1986

Sexuality and power on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1926-1964

SEXUALITY AND POWER ON THE ZAMBIAN COPPERBELT, 1926-1964

By Jane L. Parpart

African Studies Center

1986

Working Papers in
African Studies
No. 120

African Studies Center
Boston University
270 Bay State Road
Boston, MA 02215

SEXUALITY AND POWER ON THE ZAMBIAN COPPERBELT, 1926-1964

By Jane Parpart

During the precolonial period, the people of Zambia regulated sexual relations through various customs and laws. Whether in matrilineal or patrilineal societies, these customs were primarily designed to ensure male elders' control over women's productive and reproductive labor. Initially, the colonial intrusion damaged this system by providing opportunities for men and women to escape from rural elders. Many women grabbed the chance for independence, and moved to the urban areas where they survived by engaging in a range of economic activities. Playing on their relative scarcity in rural areas, women soon learned to bargain with male partners; changing partners became an accepted way to improve one's living standards.

Both African and colonial officials soon reacted in horror to the new liberated urban African woman. An African-British patriarchal coalition set about creating state and ideological structures to bring these women under control. To do this, they created urban African courts and new "customary" laws which redefined sexuality in terms of patriarchal power (Chanock, 1985; Ault, 1983; Wright 1982).

The question at issue in this paper is women's response to these pressures. Were they able to resist patriarchal domination, and if so how? Did their subjugation change over time? These questions are important not only because we need to know more about the assertion of patriarchal domination, but equally because we need to know more about the ways in which women resisted that domination and carved out areas in which they could shape their own history, albeit rarely in conditions of their own choosing.

Marriage and Divorce in Precolonial Zambia

Whether matrilineal or patrilineal, precolonial Zambian societies were dominated by male elders, who maintained this dominance largely through control over marriage and inheritance. Matrilineal groups, which predominate in Zambia, inherit property through the female line. Bridewealth payments were low, as they gave the husband no rights over children. Bridegrooms provided labor rather than cash, particularly among the labor-starved Bemba.[1] Full rights as a husband, including the right to move one's family, were only won through several years of service, gift-giving and ritual acts. Wives and husbands had certain obligations to each other, but the husband never gained control over his wife's or children's property. Power and property passed from uncle to nephew rather than from father to son. Not surprisingly, relations between husbands and brothers-in-law were often tense, especially when powerful fathers tried to gain their sons' and nephews' loyalty (Richards, 1939: 103, 124-127). In other matrilineal groups, such as the Tonga, the sexes were more equal, and women had more

[1]The Bemba are the largest matrilineal group in Zambia and are based in the North East.

control over their children's labor. The crucial tie within the homestead was between husband and wife, but tension between fathers and uncles persisted (Colson, 1958: 61, 137).

In all matrilineal societies, marital stability was threatened by the conflict of interest between fathers and their wives' and childrens' matrikin. Various rules attempted to contain marital discord. Adultery was severely punished, especially if the injured husband was important. Adultery during a wife's pregnancy was believed to lead to stillbirths and death. Among the Bemba, ritual ceremonies discouraged men's adultery. And although polygamy was accepted, a monopoly on important rituals protected the first wife from younger rivals. But, despite these pressures, some divorce occurred in the precolonial period (Richards, 1940: 34; Colson, 1958: 164-168, 176).

In Zambian patrilineal societies, a large brideprice (*lobola*) in cattle usually cemented a fathers' rights to his children. Power and property passed from father to son and patriarchal power reigned supreme. Among the Ngoni, the largest patrilineal group in Zambia, the brideprice purchased exclusive sexual rights to the wife and rights to all her children. The Ngoni expected virgin brides, and obedient and faithful wives. Adultery was severely punished, usually with death, unless a chief pardoned a first offender or the injured husband could be placated with some cattle (Mitchell, 1957: 3-4; Barnes, 1951: 2-6).

Divorce was rare and could only be secured by a man; a woman had no grounds for divorce. A man could divorce his wife by sending her back to her kinfolk and giving her a small present as an indication that he had divorced her. If the wife were in the wrong, her parents could be forced to return the brideprice. Needless to say, considerable familial pressure kept most women in line (Barnes, 1951: 4, 119).

Among the Lozi and some Ngoni in Zambia, descent is traced through either the father's or the mother's lineage. The bilateral descent system emphasizes sponsorial (sexual) rights rather than parental lineage. As a result, adulterers could claim their children. Early travellers reported widespread seduction, adultery and abduction of wives. One man reported that "should a man take a liking to someone else's wife, he will have an interview with her and bring her home." Marital stability depended on the quality of the marital relationship, which seems to have varied a great deal (Gluckman, 1950: 181-182).

Early Colonial Period: A Reduction in Patriarchal Control

When the British first arrived in Central Africa, they were horrified by the conditions of life for African women. Colonial officials and missionaries indignantly set about stopping repugnant traditions such as inheritance of widows and forced marriages. Women were given jural status, and the right to pursue litigation with the Boma (government).

African women quickly adapted to these new opportunities, and a flood of litigation swamped colonial and chiefly officials. In the Chewa/Ngoni area of Eastern Zambia, the recognition of women's jural rights drastically altered traditional divorce law; for the first time women could divorce unsatisfactory husbands. And they did - in the early 1900s, district officials were swamped with women seeking divorces (Chanock, 1985: 173). Gouldsbury and Sheane reported

similar behavior among the Bemba, where divorce became even easier to obtain, and divorced daughters were welcomed back with open arms (1911: 158, 168). In other parts of Zambia, the story was the same. Nyakyusa elders, for example, agreed that divorce rates had steadily increased since the beginning of the colonial period (Wilson, 1977: 190-192).

This pattern continued into the middle of the colonial period. By the 1940s, Ngoni divorce rates were almost as high as those among the matrilineal Lamba and Bemba peoples (Barnes, 1950: 50-51). In the 1930s, the anthropologist Audrey Richards discovered that Bemba women frequently pleaded their own case before the Boma, and were "certainly able to break a marriage contract with much greater ease than women in patrilineal Bantu societies" (1956: 49). Among the Lozi, marriage patterns grew even more unstable. In 1918-1920 the paramount bowed to the inevitable, and agreed to let adultery, divorce and abduction cases come before his court. They soon dominated the court agenda (Gluckman, 1950: 181).

But the greatest changes for women came as a result of the penetration of the colonial capitalist economy. Colonial policy pushed men into migrant labor, leaving women stranded in the rural areas with an increasingly onerous work load. The cities began to look more attractive as rural conditions deteriorated. Moreover, while women had little chance for wage employment in town, other opportunities to earn money existed. Beer-brewing, gardening, selling food and services (including sexual services), and above all, partnerships with men, offered women the means to survive in town (Chauncey, 1981: 159). And in Zambia, after 1926 the copper mining companies[2] made matters easier by encouraging mineworkers to bring their families to the mines (Parpart, 1986a).

Despite opposition from rural chiefs, women soon took up these opportunities. While statistics on female migration in Zambia are inadequate, we do know that by 1931, about 30 percent (or 5,292) of the 15,876 black mine employees lived with their wives on the Copperbelt, and women lived in the nearby government townships as well. By the 1940s, about 15,000 women lived on the mines (Parpart, 1986a: 142-143; Perrings, 1979: 252). In 1955, the Copperbelt mine townships had a population of 44,682 men, 29,146 women, and 71,801 children, while the municipal townships had 32,443 men, 15,575 women, and 24,111 children (Passmore, 1956). By 1961, about 80 percent of the black miners had wives at the mines (Parpart, 1986a: 143). Sex ratios continued to even out, and in 1969, 205,117 men and 166,394 women lived in the urban Copperbelt area (Zambia, 1969 Census).

Once in the towns, as we have seen, women found ways of earning income, but most still needed some extra support. This usually came from men. The potential problems of such dependence - vulnerability to cruel or niggardly mates - was lightened by favorable sex ratios. Men outnumbered women two to

---

[2]Two mining companies dominated the Copperbelt: Anglo American (AA) and Rhodesian Selection Trust (RST). The two major RST mines were Roan Antelope Copper Mine (RACM) and Mufulira Copper Mine (MCM). The two major AA mines were Rhokana Copper Mine (Nkana) and Nchange Consolidated Copper Mine (NCCM). They are located in the towns of Luanshya, Mufulira, Kitwe and Chingola, respectively. Ndola is the commercial center of the Copperbelt.

one in 1939;[3] by 1954 the ratio was still 169 men to every 100 women (Mitchell, 1961: 8). "Pick-up" marriages became the norm on the Copperbelt and in other towns along the line of rail. In nearby Broken Hill,[4] Godfrey Wilson discovered that "The younger married women all have alternative mates readily available, and this abnormal fact reduces the disadvantages of divorce for them, though not for their husbands. Little domestic disputes and incompatibilities, therefore . . . now lead many women to leave their husbands" (Wilson, 1940: II, 65). Similar behavior predominated on the Copperbelt (Ault, 1983: 182-187; Chanock, 1985: 206-208). As the secretary for native affairs wrote in 1936, "The mine marriage has become notorious and natives have told me here on the railway line that marriage according to native law and custom does not exist . . . . [One] money making method is to contract a mine marriage and to get as much out of a husband as soon as possible for about two months. The woman then marches out of the hut and marries someone else" (Epstein, 1953a: 59).

Copperbelt women continued to pursue marital cases in court as well. In 1936, one district commissioner admitted he dealt with so many mine marriages that he tended to consider all matrimonial disputes with suspicion (Chanock 1985: 206). Thus by the middle of the colonial period, women were making stronger claims on marriage and they were asserting these rights by breaking off unsatisfactory marriages either informally or through the courts.

The Reassertion of Patriarchal Power

The growing autonomy of women in both rural and urban areas began to disturb both African and colonial authorities. In 1915, a colonial administrator admitted that they had made a mistake by loosening the ties of matrimony. "We have freely granted divorces in favour of frivolous girls, and permitted them to run from one man to another" (Dundas, 1921: 263-266). African chiefs had equally damning things to say about independent women (Chanock, 1985: 192).

In reaction, colonial and rural African authorities cast about for means to reassert patriarchal power over women. They recognized the connection between the control over sexual behavior and the authority of the controllers of society, and perceived women's new-found freedom as a threat to chiefly authority, and consequently a threat to the system of indirect rule. Colonial and rural African authorities saw the field of marriage, adultery, and divorce as a crucial arena where defeated African authorities could reassert their power and defend themselves against change. To that end, Native Authorities were set up in 1929. They were given judicial powers and charged with the responsibility of establishing law and order in the rural areas. To achieve this goal, the native authorities set about creating a new customary law that expanded chiefly powers and brought "frivolous" women under control through the regulation of "traditional" marriage, divorce, child custody and inheritance laws (Chanock, 1985: Ch. 8).

---

[3]Zambia National Archives (ZA) SEC/NAT/66G: Labour Department Annual Report, Chingola Station, 1939.

[4]A city just south of the Copperbelt on the line of rail (the railroad south to Zimbabwe), now known as Kabwe.

To increase control over women, the native courts began to insist on registered marriages, some form of brideprice payment, and the treatment of adultery as a civil offense with severe financial penalties. Registration involved the consent of parents or guardians and the native authorities; a woman's consent became less important. Thus marriage certificates reinforced the role of the family and enlarged the powers of the chief. Matrilineal leaders worried that matrikin would lose out, but the chance to increase control over errant women overcame most of their reservations. Chiefs realized that marriage certificates could be used to control women's movements to town. Besides, women in town without certificates could be harassed and even repatriated to the rural areas. The native authorities also favored registration because it would reduce intertribal marriage and reassert chiefly control over land and women - an important message to all-too-independent young migrant laborers (Chanock, 1985: Ch. 10).

Even native authorities without a tradition of large bridewealth payments began to encourage larger payments to "secure" marriages.[5] Larger payments reduced a woman's ability to leave a marriage, as her family would have to repay the brideprice at divorce. This trend reflected a concern by tribal elders with controlling wives and children, and a desire to keep young migrants tied to them through the need to acquire large payments. But it also reflected migrants' preference for cash rather than labor payments to in-laws, and a growing desire to keep wealth within the nuclear family. Men wanted both to pass on their accumulated wealth to their children and to gain rights to their children's future earnings (Chanock, 1985: 178-181; Mitchell, 1957: 27).

The native authorities also sought to control women by attacking adultery, particularly when it involved abduction. As we have seen, during the early colonial period changing partners had become the norm on the Copperbelt. African and colonial leaders disliked this behavior, seeing it as a symptom of moral decline and female indiscipline. In order to contain it, traditional leaders created a new customary law based on a largely fanciful reinterpretation of tradition African law. Adultery and abduction were declared criminal offenses, and large compensation payments (3 pounds to 7 pounds) were awarded to injured husbands. Women had to pay a smaller fine as well. Repeat offenders were discouraged by reduced fines in order to discourage making a business out of adultery, while proper registration was encouraged by refusing to award compensation to husbands in unregistered marriages (Chanock, 1985: Ch. 11; Epstein, 1981: 315-318).

Abductors were dealt with particularly harshly, as they were punished for the much more heinous crime of destroying a marriage. They often had to pay compensation of 7 pounds or more, and received severe reprimands from court authorities (Epstein court records).[6]

In the mid-1930s, these regulations were largely ineffective in town where women preferred the flexibility of informal liasons. The mining companies'

---

[5]This payment (called *mpango* by the Bemba) gave men sexual rights to their partner. *Chisungu,* or the virginity payment, was not repaid at divorce.

[6]A.L. Epstein's court records (designated EP) span the period 1950-1955. This paper would not have been possible without Professor Epstein's kind permission to look at this material.

disinterest in strict registration procedures for married workers did not help. As the Mufulira district officer regretfully reported in 1945, the compound managers merely wanted a statement that a couple are "probably in a genuine marriage and deserve housing." As long as one wife at a time lived in married housing, management was content.[7]

In contrast, colonial administrators, missionaries, and both rural and urban African leaders became increasingly alarmed about the loose marital arrangements in town. They warned of a rising tide of urban immorality, crime, and social disorder - prophesies that seemed all too true when the Copperbelt-wide 1935 strike brought rioting and death. Both African and colonial authorities blamed some of these problems on independent, immoral women and agreed these women must be stopped. To accomplish this and to strengthen the influence of native authorities in town, the colonial government established Urban African Courts in the major urban centers between 1936 and 1939. The native authorities appointed urban court members (assessors) and charged them with enforcing the new law developing in the countryside. As in the rural areas, commitment to improving marital stability and controlling wayward women was high on the agenda (Epstein, 1953).

Some tension existed between the urban and rural courts over jurisdiction, but both groups believed in using the courts to stabilize urban marriages. Initially registration of marriages and divorces had to come through the native authorities, but urban couples protested and by the late 1940s, urban courts were marrying and divorcing urban-based couples. In 1949, five Copperbelt urban courts dealt with 1,148 divorce cases - 33.62 percent of the year's civil cases (Epstein . 1953a: 52). These figures underestimate divorce activity because marriages contracted in the rural areas were usually sent home for divorce. Urban court members gradually evolved an urban version of customary law. However, they never wavered from the concerns of their rural counterparts when it came to enforcing control over women. The urban courts insisted on parental permission for marriage, proper marital registration, and high brideprice payments. They discouraged intertribal marriage, only reluctantly granted divorces, and handed out heavy fines to adulterers and abductors (Epstein, 1958: Ch. 3). Despite repeated failures, the courts also doggedly continued trying to send unmarried women home to the rural areas.[8]

As marriage certificates became more necessary in town, and men realized they could control wives and benefit from women's sexual "misbehavior" better in properly registered marriages, the urban courts gained increased power over people's private lives. More people entered registered marriages, resulting in more litigation. Indeed, by 1949 70 percent of urban court cases involved matrimonial issues of one kind or another (Epstein, 1953a: 8 ff.).

Tribal elders on the Copperbelt also adjudicated less serious cases. Established in all the townships by 1940, the elders offered a more informal means of mediating problems along customary lines. The elders were urban residents, but usually older and of high status, often well connected to rural

---

[7]EP: D.C. Mufulira, Mr. Chicken, "Marriage Registration," February 1945.

[8]EP: Minutes of the second urban court members' conference at Lusaka, 13-16 April 1953.

leaders. They were elected by their urban tribesmen, but had moral rather than judicial power. They attracted people wanting advice rather than punishment. Severe cases were referred to the urban court. The elders resented the court's judicial authority, which inevitably undermined their own. This was made worse by the new African Mine Workers' Union, which voted the elders out of the mine townships in 1953, leaving elders only in the government townships. Nevertheless, these elders continued to provide an informal court for urban Africans, and much of their time was spent adjudicating marital squabbles. They too saw themselves as guardians of marital stability on the Copperbelt (Epstein, 1959: 48-60).

As a result of these efforts, marriages seem to have become more stable. As early as 1943, labor department researcher Lynn Saffery discovered a fair degree of stability among African marriages (1943: 41). In the early 1950s, the Rhodes-Livingstone researchers reported fairly equal degrees of stability between urban and rural African marriages. In 1952, Clyde Mitchell evaluated 430 marriages at Nkana mine township. Of these, divorce had dissolved 22.1 percent of the marriages contracted in the rural areas and 25.6 percent of the urban marriages. He contrasted these divorce rates with those in the rural areas (the Yao, 41.3 percent; the Ngoni, 36.9 percent, and the Lamba, 41.8 percent), and concluded that urban marriages were not noticeably less stable than their rural counterparts (Mitchell, 1957: 10). While admitting in a later article that urban first marriages ended in divorce more than rural first marriages (47.1 percent would survive 20 years as opposed to 68.9 percent of rural marriages), Mitchell never denied his earlier conclusion that urbanization had not significantly altered Zambia's divorce rate (Mitchell, 1963: 260-261). And this, he maintained, is largely due to the urban courts which "by explicitly stating, in their judgments, the norms they consider appropriate and by punishing deviance from these norms, are gradually bringing about a type of marriage which is independent of particular tribal custom and consonant with town living" (Mitchell, 1957: 29).

Urban Women Fight Back

The clampdown on sexual freedom, along with restrictions on beer-brewing and prostitution, limited women's opportunities to survive on the Copperbelt without a man. The literature has focused on the closure of economic opportunities for urban women, particularly restrictions on changing partners. As James Ault concluded, Zambian women may have breathed the free air of the city in the 1930s, but that was no longer true by the 1950s (Ault, 1983: 192). Marriage had been "traditionalized" in the urban centers and most women had been brought reluctantly into line.

While fundamentally correct, this line of argument presents women as passive pawns in patriarchal struggles. Men seem to win an easy victory, with women readily accepting limitations on their freedom so fully enjoyed in the 1920s and 1930s. This seems too easy a transition. Indeed, the urban court records of the 1950s suggest another scenario, one where women could and did assert some power in a changing environment.

As patriarchal forces increasingly constricted women in the urban areas, women fought back in a number of ways. Some sought to avoid male control by

remaining economically independent. A few women had "respectable" jobs such as nurses, teachers, and welfare assistants, but wage work for women was rare. Unlike West Africa, women did not dominate the marketplace (Brelsford, 1947). Most independent women made a living from brewing and prostitution, but the disreputable and illegal nature of these livelihoods made them an easy target for the courts (Epstein, 1981: 116, 309-310; Chauncey, 1981). Court members assumed independent women were harlots or worse, and felt no compunction about fining them. Indeed some Copperbelt court members admitted that "the courts do from time to time impose fines on unattached women visibly existing without means of support."[9] Women who lived alone on the Copperbelt received little sympathy in the courts. In a typical example, court members disapprovingly told a woman litigant that "you can not be a good woman, otherwise you could not have lived on the Copperbelt for nine years without getting married."[10] Whenever possible, the courts repatriated such women in an effort to bring them under the control of rural (i.e. male) authorities.

Women did not accept this treatment without protest. Repatriated women reappeared in town in such numbers that urban court members abandoned the policy in 1953.[11] But women increasingly recognized the importance of male partners in town, for both economic support and legal protection. By 1954, only eight percent of Copperbelt women lived alone - two percent were divorcees or widows, five percent had never married, and one percent lived apart from their husbands. Ninety-two percent lived with a man, in either legal or informal arrangements. This was still relatively easy to do, as sex ratios favored women (Mitchell, 1957: 8).

But pushing urban women into liaisons did not necessarily control them. Informal relationships were difficult to monitor, and many women preferred them for that reason. The urban courts refused to consider most marital disputes between unregistered couples. As a result, women in informal marriages could leave unsatisfactory partners without facing a hostile urban court. Unregistered husbands could neither stop a woman from leaving nor sue her lover for compensation. Women in intertribal marriages in particular preferred unregistered marriages in order to avoid court battles over the inevitable disputes about residence and child custody.[12]

While inadequate data impede quantification, unregistered marriages apparently have continued to flourish, especially among the poorer Africans. In 1943 colonial officials reported widespread resistance to registration among "the bulk of natives living near the centres of employment . . . the main objection to registration comes from the least responsible elements . . . and is based on the fear that once a marriage certificate is taken out, the marriage will be more binding than they wish. The women are particularly inclined to hold this view."[13]

---

[9] EP: Meeting of Copperbelt urban court members, 5 April 1950.

[10] EP: Case 5, Lupashi vs. Nyachinyama, Ndola, 1950.

[11] EP: Second urban court members' conference, 13-16 April 1953.

[12] EP: Discussions with court assessors, 1950.

[13] Z A/Sec 2/406, vol. 3, 1943 (cited in Chanock, 1985: 208).

Registration increased after 1944, but informal liaisons continued to flourish. In 1954, women on the Copperbelt were concerned enough to make marriage registration one of their two major targets in a demonstration against the colonial regime.[14] And as late as 1964, mine managers admitted that many employees simply changed wives without informing company officials.[15]

Women also evaded male control by avoiding brideprice payments. A high brideprice was supposed to make wives less "proud and cheeky" (Mitchell, 1957: 25). As in the case of marriage registration, the courts were reluctant to protect husbands who had not paid a brideprice. Consequently, some women preferred looser arrangements. As one woman told the urban courts, once her people returned the brideprice to her exhusband, "she stayed on with him, saying that since the bride price had been paid she could easily leave him if she wanted."[16]

Even in registered marriages, the families of women from matrilineal groups generally preferred smaller brideprice payments. Mitchell discovered that among 172 couples with matrilineal brides, 43 percent paid the lowest price, while only 18 percent paid the highest. In contrast, no couples with brides from patrilineal societies were in the lowest group, while 60 percent paid the highest fee (Mitchell, 1957: 23). These lower payments ensured rights to a wife's body and labor, but not to her progeny. It is probably safe to assume that larger payments to matrilineal kin were paid by prosperous husbands wishing to ensure control over their children.

But some wives and their families refused to accept brideprice payments at all. This seems to have been most common in marriages between matrilineal women and patrilineal men, with their inevitable disputes over child custody. Although the urban courts usually awarded custody based on the traditions of the mother, a high brideprice could be used to argue for a father's right to custody. In one case, a Bemba woman fought her husband in four courts before winning custody.[17] In another, a prominent Ngoni man wrested custody of his sons from his Bemba ex-wife by convincing the courts that he could better ensure their future.[18] Such cases concerned reluctant in-laws, and some matrilineal parents refused the brideprice rather than lose control over the grandchildren. In one case a man complained that his in-laws refused the proffered payment. They told him, "Don't worry us. You're just a temporary husband. We want somebody from home." Later they convinced their daughter to obtain a divorce.[19]

However, as pressures for properly registered marriages and greater marital stability increased in the 1940s and 1950s, more urban couples needed and acquired legitimate marriage certificates. As a result, the common solution to an

---

[14]Commissioner of Police, Annual Report, 1954 (Lusaka, 1954).

[15]Roan Antelope (RA) file 7: Town officer to acting personnel manager, 24 January 1964.

[16]EP: Case 6, Maliria vs. John Konde, Ndola, 1950.

[17]EP: Mfula vs. Simfukwe, Ndola, 1950.

[18]EP: Dane Phiri vs. Belita, Chingola Urban Native Court, 1 February 1951.

[19]EP: Discussion with court assessors, Ndola, 6/10/50.

unsatisfactory relationship, namely changing partners, became more difficult, especially for women. Husbands in properly registered marriages could sue a wife's lover for large compensation payments, making it difficult to change partners without first getting divorced. Husbands could block divorces as well, because the courts disliked awarding divorces, particularly if the husband wanted the marriage to continue. In one case, for example, a wife demanded a divorce because her husband "troubled her, and told her to leave the house.... All he was after was the household property." But the husband opposed a divorce. The court members ignored the wife, listened sympathetically to the husband's testimony, and decided that "The best thing is that we should attempt to instruct your husband how he should look after his wife." While temporarily taken aback by the wife's vehement rejection of their decision, the court reaffirmed its decision after hearing unsympathetic testimony from her grandfather and learning that this was her third marriage.[20]

But litigation was a two-edged sword, and women soon learned to use the courts and other forums to their advantage. They learned the value of protest, and the need to frame arguments in certain ways. Since men were permitted sexual access to more than one woman, women could not sue men for adultery or polygamy. But colonial and African authorities asserted certain moral values that supplied women with grounds for litigation. According to these authorities, "proper marriages" were stable; a good wife bore children, prepared food, cleaned house, and remained sexually faithful to her husband. But in return, husbands were supposed to be generous, kind and responsible. Women played on this value system by complaining to the authorities about neglect, assault and disease, rather than male philandering and polygamy. While the latter often lay behind formal accusations, women quickly learned to argue cases on grounds they could win.

As the urban courts gained prestige and authority, they became increasingly important for the solution to serious, and even not so serious disputes. But a number of intermediate fora existed to solve conflicts on the Copperbelt as well. In the municipal townships, elected tribal representatives provided both registered and unregistered couples with important alternatives for quarrels that could not be solved at home. The elders invoked chiefly authority through traditional law and their decisions carried considerable moral force. Although unable to inflict punishments, the elders expected their decisions to be binding. Repeat offenders were sharply rebuked. The elders had a high success rate in matrimonial cases. In 1963, the Mikomfwa[21] elders reported at least temporary reconciliations for 67 percent of their 131 matrimonial cases. Only 33 percent were referred to urban court. Rivalries with urban courts probably kept the number of referrals down, as the elders liked to think of themselves as the more authentic fount of knowledge about traditional law (Harries-Jones, 1964: 33-34, 64-65).

Disgruntled couples took matrimonial disputes to government welfare officers as well, but the reconciliation rate was dramatically different. In 1963, for example, the Luanshya government welfare officer saw 91 cases, yet referred 69

---

[20]EP: Case 32, Ndola, 1950.

[21]Mikomfwa is a government township in Luanshya.

percent of them to the urban courts. The welfare officers' close association with the urban court gave people the impression that a visit to the welfare officer was just a time-consuming impediment on the way to court (Harries-Jones, 1964: 64-65).

The elder system in the mine compounds performed much the same function as it did in the government townships until it was abolished in 1953. Corporate social welfare officers tried to fill the breach. Compound managers had long acted as an informal appeals court to handle minor domestic quarrels, but after 1953, the companies' growing commitment to stabilized African labor forced management to upgrade corporate social welfare facilities. Mine management invested heavily in trained case workers who spent considerable time dealing with workers' domestic disputes. In 1959, Roan set up a Citizen's Advice Bureau run by company case workers. Like the elders, the CAB was an advisory body, although it could invoke sanctions from management. It dealt primarily with marital problems, usually brought to them by women between 21 and 27 years, in the first year of their marriages to largely unskilled older men. In six months (1960-1961), 83.8 percent of the 538 cases were initiated by women. They accused their husbands of neglect, desertion and assault, often in connection with beer drinking and womanizing. About 18 percent of the cases involved polygamous unions - unusually high considering only 2.4 percent of the mine population lived in polygamous household. While serious cases were referred to urban courts, temporary reconciliation rates were high (about 49 percent), moving to 86 percent when the Bureau moved out of a building identified with the Roan sub-court (Harries-Jones, 1964: 35, 44-46, 64-65).

Women in the Urban Courts

Neither tribal elders nor social case workers had the authority to enforce discipline or punish offenders, however, so Africans increasingly preferred taking serious quarrels to the urban courts. And it was in the courts that women expressed their most determined and creative opposition to patriarchal domination.

Women seem to have initiated more of the marital cases brought before urban courts, while men primarily sued their wives for adultery. Out of 85 adultery cases in Ndola and Broken Hill urban courts in 1950, only one was brought by a woman. In contrast, 75 percent of the marital cases (42 out of 56) were initiated by the wife. Three were joint. In Mufulira, there were 45 divorce cases in three months during 1951: 25 brought by women and 20 by men (EP: court records 1950-1951). Similar patterns surfaced in the rural courts as well. In 1963, Ndola rural native authority dealt with 219 cases; 88 percent were brought by women, charging their husbands with neglect (38 percent), assault (26 percent), and desertion (10 percent). Husbands accused wives on two counts: adultery and disobedience, and these took up only 6.8 and 5.4 percent of the cases respectively (Harries-Jones, 1964: 48). This preponderance of female plaintiffs suggests greater discontent among women, though men seeking divorce with insufficient cause were treated harshly by the courts which may have encouraged men to push their wives into court (*Ibid.*, 45).

Women quickly learned to avoid complaining in court about adultery or polygamy. Occasionally a wife took her husband to court for adultery, but usually

to no avail. One wife demanded a divorce because her husband "likes adultery as if it is the work he does." While the court sternly upbraided the husband for his behavior, they refused the divorce.[22] Complaints about polygamy received similar reactions, although the urban court members discouraged polygamy in the urban areas for all but the very rich.[23]

In order to win a case against one's husband, women soon learned to couch their complaints in terms of neglect, assaults, desertion and disease - all punishable behavior as far as the courts were concerned. Neglect was the most common grounds for divorce, and women discovered the advantage of presenting themselves as good, faithful wives, victimized by neglectful husbands. In a typical case, the wife alleged that "her husband was always troubling and worrying her. They had been before the court earlier when the women had been involved in an adultery case. But thereafter the husband had not cared for her, nor provided her with clothes, and food." She accused him of being a drunkard. "When he gets his pay he can't sleep in the house, and he does not regard me as his wife."[24] Women frequently complained of being "chased from the house" as well - a common occurrence on the Copperbelt, where housing was tied to jobs. As one woman told a sympathetic court, her husband had told her "not to come to the house any more, he did not want her, and if she came he would kill her."[25] When neglect and abuse could be proven, urban courts were more apt to grant a divorce. And even when they refused, a district officer could overturn the decision if convinced of the woman's case.[26]

A husband's desertion could be grounds for divorce as well, though this reason featured more prominently in the rural courts which dealt with abandoned migrant laborers' wives. In the urban areas, accusations of desertion were usually coupled with neglect. For example, a woman was awarded a divorce because "while she had been ill for seven months her husband had not come to her, and she had had to stay with her father." Furthermore, she insisted that her husband had never given her enough food during their two-year marriage.[27]

Women could also divorce a man for impotence. Wives were not expected to suffer with impotent husbands. And while the court preferred such cases to be solved within the family if possible, they usually granted a divorce.[28]

While polygamy was never grounds for divorce, an unusually high percentage of cases came from polygamous households.[29] Polygamy exacerbated

---

[22]EP: Case 22, Ngumbo vs. Ngumbo, Mufulira.

[23]EP: Case 5, Lupashi vs. Nyachinyama, Ndola, 1950.

[24]EP: Case 37, Ndola, 1950.

[25]EP: Case 1, (Urban Native (African) Court) UNC/2.

[26]This happened in case 37.

[27]EP: Case 17, Ndola, 1950.

[28]EP: UNC/2, domestic relations, 4/3/54.

[29]While polygamous households were rare on the Copperbelt (Epstein found one such household in his Ndola sample), divorce cases often blamed multiple wives for problems (Epstein, 1981: 36, 345-346). 5.7 percent of the Broken Hill marriages were polygamous in 1940 (Wilson, 1940: 64).

conflicts within the family, many of which wound up in court. One wife, for example, burned her husband's trousers and all his certificates when she discovered his new wife.[30] Another won a divorce because her husband refused to sleep with her while the other wife was pregnant.[31] Wealthy men were not immune from such cases as well. One court assessor's wife brought him to court, claiming that "Although they had been married long, and she had borne him five children, she was given only her old clothes to wear while he gave his younger wives money so that they could go round in new ones. She demanded a divorce." She eventually won her case.[32] And in general, urban court members listened to these cases with a more sympathetic ear because, while recognizing polygamy's legality for the most part, they disapproved of it in the urban areas.[33]

Divorce cases often indirectly indicted unfaithful or inattentive husbands. In a typical case, a wife claimed neglect, but it was more emotional than physical. The husband spent his free time with a girlfriend, and ignored his pregnant wife. He refused to mend his ways, and exasperated urban court members agreed to award a divorce after the birth of the child.[34]

But presenting winnable grounds was not enough. Women discovered other means of winning divorce cases as well. Probably the most effective was strong support from parents or guardians. This impressed court members, particularly if the support came from an older male, and if the marriage was intertribal or of short duration. For example, in an appeals case a husband vehemently denied his wife's accusations of frequent beatings, and demanded that the marriage continue. He argued that "Of course I am bound to beat my wife if she does not behave well, but this would not mean dissolving of the marriage." But the court members listened to the wife and her parents who insisted on a divorce. The court chastised the husband, telling him that "the parents of the girl agree that you must divorce. We have nothing to do with this. Once your parents-in-law do not want this marriage it is finished. We are bound to agree with them."[35]

Even judgments against aggrieved in-laws were often taken more seriously by the court members, who usually gave the errant son-in-law a good tongue-lashing. In one such case, a son-in-law rejected his father-in-law's attempt to return the brideprice payment and accused him of trying to destroy his daughter's marriage. The court refused the divorce, partly no doubt because other relatives and the wife wanted the marriage to continue. However, the court warned the young man that "he had been guilty of disrespect towards his parents-

---

[30]EP: Case 5, Lupashi vs. Nyachinyama, Ndola, 1950.

[31]EP: Case 37, UNC/3, 4/12/53.

[32]EP: Discussion, Urban African Court, 21/5/54.

[33]Same as note 30, above.

[34]EP: Case 67, Ndola, 1950.

[35]EP: Divorce, appeals court, Robert vs. wife, 16/2/54.

in-law," and that "in future he must learn to give them proper respect and not go about saying bad things against them."[36]

Supportive relatives could help women obtain reasonable property settlements as well. The courts preferred to divide marital property equally, but decisions varied. Supportive relatives could sway the court's decision, especially over brideprice repayments. Angry husbands often demanded excessive repayments for expenses incurred during a marriage. A stern rebuttal from parents or guardians was necessary at that point. In one such case, the husband wanted a repayment of 27 pounds, but only received the 3-2-6 pounds that his in-laws agreed to.[37]

There were other ways to win divorces from reluctant husbands. Some women just kept dragging their husbands before elders and courts until the husbands agreed to a divorce. In one case, the woman was granted a divorce on her third application.[38] Determined wives sometimes returned to the rural areas to get a divorce, no doubt assuming loyal relatives could help win the case.[39]

Women discovered that repeated adulteries could drive reluctant husbands to divorce, and that the courts would encourage such decisions. One woman was upbraided by the court for committing adultery with other men. They were particularly horrified "that she stopped her child to suck from her because she wanted to commit adultery with other men," and advised the reluctant husband to accept a divorce.[40] In another case, the court advised a husband to divorce his philandering wife after she had been brought in for causing a brawl.[41] Women also discovered they could escape arranged marriages by running around with other men. One distraught husband in such a case finally took his wife to court "to know why I am not loved by my wife." He was advised to get a divorce.[42] One woman even turned adultery accusations on their head by successfully suing her husband for divorce on the grounds that he forced her into repeated adulteries for his own profit.[43]

When all else failed, a public scene sometimes worked, especially with prominent husbands. A court assessor's wife sued him for divorce. After initially refusing the case, the court and the assessor relented when "On the next day she [the wife] returned to the court with the children all carrying the household goods so they could be distributed. A large crowd of spectators gathered around the court to hear the proceedings. . . . Yaka [the husband] told his fellows that they would have to hear the case themselves. It did not matter. He was disgraced. Let the matter finish." The wife remained adamant. "Eventually it was agreed

---

[36]EP: Divorce, appeals court, UNC/2, 5/11/53.

[37]EP: Divorce, appeals court, Jaston Kalelemba vs. Bwalya Chalenga, 18/2/54.

[38]EP: Case 37, Ndola, 1950.

[39]EP: Case 50, UNC, 18/3/54.

[40]EP: Case 17, UNC, 4/9/53.

[41]EP: Case 69, Ndola, 1950.

[42]EP Case 78, Ndola, 1950.

[43]EP: Divorce, appeals court, Mufulira, 1948.

that the woman should go home where she would get a certificate of divorce, and the goods were divided between them. No record was entered."[44]

Moreover, some women in registered marriages simply ignored the courts, and declared themselves divorced. For example, a woman in a divorce case against her third husband, explained that her first marriage "had been a 'runner,' then there had been John from whom she had 'divorced herself,' i.e. without coming to court."[45] These informal divorces could lead to trouble if the legitimate husband sued his estranged wife's lover for adultery. The court records are full of such instances, which suggests that while potential adultery cases may have inhibited informal divorces, this still remained a popular option. Indeed, according to the urban court members, certain women, particularly the Nyakusa, "were famous for deserting and going off with other men."[46] Other women, such as the Bemba, were considered hard to handle and prone to desertion.[47]

Thus, women on the Copperbelt discovered many ways to obtain divorces despite patriarchal efforts to thwart them. As we have seen, in the early 1950s only 47 percent of Copperbelt first marriages survived twenty years.[48] Mitchell's 1951 divorce survey concluded that 62 percent of men's marriages and 55 percent of women's marriages in Luanshya were remarriages (1963: 260; 1957: 8). Powdermaker and Epstein believe these figures underestimate the actual divorce rate, particularly if temporary unions are included. Mitchell's study was limited to people registering their marriages in urban courts, something many couples never did. Epstein also discovered that many informants ignored temporary unions when discussing their marital histories (Powdermaker, 1962: 161; Epstein, 1981: 291). And while exact data are hard to come by, the capacity of dissatisfied women to obtain divorces was well known. As one trade union leader admitted, "wives . . . had considerable influence on their husbands, and grew tired of their husbands off all the time to different meetings. They wanted their husbands to stay at home and make them happy. That was why so many of them were always getting divorced."[49]

---

[44]EP: UAC/Court members, position of, on divorce, 21/5/54.

[45]EP: Case 32, Ndola, 1950.

[46]EP: Case 24, UNC/3, 22/9/53.

[47]EP: Discussion with court assessors.

[48]However, ethnicity and inheritance patterns affected divorce rates. Matrilineal peoples had significantly higher divorce rates than patrilineal peoples. For example, Mitchell's Copperbelt survey reveals age standardized divorces rates of 31.44 percent for men and 16.91 percent for women among the Bemba. In contrast, the patrilineal Mambwe experienced rates of 5.3 percent for men and 11.8 percent for women (Mitchell, 1986, personal communication).

[49]EP: TRA/MIN, Discussion with trade union leader, Robinson Puta, 8/2/54.

Marital Disputes

Divorce was not the only solution to marital problems. Women found other, less drastic means to improve their position within marriage. To protect themselves from divorce, many wives squirreled away private savings, often in different houses to avoid detection. One woman reported that "her brother's wife asks her to keep money for her because she does not want him to see it. At this time I am keeping the amount of 17 shillings for her."[50] The sums were usually small, but they provided some security. Women also invested in presents for their relatives to ensure support in the event of a marital breakdown.

Many women took matrimonial disputes to court, not to obtain a divorce, but to change their husbands' behavior. Cases often went to elders or social case workers first, but serious offenses went to the urban courts. Assault was a common grievance. Wives took their partners to court both to win compensation and to teach them a lesson. Plaintiffs with sufficient evidence, and a "good character," usually won. The court members disapproved of male violence against women, though they believed harlots deserved what they got. Convicted husbands were given a lecture on proper behavior and fined. Compensation payments could be high. One man was ordered to pay 1 pound, and after a repeat attack, another 5 pound fine was levied. This reflects the traditional belief that fines should vary with importance of the persons involved and the nature of the crime. The more important the person and more "unnatural" the crime, the higher the fine.[51]

Women also sued husbands for inflicting sexual diseases on them. This of course often involved accusations of infidelity as well. Again, with sufficient evidence, the plaintiff usually won the case. Fines varied with the disease's severity, but they were usually several pounds. In one Ndola case; for example, the court fined the husband 3 pounds, a large sum for an ordinary worker.[52]

Although adultery cases were primarily used by men against women, sometimes women were able to defend themselves or to use adultery for their own ends as well. Wrongly accused adulteresses fought back, and the courts threw many adultery cases out for lack of evidence. Epstein's Copperbelt court records for 1950-1951 reflect this situation: 44 (34.4 percent) of the 128 adultery cases were dismissed.[53] As we have seen, women sometimes repeatedly committed adulteries to gain a divorce. But some wives made money from adultery, both for themselves and their husbands. The "business of adultery was so common, the courts felt the need to take extra precautions against it, such as lowering compensation payments for repeat offenders." But the very need to take such steps proves the prevalence of profit motivated adultery. Obviously this was a

---

[50]EP: KAB/L/887, Ndola Family Budget Surveys, Hut 887, 8/3/56.

[51]EP: Ndola, assault case, Mutale vs. Hasting Mutale; conversations with court members; assaults between women, usually over men, were common as well.

[52]EP: Bilton Tonga vs. George Bunwe, Ndola, 1950.

[53]EP: Court records from Ndola, Broken Hill and Mufulira, 1950-1951.

recognized means for gaining some ready cash.[54] One woman even took her husband to court for refusing to share the money he gained from her adultery.[55] Accused wives also used adultery cases to complain of neglect in hopes that the court would reprimand the husband.[56]

Sometimes wives just took their husbands to the courts or the authorities to complain about their behavior and to get advice on "how to live." In one case a wife sued her husband, claiming he wanted to take another wife. He denied the charge, and the court sent them both home "to live well together."[57] Another woman brought a case to court, claiming that there were troubles in the home, and "I want the Urban court to help us live together." The husband admitted quarreling, but wanted the marriage. The court rejected the case and told them to go home and behave responsibly towards each other.[58]

Even when a woman lost a divorce case, she usually gained some support from the court if she convinced them she was the injured party. The courts generally gave errant husbands a lecture even when denying the case. In one case, for example, a woman in a polygamous union claimed severe neglect and demanded a divorce. The courts refused the divorce, but reprimanded the husband, claiming that "you made a bad mistake when you bought your other wife a house leaving this one along with her children. For that she has suffered a lot .... You must try and buy a house for your wife [the plaintiff]. We don't want you to neglect her, for you married her at home."[59] This type of advice at least gave the wife some leverage to demand better care. If dissatisfied, she could always return to court.

A woman's class position also affected her chances for a favorable response from the courts. Elite women were under more pressure to stay in marriages, often due to high bridewealth payments and a rich husband's desire to keep wealth within the family. We do not know enough about elite marriage and divorce patterns, although several authors believe middle class marriages were more stable. And certainly, committing adultery with a chief's wife or daughter brought severe penalties.[60] However, daughters of the elite could readily gain a divorce if they had family support. Chief's daughters were never exchanged with brideprice and a divorcing husband could claim no return for expenses on

---

[54]Women frequently received private gifts from their lovers as well as possible cuts from compensation fees. EP: Case 3, UNC/3, 14/8/53.

[55]EP: Case 40, UNC/3, 8/1/54.

[56]EP: Case 602, 939, 906, and others, Ndola, 1951. Out of 47 adultery cases, in five cases the wife alleged marital brutality drove her to adultery. EP: Adultery case records, Ndola, 1950.

[57]EP: Case 403, Ndola, 1950.

[58]EP: Case 415, Ndola, 1950.

[59]EP: Case 72, Ndola, 1950.

[60]EP: Matrimonial case 493, Kawiza vs. Lilai Mulamba, Kitwe UNC, 5/10/50; Case 32, UNC/3, 12/11/53.

divorce. The few relevant cases in Epstein's court records suggest that influential parents could sway court opinion in their favor. Of course, this only worked to women's advantage if the family backed the case.[61]

Conclusion

In precolonial Zambia, control over women's productive and reproductive labor by male elders was a key ingredient for maintaining patriarchal authority. While the effectiveness of this control varied from society to society, both matrilineal and patrilineal societies were for the most part dominated by older men who controlled access to land and labor through the regulation of marriage and inheritance.

Colonialism interrupted this system and provided opportunities for escape from senior male domination. Colonial authorities and missionaries reacted in horror to the apparent degradation of African women. In an effort to improve matters, colonial authorities gave women jural rights and the rights to refuse a marriage. New economic opportunities also burst on the scene, particularly in the towns. For the first time, men and women could easily survive outside their natal societies, and thus escape gerontocratic rule.

Women quickly took up these opportunities. Divorce rates soared as women asserted their rights, and Boma officials were swamped with marital disputes brought by irate wives. But the towns beckoned as well. As young men left home for wage labor in the colonial centers, rural work fell more heavily on women's shoulders. To escape deteriorating rural conditions, women ignored chiefly objections and moved to the urban centers in increasing numbers. Once there, they found ways to survive by brewing beer, growing, cooking and selling food, and providing domestic and sexual services. While able to earn some income, most women depended at least partially on male support, a dependence that placed them in a potentially vulnerable position. However, favorable sex ratios provided leverage, which women used to advantage. A stingy partner could readily be exchanged for a more generous one, and the short-lived mine marriage became notorious on the Copperbelt.

This new-found freedom for women soon horrified both African and colonial authorities. Missionaries and colonial administrators stopped worrying about liberating women and started worrying about controlling them. Rural chiefs expressed similar sentiments, lamenting the cost of female migration to rural economies and their authority. Colonial commitment to indirect rule increased sympathy for these complaints as colonial officials looked for ways to buttress rural (naturally male) African authority. Western gender stereotypes fit neatly into African patriarchal aspirations, and a British-African patriarchal coalition soon set about trying to bring independent African women under control.

The colonial state, rural African authorities, and urban African elites used political, economic, and ideological weapons to bring women to heel. They limited women's opportunities for economic autonomy and set about recreating

---

[61]For example, a husband sued a man for adultery because he shone a flashlight on the wife at the end of a welfare center movie. EP: Case 28, UNC/3, 26/9/53.

"customary laws" designed to control women's sexuality. The courts administered these laws, exerting pressure on women to register their marriages, to remain in them, thus guaranteeing a husband's control over his wife's reproductive and productive labor and also his children. Church and state authorities buttressed this with well developed patriarchal ideologies, which emphasized the importance of marital stability and sexual fidelity in marriage (especially for women).

This paper does not deny the emergence of patriarchal power in colonial Zambia, but asserts the need to recognize that the power had to be won each day anew. Women fought back, often successfully. Like workers, they fought to improve the conditions under which they labored. And like class struggles, gender struggles were mediated by political, economic and ideological factors. Poor women fought different battles, for different rewards than women in the middle class. Poor women were more interested in autonomy as they had less to gain from marriage, whereas elite wives had more to gain within marriage, so frequently used medicines, religious guidance, and other means to improve their status within the institution. In contrast women wealthy in their own right had less to gain from marriage and it is interesting that such women in the Luapula region continue to assert matrilineal prerogatives (Poewe, 1978: 356-357, 365). Ethnic and religious identities undoubtedly altered the options and constraints available to women as well. Much more needs to be discovered, but the Copperbelt case leaves no doubt about African women's ability to defend their own interests, even in a hostile environment. The intensity of that struggle is revealed by the general paranoia which characterized male-female relationships on the Copperbelt in the 1950s (Powdermaker, 1962: 166-167; Epstein, 1981: 328). The work of Poewe and Schuster testify to continued antagonisms and cleavages between the sexes in Zambia today (Poewe, 1978: 206; Schuster, 1979, Ch. 8), which only serves to emphasize the need to incorporate gender into any analysis of Zambian or African history.

References

Ault, James. 1983. "Making 'Modern' Marriage 'Traditional': State Power and the Regulation of Marriage in Colonial Zambia," *Theory and Society* 12: 181-210.

Barnes, James. 1951. *Marriage in a Changing Society.* The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 20. London: Oxford University Press.

Brelsford, V. 1947. *Copperbelt Markets.* Lusaka: Government Printer.

Chanock, Martin. 1985. *Law, Custom and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Colson, Elizabeth. 1958. *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Daniel, P. 1979. *Africanisation, Nationalisation and Inequality: Mining Labour and the Copperbelt in Zambian Development.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dundas, C. 1921. "Native Laws of Some Bantu Tribes of East Africa." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 51.

Epstein, A.L. 1951. "Some Aspects of the Conflict of Law and Urban Courts in Northern Rhodesia," *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 12: 28-41.

_____. 1953a. *The Administration of Justice and the Urban African.* Colonial Research Studies, no. 7. London: H.M.S.O.

_____. 1953b. "The Role of African Courts in Urban Communities of the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt," *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 13: 1-18.

_____. 1954. "Divorce Law and the Stability of Marriage among the Lunda of Kazembe," *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 14: 1-20.

_____. 1959. *Politics in an Urban African Community.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

_____. 1981. *Urbanization and Kinship. The Domestic Domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia, 1950-1956.* New York: Academic Press.

Gluckman, Max. 1950. "Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal," in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage,* A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, eds. London: Oxford University Press.

Gouldsbury, C. and Sheane, H. 1911. *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia.* London: Edward Arnold.

Harries-Jones, P. 1964. "Marital Disputes and the Process of Conciliation in a Copperbelt Town," *The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 35: 29-72.

_____. 1975. *Freedom and Labour: Mobilization and Political Control on the Zambian Copperbelt.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Mitchell, Clyde. 1957. "Aspects of African Marriage on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia," *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* xxii: 1-30.

_____. 1961. "African Marriage in a Changing World," in *Marriage and the Family: Report of the Annual Conference of the Northern Rhodesia Council of Social Service.* Lusaka: Government Printer. 1-14.

_____. 1963. "Marriage Stability and Social Structure in Bantu Africa," *International Population Conference Proceedings, New York.* Tome II. London: 255-262.

Parpart, Jane L. 1986a. "Class and Gender on the Copperbelt: Women in Northern Rhodesian Copper Mining Communities, 1926-1964," in *Women and Class in Africa*, Claire Robertson and Iris Berger, eds. New York: Africana.

_____. 1986b. "The Household and the Mineshaft: Gender and Class Struggles on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1966," *Journal of Southern African Studies.*

Passmore, A. 1956. "Report on the Loafer Problem on the Copperbelt," University of Zambia, Institute for African Studies.

Perrings, Charles. 1979. *Black Mineworkers in Central Africa.* New York: Africana.

Poewe, K.O. 1978. "Matriliny in the Throes of Change: Kinship, Descent and Marriage in Luapula, Zambia," *Africa* 48 (3) and (4): 215-218 and 353-367.

Powdermaker, Hortense. 1962. *Copper Town: Changing Africa.* New York: Harper and Row.

Republic of Zambia. (1973). *Census of Population and Housing 1969, Final Report,* Volume I, Total Zambia (Lusaka: Central Statistical Office).

Richards, Audrey. 1939. *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia.* London: Oxford University Press.

_____. 1940. *Bemba Marriage and Present Economic Conditions.* The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 4. Livingstone: The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

_____. 1956. *Chisungu: A Girl's Initiation Ceremony Among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia.* London: Faber and Faber Ltd.

Saffery, Lynn. 1943. *A Report on Some Aspects of African Living Conditions on the Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia.* Lusaka: Government Printer.

Schuster, Ilse. 1979. *New Women of Lusaka.* Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Staudt, Kathleen. 1986. "Feminist Anthropology and the Construction of Gender in Colonial Africa," (mimeo.).

Wilson, Godfrey. 1942. *An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia.* Part II. The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 6. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Wilson, Monica. 1977. *For Men and Elders: Change in the Relations of Generations and of Men and Women among the Nyakusa-Ngonde People 1875-1971.* New York: Africana.

Wright, Marcia. 1982. "Justice, Women, and the Social Order in Abercorn, Northeastern Rhodesia, 1897-1903." In *African Women and the Law: Historical Perspectives*, M.J. Hay and M. Wright, eds., Boston University, Papers on Africa, VII.