

## **A REVIEW OF SOME OF THE POLICIES OF THE STATE AND MINING INDUSTRY TOWARDS WOMEN DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD: THE CASE OF MUFULIRA MINE**

**FOSTER SAKALA**

Nkrumah Teachers' College, Kabwe-Zambia.

### **Introduction**

During the colonial period in Zambia the mining industry contributed greatly to the country's economy hence the establishment and successful operation of the mines was one of the Colonial Government's top priorities. In the first two decades of the twentieth century big mining industries such as Anglo-American and Selection Trust (which later incorporated the Rhodesia Selection Trust in 1928) came in and opened up a number of mines on the Copperbelt region of the country. Consequently, Mufulira Mine (now Mufulira Copper Mine) was incorporated in 1930. Construction work that had begun a few years earlier continued, and this attracted a large African population which included a significant number of women to Mufulira mine's area. Whereas men were needed for their labour, the presence of women was undesirable to Government. The Colonial Government had no desire to create a settlement of indigenous people in the industrial area. They preferred a situation where men went out to work in the industries for short periods and eventually returning to their villages. As the labour of women was not needed, policies were designed to regulate the movement of women to the industrial areas. The fear was that if men went to the industrial areas with women they would stay longer and become urbanized and the Colonial Government did not desire such a development.

The mining companies on the other hand, which needed labour desperately, welcomed and encouraged the presence of women in the compound to help stabilise male mine labour. These different attitudes of the Government and the mines towards women resulted in conflict between them.

The aim of this paper therefore is to discuss the policies passed by the Colonial Government as well as the mining companies and how they affected women. It also discusses the changing attitude towards women when higher degrees of stabilisation were achieved as the mines became less desperate for labourers.

### **The Migration of Women to Mufulira Mine**

The presence of women at Mufulira mine can be traced to the beginning of construction work at the mine. As men left their villages to participate in labour migration, so did women. In fact, areas that recorded high percentages of men who left as migrant labourers also experienced the departure of large numbers of women. For example, in 1957 the Labour Commissioner for the Copperbelt reported that male migration from Northern Province (which Luapula province was a part of at the time) was as high as 60 percent. A large number of these went to Mufulira mine.<sup>1</sup> The departure of young men deprived the women of husbands and suitors.<sup>2</sup> This

explains why the women left their homes to go to urban centres such as Mufulira from the late 1920s.

Although contemporary historians argue that labour migration had a positive impact on rural societies and that women took over the economic roles of men,<sup>3</sup> not all societies made this adaptation, especially in those areas where food production involved a large input from the men such as in the *chitemene* system in Northern Province. While the old men and women continued to scratch a living from the land, many young women followed the young men's example and left for the towns. The District Commissioner of Mumbwa, for example, reported that very large numbers of women absent from the District. He observed only small numbers of unmarried women and girls as most were reported away looking for food and in many cases brought back goods such as blankets, clothes and aluminum pots.<sup>4</sup> The same trend was observed among the Lamba women, who tended to disappear from their villages to the mines if only for short periods. Others came from areas outside the Copperbelt, including outside the territory, with a number of them coming into the Copperbelt from Zimbabwe and the Congo whenever they managed to get past the border control with or without permits from local authorities in their countries to visit their 'brothers'.<sup>5</sup> The mine compound therefore was full of both married and unmarried women.

The women who followed their husbands had the approval of both the Native Authorities and that of the state. The authorities were very hostile towards unmarried women leaving their villages especially if they were unaccompanied. Many of them usually made their way to the mines independently and in defiance of all authority. They were what became known as 'town women' and were stereotyped by chiefs, colonial administrators, missionaries and men in general as immoral, irresponsible and shockingly independent.<sup>6</sup> This was in spite of the fact that a good number of them left their villages in the hope of contracting marriages on the mines which, according to Clyde Mitchell, quite a number of them succeeded in doing.<sup>7</sup>

The movement of women to the mines increased over the years and Mufulira mine experienced an influx of unmarried women because management tolerated them. Despite this tolerance by the mine there was strong opposition from Government and Native Authorities. Moreover, getting there, and indeed any other urban centre, was a Herculean task, as they had to overcome all odds. It required evading both Native Authorities and other Colonial Government barriers. The latter were usually in the form of checkpoints on every major route at which women without proper papers were removed from the vehicles carrying them and turned back. The women showed ingenuity born of determination to escape their villages in response to the growing disparity between conditions at home and those in the towns. They were not averse to offering bribes to bus or lorry drivers to let them down before the checkpoints which they walked round and only got back onto the vehicles when they had gone past the barriers.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, some women evidently forged letters purporting to have received them from men inviting them to join them on the Copperbelt. Using these forged letters, the women obtained permission from their Chiefs. Others forged letters granting them permission to leave<sup>9</sup> and claimed the chief had written them. In this way therefore, women routinely circumvented the barriers placed to prohibit their movement to towns.

The obstacles to hinder women were usually placed at strategic points on the routes. Kasai women from the Congo, for example, encountered the barrier at Mokambo border while those from Northern Province passed the checkpoint at Chembe and at Luangwa bridge for those from the Eastern Regions. The Southern and Western regions did not reveal evidence of women trying to reach the Copperbelt although those from Zimbabwe probably came through the South while evidence shows that women from the western region gravitated to Livingstone.<sup>10</sup> The women's ingenuity, especially among unmarried women, therefore, rendered Government's policy to try and keep them away from the urban centres rather ineffective.

The women who defied all odds to reach towns went for three major reasons. There were wives who went to join their husbands, single women who hoped to contract marriages with the employees, and those who went 'to work'. As there were regulations prohibiting the employment of women in industry, and there was no chance that they would be employed at Mufulira mine or any other industry, it was assumed that they were going specifically to engage in sex work. Karen Hansen observed that the Lamba women who came into the mine compounds from the beginning of the construction of the mines, were depicted as 'champions' among prostitutes. She also noted that Government Officials usually assumed that young women leaving Mumbwa did not go to town to marry but used the word, *kusebenza*, to work, in order to secure a better life by selling their bodies.<sup>11</sup> Hansen, referring to Clement Doke's study of the Lamba and in agreement with Orde Browne's observation about women on the Copperbelt, argued that sex work did not stem from inherent immorality and that the extent to which women did so on a purely commercial basis was limited. What was more common was the co-habitational and house keeping arrangements with men to whom they were not legally married, as a way of ensuring economic support in towns.<sup>12</sup> This observation puts the assumption that women went to urban centres specifically to engage in sex work to question. The assumption further fails to appreciate that the women could have migrated in the hope of obtaining jobs in towns as others did on white-owned farms.

Having arrived in town women faced hostile sexist colonial laws which barred them from being employed in industry while white women preferred male domestic servants. Faced with the need for economic survival, women took the options open to them such as those advanced by Hansen. Besides, these arrangements were very common in the compound at Mufulira mine because management, as discussed earlier, deliberately ignored the presence of single women there because of their effect on labour stabilisation. The experiences of women at Mufulira mine have been documented by historians who have worked on other parts of Africa such as Louise White on Kenya<sup>13</sup> and Charles van Onselen or Teresa Barnes on Zimbabwe.<sup>14</sup>

Women were victims of the colonial policies which prevented them from working in industry and denied them the chance of contracting legal marriages in the urban centres by only recognising marriages contracted by the Native Authorities under customary law. Many women who found men in the mining area ended up contracting temporary marriages which became a common feature on the Copperbelt from the mid thirties.<sup>15</sup> Apart from these marriages, domestic and sex work was another option open to women in response to these discriminating regulations. It was their way of participating in the capitalist system of the migrant labour economy and as it was generally acknowledged, were important factors in stabilising labour. In

this regard women like their male counterparts were workers but their jobs were unwillingly and unwittingly created by colonialism.

The mine authority valued these women very much. This was shown by turning a blind eye to many vices such as the higher incidence of sexually transmitted diseases. This cost the company not only in lost man hours but also in the treatment of the workers who contracted the diseases. Moreover, *bakapenta milomo* were the cause of many fights among the African workers,<sup>16</sup> which not only disturbed the peace in the compound, but also disrupted work at the mine when the fights resulted in serious injuries. However, because the benefits of having women in the compound surpassed the disadvantages, the company allowed women to be part of the single miners' lives. This was because their presence in the single quarters like the presence of wives who cooked and tended to the men's needs improved the men's productivity on the mine without the companies incurring the extra costs such as those incurred to maintain wives and children.

### **Repatriation of Women and Children from Town: 1930-1945**

The State, wanted to have all these women and the children removed from the urban centres and issued some repatriation orders to that effect. The desire to prohibit the migration of women to the urban centres was expressed by Government officials in the early years of the mining industry. However, the Government realised that there were problems in effecting this policy. In 1931 the Government noted that Native Authorities were not empowered to prevent the movement of women to the labour camp.<sup>17</sup> At the same time the Government faced a precarious situation in that the difficulty of preventing women migration to the Copperbelt produced the unintended result of helping production in a sector which had become a major source of Government tax revenue. As Government derived most of its revenue from the mines, it was in its interest to ensure that the mines continued to run smoothly by giving them a free hand to pursue policies that guaranteed them a supply of labour. The mines therefore, allowed women in the compound because they attracted and stabilised labour.

Towards the end of the 1930s, the labour position at Mufulira Mine improved. The improvement followed the adoption of the stabilisation policy at the beginning of the decade. The end of the depression and the increased demand for copper for the manufacture of arms for the looming war contributed to improved labour strength at the mine. Increased labour figures had a corresponding increase in the number of women and children in the compound. This growing population at Mufulira and the other mines on the Copperbelt, attracted the attention of the administrators so that in 1937 some Government officials began asking for women to justify their presence in urban centres in the same way that the men did.<sup>18</sup> The only women who were considered to have a genuine reason for being in the urban centres were wives of those in employment. The rest of the women seemingly had no reason for being there just as the Government saw no reason for African children to be in town. The attitude towards women was as a result of the assumption that unattached women in urban centres were generally immoral. This affronted the morals of the urban European society which therefore called for their removal in order to limit the presence of Africans in the towns to those in employment and their wives.<sup>19</sup>

In 1936, Government passed the repatriation of women Order followed by the repatriation of children from industrial areas Order in 1937. The idea of separating children from their parents did not have the support of all Government officials. A raging debate therefore ensued in which the morality of separating children from their parents was questioned. The argument was that the move would be unfair and inhuman. It was further observed that it would be difficult to stop children from accompanying their parents and guardians unless legislation was passed to prevent parents from bringing young children of school going age to towns.<sup>20</sup> Such legislation if passed would have reinforced the two repatriation ordinances passed earlier.

The ordinances, which appeared to target unmarried women and children only, in fact, affected the wives of the mine employees because the Government repatriation programme extended to their children. The programme stemmed mainly from Government paranoia over the growth of a permanent African population in urban centres, which was associated with the development of political insurgency. The opinion of Government was that 'Detribalised' Africans would be a source of urban crime and political protest. In this regard, there was the urgent need to repatriate from the towns, that part of the population that was not directly involved in the production of wealth for the country.

The mining industry evidently favoured the repatriation programme but it was more concerned with retention of their labour than the threat of a permanent African population in town if that population had a positive influence in their profit margins. They, therefore, avoided as much as possible being involved in the repatriation exercise. Mufulira mine management for example, had earlier expressed the desire to have Government frame a law that prohibited women without permits from coming to the industrial areas and only allowed those married by tribal custom to join their husbands. Concern for their profit margins, however, made them cautious about recommending any repressive law for the industrial area because they believed Government may not have envisaged that by keeping the women in the villages, the men would eventually return there,<sup>21</sup> and consequently, defeat their plans to stabilise their African labour force.

The Mine management at Mufulira, together with the other mining companies on the Copperbelt, was willing to co-operate with the Government in identifying undesirable women and those children who did not belong to anyone and appeared to be in town without their parents. However a suggestion to repatriate even the employees' children of the ages twelve to sixteen was rejected by mine management because, contrary to the doubts expressed by some District Government officials about the ability of the children to grow into responsible future workers when they became a nuisance as early as the age of six or seven,<sup>22</sup> they saw the children as a source of future labour supply. Moreover, the Mine managers, especially at Mufulira mine, had no desire to disrupt the family life that they had encouraged in the compound to foster the stabilisation of labour. The mining companies therefore, only agreed to help on condition that Government took full responsibility for announcing to the Africans that children between the ages of twelve and sixteen would be prevented from leaving the Native Reserves while those already in the industrial areas without parents would be repatriated by Government.<sup>23</sup>

Although the mines would have benefited from this programme because it would have reduced the number of people to feed and subsequently their ration bills, the mines made little effort to assist in the removal of the children. Deporting Children from urban to rural areas contradicted the policy of labour stabilisation strategy that encouraged family life in the mine compound. It would have also meant losing future labour which, in some cases, they had already groomed in the discipline of mine work by engaging them to sweep the compound grounds as was discussed in the previous chapter. More important was the fear of losing their popularity among the workers. They therefore resolved to disassociate themselves from the enforcement of the repatriation programme.

The attitude of the mining companies was very instrumental in the outcome of this policy. Evidently, very little success was recorded because the mining companies, which attracted the highest number of unattached women and children, refused to co-operate, as doing so would have compromised the policies of investing in and developing human resources (human capital) which the mines had started through labour stabilisation.

### KWAME NKROMAH UNIVERSITY

The Government however, had the support of the Native Authorities whose main interest was to maintain control over women. By controlling women, they probably expected to preserve the traditions of the tribes and as a result, maintain tribal identity. It should be noted that tribal divisions were desirable to the colonial Government's system of indirect rule, in which chiefs were used to administer their own people on behalf of the colonial Government in order to reduce costs. Moreover, emphasising tribal identity prevented tribes from uniting which also removed the threat of nationalist agitation against the colonial Government. Therefore, when Government prevailed upon them, the Native Authorities passed by-laws that prohibited the movement of women who were also forbidden to take their children when they did go to the urban centres. In Petauke, for example, an ordinance passed in 1936 prohibited children from leaving the Native Authority from 1941 in an attempt to discourage the departure of women from the area while, some Native Authorities such as Kawambwa, went further and prepared a list which included at least 1000 names of unattached women for repatriation from the urban centres.<sup>24</sup> Some traditional rulers who made periodical visits to the mines to visit their male subjects, utilised this opportunity to try and round up unattached women and take them back. Their efforts to round up the women failed because they disappeared into the location until the chiefs had left. In the few cases where some women were taken back to the villages, they only stayed long enough to serve their punishment awaiting the opportunity to run away back to town.<sup>25</sup> For these reasons, the repatriation programme failed. It also failed because mine management refused to co-operate with the chiefs because the mine stood to lose if all unattached women were removed from the industrial areas.

The programme to repatriate children, like the one aimed at repatriating women, also failed mainly because the mining companies were not ready to disturb their workers' family lives and also because some of these children went to towns on their own accord. The laws passed by many Native Authorities to prohibit women from taking children to the industrial areas were largely ineffective because, as the superintendent of African Education observed, applying such legislation to what he termed "adventurous spirits" would be very difficult because, as he pointed out, a number of

young children at a very tender age drifted into the town.<sup>26</sup> Despite Government's efforts to set aside funds to carry out the repatriation, by May 1942 not many had been repatriated from the Copperbelt.<sup>27</sup> The result of the failure of the repatriation programme was that both the unattached women and the children continued to live in the compounds. This was probably to the advantage of the mine companies because it ensured that there was no disruption of the family life they had encouraged in order to stabilise labour while the single employees continued to enjoy the services offered by unattached women.

### Changing Attitude towards Women: 1930-1964

During the 1930s management at Mufulira pursued the policy of labour stabilisation which allowed the wives of African miners to live in the compound. During the same period, they also followed a policy which allowed unmarried women to come in and render certain domestic and sexual services to the single men. Throughout this period the importance of wives, *bamapoto* and *bakapenta* continued to be recognised by the company as they contributed to the well being of the men and mining capital.

In the 1940s, however, there was some hostility towards unmarried women in towns. Initially, the married African employees who were offended by what they saw as increasing immorality displayed their hostility. They therefore, supported a scheme aimed at prohibiting women from being on the Copperbelt unless they had passes from their Native Authorities. This attitude was contrary to management's policy of allowing unmarried women into the compound. To avoid antagonising their more valuable married employees and at the same time continue having unattached women, management reached a compromise with the married employees which also kept the single employees happy. In 1943, while insisting on continuing with the policy of allowing unmarried women in the compound, they agreed to take action against those of bad character and asked the employees to assist management by reporting such women.<sup>28</sup> This arrangement worked to the satisfaction of everyone.

In 1944 changes were made in the regulations on African marriages which had a positive effect on women. In that year the Urban Native Courts were given the authority to issue marriage certificates. Initially, the process was long as it involved sending the particulars of the couple to be married to the Native Authorities for approval. Later, all that was needed was a relative to stand for the couple for the Urban Native Court to issue a marriage certificate. This condition was often abused by couples in a hurry to get married who did not have a relative to stand for them. Such couples were known to pick any elderly person whom they paid to stand in as a relative and they obtained marriage certificates.<sup>29</sup> African marriages in towns were, therefore, not only localised but became easier to contract. With this change, the mining companies began to insist on the production of marriage certificates as a condition for the allocation of married quarters in the compounds.<sup>30</sup> The implication of this condition was that companies with employees in 'temporary marriages' were no longer obliged to accommodate such workers in married quarters. It meant that they could be accommodated in the single quarters with or without their 'wives' with the result that companies saved substantial amounts of money on housing.

While other mining companies insisted on the presentation of marriage certificates, Mufulira mine management remained less strict and in 1946 still accepted notes equivalent to marriage certificates issued by District Commissioners. They, however, insisted on the registration of women being conducted in the presence of the Tribal Representatives.<sup>31</sup> Previously, when the mine desperately needed women to help stabilise their labour, women were sometimes registered in the absence of their Tribal Representatives. Moreover, in the year that Africans could obtain marriage certificates within the urban centres and as Mufulira achieved a higher degree of stabilisation and a lesser need for women, especially unmarried women, the company changed its policy of allowing women unrestricted access to the compounds and made it compulsory for all those visiting to obtain passes. The passes were issued from the Compound Office every day.<sup>32</sup> Although it was easy for women who went to the single quarters to render sexual services, those in prolonged relationships with single employees had problems because there was no provision for permanent passes. The passes that were issued were valid for 14 days. When a pass expired it could be extended for another 14 days<sup>33</sup>. After that it became difficult to renew.

Despite these regulations, women continued to stay in the compounds undetected. For example it was observed that during the day, no illegal women were seen in the single quarters but after dark, every house had a cooking fire in front of it. This was the period when Mufulira mine management no longer tolerated illegal visitors, whether men or women. From the mid 1940s up to the early 1960s, the company devised a policy in which company police conducted regular inspections for illegal visitors in the compound.<sup>34</sup>

Searching of the compound for illegal visitors was done by mine Police-men, who were accompanied by civil police, in the early hours of the morning after the expiry date of the pass. Civil police were involved in the search because being in the compound without a pass or after the pass expired was considered a criminal offence. Those found were arrested and charged. And depending on the length of their illegal stay charges ranged from 5 shillings for a few days to between 1 pound and 3 pounds for a one to two months' stay. Some of the culprits were taken to court while multiple offenders were jailed for between one and two months.<sup>35</sup>

Although these searches were generally conducted to rid the compounds of loafers, women were usually caught in the dragnet and were charged in the same way as the men. The women, however, could easily afford to pay the fine as they usually made money when they stayed in the compound illegally. In cases where the visitor was a relative, who neglected to obtain a pass, the onus was on the host to pay the fines. But usually police went to houses where they believed there were people staying illegally. Apart from the expired passes of which they had copies, information was also obtained from neighbours, who reported seeing women at certain single quarters. The police then made their search at dawn. Initially the inspection was done at 4.30 am, later at 5.30 am and then moved to 6.00 am. These were the times when women staying in the Mufulira mine compound illegally were usually seen running from the single quarters to hide *mumakonde*, banana groves, within the compound or the nearby bushes outside the compound.<sup>36</sup>

As the single women were harassed in this manner the company made an extra effort to take care of the married women especially in the 1950s. This, was when the

mining industry on the Copperbelt began to stabilise their labour more fervently. They therefore, began to build better houses for their African workforce.

## Conclusion

Industrial development wherever it takes place inevitably attracts large numbers of people. The trend was true of Mufulira, which like the other mines on the Copperbelt attracted not only labourers, but also women, who come from areas within and outside the territory. This led to Government introducing policies, which were aimed at reducing the number of women in the urban centres. The discussion on the migration of women to the industrial area demonstrated their ingenuity in circumventing physical and administrative barriers placed by the colonial Government to prohibit their movement to and regulate their presence in towns. It is evident, however, that as the mining companies encouraged the presence of women in the compounds, there was a conflict between them and the Government. Moreover, Government's unrelenting desire to remove unattached women from towns through the repatriation ordinance was a further source of state-capital conflict. The repatriation exercise failed mainly because the the Mufulira Mine management opposed it and also because the women themselves evaded the authorities. However, when the mine had attained a high level of stability, management made policies that regulated the presence of women in the compound and the Government acquiesced.

In this regard therefore, although most of the colonial policies on women were made intentionally harsh to discourage them from living in towns, they were an important factor in the success of colonial capital. Whereas married women were tolerated, the rest of the women only forced their way in and managed to survive within the system. Despite colonial capitalism using them for its own benefit, women were not unwitting victims but people who manipulated their situation and participated in the larger labour process.

## END NOTES

1. LSSI/9/63. "Labour and Mining, Recruitment and Employment of Natives". From Labour Commissioner to The Chief Secretary (Lusaka 2nd January, 1957).
2. M.C. Musambachime, "Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia, 1890-1964" in S.N. Chipungu, (ed.), *Guardians in their Time: Experiences of Zambians under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964*, (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), p. 12.
3. Y.A. Chondoka, 'Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama District, North Eastern Zambia, 1890-1964' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1992), p.100.
4. NAZ BS 3/303. "Prostitution and Temporary Union" From Native Commissioner's Office (Mumbwa), to The Magistrate, Mumbwa. 18<sup>th</sup> February,

5. Taylor and Lehmann, *Christians of the Copperbelt*, p. 75. See also Z.C.C.M. 17.2.5C/1. "African Welfare". J.D. Tennant (Canteens Manager, Kitwe) to The Manager, Kitwe Management Board, 5th March, 1946.
6. *Mutende*, 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1945. See also G. Chauncey, "Locus of Reproduction", p. 143., Christine Obbo, *African Women: their Struggle for Economic Independence* (London: Zed Press, 1981), p. 26., Karen Jochelson, "Women Migrancy and Morality", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21, 2 (June) 1995, p. 323.
7. J. Clyde Mitchell, "Aspects of African Marriage on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia", *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, No. 22 (September, 1957), p. 2.
8. NAZ SEC 1/1350. "Repatriation of Unmarried Women from Industrial Areas, 1940-1949" Correspondence. From P.C. (Fort Jameson) to D.C. (Fort Jameson), June 25, 1940. See also Parpart, "Class and Gender", p. 149.
9. NAZ SEC 1/1349. "Children in the Industrial Areas Repatriation". From D.C. (Mporokoso) to P.C. (Kasama), 7th November, 1938. See also *Mutende*, 27 December, 1945.
10. Bruce Fetter, "Relocating Central Africa's Biological Reproduction, 1923-1963", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 193 (1986), p. 475.
11. Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Distant Companions, Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1905 - 1985*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), p.111.
12. Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 110-113. Orde Browne also observed that prostitution, as it was known in the Western World was not common in the territory. For more details on this discussion see G.J. Orde-Browne, *Report on Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia*, (London, 1938), p. 24.
13. Co-habitational arrangements between men and women were a common feature in industrialising areas and were called by different names in different territories, e.g. *Mapoto* on the Copperbelt, *Malaya* in Nairobi, and *Chamwario* in Zimbabwe. For details see T. Barnes, "So that a labourer could live with his family", p. 95-113, Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 16., Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p. 180.
14. White, *The Comforts of Home*, p. 76. See also Orde Browne, *Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia*, p. 24.
15. NAZ SEC 1/1315. From G. Howe, D.C. (Mufulira) to P.C. Ndola, 23rd September, 1937, Mitchell, "Aspects of African Marriage", p. 3., Hortense Powdermaker, *Copper Town: Changing Africa*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p.153.
16. Chauncey, "Locus of Reproduction", p. 148.

17. H. Heisler, *Urbanisation and the Government of Migration* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1974), p. 98.
18. Z.C.C.M. 16.2.6E. From Compound Manager to Manager (Roan), 16th November, 1938.
19. Z.C.C.M. 16.2.6E. From Compound Manager to Manager (Roan), 16th November, 1938.
20. NAZ SEC1/1349. From H.F.C. Robinson, P.C. (Western Province) to The Chief Secretary, 8th March, 1938. See also Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 86.
21. Z.C.C.M. 16.1.4F. "Mufulira Native Labour Policy". Memo from Compound Manager to Manager, 1st September, 1942.
22. NAZ SEC1/1349. From Labour Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 2nd January 1946.
23. Z.C.C.M. 16.1.4F. "Native Labour Policy", Roan Antelope Copper Mines Ltd, 1942, p. 727.
24. NAZ SEC1/1349. From P.C. (Northern Province) to The Chief Secretary, 28th August, 1942 and Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 118.
25. Hansen, *Distant Companions*, p. 118
26. NAZ SEC1/1349. Order Prohibiting the Departure of Children from the Nsenga Tribal Area, 1936. Memo on Native Education Policy in industrial Areas by Superintendent of Native Education, Western Province, 22nd March, 1938.
27. NAZ SEC1/1349 "Extract from Labour Commissioner's minute No. 691-28" 14th July, 1943.
28. Z.C.C. M. 16.1.5F/1 "Minutes of Meeting of Tribal Representatives." 4th October, 1943.
29. Mitchell, "Aspects of African Marriage", p. 32. See also Taylor and Lehmann, *Christians of the Copperbelt*, p. 84.
30. Mitchell, "Aspects of African Marriage", p. 4. and Kenneth Little, *African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p.16 and Heisler, *Urbanisation*, p. 70.
31. Z.C.C.M. 16.1.5F/2. Memo from Compound Manager to Manager (Mufulira) 9th October, 1946.
32. Z.C.C.M. 16.2. 6E. "Mine Compound. Women and Children". Women in Mine Compounds, 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 1944.

34. Z.C.C.M. 13.2.5A. "Unauthorised Africans", p. 1-2.

35. Z.C.C.M. 13.2.5A. "Unauthorised Africans", p. 1-2.

36. Interview, Margaret Chilando , Mufulira, 4th December, 1999.

