, 1937, 4.

³⁹ NAZ/SEC1/1312. Summary on Emigrant Labour: Effects of Migration by Acting Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 1st November, 1937, 3.

justifiable that Native Authorities should control the movement of unattached women.⁴⁰

As such the responsibility of punishing women involved in the ‘vice’ was left to the discretion of Native Urban Courts. Women were repatriated despite there having been no provision under the English Law that applied in the country, to order women to leave a township unless they had committed an offence.⁴¹

In 1945 Urban Advisory Councils were compelled to request the government to introduce a system of marriage registration to legalise some “town” marriages. The Council also requested the government to authorise Native Authorities in labour supplying districts to repatriate unattached women to their villages.⁴² Compulsory marriage registration suffered a major set back because it placed a premium on sex work because men were not allowed to register more than one wife.⁴³ The scheme could also not work effectively because some chiefs were reluctant to issue Marriage Certificates.⁴⁴ Despite such set backs, some ‘responsible Africans’ and properly married couples on the Copperbelt still contested that the only way to identify sex workers, “separating the sheep from the goats”, was by issuing Marriage Certificates to properly married women.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ NAZ/SEC1/1312. Summary on Emigrant Labour: Effects of Migration by Acting Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 1st November, 1937, 3.

⁴¹ NAZ/SEC1/1350. From Provincial Commissioner, Ndola, to J.G. Philips, Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 23rd February, 1944.

⁴² NAZ/SEC2/167. Minutes of the Kitwe African Urban Advisory Council held in the Office of the District Officer, Wusakile Compound, December 7, 1945.

⁴³ Northern Rhodesia Government: *Minutes of the Provincial Commissioners’ Conference held at Lusaka from 13th to 18th October, 1941*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1941), 6, item 5.

⁴⁴ *Minutes of the Provincial Commissioners’ Conference held at Lusaka from 13th to 18th October, 1941*, Appendix “A”, The Honourable The Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 20th August, 1941 in *Minutes of the Provincial Commissioners’ Conference held at Lusaka from 13th to 18th October, 1941*, 6, item, 6.

⁴⁵ Appendix “A”, The Honourable The Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 20th August, 1941, 11, item 5.

But the Chief Secretary was not in favour of Marriage Certificates being used as a means of identifying sex workers. He argued that African women would resent any interference by police through being requested to produce such certificates to prove that they were not sex workers.⁴⁶ The strategy to reduce the prevalence of sex work through issuance of Marriage Certificates was resented even by women from rural areas because the certificate represented some form of restricting them from going to urban areas.⁴⁷ Despite such misgivings on the issuance of the certificates, in 1944 Urban Native Courts were allowed to issue them to couples in urban areas, with the approval of Native Authorities.⁴⁸ In spite of this strategy, there were still a large number of unmarried women and girls in urban areas as many evaded the officials checking for certificates and passes. Because of this frustration on the part of officials, in 1948, some members of the African Representative Council requested the government not to provide accommodation in towns to single women.⁴⁹ This, they hoped, would discourage them from coming into urban areas to sell sex. In 1949, the Western Province, now Copperbelt Province, African Representative Council condemned the repatriation of single women to rural areas as an unfair act because even innocent women were subjected to arbitrary arrests.⁵⁰ In 1953 the

⁴⁶ Appendix "A", The Honourable The Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 20th August, 1941, 11, item 5.

⁴⁷ Northern Rhodesia Government: *Provincial Commissioners' Conference held at Lusaka from 13th to 18th October, 1941*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1941), 6, item 5.

⁴⁸ Northern Rhodesia Government: *Minutes of the Conference of Provincial Commissioners and Heads of Social Service Department 1944, Held at Lusaka from 24th to 28th October, 1944*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1944, "Application of Native Authority Rules and Orders to Urban Areas", 8, item 7.

⁴⁹ The Northern Rhodesia Government: *Proceedings of the Third Session of the African Representative Council, July 1948*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1948), 178.

⁵⁰ NAZ/SEC//1350. Extract from Minutes of the African Provincial Council, Western Province, held at Ndola on 8th to 9th October, 1949.

government authorised Urban Native Courts to issue marriage certificates to African couples living in town and also passed regulations that would lead to the imprisonment of females without Marriage Certificates. The policy aimed at combating sex work.⁵¹

Notwithstanding these attempts, the 'seperating of sheep from goats' scheme met with some challenges as cases of sex work seemed to have been increasing in the early 1950's. The increase was attributed to lack of formal employment for women. For instance, even jobs such as cooks and house servants were the domain of men.⁵² As late as 1953, women were generally discouraged from taking up wage employment.⁵³ However, very few African women were involved in sex work at the time. Evidence shows that more women in urban areas opted to raise money through beer brewing than sex work and as such they resented being forced to produce marriage certificates as proof that they were not in sex work. By the mid 1950's many women who were engaged in beer brewing were arrested for participating in the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress women's wing initiated protests against regulations governing the brewing of traditional African beer and marriage certificates. The 1954 Police Annual Report recorded women members of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress Women's League in Lusaka having demonstrated against regulations governing traditional African beer and marriage

⁵¹ Northern Rhodesia Government: *African Affairs Annual Report for 1953*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1954), 8.

⁵² Northern Rhodesia: *Labour and Mines Department Annual Report for the Year 1952*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1953), 22.

⁵³ Northern Rhodesia: *Labour and Mines Department Annual Report for the Year 1953*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1954), 18.

certificates.⁵⁴ Wife of the first Republican president, Kenneth Kaunda, Betty Kaunda, as Secretary for the Women's League, actively participated in the protest to give solidarity to several women whose economic survival in towns depended largely on beer brewing.⁵⁵ In 1955, the resentment spread to Ndola where over 300 women protested for similar reasons against the policy.⁵⁶

The women's protest was justified; Epstein discovered that in Ndola between 1950 and 1956 the extent to which women indulged in sex work was rather minimal and that most reports on 'prostitution' were rather exaggerations and conceptual.⁵⁷ Women were infuriated because whilst they were barred from brewing beer, as a means of livelihood, they were also charged for failure to produce marriage certificates. Women without official authorisation to stay in town were charged as much as five shillings to between One British Sterling Pound and Three pounds, amounts rather too high for most urban women at the time.⁵⁸ More than one-third of Africans arrested for contravening the Native Beer Ordinance were women.⁵⁹ Of the 2,238 Africans arrested and fined for contravening the Native Beer Ordinance in

⁵⁴ Northern Rhodesia Government: *Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the Year 1954*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1955), item 122, 13.

⁵⁵ Stephen A. Mpashi, *Betty Kaunda: A Biography*, (Lusaka: Longmans Zambia Ltd, 1969), 40.

⁵⁶ Northern Rhodesia: *Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the Year 1954*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1955), 13, item 122.

⁵⁷ A.L Epstein, *Urbanisation and Kinship: The Domestic Domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia 1950-1956*, (London: Academic Press, 1981), 311.

⁵⁸ ZCCM.13.2.5A. "Unauthorized Africans in Mine African Townships, 6th September, 1955, 1-2.

⁵⁹ Northern Rhodesia Government: *Police Annual Report for 1956*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957), 21. Northern Rhodesia Government: *Police Annual Report for 1957*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957), seven hundred and forty nine men against one thousand five hundred and eleven women, 25. Northern Rhodesia Government: *Police Annual Report for 1960*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1951), 29. Northern Rhodesia Government: *Police Annual Report for 1963*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1964), 31.

1956, only 600 were men, against 1,580 women.⁶⁰ However, no reports were given on the number of women arrested for sex work even up to the close of colonial rule in 1964, probably because sex work was not easy to establish and based on hearsay and in the minds of those against it and not necessarily empirical evidence.

Native Authorities charged women for attempting to migrate to town under the assumption that they would be involved in sex work and not for actually being involved in it. In 1955 at Petauke, 159 women were brought before the Courts of Law in the District for attempting to migrate to town.⁶¹ To discourage the practice, both the women and their parents or guardians were required to pay a fine despite lack of evidence to show that the women were going to town for the purpose of sex work. This was done in order to force the women's parents or guardians to have a greater control over the women.

Tribal Elders and Urban Native Courts considered cases of proven sex work with contempt. At a Tribal Elders meeting observed by Epstein in Ndola in 1956, a woman who attempted to seek assistance in getting what was due to her after offering a sexual service was sent away because the elders considered offering sex for pay as foolishness.⁶² In the same year, G.S Jones, Provincial Commissioner for the Copperbelt reported that at Mufulira, a man who contracted a sexually transmitted infection through contact with a sex worker had his claim in court dismissed with a

⁶⁰ Northern Rhodesia Government: *Police Annual Report for 1956*, 21.

⁶¹ Northern Rhodesia Government: Northern Rhodesia African Affairs Annual Report for the Year 1955, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1956), 70.

⁶² Epstein, *Urbanisation and Kinship: The Domestic Domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia 1950-1956*, 312.

rebuke: “If a hunter goes after dangerous game like a buffalo, he cannot complain if injured.”⁶³ One aspect in the second case is that sex workers were considered so dangerous that they could even be likened to a buffalo, probably a wounded one.

Sex Work and the Politics of Independence

After 1956, African Nationalist leaders took advantage of attempts to control sex work as a weapon to fight colonial rule. Although agencies such as Native Authorities, Urban Native Courts and the government continued the fight against sex work, their efforts were overshadowed by the nationalist movement especially after 1957 because the fight against sex work was one of the strategies applied by the African nationalists to fight against colonial rule. African men publicised cases of “alleged prostitution”, especially those that involved cohabitation between African women and European men. The fight assumed a nationalist character. In 1957 the responsibility for the anti beer hall campaign initiated by the African National Congress Women’s Wing was assumed by men. In 1954 and 1955, the fight was against government monopoly on the sale of beer and the control of the movement of African women through Marriage Certificates. After 1957 the focus was on the social evils of the beer hall system, including the presence of women at the premises where they were suspected to offer sex to European men.⁶⁴ The African National Congress officials and followers considered the beer hall campaign as a test of political strength and also as a weapon

⁶³ Northern Rhodesia Government: *Northern Rhodesia African Affairs Annual Report for the Year 1956*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957), 10.

⁶⁴ Charles Ambler, “Alcohol Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31 (1990), 307-308.

of political action against the colonial government.⁶⁵ African men publicised reports of the high prevalence of sex work, especially those in which African women and European men were involved. This move received a lot of support from African men who were concerned about the growing independence of African women in urban areas.⁶⁶

Reasons for the change in focus by the Nationalists are not far fetched. Between 1955 and 1956, proposals suggested by the Federal government to improve African housing received sharp opposition from some European residents. In reference to a 1955 government proposal to build about 6,000 houses at Lilanda in Lusaka for Africans and Coloureds who would leave side by side, Mr. Sayer, former president of the Lusaka Euro African Society, retorted: "Africans are not hygienic or far advanced socially and would turn the area into a slum."⁶⁷ In 1956, a proposed housing scheme at which 25,000 houses would be built for Africans at Chifubu elicited a similar reply. This time the objections arose because Africans would have to pass through a predominantly white suburb, now called Kansenshi, to access the location.⁶⁸

My argument is that African men did not see the logic in European men soliciting for sex-for-pay from African women when African men and women were referred to as 'dirty' and 'uncivilised'. This contradictory attitude towards Africans elicited anti

⁶⁵ Ambler, "Alcohol Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia", 307-308.

⁶⁶ Ambler, "Alcohol Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia", 308.

⁶⁷ Royal Institute of International Affairs: "Summary of Press News and Comments from Central Africa and South Africa and Kenya, September, 1955", 4. The news item appeared in the *The Northern News* of 15th September, 1955.

⁶⁸ Royal Institute of International Affairs: "Summary of Press News, September, 1956", 4.

racist retaliation from radical nationalists such as Kenneth Kaunda and his colleagues. A survey of press reports for 1957 compiled by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, carried a story in which *The Herald* on 21 January 1957, expressed dismay at what it termed “a violent attack on Federation and Europeans.”⁶⁹ Apparently the African National Congress prepared what it dubbed ‘Special Circular’ signed by Kenneth Kaunda, its Secretary General. The Circular which was distributed on the Copperbelt on 19 January 1957, thanked the Congress members and other concerned Africans for the unity exhibited during protests such as the beer hall campaign and called on members of the Congress and concerned Africans to continue with campaigns against oppressive laws through various strategies. There were even proposals that the Non-violence Clause in the Congress Constitution be repealed to make campaigns, such as that against immorality and sex work at beer halls, more effective.⁷⁰

When, towards the end of 1957, some African nationalists led by the Party President, Mwaanga Nkumbula advocated for the Non-violence Clause to the Congress Constitution to remain unchanged, some radical members of the party were not happy with the stance because it would have rendered the fight against immorality and sex work at beer halls ineffective.⁷¹ The fight against the beer hall system and alleged immorality were among the reasons why a group of nationalists led by Kaunda formed

⁶⁹ Royal Institute of International Affairs: Race Relations Department, Summary of Press News and Comments from Central and South Africa and Kenya, 1957, unpublished, 1957, 15.

⁷⁰ Royal Institute of International Affairs: Race Relations Department, Summary of Press News and Comments from Central and South Africa and Kenya, 1957, unpublished, 1957, 9.

⁷¹ Royal Institute of International Affairs, “Summary of Press News and Comments from Central Africa and South Africa and Kenya”, unpublished 29th November, 1957, 9.

the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) in 1958. ZANC was later banned in March 1959. Small political parties were formed to fill the vacuum and later merged to form the United National Independence Party (hereafter UNIP) in 1959. The splinter group accused the Nkumbula led African National Congress and its leaders for not being militant enough in exposing the moral and social ‘evils’ that occurred at beer halls.⁷²

The UNIP continued with efforts to stop sex work at beer halls and other places initiated by the African National Congress. In 1960 the Race Relations Ordinance, which allowed both Africans and Europeans to enter certain scheduled premises such as cinemas, restaurants and hotels was enacted.⁷³ Although the fight against racism had been partially won through the Ordinance, the UNIP was not amused. Instead of rejoicing that Africans could enter premises previously accessed by Europeans only, it decided to change its focus from the fight against racism to fight against sex work, especially those involving European men and African women at premises that allowed both sexes. In order to win the support of radical Africans, in conjunction with the press, the UNIP sought to fight for political emancipation by, among other ways, exposing the evils that occurred at bars.

Media-Political Party campaigns to gain political support, through the fight against sex work, were waged between 1963 and 1964. The UNIP in particular in conjunction with the *Central African Mail*, used the fight against sex work as a means to gain

⁷² Ambler, “Alcohol Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia”, 308.

⁷³ Northern Rhodesia: *Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the Year 1960*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1961), 6.

political mileage. The role of the media was simple; to publicise cases of prostitution, so as to elicit African hate for sex work and colonial rule. It was meant for the public to believe that the end of colonial rule would also signify the end of sex work. Between 1963 and 1964 under the theme ‘Without Fear or Favour’, an average of one article per month in the *Central African Mail* was on prostitution. Kaunda, who later became the first Republican President of independent Zambia, was appointed Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare on 15 December, 1962.⁷⁴ Upon assuming office, he received repeated calls for him to stamp out the ‘vice’ that had been rampant at beer halls frequented by European men who sought the sexual services of African women, an act considered a ‘social evil.’⁷⁵ There was great expectation that nationalist leaders such as Kaunda would help stop sex work. Barely twenty one days after Kaunda assumed office, Nkhata, a resident of Chimwemwe Township in Kitwe, wrote:

As the Honourable Mr. Kaunda is now Minister for Local Government and Social Welfare, I hope that he will not hesitate to use his good office to curb these social evils for the sake of our nation.⁷⁶

Yet Kaunda chose to make a policy pronouncement concerning measures to stop the evils at bars including sex work, at a political rally, perhaps because the government in waiting did not want to inherit the ‘vice’; they constantly condemned sex work during their campaigns against the colonial regime. While opening the UNIP Youth Conference in Ndola in May 1963, Kaunda announced that legislation to abolish

⁷⁴ Northern Rhodesia: *Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare: Local Government Division Annual Report for the Year 1962*. London: Government Printer, 1962.

⁷⁵ C.D.S Nkhata, Chimwemwe Township, Kitwe, “Social Evils”, African Mail Bag, *Central African Mail*, 8th January, 1963, 15.

⁷⁶ Nkhata, “Social Evils”, *Central African Mail*, 8th January, 1963, 15.

Beer Halls and the establishment of small pubs was to be introduced in the territory in the hope of curbing sexual unions between African women and European men.⁷⁷ The Copperbelt became the centre of political violence from 1957 and a number of protests were staged in apparent dislike for colonial policies especially the beer hall system. It is most likely that Kaunda chose to make such a pronouncement at the Youth Conference because he knew that it would cheer them since they had been in the forefront in enforcing the beer hall ban and other acts of political defiance. Any African political leader who showed determination to defy government regulations or orders was bound to receive overwhelming support. By July 1963, all bars in Northern Rhodesia opened their doors to people of all races.⁷⁸ This resulted in visits by Africans to hotels and restaurants in various towns in the country. The new Law was well received by some women as they no longer had to walk along dark streets (Street Walking) in order to meet European men but could now meet them from bars.⁷⁹ It is possibly as a result of such reports that UNIP and the *Central African Mail* decided to form an 'alliance' to fight the 'vice'. A critical examination of the titles, contents and wording of the papers shows that the fight against sex work was not only done from a moral point of view but had become anti-colonial rule in nature.

On the Copperbelt, women who painted their lips were considered as sex workers, *Bakapenta*, a term which was used as a synonym for 'prostitute' from the 1950's. *Bakapenta* also referred to a group of women who fed on the little fish *Kapenta*,

⁷⁷ Mail Reporter, "New Law will ban Beer Halls", *Central African Mail*, Saturday, 11th May, 1963, 1.

⁷⁸ Mail Reporter, "New Law will ban Beer Halls", *Central African Mail*, Saturday, 11th May, 1963, 1.

⁷⁹ "The Bar Ban is off, but Africans Say: Give Us the Money First", 9.

which was easy to prepare as they were women on the “move”. In 1963 bands of angry youths in Ndola imposed a ban on African women who used lipstick. Armed with handkerchiefs, youths would stop any woman with painted lips and ordered them to wipe it off with the command; “Do not put that stuff on your mouth again.”⁸⁰ Even women who wore short dresses and skirts were also attacked as a means of stopping sex work.⁸¹ Women who wore short skirts were requested to pull down the seam in order to make them longer. This caused so much distress on the affected women that one of them even retorted;

Last time we were told not to stretch our hair, now we are ordered not to wear short dresses and skirts. One wonders where all the nonsense comes from and when it is going to end.⁸²

On 20 July, 1963, an article entitled, “And Now It’s...War on N.R. [Northern Rhodesia] Vice” appeared as the main heading on the front page of the *Central African Mail* in which Kaunda was reported to have declared that he would initiate a campaign to stop immorality at bars. The opening statement to the article read:

There is soon to be a nation-wide drive to smash vice rings in towns of Northern Rhodesia. Man behind the clean-up plan is Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. As Minister of Social Welfare problems arising from vice and associated evils fall under his portofolio.⁸³

To show Kaunda’s determination to stop sex work and possibly to entice African men to do the same, the reporter took the trouble to describe Kaunda’s mood when asked about the prevalence of sex work when he wrote:

⁸⁰ Mail Reporter, “War on those Tight Skirts”, *Central African Mail*, Friday, 5th July, 1963, 10.

⁸¹ Mail Reporter, “War on those Tight Skirts”, *Central African Mail*, 10.

⁸² “War on those Tight Skirts”, *Central African Mail*, 10.

⁸³ Mail Special Correspondent, “And Now It’s...War on N.R. Vice”, *Central African Mail*, 20th May, Friday 20th May, 1963, 1.

A few months ago the Mail carried a story about the sordid goings-on at a place known by the glamorous name “Hollywood” in the very centre of Lusaka. So far no action has been taken against the men and women who run these places or patronise them. But now Kaunda is going to act. After describing vice rings as a new angle to our social problems, Kaunda said this week, “I am determined to play my part”. Looking grimly at me he said with a voice edged with steel, “the sordid business is a disgrace to the nation. It must go.”⁸⁴

Despite his disgust of the practice, however, Kaunda ordered overzealous supporters not to take the law into their own hands. He mentioned that certain young men who claimed to be United National Independence Party members even went round cutting women’s hair because it was straightened and tearing women’s clothes because they disapproved of them. He urged such youth to stop arguing that the practice was just as evil as the sex work he was determined to stop.⁸⁵ Apparently the UNIP and the ANC youths used such protests to determine their popularity in the area.⁸⁶

Earlier in 1963, the UNIP banned women from entering beer halls because it was believed that they were meeting points for sex workers and their European customers.⁸⁷ In November 1963, the UNIP on the Copperbelt decided to relax its ban on women entering beer halls. It announced that women were allowed to drink from township bars and not city bars. This seemingly good will gesture was however not without racial influence. Mr Frank Chitambala, the UNIP Regional Secretary for Ndola-Luanshya explained why women could not drink from city bars.

⁸⁴ “And Now It’s...War on N.R. Vice”, *Central African Mail*, 1.

⁸⁵ “And Now It’s...War on N.R. Vice”, 1.

⁸⁶ Mail Reporter, “Trouble for ‘Teen’ Lovers’-The UNIP-ANC Social Barriers”, *Central African Mail*, Friday, 15th June, 1963, 6.

⁸⁷ Mail Correspondent, “Row Over Women and Beer: Club Men to See K.K”, *Central African Mail*, Friday, 11th October, 1963, 5.

The party does not want to stop women from drinking in the bars. But it certainly wants women to be aware of the important role they have to play in the development of the country. And they cannot play their role if they spend all their time in bars and forget to live with dignity.⁸⁸

However this was a political move driven by racial motives. If women could not realise that they had a role to play because when they went to city bars they indulged in sex work, they could also not do the same when they visited township bars. The women themselves also saw no logic in their being barred from city bars when the barmaids in the same bars were African women. The women reacted by threatening to send representations to the party to stop women from being employed as waitresses in city bars because their husbands would be attracted to them.⁸⁹

In December 1963, following a report that women from Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, were offering sexual services to European men, the UNIP and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (here after ZAPU) officials entered a partnership of convenience to stop sex work. The fight against sex work clearly became racial and anti-colonial in nature. Zimbabwean sex workers were even told that "the men they were 'dealing with' were the same men who were oppressing their brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers back in the homelands."⁹⁰ The UNIP and the ZAPU officials on the Copperbelt even held a meeting in December 1963 in order to strategise on how best to deal with sex workers. They agreed that the UNIP was in a

⁸⁸ Mail Reporter, "UNIP Relents: Women Can Drink in Public Again, In Townships but not in City Bars", *Central African Mail*, Friday, 1st November, 1963, 25.

⁸⁹ Mail Reporter, "UNIP Relents: Women Can Drink in Public Again, In Townships but not in City Bars", 25.

⁹⁰ Mail Reporter, "Four 'Flat Girls' Have Quit Ndola", *Central African Mail*, Friday, 6th December, 1963, 11.

better position to deport Zimbabwean women involved in sex work because an action by the ZAPU officials would have been met with opposition

In the article that appeared in the *Central African Mail* of 20 December 1963, the real motive for sensationalised reporting on sex work was revealed. Reports about sex work were a deliberate ploy by the *Central African Mail* to provoke African nationalists into action. David Maango, the *Mail* Reporter who had until then been in the forefront in exposing sex work, wondered why the government had taken long in releasing the report on the prevalence of sex work.⁹¹ He mentioned that he had persisted in writing on sex work not because of love for sensation but to make political leaders aware of the danger to the country's morals. He dared the UNIP to take immediate action when he declared: "A government which ignores such a situation is not worth its salt. This thing must be rectified now-not after independence next year."⁹² The statement was meant to taunt the UNIP to take action as it campaigned for the 20-21 January 1964 General Elections as preparations to usher in a team that would take over government in October of the same year were under way.

The UNIP also fought hard to stop sex work that had been occurring in some hotels particularly around the Copperbelt. In February 1964, the *Central African Mail* carried a story in which it was reported that some African women were offering

⁹¹ D. Maango, "Lusaka's Slam Dens: The Menace Goes On", *Central African Mail*, 20th December, 1963, 4.

⁹² Maango, "Lusaka's Slam Dens: The Menace Goes On", *Central African Mail*, 4.

sexual services to European men at a hotel in Kitwe.⁹³ The women entered the hotel in the company of African men who acted as ‘pimps’. The UNIP acting Regional Secretary for the Copperbelt Province, Alexander Chikwanda, considered it a disgrace for European men to approach African women for sex from the hotels.⁹⁴ He promised to carry out a ‘ruthless clampdown’ on those involved. He ordered the named hotels to control the entrance of women in their premises under, ‘The Right of Admission Reserved’ regulation. This action was meant to restrict African women from freely entering hotels just like their male counterparts who encouraged sex work. Though the action should have been also directed towards the European clients and the Africans who escorted them, it was the women who suffered arrests and even unlawfully being banned from entering hotels.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed some of the measures that were carried out by the British South Africa Company authorities, Colonial government through its agencies such as Native Authorities and Urban Native Courts, The Northern Rhodesia African National Congress and the United National Independence Party in controlling the growth and spread of sex work. The British South Africa Company administration initially attempted to stop prostitution through manipulating the Law especially through Proclamation 8 of the *Administration of Natives Proclamation of 1916*. However such a move was considered illegal forcing the colonial government to find other means of stopping prostitution. In 1936, colonial government sought to

⁹³ Mail Reporter, M.P Promises ‘Ruthless’ War on Vice Gangs”, *Central African Mail*, Friday, 28th February, 1964, 7.

⁹⁴ Mail Reporter, “Prostitutes Get Blacklisted”, *Central African Mail*, 17th April, 1964, 1.

transfer the responsibility of fighting sex work to African authorities through the *Native Authorities and Native Courts Ordinance of 1936*. Measures such as repatriation and issuance of marriage were used as a means to fight prostitution. From 1957 to 1964, due to heightened racial tensions between Africans and European the fight against prostitution was overshadowed by the nationalist movement. In all these phases, women in general and sex workers in particular were victims of forced removal from towns, infringement on their freedom of movement and even derogatory remarks.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BENEFITS OF SEX WORK, 1880-1964.

Introduction

This Chapter discusses the benefits of sex work in pre-colonial and colonial Zambia. It is based on the theme of this study, 'For Pleasure and Profit'. In the context of this study, 'Pleasure' means sex to satisfy, while 'Profit' will denote benefits accrued from selling sex or privileges there from. The chapter will also discuss the role of mining companies in encouraging the development of sex work on the Zambia Copperbelt as a labour stabilisation strategy. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section, with two sub-sections, examines how European and African men, and also the mining companies benefited from the services of sex workers. The first sub-section gives an account of how early European pioneers who were predominantly male and the African migrant labourers used the sexual services of sex workers as a means of relieving themselves from stress and tensions. The sub-section examines the psycho-sexual and economic dimension of sex work and is concerned with examining the 'comfort women' and the 'Angels policy' which saw sex work as an element of labour stabilisation. It portrays sex work as having been encouraged by men, both European and African in order to remain 'sane' in a difficult socio-political environment.

The second sub-section analyses the role played by sex workers in the stabilisation of the labour force on the Copperbelt mines. Largely the section attempts to

demonstrate the contradictions between the colonial government and officials of the mining companies towards sex work. Whilst colonial government viewed sex work as a ‘vice’, mining authorities encouraged the practice because it was a ‘beneficial evil’. Section two examines the profits accrued from sex work and how they were used. Although data on profits accrued by sex workers is based on hearsay, it at least gives us an idea of what some sex workers gained. The chapter argues that although sex work was considered a ‘vice’, it had benefits to different people at different times and in different ways.

The Psycho-Sexual and Economic Dimension of Sex Work

‘Comfort Women’

The phrase ‘Comfort Women’ is used in the discourse to describe sex as a means of boosting men’s morale in a harsh socio-economic environment. It is borrowed from Monica McCormick, who used the phrase in reference to Korean women who were forced to offer sex to American soldiers during the Second World War.¹ Sexual services offered by the Korean women were believed to have boosted the morale of the servicemen. In a similar manner, sexual services offered by African women to the early European pioneers enabled the latter to endure the hardships they faced in a seemingly harsh African socio-economic environment. Sex workers in Zambia therefore, were also used as ‘comfort women’, a means of survival and comfort, which boosted European men’s morale.

¹ Naomi B. McCormick, *Sexual Salvation: Affirming Women Sexual Rights and Pleasures*, (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1994), 99. The author uses the phrase in reference to Korean women who were forced to provide sex to servicemen during World War II.

Men exploited the sexual services of sex workers for various purposes. From about 1880, European men exploited the services of these women in order to survive in a predominantly male African environment. Hyam's observation from some of early pioneers' diaries, autobiographies and biographies suggests that African women featured prominently in some of their lives.² During this period of early African-European encounter, African women oscillated between prostitution and concubinage. Lugard pointed out that some British nationals in Central and East Africa viewed Africa as a "field for romance."³ These black-white unions were as a result of British officers not being allowed to marry while young, and those with wives, passages to the colonies were not paid for.⁴

The general social conditions in Africa were often not conducive for single white men. Some European men were also sent to remote and isolated places void of fellow European confidants. They also lacked amusement and intellectual stimulus. As a result, most of them experienced "spasms of loneliness."⁵ It was in such situations that men needed women and therefore approached African women for sex. Evenings for some early pioneers brought with it a feeling of nostalgia and the desire for a woman's company.⁶

² Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 25-49.

³ F.D Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Nyasaland and East Africa*, volume 1, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893), ix.

⁴ L.H Gann and Peter Duignan, *The Rulers of British Africa 1870-1914*, 240.

⁵ Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 89.

⁶ Kathleen Stevens Rukavina, *Jungle Pathfinder-The Biography of Chirupula Stephenson*, (London: Hutchinson and Company Ltd, 1952), 49.

This practice was not only unique to Zambia. It was practiced almost in all British colonies elsewhere. As soon as single men arrived in a territory, those who had gone there earlier would advise them to find a means of having a 'sexual outlet'. It was believed to have been good for health as "it perked up the blasted nights."⁷ It was also believed that European men who did not consort with women tended to have mental problems. Some even resorted to excessive drinking, while others suffered from *delirium tremens*, a disturbed state of mind which made them not to think properly there by leading some of them to even commit suicide.⁸ Since there were very few unmarried European women in the territory, African women were used as sexual substitutes. In colonial India and Zimbabwe, prostitution was even defended as being a lesser evil than 'going native'.⁹

European men used all sorts of means including coercion and persuasion. They acquired the sexual services of women in the same way they acquired land and labour.¹⁰ Whilst African men provided labour power, African women provided 'sexual power'. A colonial division of labour inevitably emerged between African women and men. African men were coerced into wage labour for European economic gain, whilst African women were coerced into offering sexual services for the European's own sanity in an alien environment. Amongst the early Europeans to enter the Western Province of Zambia, was George Copp Westbeeck, a hunter and

⁷ Rukavina, *Jungle Pathfinder: The Biography of Chirupula Stephenson*, 51.

⁸ Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, 90. Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, 90.

⁹ Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, 108. Going native was a term used for European men who married African women.

¹⁰ Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1985*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1989), 96.

trader. Westbeeche had several affairs with Lozi women along the Zambezi valley resulting in his wife leaving him in 1877.¹¹ Harrison Clark, popularly known as ‘Changa Changa’, who signed a treaty with a chief on the Mozambique border region and lived most of his life around Mkushi-Serenje area, in the early 1890s had sexual affairs with African women. He would pick any girl he wanted, used her for his own pleasure and then abandoned her when tired of her. In 1942, a half-caste girl believed to have been his daughter lived at a village near Mkushi.¹²

After 1900 a number of colonial administrators such as L.J McNamara, R.L Harrison and R.A Osborne got into trouble for consorting with African women. McNamara, the Native Commissioner for Gwembe District was dismissed in April 1910 for engaging in sexual relations with Tonga women because colonial office did not allow its officials to have sexual relations with African women.¹³ Company administrators such as R.L Harrison and R.A Osborne were known for sending their African male servants, and even chiefs and headmen to procure African women for them. While on tour of duty, some of the administrators sought out women for sex using coercive means.¹⁴ Gouldsbury observed that some European colonial officials used their intimate relations with African women as, “opportunities for probing

¹¹ Hansen, *Distant Companions*, 89.

¹² W.V. Brelsford, “Harrison Clark: King of Northern Rhodesia”, *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 1, 5 (1962), 106.

¹³ Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, 173. In 1908, due to fears of miscegenation and possible political subversion by mixed-race children, Colonial Office issued the ‘Crewe Circular’ which barred its employees from having sexual contact with African women.

¹⁴ Hansen, *Distant Companions*, 97.

deeper into native character”, including sexual ones and also to learn the local language.¹⁵

Other European men used the sexual services of women as a coping strategy. Murray-Hudges, narrating life in Kafue-Namwala in 1912, gives us a glimpse of how the sexual services offered by African women were perceived. He observed that at Kafue-Namwala, European men both young and old looked “stalwart and healthy” because “there were no psychomatic, depression, melancholia, suicide or queer cases amongst the European men” because of the sexual services offered by African women.¹⁶

That some European men used the sexual services of African women merely to remain “sane” was evidenced by the fact that as soon as European women were made available, some European men would stop consorting with African women. As soon as European women appeared, African women would be abandoned and their children put under the care of some sympathetic missionaries. Mable Shaw whose mission station often received some of the abandoned children, constantly complained about colonial officials in the Luapula Province impregnating local girls and requesting her to keep their children when born.¹⁷ This practice was confirmed by Rendell, a member of the Legislative Council, during a Legislative Council Debate in 1957 when he alleged that many years ago, a European Scotsman had

¹⁵ Cullen Gouldsbury, *An African Year*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), 7.

¹⁶ R.Murray-Hudges, “Kafue-Namwala in 1912 Part II”, *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 1, 5 (1962), 106.

¹⁷ MSS, Afr. S. 1505, Mable Shaw Papers III. Rhodes House, Oxford.

appealed to him to ask the mission to take care of the two children that he had borne with his African 'wife'. Rendell eventually took the responsibility of being their trustee.¹⁸

However, it was not only European men who needed the sexual services of African women to 'remain sane'. African male carriers in the employ of European travellers, prospectors and hunters, after weeks and even months of being away from their homes also found comfort in the sexual services of women they met where ever they pitched camp at a village. Between 1885 and 1886 when Holub passed through the area inhabited by the Ila in present day Namwala District in Southern Province, his carriers sought the sexual services of Ila women.¹⁹ Holub was almost abandoned by his men for failing to give them *sistiba* (cloth) with which to purchase not only beer but also to entice Ila women for sexual favours.

'Angels Policy': Sex work and Labour Stabilisation

With the imposition of colonial rule in 1890, African male labourers also used the sexual services of women in order to cope with compound life as migrant labourers. Life in the mining compounds would have been unbearable without the presence of sex workers because these men had left their wives in villages. Sex workers were used to relieve tensions caused by pressure of work under deplorable conditions and separation from home. The sexual encounters became pathological, or a 'release'

¹⁸ NAZ/SEC1/1771. Extract from Hansard, 27th March, 1957, Column 679-684. Speaker Mr. Rendell, Column 681.

¹⁹ Christa Jones (tr), *Emil Holub's Travels North of the Zambez1885-6*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), 81-82.

activity from horrors that came as a result of migrancy and also the harsh conditions at the mines.²⁰

In the 1920s most corporate companies in Africa embarked on a campaign to improve the conditions of service of its workers. Such companies believed that if Africans were better fed, housed, cared for and were allowed to come to their urban working places with their wives and children, they would become more efficient workers than if such attributes were restricted. However, the policy was not necessarily concerned with African working conditions as such. Its focus was to facilitate the companies' profit motive. Jones, a colonial official, who chaired a commission that sought to enquire into the Administration and Finance of Native Locations in Urban areas, called it the "Angel's policy forwarded by the devils arguments."²¹ Jones called it such because the policy involved relaxing regulations that barred women from entering mine compounds so that they could offer a variety of services to men including sex for pay. The policy contributed to the rise in unattached women in urban areas, especially in the mining compounds. Some of these women became sex workers.

Since the policy directed that employed African men in urban areas could come with their families, the authorities at Kabwe lead and zinc mine and on the Copperbelt began building married quarters for its workers in the late 1920's. A number of

²⁰ R.R Wilcox, "Management of Gonorrhoea in the European and the Africa", *The Central African Journal of Medicine*, 2, 8 (1956), 295.

²¹ N.S.C Jones, "Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Administration and Finance of Native Locations in Urban Areas", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 3 (1974), 82.

reasons were advanced to justify the change in the policy including the need to reduce increasing difficulty in controlling desertions and to ensure a stable labour force against competing demands from neighbouring territories of Congo, now Democratic Republic of Congo, Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe and South Africa that offered comparatively better wages and other conditions of service.²² In 1933, Keith, District Commissioner at Ndola, reported that Lamba women took advantage of their closeness to the mines, and that surrounding Lamba villagers harboured women who offered the miners sex for pay.²³ In 1937, Spearpoint, the Mine Manager at Roan, noted a difference in performance between African workers who had their families and those who did not have.²⁴ His observation was that those with women and children with them looked contented and worked enthusiastically despite wages being low. He suggested that the presence of women, married or unmarried would help captivate a satisfied work force.²⁵

The tendency of African miners visiting surrounding Lamba villages in search of beer and women seems to have increased in the late 1930s as evidence suggests that some mining companies complained of frequent absenteeism and desertions.²⁶ The concerned mining companies therefore, suggested that if women could be readily available in the compounds, cases of absenteeism and desertions would be reduced.

²² Northern Rhodesia Government: Report upon Native Affairs for the Year 1928, (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1929), 15.

²³ KSN3/1/5. Annual Report on Native Affairs, Ndola District. Kasempa and Luangwa Province by I.L Keith, District Commissioner, 1933.

²⁴ C.F Spearpoint, "The African Native and the Rhodesian Copper Mines", Supplement to the, *Journal of Royal African Society*, 36 (July 1937), 54.

²⁵ Spearpoint, "The African Native and the Rhodesian Copper Mines", 54.

²⁶ SEC2/1102. Ndola Tour Report Number 4 of 1938 by D.C Goodfellow, 26th October to 5th November, 1938

In 1938, the Provincial Commissioner for Western Province, now Copperbelt, recommended that the presence of sex workers be tolerated at Mine Compounds in order to create a sexual outlet for unmarried African men.²⁷ The Commissioner observed that an absence of such an outlet, would lead to an increase of ‘Black Peril’ cases, a situation where African men would sexually assault European women. As a result some mine officials were reluctant to expel single women from mine compounds. The Provincial Commissioner wrote:

Referring to unattached women, we assume you mean women who have not made any alliance, temporary or permanent with a native man. We feel that you agree that there are definite advantages in temporary alliances.²⁸

The Compound Manager for the Roan Antelope Mine in Luanshya even refused to expel unmarried women from the mining compound because they were of benefit to the well being of the black miners.²⁹ The Compound Manager for Mufulira mine was also reluctant to carry out repatriation of women as he envisaged that the exercise would upset the unmarried men.³⁰ .

The other argument was that should sex workers be repatriated, relationships between unmarried African men and married African women would increase.³¹

During deliberations of the Provincial Commissioners conference held in March

²⁷ NAZ/SEC2/167. From Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, Ndola to the Honourable the Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 26th November, 1938.

²⁸ NAZ/SEC2/167. From Provincial Commissioner, Western Province Ndola, to the Honourable, the Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 21st March, 1939.

²⁹ NAZ/SEC2/167. Letter from Provincial Commissioner Ndola, to Chief Secretary, Lusaka, March 21, 1939.

³⁰ NAZ/SEC2/167 .Letter from Provincial Commissioner Ndola, to Chief Secretary, Lusaka, March 21, 1939.

³¹ NAZ/SEC2/167. Minutes of Provincial Commissioners’ Conference 1939 Session Held at Lusaka, from 8th to 19th March, 1939.

1939, Senior Commissioner for the Copperbelt, reported that some European men encouraged the presence of sex workers on the mines because they believed that if unmarried women were repatriated, it would result in unmarried African men seeking the sexual services of European women.³² He instead recommended that only those who consorted with European men were to be repatriated. There was also stress on the fear of 'Black Peril' cases as one reason why sex workers were to be tolerated. Therefore, some European miners used the sexual services of sex workers as a means of protecting their wives and unmarried European women from African male sexual advances.

In 1939, the Manager at Mufulira Mine attempted to emphasise the importance of women as Labour Stabilisation Strategy. In order to prove that miners were more content when women offered various services including sex, he invented a new *Logo* for the *Mufulira Compound Magazine* which among other things portrayed a picture of a woman pounding with children squatting around her. When asked about the new *Logo*, the manager replied: "The woman and children stand for happiness".³³ By 1944, compound managers on the Copperbelt still refused to drive out unaccompanied women from mine compounds. Compound managers were reported as having had a meeting with the Chamber of Mines on the Copperbelt though it was highly doubtful if the meeting would endorse barring of women without Marriage

³² Northern Rhodesia: Minutes of Provincial Commissioners' Conference 1939 Session Held at Lusaka, from 8th to 19th March, 1939,(Lusaka: Government Printer,1940), 3, paragraph 5.

³³ ZCCM. 16.1.8B. *Mufulira Compound Magazine*, Number 5, August 1939, 2.

Certificates and passes from entering Mine Compounds.³⁴ The Provincial Commissioner on the Copperbelt argued:

I know more Compound Managers consider that a floating population of loose women makes contentment and diminishes the risk of interference with married women.³⁵

Because of the possible benefits to be derived from the presence of single women on Mine Compounds, by 1945, some Europeans on the Copperbelt even went to the extent of hiding African women in their homes when ever African authorities embarked on a search to rid mine compounds of single black women.³⁶ The problem was further compounded by the fact that District Commissioners in mine towns did not authorise *Kapasus* to enter European homes. As a result even government authorities gave an indifferent support to the repatriation of single women programme. By 1945 most Compound Managers provided accommodation to any woman, married or unmarried who chose to join any man so as to stabilise the labour force.³⁷

This *laissez-faire* approach to the presence of women in mining compounds led to confrontations between the government and the mining officials. Whilst the government sympathised with complaints from African chiefs about unmarried women indulging in prostitution, the mining authorities were concerned with

³⁴ NAZ/SEC1/1350. From Provincial Commissioners Office, Western Province, Ndola, to the honourable Chief Secretary, 23rd May, 1944.

³⁵ From Provincial Commissioners Office, Western Province, Ndola, to the honourable Chief Secretary, 23rd May, 1944.

³⁶ Extract from Regional Council, Western Province, Chairman's Report of Meeting held at Wusakile Welfare Centre, Kitwe, 1st to 2nd May 1945.

³⁷ SEC1/1320. Extract From Memorandum by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society on the Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the 1940 Disturbances in the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia.

increasing profit margins. It was against this background that the mining companies encouraged the influx of women in the mine compounds as they considered the sexual and domestic services provided by women to be of importance. This also occurred in Zimbabwe where during weekends, truck loads of women were screened for Sexually Transmitted Infections at the entrance of the compound, and those who were certified infection free were allowed to enter the mine compound in order to offer sex to the labourers.³⁸

Western Influences and Prostitution.

In Africa some women joined sex work for profit and, Zambia, then Northern Rhodesia, was no exception. The extent to which women gained profit out of prostitution in Zambia cannot be easily quantified especially that accounts by women who engaged in the trade are not available, more so because even by the late 1950's reports on sex work could not be easily proved. In 1957, Gaunt, a member of the Legislative Council, noted some difficulties in proving cases of 'prostitution', soliciting or procuring sex in Lusaka.³⁹ Schuster's anthropological study carried out in Lusaka about ten years after independence revealed that in Zambia most sex workers had not yet considered the trade as a money making venture because some of them were too shy to demand payment after the act.⁴⁰ Eleven years after

³⁸ Charles van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933*, (London: Pluto Publishers Ltd, 1970), 181.

³⁹ NAZ/SE5/114. Extract from Hansard, 27th March, 1957. Columns 679-684. Speaker Mr. Gaunt, column, 681.

⁴⁰ Ilsa, Marion Glazer Schuster, "Lusaka's Young Women: Adaptation to Change", (University of Sussex, England, Thesis presented for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Anthropology, July, 1976), 220-254. Schuster's study revealed that between 1971 and 1974, some Zambian sex workers earned little or no money at all because they did not have the courage to demand for payment after the act, especially when they had been offering sex to the same client over a period of time. She called such

Schuster's findings, in 1985, Kapungwe noted that sex work in Zambia was still not an established business, some twenty one years after independence.⁴¹ This situation could not have been any different from the period under study. As such information given is based on hearsay because if incidents of sex work could not be easily proved, then proving profit accrued from the trade was even more difficult. However, the information, though scant, gives us an idea of the benefits of prostitution.

By the 1920's, women from villages in Mumbwa were reported as having offered sex 'for pay' at Broken Hill, now Kabwe, where mining operations were underway.⁴² A similar practice was reported at the Bwana Mkubwa mine in Ndola where Lamba women from surrounding villages were reported to have offered sex 'for pay' to men at the mine compound.⁴³ Though some historians attributed the growing rate of sex work during the period to impoverishment in rural areas due to labour migration, which led to poor agricultural production, villages in Mumbwa sub-district and Ndola were not badly hit at the time. In some villages, agricultural production was still going on. In Mumbwa, very few men left the villages for longer periods as in other areas in Zambia because the Broken Hill mines were within their vicinity.⁴⁴ The area also experienced good rainfall and high crop yields. The 1936 Ndola

sex workers 'Intimate Prostitutes'. She also argued that Zambian women were much more often accused of acting like prostitutes than they were of actually being prostitutes.

⁴¹ Augustus K. Kapungwe, "Prostitution in Urban and Rural Areas of Zambia: A Comparative Study", Unpublished Seminar Paper, University of Zambia, 1985, ii. His findings revealed that sex work in Zambia "was still in its primitive stage".

⁴² NAZ/BS3/3. From Native Commissioner's Office Mumbwa, to the Magistrate Mumbwa, 4th February, 1924.

⁴³ KTJ2/1. From Magistrates office Broken Hill, to Native Commissioner Ndola' 12th May, 1923.

⁴⁴ Letter from Native Commissioners Office Mumbwa to the Magistrate Mumbwa, February 18, 1923.

Annual report revealed that very few African men from the district were in wage employment because they had other methods of earning money such as farming and gardening.⁴⁵

Yet the two districts had a 'large' number of prostitutes at the time. Lamba women from the surrounding villages of the Bwana Mkubwa mine in Ndola, for instance, continued to be stereotyped as the "loose women of the Copperbelt" throughout the colonial period.⁴⁶ Melland, the Native Commissioner at Mumbwa, pointed out that women during this period were induced into sex work because it was the only means through which they could earn money and acquire calico, blankets, clothes and other luxury items.⁴⁷ Since some of their parents were not wealthy, the easiest way was to accept any suitor who offered to give them what they wanted. Through sex work, Melland observed that, women acquired the luxuries of life which they also gave to their parents and relatives. It became a common practice at the time for women who were prostitutes to come back home with loads of items which they distributed to their relatives and friends.⁴⁸ Parents and relatives accepted the items despite their being acquired through prostitution because in those days, wealth was not easy to come by.

⁴⁵ KSN/3/1/5. Extract from Annual Report on Native Affairs, 1936, Central Province, Ndola District, Chapter IV, Native Labour, 10.

⁴⁶ Siegal, Brian Siegal, "The 'Wild' and 'Lazy' Lamba: Ethnic Stereotypes on the Central African Copperbelt", Leroy Vail, *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, (Oxford: James Carrey, 1989), 362.

⁴⁷ NAZ/BS3/303. Letter from Native Commissioners Office Mumbwa to the Magistrate Mumbwa, February 18, 1923.

⁴⁸ NAZ/BS3/303. Letter from Native Commissioners Office Mumbwa to the Magistrate Mumbwa, February 18, 1923.

At the General Missionary Conference held at Kafue between 9th and 12th June 1925, some missionaries requested the government to enact some law that would help stop the influx of women to industrial centres because they offered sex-for-pay even to European men.⁴⁹ Dr Kennedy Mackenzie, a participant at the conference pointed out:

The native woman has, in her village, many duties to perform. As she comes in contact with civilisation she ceases to perform these duties, and instead of benefiting by our example and tackling her household tasks, she quickly learns how easy it is to embark on a life untroubled by any care other than of choosing her next husband or a new blouse. Those of us who live along the line of rail daily meet the woman who has cut herself adrift from all family ties and lives the easy life of shame for want of that incentive which must if the race is to progress .⁵⁰

In response to such sentiments Tagart, then Acting Secretary for African Affairs gave a paper at which he mentioned some of the reasons why some women became sex workers. He pointed out that women had no respect for marriages because they were no longer forced to get married against their will following the abolishment by the British South Africa Company administrations of certain customs such as those pertaining to betrothal and inheritance. He further stated that:

Women today have no regard for marriage or their husbands, that they are always on the look out for the stranger with money, and that the drift of women to centres of population in search of irregular

⁴⁹ The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia: Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Held at Kafue, 9th to 15th June, 1925, (Lovedale Institute, 1925), 30.

⁵⁰ Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Held at Kafue, 9th to 15th June, 1925, Appendix "XII", "Improving Native Village Life", 95.

unions, money and excitement, is becoming a real and uncontrollable evil.⁵¹

Though such sentiments may not be completely without bias and exaggeration, one may be compelled to conclude that sex workers also looked forward to some luxuries of life created by colonialism as did their male counterparts. It must be pointed out that the British South Africa Company administration had stated right from its inception that it was not interested in employing women.⁵² As such one of the options through which women could acquire exotic items was through sex work.

As a result some parents and guardians encouraged single women and girls to visit towns to obtain money through provision of sexual services. In 1933 at the Native Affairs Conference held at Livingstone, Moffat Thomson, Secretary for Native Affairs, reported that in some parts of the territory there was tension between some Native Authorities and parents and guardians over the repatriation of women.⁵³ The cause of the tension resulted from some parents' and guardians' conviction that if single women and girls were barred from going to the line of rail, money would stop flowing to the villages.⁵⁴

Throughout the 1930s the desire to acquire money, clothes and enjoy town life remained a major inducement for some women to migrate to industrial centres. In

⁵¹ Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Held at Kafue, 9th to 15th June, 1925, Appendix "V", Native Customary Law in Northern Rhodesia, by E.S.B. Targat, Acting Secretary for Native Affairs", 49.

⁵² Lewis Gann, "The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa: 1889-1912", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 16(1954), 41.

⁵³ Northern Rhodesia Government: The Native Affairs Conference held at Victoria Hotel, Thursday, 8th June, 1933, 22.

⁵⁴ The Native Affairs Conference held at Victoria Hotel, Thursday, 8th June, 1933, 22.

1935 Robinson, the Provincial Commissioner for Central Province reported that women who migrated to industrial areas did so for the purpose of obtaining money and clothes in exchange for sexual services.⁵⁵ Russell, the Provincial Commissioner for Eastern Province agreed, with Robinson. For the Province he was in charge of Russel pointed out that:

Women, particularly young women, are eager to savour the delight of life in compounds and every lorry is laden with women travelling to the labour centres where they have more chance of marriage than they find in villages denuded of men folk, but more frequently contact promiscuous alliances which are no more than prostitution. It is all so fatally easy, the suitor less, hardworking maiden of the village is soon the idle, overdressed courtesan living in a comfort hitherto beyond imagining.⁵⁶

From the 1930's right through the 1950's, most companies on the line of rail focused on maximising profits. But the African male labourer, the sex workers' customer, earned very little money. In 1941 a mine worker at the Kabwe mine received an average of thirty shillings per month. But sex workers charged as much as two to three shillings for a night's service.⁵⁷ However it was not at every encounter that they were paid in monetary form. Sometimes they could be paid in kind by buying them beer, bread and even tea in one of the tea rooms in the compounds.⁵⁸ Sometimes sex was offered on credit as at some occasions men would promise to pay later.

⁵⁵ Northern Rhodesia Government: Native Affairs Report for the Year 1935, (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1936), 20.

⁵⁶ Native Affairs Report for the Year 1935, 75.

⁵⁷ Godfrey Wilson, *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalisation in Northern Rhodesia, Part II*, Lusaka: The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, 6 (1968), 66.

⁵⁸ Wilson, "An Essay on the Economics of Detribalisation", 67.

But, there were times when sex workers earned more money than what married women and concubines received from their husbands or lovers.⁵⁹ During the 1950's, sex workers devised various strategies aimed at maximising their earnings. Instead of depending on selling sex alone, they began offering a variety of other services such as washing the unmarried men's clothes, cleaning their rooms, preparing their meals and even accompanying them to beer-halls and were paid for each of these services.⁶⁰ Others earned money through brewing beer and gardening, a popular means of earning money by most African women at the time. Those that were more enterprising used their earnings to start more rewarding businesses such as fish mongering. These new strategies meant that some women oscillated between sex work, marketing and domestic work. By 1953 their sexual services attracted a payment of between two shillings six pence to about five shillings.⁶¹ However, most prostitutes had not yet reached the level of the '*Veddettee*' of Kinshasa, who through the proceeds from sex work, could live a life of material comfort.⁶²

Sex workers who offered sexual services to European men earned more money than their counterparts who opted to service men of their own colour. According to press reports, in Ndola, such women were believed to have earned between one hundred and fifty pounds to three hundred pounds per month by 1961.⁶³ On a 'good night', some sex workers earned as much as ten pounds. From their earnings they could buy expensive clothes which some husbands could not afford to buy for their wives. Well

⁵⁹ Wilson, "An Essay on the Economics of Detribalisation", 67.

⁶⁰ Chauncey, "The Locus of Reproduction", 148.

⁶¹ Chauncey, "The Locus of Reproduction", 148.

⁶² Epstein, *Urbanisation and Kinship*, 312.

⁶³ *African Life*, 10, 20(1961), 12.

connected sex workers with a chain of clients, offered to pay their rentals of as much as seven pounds per month per room.⁶⁴ By 1963, women who operated from a dilapidated building called Hollywood in the centre of Lusaka were reported to have earned as much as ten shillings if the 'buyer' was an African and one pound if the buyer was a European per encounter.⁶⁵ On a good night, some women with European clients even earned as much as five pounds.⁶⁶ It was also reported that men from Katanga, in the present Democratic Republic of Congo made trips to the Copperbelt during weekends in search of sex workers. Women who offered sex to Katangese businessmen and Ministers were reported to have raised up to thirty pounds for every weekend they were visited.⁶⁷

In Ndola, unmarried and unemployed women were even able to rent expensive flats near town at which they managed to pay rentals of not less than seven pounds per month even when they had no other visible means of income.⁶⁸ Sex workers who operated from "High Society", a place in the outskirts of Lusaka, earned so much money through services offered that they could "glide in and out of Lusaka in motorcars."⁶⁹ They also lived a life of relative comfort and luxury. However not all women involved in sex work were paid for every encounter. Some women involved in the trade found it so difficult to obtain money from their clients that they resorted

⁶⁴ *African Life*, 10, 20(1961), 12.

⁶⁵ Mail Reporter, "Black Girls in BIG VICE Racket: In the Heart of the N.R. Capital", *Central African Mail*, Saturday 16th March, 1963, 6.

⁶⁶ "Black Girls in BIG VICE Racket: In the Heart of the N.R. Capital", *Central African Mail*, 6.

⁶⁷ "Black Girls in BIG VICE Racket: In the Heart of the N.R. Capital", *Central African Mail*, 6.

⁶⁸ Mail Reporter, "Flat Girls who are Never Flat Broke in Trouble", *Central African Mail*, Friday, 8th November, 1963, 3.

⁶⁹ David Maango, "Lusaka's Slum Dens: The Menace Goes On", *Central African Mail*, 20th December, 1963, 5.

to confiscating the men's belongings. Jackets, trousers, shirts and shoes were some of the common personal effects confiscated for failure to pay their bills.⁷⁰ Some of the sex workers had to fight to get payment for their sexual service.⁷¹

Renting out residential buildings to sex workers was big business for landlords who made huge profit through the sex workers who rented their premises. Some property owners raised large sums of money from sex workers who rented their premises. In Lusaka's Emmasdale area, not less than ten of the houses were leased out to women who earned their income through sex work.⁷² Some houses had as many as seven rooms. A room with at least four beds each cost between three pounds to nine pounds a month thereby earning a colossal income of between twelve pounds and thirty six pounds a month per room from houses which were not only dilapidated but also had no toilet facilities.⁷³ At "Hollywood", another big dilapidated barrack type house also located in Lusaka, a local businessman of Indian origin charged as much as four pounds per bed space in several rooms leased out in which not less than two girls shared a room.⁷⁴ The tendency by property owners to raise money through letting out their property to sex workers was not limited to Lusaka alone. In Luanshya, Kitwe and Ndola some property owners let out their houses to sex workers from whom they earned money through rentals.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Maango, "Lusaka's Slum Dens: The Menace Goes On", 4.

⁷¹ Maango, "Lusaka's Slum Dens: The Menace Goes On", 4.

⁷² Maango, "Lusaka's Slum Dens: The Menace Goes On", 4.

⁷³ Maango, "Lusaka's Slum Dens: The Menace Goes On" 4.

⁷⁴ Mail Reporter, "It's the Axe for Hollywood", Central African Mail, Friday, 14th February, 1964, 7.

⁷⁵ Mail Reporter, "Vice Girls Rounded Up", Central African Mail, 31st July, 1964, 3.

Conclusion

This chapter has given an account of how unaccompanied European men and African male labourers, the mining authorities, some African families and even sex workers and their families benefited from sex work. It has demonstrated that men were able to cope in times of hardship due to the sexual services offered by women. The Chapter has also analysed how the mining companies on the Copperbelt managed to maintain their labour force and even maximised their profits despite low wages offered to the labourers because unmarried labourers were motivated by the presence of sex workers. It has also attempted to give an account of the possible benefits of sex work to other African families, the sex worker and her family. The chapter has argued that whilst some women were drawn into sex work for profit, not all of them earned enough money to enable them live a life of comfort. Most sex workers, just like their male clients, were also barely surviving.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has attempted to reconstruct the history of prostitution in Zambia. It has revealed the various and changing roles that economic, political and social factors played in the development and spread of prostitution. It has demonstrated that as the socio-economic environment changed, so also did the patterns of prostitution. The study has also examined efforts that were made to stop or eradicate prostitution. These efforts were nearly always associated with the high prevalence of sexually transmitted infections. The study has also revealed that efforts to stop prostitution were also initiated by chiefs, tribal elders and African Representative Council members. The Colonial government most often times merely implemented what the African authorities such as the Urban Advisory Councils, Urban Native Courts, Native Authorities and African Representative Councils suggested.

It has also demonstrated that at times, the colonial government was more sympathetic to the plight of African women than the African authorities. This dissertation has therefore dispelled the earlier accounts that portrayed the Colonial government as formulating laws that denied the rights of unmarried women to be in town without the consent of Africans. However, whenever government made efforts to help the chiefs control prostitution, it were the prostitutes and the unmarried women who were marginalised and not their male clients. The study has also analysed the profits made out of prostitution. It has revealed that the prostitutes' earnings were determined by the socio-economic status of their clients. The overall

conclusion is that even though there were contradictory views towards sex work, its economic and social benefits made the practice difficult to eradicate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Archival Sources.

National Archives of Zambia

- AF3/1/1 Magistrate Court Cases including Civil and Criminal and other Proceedings in Abercorn, 1904-1911.
- AF3/1/4 Civil and Criminal Cases (Rape, Adultery, Assault, Murder, Manslaughter and Game Killings), Legal Proceedings held at Abercorn Magistrate Court, 1907-1910.
- AZ/1/15B Dutch Reformed Mission Teachers in Fort Jameson, September 1915 to 31st December 1915.
- Box 2121/043 Economic Problems of Study of Labour, 1953-1957
- BS3/303 Prostitution and Temporary Unions of Women in Mumbwa Sub-District. February 31, 1923 to February 4, 1924.
- EP4/2/2 Tour Reports 1927-1930
- KDF 4/1 Fort Roseberry Criminal and Civil Cases Volume 2, 1905-1964.
- KDG/8/4/2 Tour Reports, August, 1922.
- KSJ1/4/1 Fort Jameson, 2nd July, 1931-28th September, 1931.
- KSN/3/1/5 Ndola Sub-District Annual Reports, 1933-1937.
- KSO4/1/5/1 Barotseland Miscellaneous, 1890-1964.
- KTJ2/1. G.H Nicholas, Baluba Sub-District, March, 1906, Notes on Natives Inhabiting the Baluba (Chinenga) Sub District-Kafue District,
- KTN 1/1 Abercorn District Notebook, Volume One, 1893-1963.
- RC/448 Prostitution Native Fort Jameson 20th to 22nd August, 1925.
- SEC1/1312 Administration of Native Labour: Investigation of Labour Conditions
In Northern Rhodesia Central Province, 1936 to 1937.
- SEC1/1320 Stabilisation of African Labour, 1941-1946
- SEC 1/1350 Repatriation of Unmarried Women (Native) from Industrial Areas, 1940-1949.
- SEC 1/1770 Report on Public Opinion: Central Province, 1942- 1945.
- SEC 1/1771 Report on Public Opinion: Western Province, 1942-1945.
- SEC2/167 Urban Advisory Council, 1938-1948
- SEC2/1102 Ndola Tour Report, 1932.
- SEC5/114 Cohabitation, 1949-1957
- NAZ/212/043 A Paper written by Dr A.L Epstein and read by Mr. Brook at a Conference
of Social Welfare Workers held in Lusaka, June, 1956.

ZCCM Archives.

- 12/7/9A Stabilisation of African Labour. August, 1946-July, 1958.
13.2.5A. African Employees. Labour Policy. Unauthorised Africans in African Townships.
16/1/4E. Native Labour: General Manager, Mufulira.
16/1/4F. Native Labour: General Correspondence, Mufulira.
16/1/8B Employees and Employment of Africans: African Personnel Compound
 Reports e.t.c. May 1936- December 1948.

Other

MSS Afr S. 1501, Mable Shaw Papers III.

Oral Interviews

Chiwenda, Diana. Interview, John Howard Compound, Lusaka, 24th August, 2010.

Sumbwa, George Nyambe. Interview, University of Zambia, 30th May, 2011

Published Participant Observer Accounts

Anonymous. "An African Sundowners Party", *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 4, 3 (1957), 298-302.

Campbell, D. *Blazing Trails in Bantuland*, (London: Pickering, 1934), 21.

Gouldsbury, Cullen. *An African Year*. London: Edward Arnold, 1912.

Gouldsbury, Cullen and Sheane Hubert. *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia: Being the Impressions of the Tanganyika Plateau*. London: Edward Arnold, 1911.

Jones, Christa (tr). *Emil Holub's Travels North of the Zambezi*. Manchester: Manchester University, 1975.

Mackintosh, C.W. *Lewanika: Paramount Chief of the Barotse and Allied Tribes, 1875-1916*. London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1920.

Mackintosh, C.W. *The Zambezi Trail: A Record of Two Journeys to North Western Rhodesia (1903 and 1920)*. London: Marshal Brothers, 1922.

Mansfield, Charlotte. *Via Rhodesia: A Journey through Southern Africa*, (London: Stanley Paul, 1909), 89-90.

Murray-Hudges, R. "Kafue-Namwala in 1912 Part II", *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 1, 5 (1962), 105-115.

Smith, Edwin and Andrew Dale. *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*. London: Macmillan, 1920.

Spearpoint, C.F. "The African Native and the Rhodesian Copper Mines", Supplement to *Journal of Royal and African Society*", 36, (July 1937), 1-57.

Stephenson, J.E. *Chirupula's Tale: A Bye-Way in African History*, (London: Geoffrey Bless, 1937), 79.

Von Hoffman, *Jungle Gods*. London: Constable and Company, 1929.

Missionary Conferences

The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia: *Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia of Northern Rhodesia Held at Kafue, 9th to 15th June, 1924*. Lovedale Institute, 1925.

The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia: *Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia Held at Livingstone, 18th to 25th July, 1927*. Lovedale Press, 1927.

The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia: *Report of Proceedings of Seventh Conference Held at Ndola, 7th to 13th June, 1935*. Lovedale Press, 1935.

The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia: *Report of Proceedings, 19th to 24th June, 1944*. Lovedale Press, 1944.

The Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia: *Report of the Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference and the Third Meeting of the Council held at Mufulira, 17th to 18th June, 1949*. Lovedale Press, 1949

The Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia: *Report of the Fifth Meeting of the Council held at Kitwe, June, 1963*. Lovedale Press, 1963.

Government Documents.

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: *Annual Report on Public Health of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland for the Year 1955: Presented to the Federal Assembly, 1956*. Salisbury: Government Printer, 1956.

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: *Annual Report on Public Health of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland for the Year 1957: Presented to the Federal Assembly, 1956*. Salisbury: Government Printer, 1958.

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: "Government in the Federation: The Development of Government in the Three Territories in the Period Leading to Federation in 1953". Govt, FRN Coz, 1958/8.

Northern Rhodesia: *Native Affairs Annual Report for the 1935*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1936.

Northern Rhodesia: *Native Affairs Annual Report for the 1936*. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1937.

Northern Rhodesia. *African Affairs Annual Report for the year 1947*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1948.

Northern Rhodesia. *African Affairs Annual Report for the year 1952*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1953.

Northern Rhodesia. *African Affairs Annual Report for the year 1955*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1956.

Northern Rhodesia. *African Representative Council, November-December 1945*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1945.

Northern Rhodesia. *African Representative Council, November-December 1946*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1946.

Northern Rhodesia. *African Representative Council, November-December 1947*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1947.

Northern Rhodesia. *African Representative Council, November-December 1948*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1948.

Northern Rhodesia: *Department of Local Government and Housing Annual Report for the Year 1949*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1950.

Northern Rhodesia. *Health Department Annual Report for the Year 1946: With Figures and Comments Covering the Year 1940-1946 Inclusive*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1949.

Northern Rhodesia: *Labour and Mines Department Annual Report for the Year 1950*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1951.

Northern Rhodesia: *Labour and Mines Department Annual Report for the Year 1952*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1953.

Northern Rhodesia: *Labour and Mines Department Annual Report for the Year 1953*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1954.

Northern Rhodesia. *Legislative Council Debates, 28th November to 20th December 1945*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1946.

Northern Rhodesia: *Minutes of Provincial Commissioners Conference 1939 Session Held at Lusaka, 8th to 10th March, 1939*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1939.

Northern Rhodesia: *Minutes of the Provincial Commissioners' Conference, Held at Lusaka from 17th to 21st September, 1940*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1940.

Northern Rhodesia: *Minutes of the Provincial Commissioners' Conference held at Lusaka from 13th to 18th October, 1941*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1941.

Northern Rhodesia: *Minutes of the Provincial Commissioners' Conference held at Lusaka from 17th to 21st November, 1942*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1942.

Northern Rhodesia: *Minutes of the Conference of Provincial Commissioners and Heads of Social Service Department, 1944, Held at Lusaka from 24th to 28th October, 1944*, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1944).

Northern Rhodesia: *Minutes of the Administrative Conference of Provincial Commissioners and Heads of Social Service Department, 26th to 28th September, 1945*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1945.

Northern Rhodesia: *Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare: Local Government Division Annual Report for the Year 1962*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1962.

Northern Rhodesia: *Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare: Annual Report of the Commissioner for Local Government for the Year 1960*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1961.

Northern Rhodesia: *Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the Year 1948*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1949.

Northern Rhodesia: *Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the Year 1954*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1955.

Northern Rhodesia: *Northern Rhodesia Police Annual Report for the Year 1960*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1961.

Northern Rhodesia. *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia for 1930*. London: Waterloo and Sons, 1931.

Northern Rhodesia: *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia Volume 1: Containing the Ordinances*. London: Waterloo and Sons, 1931.

Northern Rhodesia. *The Laws of Northern Rhodesia for 1934*. London: William Clows and Sons, 1935.

Northern Rhodesia. *Ordinances of Northern Rhodesia for Year Ended 31st December 1933*. Livingstone: Government Printer, 1934.

Northern Rhodesia. *Prison Service Annual Report, 1950*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1951.

Northern Rhodesia: *Prison Service Annual Report for the Year 1951*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1952.

Northern Rhodesia: *Prison Service Annual Report for the Year 1952*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1953.

The Northern Rhodesia: *Proceedings of the Third Session of the African Representative Council, July 1948*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1948.

Northern Rhodesia. *Report on the Government Unemployment Committee 1932*. Livingstone: Government Printer, 1933.

Royal Institute of International Affairs: "Summary of Press News and Comments from Central Africa and South Africa and Kenya, September, 1955", unpublished, 1955.

Royal Institute of International Affairs: "Summary of Press News and Comments from Central Africa and South Africa and Kenya, September, 1956", unpublished, 1956.

Royal Institute of International Affairs: Race Relations Department, "Summary of Press News and Comments from Central and South Africa and Kenya, 1957", unpublished, 1957.

News Papers

African Life. (April A, 1959).

African Life. (March B, 1960).

African Life (31 March, 1961).

Central African Mail, Saturday, 16th March, 1963.

Central African Mail, Friday, 27th April, 1963.

Central African Mail, Saturday, 24th August, 1963.

Central African Mail, Friday, 20th December, 1963.

Central African Mail, Friday, 14th February, 1964.

Central African Mail, Friday, 13th March, 1964.

Central African Mail, Friday, 10th May, 1964.

Central African Mail, 28th May, 1964.

Central African Mail, 31st May, 1964.

Central African Mail, Friday July 3, 1964.

Central African Mail, Friday, 10th July, 1964.

Central African Mail, Friday, July 17th, 1964.

Central African Mail, Friday, 31st July, 1964.

Central African Mail, Friday, 14th August, 1964.

Central African Mail, Friday, 18th September, 1964.

Central African Mail, Friday 9th October, 1964.

Central African Post, Thursday, 18th May, 1950.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Articles

Ambler, Charles. "Alcohol Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31 (1990), 295-313.

Bindman Jo with Doezema Jo. "Redefining Prostitution as Sex Work on the International Agenda. <http://www.wainet.org/csis/papers/redefining.html> .

Bettison, David, G. "Numerical Data on African Dwellers in Lusaka Northern Rhodesia", *Rhodes-Livingstone Communication*, 16 (1959), 1-118.

Brelsford, W.V. "Harrison Clark: King of Northern Rhodesia. " *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 4, 2 (1954), 13-31.

Chauncey, George. Jr. "The Locus of Reproduction: Women in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1927-1953." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 7, 2 (1981), 135-164.

Coulter, Charles W. "The Sociological Problem", J. Merle Davis(ed), *Modern Industry and the African: An Enquiry into the Effects of the Copper Mines of Central Africa Upon Native Society and the Work of the Christian Missions*. London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd, 1969, 31-127.

Cowan William, "A Review of Venereal Diseases in Africa", *The Central African Journal of Medicine*, 8, 5 (1962), 202-206.

Doezema, Jo. "Loose Women or Lost Women? Re-emergence of the Myth of White Slavery in Contemporary Discourses of Trafficking in Women." *Gender Issues*, 18, 1(2000), 23-50.

Dotson, Floyed and Lillian Dotson, "Indians and Coloureds in Rhodesia and Nyasaland", In Pierre L. Van Den Berghie (ed), *Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965, 267-282.

Gann, Lewis. "The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa: 1889-1912", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 16(1954) 27-51.

Gluckman, Max. "How the Bemba Make their Living: An appreciation of Richards' Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia." *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 3 (1974), 55-75.

Hansen, Karen Tranberg. "Negotiating Sex and Gender in Urban Zambia." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10, 2(1984), 219-238.

Hobson, Dick. "Recollections of Captain John Brown", *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 6, 3 (1958), 514-519.

Hyam, Ronald. "Concubinage and the Colonial Service: The Crewe Circular (1909)." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 24, 3(1986), 170-186.

Jeater, Diana. "The British Empire and African Women in the Twentieth Century." Morgan, Philip D and Hawkins Sean (eds), *Black Experience and the Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 257-285.

Jones, N.C.S. "Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Administration and Finance of Native Locations in Urban Areas", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 3 (1974), 82-85.

Malungo, J.R.S. "Emerging Patterns of Prostitution and Sexual Networking in Zambia: The Risk of Contracting HIV/AIDS and the Demographic and Socio-economic Implications." *African Social Research*, 51(2005), 41-66.

- Mitchell, Clyde J. "The Kalela Dance: Aspects of Social Relations among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers*, 27(1958), 1-52.
- Parpart, Jane L. "The Household and the Mineshaft: Gender and Class Struggle in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1926-1964", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13, 1 (1986), 35-56
- Parsons, Timothy H. "African Participation in the British Empire", in Morgan, Philip D and Hawkins Sean (eds). *Black Experience and the Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 257-285.
- Pattanaik, Bandana. "Where do We Go from Here?" in Thorbek, Susanne and Pattanaik, Bandana (eds). *Transnational Prostitution: Changing Patterns in a Global Context*. London: Zed Press Ltd, 2002, 217-230.
- Perrings, Charles. "Consciousness, Conflict and Proletarianisation: An Assessment of the 1935 Mine Workers Strike in the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 4, 1 (1977), 31-51.
- Philpot, R. "The Mulobezi-Mongu Labour Route", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 3(1974), 50-54.
- Ranger, Terrence, "Making Northern Rhodesia Imperial: Variations on a Royal Theme, 1924-1938", *African Affairs*, 79, 316(1980), 349-373.
- Siegal, Brian, "The 'Wild' and 'Lazy' Lamba: Ethnic Stereotypes on the Central African Copperbelt", In Leroy Vail, *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*. Oxford: James Carrey, 1989, 350-366.
- Spanger, Marlene. "Black Prostitutes in Denmark". Thorbek Susanne and Pattnaik Bandana (eds). *Transnational Prostitution: Changing Patterns*. London: Zed Books, 2002, 121-136.
- Stooke, Beresford G. "Planning Native Development in Northern Rhodesia", *African Studies*, 2, 3(1943), 148-152.
- Thorbek, Susanne K. "Prostitution in a Global Context: Changing Patterns." Thorbek, Susanne and Pattanaik, Bandana(ed). *Transactional Prostitution: Changing Patterns in a Global Context*. London: Zed Press Ltd, 2002, 1-9.
- Van Heyningen, Elizabeth B. "The Social Evil in the Cape Colony 1868-1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 10, 2(1984), 170-197.
- Vansina, J. "Long Distance Trade-Routes in Central Africa." *Journal of African History*, 3, 3 (1962), 11-25.

Wilcox, R.R. "Management of Syphilis in the European and the African", *The Central African Journal of Medicine*, 2, 8 (1956), 295-297.

Wilcox, R.R. "Management of Gonorrhoea in the European and African", *The Central African Journal of Medicine*, 1, 5 (1955), 250-254.

Wilcox, R.R. "Venereal Syphilis and Other Venereal Infections in Non-Venereal Treponetomased Areas in Africa", *The Central African Journal of Medicine*, 4, 10 (1958), 432-443.

Wilson, Godfrey, "An Essay on the Economics of Detribalisation in Northern Rhodesia Part II", *The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers*, 6(1941), 9-82.

Wright, Marcia. "Tambalika: Perspectives on a Colonial Magistrate in Central Africa", *African Affairs*, 85, 338 (1986), 13-22.

Zyambo, L.H. "Workers Responses to Conditions on the Settler Farms of Eastern Province, 1898-1964", Kanduza Ackson M. (ed). *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to 1980's*. Lusaka: The Historical Association of Zambia, 1992, 78-96.

Books

Acton, William. *Prostitution Considered in its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects in London and other Garrison Towns*. London: Frank Cass and Company, 1972.

Benjamin, Harry and Masters R.E.L. *Prostitution and Morality: A Definitive Report on the Prostitute in Contemporary Society and an analysis of the Suppression of Prostitution*. London: Souvenir Press, 1965.

Berger, Elena L. *Labour, Race and Colonial Rule: The Copperbelt from 1924 to Independence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.

Colson, Elizabeth. *Marriage and Family Among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967.

Cutrufelli, Diana Rosa. *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*. London: Zed Press, 1983.

Epstein, A.L. *Urbanisation and the Kinship Domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia 1950-1956*. London: Academic Press, 1981.

Gann, L.H and Duignan, Peter, *The Rulers of British Africa 1870-1914*. California: Stanford University Press, 1978.

- Gelfand, Michael. *Northern Rhodesia in the Days of the Charter: A Medical and Social Study*. London: Basil and Blackwell, 1961.
- Gelfand, Michael. *Livingstone The Doctor: His Life and Travels*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957.
- Hansen, Karen Tranberg. *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia 1900-1985*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Hyam, Ronald. *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.
- Heisler, Helmuth. *Urbanisation and the Government of Migration: The Interrelation of Urban and Rural Life in Zambia*. London: C.Hurst and Company, 1974.
- Lewis, Roy and Yvonne Foy. *The British in Africa*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).
- Licht, Hans. *Sexual Life of Ancient Greece*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953.
- Little, Kenneth. *African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution*. London: Longman, 1984.
- Lugard, F.D. *The Rise of Our East African Empire Volume 1: Nyasaland and East Africa*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893).
- Lugard, F.D. *The Dual Mandate in Africa*. London: Frank Cass, 1965.
- McCormick, Naomi B. *Sexual Salvation: Affirming Women Sexual Rights and Pleasures*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1994.
- Mpashi, Stephen A. *Betty Kaunda: A Biography*. Lusaka: Longmans Zambia Ltd, 1969.
- Perrings, Charles, *Black Mine Workers in Central Africa: Industrial Strategies and the Evolution of An African Proletariat in the Copperbelt*. London: Heinmann Educational Books, 1979.
- Powdermaker, Hortense. *Copper Town: The Changing Africa, The Human Situation of the Rhodesian Copperbelt*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962.
- Rukavina, S. Kathleen. *Jungle Pathfinder: The Biography of Chirupula Stephenson*. London: Hutchinson and Company Ltd, 1952.

Sampson, Richard. *The Man with a Toothbrush in His Hat: The Story and Times of George Copp Westbeech in Central Africa*. Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1972.

Sanger, William. *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes and Effects throughout the World*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1972.

Tapson, Winifred. *Old Timer*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1957.

Taylor, V. John and Dorothea Lehman. *The Christians of the Copperbelt: The Growth of the Church in Northern Rhodesia*. London: SCM Press Ltd, 1968.

Van Onselen, Charles. *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933*. London: Pluto Publishers, 1970.

Walkowitz, Judith R. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

White, Luise. *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990).

Wright, Marcia. *Strategies of Women and Slaves: Life Stories from East/Central Africa*. New York: Lillian Barber Press, 1993.

Winifred Tapson, *Old Timer*, (Cape Town, Howard Timmins, 1957),

Theses, Dissertations and Seminar Papers.

Kamwengo, M.M. "The Missionary Activities in Barotse Land (The Present Western Province of Zambia) from 1840 to 1930", Unpublished Seminar Paper, University of Zambia, 1973.

Kapungwe, Augustus. "Prostitution in Urban and Rural Areas of Zambia: A Comparative Study", Unpublished Seminar Paper, University of Zambia, 1985.

Mtisi, Joseph "The Economic Impact of Colonial Rule on Eastern Zambia, 1900-1953: The Experiences of Chipata and Petauke Districts", PhD Dissertation, University of Ibadan, 1979.

Sakala, Foster. "The Role of Women in Labour Stabilisation at Mufulira Mine, 1930-1964", M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2001.

Schuster, Ilsa Marion Glazer, "Lusaka's Young Women: Adaptation to Change." PhD Dissertation, University of Sussex, England, 1976.