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Makishi Masquerade and Activities: The Reformulation of Visual and Performance Genres of the *Mukanda* School of Zambia¹

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Introduction

Makishi (singular, *Likishi*) are masked characters associated with the coming of age rituals of the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities of the north-western part of Zambia. The term refers to the masks and costumes that constitute a character being portrayed. The masks are believed to be a manifestation of the spirits of dead ancestors who return to the world of the living. The *Makishi* Masquerade is connected to the *Mukanda*, an initiation school held annually for boys between the ages of eight and seventeen. At the beginning of the dry season, young boys leave their homes and live for one to three months in an isolated school. The *Mukanda* involves the circumcision of the initiates, tests of courage, and lessons on their future role in society as men and husbands. During the *Mukanda*, *Makishi* are supposed to return from the world of the dead to protect and assist the boys in their transition from childhood to adulthood. While at *Mukanda*, the boys are separated from the outside world - the separation marking their symbolic death as children. Therefore, the boys are called *Tundanji* - people who do not belong to the world of the living, to be reborn as adults at the completion of the *Mukanda*. The graduation is marked by the performance of the *Makishi* Masquerade and the whole community is free to attend (Phiri 2008).

Historical Background

The *Mukanda* and *Makishi* Masquerade ritual used to be celebrated by the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities, which include the Luvale, Chokwe, Mbunda and related peoples, who originally lived in the north-western and western provinces

of Zambia. The *Mukanda* School had an educational function of transmitting cultural values, practical survival skills as well as knowledge about nature, sexuality, religious beliefs and the social values of the community. In former times, it took place over a period of up to six months. What was learned from the school was not to be disclosed to anyone, especially the un-initiated and women as proclaimed in this song translated by Wele (1993) as follows:

Ndonji, cry out
Where the students have passed is warm,
Where the women have passed is cold,
Where the uncircumcised person passes stinks.

According to Luyako (2004), *Makishi* are a representation of certain characteristics in society and carry lessons for the students in the way they appear, and perform in dance and song. For example, there is *Kayupi*, who represents royalty. He is referred to as the king of all *Makishi* and behaves accordingly in all his characteristics and functions. *Chizaluke* represents a dignified personality that goes with wisdom and old age. On the other hand, *Chileya* represents a fool with a childish characteristic, mimicking others, wears undignified dressing and dances like a learner and not an expert. Others are the *Mupala*, who is the lord of the *Mukanda* and protective spirit with supernatural abilities, while Mwanapwebo is a female character representing the ideal woman and is responsible for the musical accompaniment of the rituals and dances. Each initiate is assigned a specific masked character, which remains with him throughout the entire school. According to Luyako, the creation of the *Makishi* was done behind the seclusion of the school. The colours of the mask and costumes are symbolic and religious, with reference to the ancestors (Luyako 2004). The initiator of the *Mukanda* is called the *Chijika Mukanda*, and the attendant of each initiate is called a *Chilombola*. Parents chose the *Chilombola* for their children, depending on the character of the person to be chosen to take up this role. A *Chilombola* had to be a person of good character who was supposed to be the child's mentor not only during the *Mukanda* School but throughout his life after the school (Cheleka 2002).

Statement of the Problem

Zambia and its people have undergone many changes over the years. For instance *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* peoples are no longer only found in the north-western and western provinces of Zambia. Urbanization, inaccessibility of education and employment, internal migrations due to various reasons such as conflicts, famine, disease, business opportunities, etc., have led many people to move from their homelands to other parts of the country. This means that people

have moved with their cultures and traditions into regions and societies totally alien to them. This has been the case with the Luvale and their tradition of *Makishi* and the *Mukanda* School.

However, this transportation of culture and traditions to other places has led to various changes and transformations to the tradition. For example, there have been a number of compromises on the secretive and secluded nature of space for the *Mukanda*, especially in the urban centres. There also have been changes in the colours of the *Makishi* costumes which have transformed from the religious sacred colours of red, white and black to other colours such as green, orange, purple, pink and yellow. In addition, the material of the *Makishi* costumes now varies from the original fibre of the *Muzawu* tree and backcloth to plastic sacks, sisal and cotton wool. The *Makishi* is no longer restricted to the activities of the *Mukanda* School and the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities, but it is being used to perform at public gatherings such as political meetings, weddings, schools festivals and tourist resorts without any connection to their original purpose. Popular songs and forms of dancing from the public media such as Radio and Television have also been incorporated into the *Makishi*, especially for such public gatherings. In addition, the *Mukanda* School is no longer restricted to the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* peoples. Children from different ethnic groups are known to go to the school, sometimes against their parents' decisions. The school's duration has also been reduced to as short as one month in order to fit in with the formal school calendar (Phiri 2002). There have also been complaints by the senior chief of the Luvale people over the *Makishi* Masquerade in recent times. Quoted in a local paper, the chief said, 'Luvale speaking people are dismayed at the erosion of the Luvale culture by people imitating it through the *Makishi* dances and songs. Some *Makishi* have been seen dancing to the tunes of foreign music and modern instruments like guitars. Others have been unnecessarily emerging, dancing in bars and loitering in streets' (*Times of Zambia*, 4 November 2004).

Such observations and sentiments call for the examination and evaluation of the changes and the reasons for such changes in this cultural and traditional, artistic and ritual expression of a people in contemporary times. In our research, we set out with the aim of examining the contemporary *Mukanda* and *Makishi* masquerade activities and expressions, the influences of change and their effects on the culture.

Research Objectives

Hence, the research objectives were:

1. To analyse the historical development of the *Mukanda* and *Makishi* Masquerade rituals;
2. To examine the changes that the *Mukanda* and *Makishi* have undergone over the years;

3. To analyse the positive and negative effects of these changes in the urban setting of Zambia, in which the contemporary *Mukanda* and *Makishi* Masquerade is operating today.

Rationale

This research was considered pertinent as it would not only contribute to the historiography of traditional art but also to the understanding of contemporary artistic and ritual expressions in Africa. Research into changes and influences of change help to develop understanding of how traditions have changed over time.

Historical Analysis of the *Makishi*

The *Makishi* were connected to the *Mukanda* School for boys. The boys were kept in seclusion for periods of up to three months or more. According to Wele, the *Makishi* are the spirits of the deceased ancestors of the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* people that returned to the world of the living during *Mukanda* ceremony to protect and guide the boys and the whole community during the ceremony. The ceremony was a transition period for the boys who were now dead to their childhood and being prepared to enter the world of adults in which they could be in communion with their ancestors whose representation was the *Makishi*.

The *Mukanda* was set up by a village when there were a sizeable number of uncircumcised boys. Other nearby villages were invited to participate. The site of the *Mukanda* School was normally located near a *Mupepe*, *Musole* or *Munyenyene* tree. The school was to be situated on the western side of the village with the entrance facing the east and the sunrise (Wele 1993: 34). Once the school was sited, the place became a restricted area where the uncircumcised and women were not allowed to enter – as in the root word *kanda*, which means separate or prohibit (Rekdal 1970). A violation of these rules was believed to endanger the lives of the initiate and the violator was punished by being beaten or, in case of a man, forcibly circumcised and detained until the end of school. However, the school still remained connected to the community and communicated through song, through-out the whole period of seclusion. For this reason, the site for the school had to be close to the village. The songs communicated the different activities in the school and reassured the mothers at home of the wellbeing of their children. For instance, the following song could be sung at sunrise by the students:

Oho, here are our mothers;
They are bringing the sun;

O sun bring warmth so that we
May warm ourselves;
Here are our mothers (Wele 1993:39)

The song was answered by women ululating in the village. The communication continued throughout the day, such as when the food was brought from the village, at sunset, at bed time, etc. (Wele 1993: 39-43). Another form of communication was the occasional visit of some types of *Makishi* like *Katotola* to the homes of the initiates. This reassured the parents that all was well at the school and the parents were obliged to give presents, such as food, to the *Makishi* to take back to the school.

Wele (1993) explains that the creation of *Makishi* was done in the seclusion of the *Mukanda* school. The boys were taught the art of creating the masks and costumes of the *Makishi*. The materials used for making the costume were mainly white rope. The bark of the *Muzamu* tree was preferred to make the primary rope because of its whiteness (Wele 1993: 22). Other secondary ropes were made from a tree called *Mufufu*. Bark cloth was added to be knitted into a full costume that was meant to cover the whole body from the feet to the head. The costume was then decorated with three major colours that not only made the *Makishi* beautiful, but also had ritual meanings associated with the *Mukanda* school and the circumcision ritual. The three colours used were: red, signifying the blood shed at circumcision but also that held the initiates together as a related people sharing the same origin and ancestors personified in the *Makishi*; black, that signified the death of their childhood; and white, that signified purity on their rebirth as adults at their emergence into society after the seclusion of the *Mukanda* school. The colours were made from trees, leaves and wax. The masks that went with the costumes were made differently according to the character that they portrayed. For instance, *Mupala* the Lord of the *Mukanda* had an oversized head with teeth sticking out and eyes bulging, signifying a terrifying character to be feared. While *Mwanapwebo*, the female character, had a small head with a slender nose, sharpened teeth with tattoos on her cheeks and beads in the hair, signifying beauty and more humane features. During the seclusion period, the initiates were also taught the dances of the Masquerade, with each boy assigned to a specific masked character, which remained with him throughout the entire school.

The completion of the *Mukanda* was celebrated with a graduation ceremony. The entire village attended the *Makishi* Masquerade that performed at the graduation where the initiates emerged from the school to reintegrate with their communities as adult men. The masquerade was the climax of the whole ritual of the *Mukanda* school.

Changes and Effects on the *Makishi* Masquerade and *Mukanda* School

Over the years, there have been a lot of changes in the *Makishi* Masquerade and the *Mukanda* School for a number of reasons. However, for the purpose of this chapter, we will look at the changes, negotiations and conflicts associated with the urbanization of the *Makishi* and the *Mukanda* brought about by the Luvale peoples' movements from their homelands into the urban areas of Zambia.

Writing in 1969, Rekdal reports on a 'conflict' that came about in Kitwe's Chimwemwe compound - a township in one of Zambia's urban areas over a *Mukanda* school built near the compound.² Rekdal analyses a number of reports from different newspapers that reported on the matter. From the reports, it is explained that a *Mukanda* school was built near Chimwemwe compound by Luvale-speaking people. Apparently, a number of people from other ethnic groups violated the seclusion and forbidden rules of the school that prohibited uncircumcised people from going near the school. Those who violated these rules were forcefully circumcised and detained at the camp. This brought about an uproar in which people from other ethnic groups translated the action taken by the Luvale people as abduction of and assault on the trespassers. The local authorities called for the school to be moved to another location away from the township for the release of the trespassers as well as for the punishment of the leaders of the Luvale group that carried out the circumcision rites on the trespassers. The leaders of the group were jailed, but the Luvale elders refused to move the school on the argument that it was taboo to move an already established school. They also argued that the location of the school was right according to the rules of the school, which had to be near the community in order to maintain communication between the initiates and their mothers. This incident brought up a number of issues concerning the *Makishi* and *Mukanda* tradition in the urban centres (Rekdal 1970). Even after the then Vice President of the Republic of Zambia stepped in and urged other ethnic groups to respect the Luvale people's traditions and also forbade the Kitwe City Council from moving the school, the arguments and the conflict concerning the *Makishi* and the *Mukanda* school still exist today in various urban centres of Zambia.

The problem of space and the traditions concerning what goes with this space, such as secrecy and isolation, still remain a problem in urban areas where other people of different ethnic groups also reside. In Livingstone Town, another major urban centre in Zambia where people from different homelands live and work, the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities have been facing space and privacy problems. Their association complained of lack of proper space in the town that could meet the traditional standards of locating a *Mukanda* school.

In 2002, *Chijika Mukanda*, William Cheleka, complained that it was difficult to find secluded space that was private and yet close enough to the townships in order to keep open communication between the school and the community. He also claimed that the ritual trees connected to the location of the *Mukanda* – the *Mupepe*, *Musole* or *Munyenyene* – were difficult to find around Livingstone. For this reason, he said that he had to compromise a lot to locate his *Mukanda*. The place where he was able to find a *Musole* tree was not close enough to the township to keep the communication between the school and the mothers. Therefore, the school operated with great difficulty in maintaining communication with the community. He explained that this had some effects on the initiates, as well as the mothers, since they could not ‘talk’ to each other properly during the whole period of seclusion. He maintained that communication between the mothers and the initiates played a very important role in reassuring the mothers of the wellbeing of their children in the school, as well making the initiates feel part of the activities at home even if they were in seclusion. He explained that hearing their mothers’ voices across the seclusion raised the initiates spirits and morale, since the school could be tough as the initiates were taught the ways of men and not boys. He also explained that the actual separation from their families could bring distress to some boys and the communication helped to calm them down. He regretted that this communication could not be maintained well during his 2005 *Mukanda* school, but there was very little he could do about it considering the urban setup of the townships, which were far from bushes.

Another thing that has been noted about the *Mukanda* and *Makishi* in urban areas has been the composition of the initiates. People from other ethnic groups have been known to be accepted in the *Mukanda* schools as initiates. In the *Mukanda* of 2002, out of a total of seventy initiates who were admitted, twelve were from communities that were not part of the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi*. Four were Tonga-speaking from the southern part of Zambia, six were Lozi-speaking from the western part of Zambia, and two were Nyanja-speaking from the eastern part of Zambia. In the year 2003, the number of non-Luvale initiates increased to eighteen. Young boys aged between twelve and eighteen took themselves into the camp willingly to be part of the *Mukanda*. Some went in without the consent or even knowledge of their parents. Two parents interviewed by the author wept in protest when they saw their sons being whisked away to the school. According to these mothers, their sons went missing the day before the initiates were taken to the school site. So they became suspicious because boys have been known to hand themselves over to the *Chijika Mukanda* the day before they are taken to the school. The mothers, who were both from the Tonga-speaking group, complained that the *Makishi* and the *Mukanda* school were not part of their tradition. Asked why they were crying, they explained that they felt betrayed by both the *Chijika*

Mukanda and their children for entering the school without their knowledge or consent. When the *Chijika Mukanda* was asked as to why he allowed the children into the school, he explained that according to *Mukanda* ritual rules, anybody that came willingly or by accident into the seclusion,³ either at the house of the *Chijika Mukanda* or at the school site, had to be taken in as an initiate and go through the whole process of the ceremony. The parents of the initiate also had to take part in the ceremony, i.e., by providing food to the school, paying the *Chilombola* and the *Makishi* visiting their homes, and also attending the final ceremony of *Makishi* masquerade as the boys graduated (Cheleka 2002).

Christine Nalubamba, a Lozi woman whose son had taken himself in as an initiate in the previous year's *Mukanda*, complained that it was an expensive venture on her part as she had not planned for it. The *Chilombola* had to be paid, food had to be taken to the school, and the initiate was expected to wear new clothes after graduating. On the other hand, she complained that she had no choice of who her son's *Chilombola* would be as he just went in there without her consent. Then upon graduation, her son who was fourteen years old was expected to be treated as a man and accorded all due respect according to the *Mukanda* tradition. Meanwhile in her culture, at fourteen her son was still a child to be treated as such in the home. This she said had brought conflicts not only between herself and her son but also with the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities, especially his *Chilombola* who did not approve of the way she was treating her son (Nalubamba 2002). With the *Chijika Mukanda*, William Cheleka explained that upon graduation, the initiates come out of the school as men. Hence, a parent that did not observe this violated not only the graduate but the *Mukanda* and the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* tradition at large.

There have also been changes in the *Makishi* costume. Most of the *Makishi* around Livingstone have been using costumes made from polythene materials, sisal as well as cotton wool. According to Luyako, the non-availability of the right kind of trees in some parts of Zambia like Livingstone, as well as the generally non-availability of trees in urban areas made these materials which are readily available in urban areas an alternative. However, there also have been major changes in the *Makishi* costume affecting the three traditional colours of white, red and black. Luyako points out that it is common to find *Makishi* decorated with such colours as orange, yellow, grey, green, purple and pink. He explained that part of the change is due to the lack in urban areas of the natural dyes originally extracted from soil and trees. However, he points to the national colours of the Zambian flag (red, green, orange and black) to have been a major influence of change in colours of the *Makishi* costume since it was proclaimed as a world heritage in 2005. Since the proclamation, the *Makishi* have appeared in national colours to represent the nation and not the ethnic groupings with whom they are associated.

Scarves bearing the national colours have also been used. Luyako explained that these additional colours have no association to the sacred rites of the *Mukanda* school or the *Makishi* as spirits of the dead (Lukayo 2006).

Another change that has taken place with regard to the *Makishi* Masquerade has been the songs and dances associated with it. According to Chief Ndungu of the Luvale people, some *Makishi* have been seen dancing to foreign music; an observation that has also been made by other people. During the mini *Likumbi Lya Mizé*⁴ ceremony in Livingstone in 2005, the *Likishi Lya Mwanapwebo* was noted as dancing to *Rumba* music (contemporary music from the Democratic Republic of Congo, popular in Zambia). Some *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* people interviewed during this ceremony expressed disappointment at the music to which the *Mwanapwebo* was dancing.⁵ The explanation given was that *Likikishi Lya Mwanapwebo* mainly dances to *wali* music and songs which are supposed to be educative to the audience, and especially to the initiates, on moral issues. According to Phiri (2008), *Likishi Lya Mwanapwebo*'s dances and music's main role is to transmit good morals and relevant cultural information to the initiates and to society at large. *Mwanapwebo* often depicts a wayward teenage woman that brings shame not only on herself, but also on men that fall to her charm. She is portrayed mainly to give lessons in sexual morals to the young initiates to beware of such women, and also to warn young women of the dangers of having several sexual partners, as in the flowing song for *Likishi Lya Mwanapwebo*: 'Eya nama Elena, Kwenda Kwalizelula/Nabalunga Bambala Osenanaonwana/Nilunga lyobe.' This is translated as 'Yes Elena {referring to the *Likishi Lya Mwanapwebo*} / You walk charmingly, you like men, you do not even choose / sleeping with different men until you get diseased' (Phiri 2008). The song warns young women as well as young men to be wary of such characters in society.

However, when those playing the *Rhumba* music for the *Likishi Lya Mwanapwebo* during the *Mini Likumbi Lya Mizé* were asked about playing foreign music to the *Makishi*, they explained that *Makishi* are meant for people. Therefore, since in the urban areas the popular music was *Rhumba* music, the *Makishi* were expected to dance to 'people's music' – and this could be any popular music at a given time. In this particular case, *Rhumba* music was the popular type. This, they explained, was especially so for *Likishi Lya Mwanapwebo* which was the people's *Likishi* (Kayombo 2005).

Other changes in *Makishi* are that in the urban centres, they can emerge for reasons not connected to ritual such as for political meetings, weddings, etc. It is believed that some people have taken advantage of the curiosity that the *Makishi* arouses in people from other ethnic groups, who get induced to raise money from it by staging performances for the public. Some of these *Makishi* have been noted to break the Masquerade taboos such as emerging and performing before

noon (originally the Masquerade performed in the afternoon as the sun was going towards the west), and wearing costumes that do not only have 'strange' colours,⁶ but also costumes that do not cover the whole body. These concerns were raised by *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukvamayi* communities as early as 1968. According to Rekdal, some Lunda Luvale living in Livingstone at the time expressed these concerns (Rekdal 1970: 98). This has also been noted in Livingstone today. In the comments book of the Livingstone Museum dated 11 April 2009, a visitor from the Luvale-speaking group complained about the *Makishi* dancers that were allowed by the Museum to perform to tourists for a token of appreciation. Mr Kavoyo Graham Chiyengo's complaint read in part '...as a Luvale I had reservations with the Makishi dance troupe called Chisemwa Cha Luvale performing. The dances, songs and costumes do not portray the true Luvale/Cokwe/Mbunda culture...'.⁷ Chiyengo who is also a member of the *Likumbi Lyamizye*⁸ organizing committee complained of people who were using the Luvale culture for material gain without respecting the ritual with which the *Makishi* is associated.

Discussion

Just like any other cultures and traditions, the *Makishi* Masquerade and its associate the *Mukanda* School have gone through a number of changes over the years. The urban setup, especially, has contributed a lot to these changes. For instance, in the urban centres where children go to school, it has been unavoidable to change the *Mukanda* school calendar from several months to a month in order to fit in the school calendar.

Other changes such as space are very crucial in urban setting considering the rapid population growth and also the conditions of living which are different from those of the village setup. It is not only difficult to find a forested area near compounds and townships, but it is also difficult to set up a traditionally-secluded area that may be respected and appreciated by other ethnic groups that make up the urban setting. For the city council to provide one piece of land where the school can take place every year is not in accordance with the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukvamayi* tradition which does not allow the use of the same place for several *Mukandas*. However, this may change as the problem of land is becoming more pressing in urban areas. For instance, for the 2009 *Mukanda* ceremony, *Chijika Mukanda*, William Cheleka could not find convenient space in which to erect the school. He explained that all possible places had either been given away as plots to Livingstone residents or they were too far away from the community. Therefore, he was so pressed for space that he had to erect a *Mukanda* school in his own house garden in Linda compound east of Livingstone town.⁹ One wonders what could be the reaction of his neighbours who may not be of the same ethnic

group, and also of other *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities whose tradition says that a *Mukanda* school is supposed to be erected just outside the community and near a *Mupepe*, *Musole* or *Munyenye* tree. And just how secluded must this school be to qualify as a *kanda* space?

The inclusion of initiates from other ethnic groupings other than the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* Luvale communities is one that could be difficult to avoid in urban areas where different ethnic groupings mix. One could argue that it is a positive change, as it would reduce conflicts between the different ethnic groupings as they would come to understand and appreciate the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* traditions to avoid what happened in 1969, as reported by Rekdal above. On the other hand, this inclusion has brought conflict in families of people that do not belong to the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities. The interviews reported about above with some of the parents of such initiates indicate conflicts within their families. They also indicate resentment of the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* traditions by these parents, as they are not consulted about their sons' involvement with the school, yet they are expected to follow rules of the tradition which may not be in their favour, such as the expenses of contributing to providing food for the school as well as treating the child as an adult, contrary to their own traditions.

The changes in the *Makishi* costume are also notable, especially in the urban areas where the original materials used in the making of the *Makishi* may be difficult to obtain. Livingstone Town, for instance, is a dry area with low rainfall as compared to the Zambezi area where the *Makishi* tradition originates. Therefore, trees such as the Muzawu, favoured in the making of the *Makishi*, not to mention any other trees, are difficult to find. The climatic conditions coupled with the expansion of the town of Livingstone leave no space for trees to grow. Therefore, it is only understandable that the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities in this area and other urban areas opt to use other readily available alternatives such as sacks, sisal and cotton wool.

Other changes in the costume, such as in the original colours, have been condemned mainly by traditionalists. They argue that these colours have no meaning to the traditional rituals that the *Makishi* Masquerade and what the *Mukanda* school stands for. However, it is interesting to note how the colours of the national flag (green and orange) and the inclusion of scarves bearing the Zambian flag in the *Makishi* costumes seem to send messages of nationhood on the *Makishi*. Is the *Makishi* Masquerade assuming new meaning by adopting such colours? If this is so, this could be a positive indication that the *Makishi* can be embraced by other ethnic groups as a national and not an ethnic tradition, such that the problem of respect and appreciation can be reduced. The problem of including ethnic groups

other than the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* may also be resolved. The issue of space may also be resolved at a national level where town planning may take into consideration this aspect of the *Makishi* and *Mukanda* culture, such that the *Mukanda* school could have space within distances that the communities in the urban areas can more easily access.

UNESCO has also expressed worry over changes that were affecting the originality of the *Makishi* Masquerade and the *Mukanda* school. According to a UNESCO Proclamation of 2005 which has recognized the *Makishi* Masquerade as a world heritage, there are changes that are feared may affect the ritual's original character such as reduced time that the boys spend at the *Mukanda* school and the increased demand for *Makishi* dancers at social gatherings and party rallies.¹⁰ However, it is the same recognition of the *Makishi* as world heritage that is suspected to have exacerbated some changes such as the use of the national flag colours and increased appearance in public activities unrelated to the rites of passage. Therefore, in as much as UNESCO would like to preserve the originality of the *Makishi* Masquerade, the very essence of making it a world heritage opens doors to a lot of changes. The *Makishi* Masquerade at a world level somehow ceases to strictly represent an ethnic grouping, but assumes a higher profile to represent the country from which it is chosen to be a world heritage. In the same way, as a world heritage, the Masquerade can be called upon to perform not only at local functions, but also at international functions, thereby increasing the demand for public performances that have nothing at all to do with the rituals it is supposed to be connected to.

There also have been changes in the songs and dances of the *Makishi* Masquerade which have even been voiced by the chief of the Luvale, Chief Ndungu. Being popular and carrying the Zambian flag as one of Zambia's recognized world heritages, the *Makishi* Masquerade is liable to respond to music that is popular among the people, especially in the urban centres. This was manifested at the mini *Likumbi Lya Mize* 2005, in Livingstone where the audience was largely an urbanized one, and the *Makishi* Masquerade put up some performances in *Rhumba*-like music to entertain the audience. This could be the way that the *Makishi* may be trying to get across its audience in the urban centres. However, there have been fears that by doing so the *Makishi* may be losing some of its major functions at public performances, such as teaching morals to the initiates and the general populace. On the other hand, the fact that this music was sung in Nyanja and Bemba, some of the major languages in the town, could reflect the fact that in as much as the *Makishi* is changing and incorporating popular music forms, it is trying to keep its original function as a means of communicating to its audience by using popular languages of the urban centres.

Concerns over where the Masquerade performs have also been voiced both by traditionalists as well as international organizations such as UNESCO. The increasing demand and the attraction of the *Makishi* have meant that they are requested to perform even in functions that are not related to their ritual function such as weddings, political rallies and for tourists. This has meant that some taboos, especially regarding time, have been bent to meet new demands. Being spirits of ancestors rising from the graves, *Makishi* are expected to emerge and perform in the afternoons and at dusk, not in the morning. However, to meet their clients' demands, the Masquerade performers have had to respond to their clients' requirements by appearing at the time when they are needed, regardless of the traditional rule on time. Therefore, it is common in urban centres to see *Makishi* performing in the morning or even in the middle of the night depending on the function as was the case at the Livingstone Museum mentioned above. In addition, in order to meet these demands, some *Makishi* have been known to use costumes that are either incomplete, thereby exposing the body of the dancer, or costumes that are not recognized at all as *Makishi* costumes, contrary to the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities. Worse still, people have been accused of using the *Makishi* masquerade for monetary gain considering its demand at public functions and in tourism. In so doing, it has been argued that people could do anything and wear anything just to raise the money that they want, as in the case of the Livingstone Museum dance troupe cited above. Such activities have been condemned as making the *Makishi* lose its spiritual and sacred value.

Conclusion

While change is inevitable and culture is not static, this chapter has demonstrated that change could be both negative and positive. The changes that have taken place over the *Makishi* Masquerade and the *Mukanda* school of the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities of Zambia has come about due to a number of factors. The *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities' movements from their homelands into the urban centres have created a stage for increasing change of their Masquerade tradition and the *Mukanda* school that they have carried along with them into their new spaces. The fact that the urban centres are spaces of different ethnic groups has brought challenges to a culture and tradition that may not be appreciated or, for that matter, respected by other groupings. This has led to conflicts between the *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities and other ethnic groups that have failed to observe the rules concerning this tradition. On the other hand, bringing this tradition into the urban centres has exposed it to other ethnic groups that have appreciated the tradition and would like to be part

of it, especially the young people. This has in turn brought about obvious conflicts within families that may not be willing to observe a tradition that some close relatives, especially children, have embraced.

The problem of space and availability of specific trees connected to this tradition has remained a challenge to *Vaka Chiyama Cha Mukwamayi* communities in urban setups like Livingstone. This problem does not seem to be one that will be easily solved, considering that town planning does not take into consideration such traditional practices. By 2009, the problem of space seemed to have been getting so desperate to a point where a *Mukanda* school is constructed in someone's residential garden, breaking not only the rules of the tradition but also perhaps those of town planning.

The changes in the costume seem to be both negative and positive. The alternative sources of materials used to make the costume favour the protection of the environment by conserving trees while recycling materials such as polythene sacks that are normally thrown away after their original use. However, the changes in the use of colour seem to threaten the very survival of the original symbolic meanings of the ritual colours. Such colours as pink, purple and yellow seem to have no meaning at all except in adding colour to the costume. Meanwhile, the addition of the national colours of green, red, black and orange add the meaning of nationhood to the *Makishi* that are now a world heritage, apart from the meaning embedded in the two symbolic and ritual colours of red and black. This could be a positive change in that the *Makishi* may cease to be looked upon as strictly an ethnic tradition, assuming the importance of a national tradition, and thereby reducing some tensions with other ethnic groupings in the urban centres over this tradition, as well as reducing questions on allowing members of other ethnic groups as initiates of the *Mukanda* school.

However, the major change may lie in the popular cultures that the *Makishi* Masquerade is exposed to in the urban centres. Being in demand, the Masquerade may be pressured to respond to the demands of its audience and recruits as in song and dance. As noted earlier, in switch in dancing to popular music and in using languages of the urban setup, the *Makishi* seem to be responding to the new audience and recruits who have been endeared to their Masquerade. Nevertheless, some of the major functions of the Masquerade, such as being a communicative media, seem to be maintained even if it has embraced these changes by adapting to languages that can be understood by the urban audience and recruits. At the end of it all, the pressing question would be whether the ritual and sacredness of the *Makishi* masquerade and its associate, the *Mukanda* School, would be maintained in the midst of all these changes.

Notes

1. For Frederick Luyako, in gratitude.
2. An urban town that emerged in the 1920 as a mining town. Kitwe is in the Copper belt region of Zambia where mining towns developed, attracting many people from different ethnic groups and regions of Zambia to live and work on the mines.
3. The night before the boys go to the school, they are confined in the house of the *Chijika Mukanda*, only to emerge at dawn carried by their *Chilombola* to the school.
4. The annual Luvale ceremony where the *Makishi* come out in celebration of the *Mizze* day with their chief, Ndungu.
5. Interview with Luvale people, *Lkumbi Lya Mizze* mini ceremony, Livingstone, 2005.
6. Not the traditional black, red and white.
7. Livingstone Museum Comments Book, 11 April 2009.
8. *Likumbi Lya Mizze* is an annual traditional ceremony of the Luvale people. It takes place every year in August in Zambezi where the Luvale people meet with their chief and the *Makishi* come out to pay homage to the chief who is also their leader and to celebrate the *Mizze* Day.
9. Interview with William Cheleka, Livingstone, April 2009.
10. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php=zm>, checked 9 April 2009

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