



# School Names in Selected Districts in Southern Province of Zambia: A Critical Toponymies Perspective

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**Abstract:** Studies have exposed place names as embodiments of the history, identity, culture, and language of their bestowers. Whilst this is true, some place naming practices reflect hegemonic tendencies that have not received adequate scholarly attention, especially in Zambia. This study examines school names in four districts in the Southern Province of Zambia and exposes the hegemonic slant inherent in place naming. The names examined in this study were collected from the Provincial Educational Offices. The names fall into two categories; government and private school names. These names were couched on Critical Toponymies Theory, a theory which politicises place naming and place names. The study found out that there is a toponymic hegemony in both categories of school names. The study argues that toponymic hegemony, as is shown in the study sample, is a manifestation of the dominance of the history, culture, world view, and identity or at least of the interests of the people who named the schools. It is concluded that place names, mundane as they may appear, are embroiled in the (re)production of unequal social power balance.

**Keywords:** Toponymic Hegemony, Southern Zambia, Critical Toponymies Theory

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## 1. Introduction

This study examines school names in four districts in the Southern Province of Zambia; Kazungula, Livingstone, Namwala and Siavonga. The names studied showed that they are biased towards the aspirations and/or interests of their bestowers and, hence play a role in the (re)production of unequal social power balance. The biased nature of place names is an insignia denoting that at their core is hegemony of various kinds. This study brings out the biased nature of place names by exposing the toponymic hegemony which characterise the school names in the concerned districts. The informing philosophy in the study is that individually or collectively, people are never in equal positions to name places; not everyone has an opportunity to give names to places. This suggests that names of any given geographical area are more likely to display some hegemony, culturally, economically, historically, and linguistically, among others.

The term hegemony is generally used to refer to the predominance of one thing over others. Hegemony is defined as “the power or dominance that one social group holds over others” [1]. In this sense, hegemony could be thought to be accompanied or motivated by differences between social classes within any given community whereby the more powerful group dominates and controls the weaker one (s). There are various types of hegemony, some of which include political, cultural, linguistic, and toponymic hegemony [cf 2, 3, 4 & 5]. This study is concerned with toponymic hegemony which has a very close relationship with cultural hegemony (the predominance of one culture over others), political hegemony (the predominance of one political grouping/ideology over others), and linguistic hegemony (the predominance of one language over others) given that place names reflect culture, political interests, and the language of their namers. In this study, toponymic hegemony is defined as the dominion of one group of people over others' history, culture, language, identity, world view etc through place

naming and place names. In fact, in toponymy, it would make sense to argue that there is a hyponymic relationship between toponymic hegemony and other kinds of hegemony such as cultural hegemony, linguistic hegemony, historic hegemony, and identity hegemony among many more, whereby toponymic hegemony is the hypernym while the rest are co-hyponyms. This thinking is motivated by the fact that place names are carriers of history, language, culture, and identity and etcetera.

This study is inspired by many toponymic studies, some of which show that place names as historical records and, identity markers, vestiges of culture, guide to language distribution, and descriptors of the landscape that they refer to [cf 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 & 11]. A steadily growing body of literature in the study of place names also reveals that there is an economic dimension in some place names [cf 12]. These studies and many more, demonstrate that place names are not neutral designators in the sense that they reflect the history, culture, language, or identity of their bestowers.

## 2. Zambia: A Geo-linguistic Overview

This section provides an overview of Zambia's linguistic ecology. This is done in order to give the reader an appreciation of the language situation in the country and the region under study. The key source of the information provided in this section is from the 2010 Census of Population and Housing.

English is Zambia's official language. As such, in relation to the other languages spoken in Zambia, English has a higher status in the country. In Zambia, there are eighty-three local language spoken (15). However, they do not indicate the places in which each of the eighty-three languages is spoken in the country. On the other hand, there are seventy-two languages in the country, and seven of these are identified as major languages: Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja, and Tonga. It further indicates that out of the seventy-languages, Bemba and Nyanja are the widely spoken languages in the country [13]. These so-called major languages are sometimes referred to as national languages or Regional Official Languages (ROLs). The 'region' corresponds to political demarcations at provincial and/or district levels. Thus, there is a ROL in each province in Zambia [17].

Zambia is composed of ten provinces. These are Central, Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula, Lusaka, Muchinga, Northern, North-Western, Western, and Southern provinces, Nyanja is the ROL for Central Province; Bemba for Copperbelt, Luapula, Muchinga and Northern Provinces; Nyanja for Eastern and Lusaka Province; Lozi for Western Province, Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale for North-Western Province; and Tonga for Southern Province and rural parts of Central Province [17].

The 2010 Census of Population and Housing shows that the Tonga people account for 74.4% of the total population of Southern Province, which stands at 1,338,649. The report shows that in addition to Tonga, the following languages are

found in the province: Toka, Leya, Ila, Lozi, Nyanja, English and Bemba. The report further shows that Lozi is the main language in Western Province; Bemba is the main language in Northern, Luapula, and Copperbelt Provinces; while Nyanja is the main language in Eastern Province. However, it is highly probable that some of the speakers of these languages are actually native Tonga speakers who are bilingual. The few native speakers of Bemba, Nyanja and Lozi found in Southern Province, may not claim that their languages are domiciled in the province as the Ila, Leya and Toka speakers will do, guided by census report, whose languages are not known to be spoken in other provinces.

## 3. Methods

As earlier noted, the data for this study was collected from the Southern Province's Provincial Educational Offices in Choma, Zambia. The study used documentary analysis. This is a data collection method in qualitative research whereby the researcher interprets documents in order to elicit meaning from the data in the documents. Documentary analysis, the researcher examines and interprets the data to "elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge" [18]. The documents examined in this study are lists of school names for each of the four districts. The school names were grouped according to the characteristics they portrayed. Two groups were identified: English and Tonga school names. This made it easy for the study to address toponymic hegemony in the school names.

For data analysis, the study predominantly relied on the extensive toponymy approach. Extensive toponymy is based on corpora of place names that can be extracted from many sources [19]. In other words, this approach is concerned with big volumes of place names. In extensive toponymy, the researcher usually groups the names according to the characteristics they display. Intensive toponymy, on the other hand, is a kind of grass-root place names research whereby the researcher reaches out to a respondent for every name collected. Tent notes that this kind of place-names study is not the best when a researcher is dealing with many place names because, it would need more time and could be strenuous to the research budget. In extensive toponymy, the meaning of the names may not be explicitly touched upon. Since the collected names for this study were 354, it became prudent to predominantly use extensive toponymy because it would be difficult to find time and resources to reach to respondents for each school name. In this study, we use insights from both extensive and intensive toponymy.

## 4. Critical Toponymies Theory

This study uses Critical Toponymies Theory (CTT), a theory that views place naming as a contested process because different groups of people aspire to use place names to inscribe their lived experiences, worldview and aspirations in the social space through place names. Therefore, place names are not neutral intangible heritages. They are biased

because they reflect the 'side of the story' of their bestowers. To appreciate the biased nature of place names, an appreciation that human beings have different aspirations, perceptions of the world, and cultural and linguistic identities is a prerequisite. This diversity so permeates place naming that if different individuals or groups of people were allowed to rename a given geographical area, chances are high that totally different kinds of names would be used to name the places, projecting totally different aspirations, perceptions and linguistic and cultural identities from that which was projected by the earlier names.

Literature on critical place names studies is pervaded by five major themes which combine to form CTT; place (name) commodification, banality and governmentality, symbolic resistance, scalar naming, and linguistic hegemony. This study utilises scalar naming and linguistic hegemony in its analysis.

With no specific reference to place names, scalar or scale has to do with size and position within a hierarchy [20]. Therefore, one can talk of scale in society while specifically referring to the position an individual or group of people occupy within a given social hierarchy. The position can be in relation to power, wealth and education. Any given scale has to be understood in relation to its interconnection and interaction with other scales [21]. As a result, social groups, governments and corporations tend to concurrently create diverse identities at different scalar levels using exactly the same elements. Scalar naming theme focuses on power dynamics arising from status and different positions that different things that are associated with place naming and place names, including people, occupy in society.

In place names, scale can be viewed from different perspectives such as the location of a place relative to key places and/or features, and the naming language for places [cf 22]. Regardless of the perspective, status takes the centre stage, whereby it is seen to have a strong bearing on the name selected for a place. Taking the factor of location as an example, politicians may have so much interest in places located in urban areas to a point that the names they select for such places are well thought-out in such a way that they leverage their interests. Equally, the rural folk may be so concerned with the names assigned to their rural places that the names they assign to their places become a narrative of their social, historical and cultural narratives. This explains the reason why place names are not neutral even when they appear so at face value. In addition, scale naming can be in relation to whether a place name or naming practice is viewed from a district, provincial, national or international perspective. The assumption is that depending on the scale (local scale, national or international scale) a place's significance may vary, thereby each scale determining the suitable name for the place.

In this study scale naming is used in relation to status accorded to the naming languages at national level. The school names are examined to identify whether there is a scale naming penchant towards any language. The

assumption is that since the names are collected from the geographical areas where Tonga is the ROL, most of the school names will be in Tonga. Equally, it is expected that there are names in other local languages spoken in the areas where the names were collected. Against these expectations, the study examines the names to see whether there is a departure from this norm. Where such a departure is observed, the category of school names displaying it is identified and discussed accordingly.

The linguistic hegemony theme addresses the aspect of unequal distribution of place names among the languages spoken in a given region. Indigenous languages are disappearing at a faster rate due to the global domination of English such that about 3,500 languages are likely to be extinct by the year 2100 because some languages are absent in the toponymic landscape [23]. In other words, some ways of naming places, such as using one language to name places of any given geographical area where other languages are spoken, may lead to language death.

The present study's focus is toponymic hegemony, and linguistic hegemony is one of the forms of hegemony reflected in place names. Toponymic hegemony, in this study, is used to expose the extent to which place names can be used by one group of people to dominate other groups' culture, language and history and how such dominion is retrogressive to the well-being of those that are dominated.

## 5. Findings and Discussion

One of the findings of the study is that the examined school names show that there is toponymic hegemony in the districts where they were collected. The other finding is that private schools names are selected with an agenda of high-status making for these schools. Although the second finding is closely related to toponymic hegemony, we deliberately separated it from toponymic hegemony in an attempt to foreground the biased nature of place names even when they may appear to be passive designators.

### 5.1. Toponymic Hegemony and Its Implications

The school names studied showed that there is a case of toponymic hegemony in government school names where Tonga names tend to dominate (there are more government schools named in Tonga than there are in other languages represented in the list of the examined school names). This implies that the Tonga people's culture, history, identity, and language dominate in the districts. A full list of the school names examined is presented in Table A1 which has 7 columns as follows: serial number, school name, language, district, and ward in which the school is found, a column showing whether the school is in urban or rural area and finally, a column indicating whether the school is a government or private school. Table 1 presents a summary of Table A1.

*Table 1. A summary of Table A1.*

Type of School	Language						Total
	Bemba	English	Ila	Lozi	Tonga	X	
Government	0	23	36	10	238	5	312
Private	1	33	0	0	4	4	42
Total	1	56	36	10	242	9	354

Key.

X: The naming language is not known.

As can be seen from Table 1, the languages of naming are Bemba, English, Ila, Lozi, and Tonga. It can also be noted that there are school names whose naming languages were not identified at the time of research. Out of the 354 school names, 242 are Tonga, 56 are English, 36 are Ila names, 10 are Lozi while only one school is named in the Bemba. The naming language (s) for the remaining 9 could not be established. From the examined corpus of school names, it is conspicuous that the Tonga school names dominate in each district. This can be attributed to the fact that, as stated already, Tonga is the ROL in the Southern Province where the districts from which the names were collected are found. In other words, Tonga is the dominant language in the districts.

Toponymic hegemony in the in the area studied is not only found in school names as it is also present in many other categories of place names in the districts. For example, Table 1 (items 109, 198, 124, 118/122 & 161/165) indicates that the name of a school is also the name of a ward in some cases. It is suspected that an examination of the corpus of school names in the whole province would more vividly bring out this trend in the toponymic landscape of the province. A cursory survey of the list of school names in the province shows cases of toponymic replication, that is, cases where the name of a school in one district is also the name of schools in one or two other districts (see items 78/79 & 15/16). This observation was corroborated by the study participants. The respondents also noted that in most cases, the name of a school is also the name given to other components of the built and natural environment places in the vicinity of the school such as dams, streams, hills, churches, villages, towns, streets, important buildings, clinics, agricultural extension areas, and grazing fields.

Many place-name studies such as have revealed that names are part of language, suggesting that toponymic hegemony whereby one language dominates the toponymic landscape of a given geographical area entails linguistic hegemony. On the relationship between naming and language, it can be noted that: "the disappearance of indigenous languages is accelerating dramatically under the weight of the global dominance of English and other major world languages. It is estimated that half of the world's 7,000 languages are expected to be extinct by 2100, which will have a direct impact on the presence of competing ways of naming and hence knowing places" [23].

The hegemony is not only discussable where the so-called world languages are involved, but also between local languages as the case is with Tonga versus the other local

languages in the Southern Province of Zambia. As such, the danger of language death noted by Rose-Redwood and Alderman due to the hegemony of the so-called world languages may also be cause for concern even in situations where there is hegemony between and among local languages. To have a glimpse into the hegemony of Tonga over the other languages in the light of the examined school names, let us have a closer look at Table 1: a cursory look at the school names in table shows that Ila is lucidly visible in Namwala district where the Ila people are found while Toka and Leya are completely absent in the toponymic landscape of Kazungula and Livingstone districts were the Leya and Toka people are found. Considering Rose-Redwood and Alderman's argument, this erratic visibility of the languages may be attributed to the dominance of the Tonga language in the region, which over time may result in the death of the dominated languages. As noted earlier in this study, the relationship between language and culture, history, and world view is so close that it is hardly possible to comprehensively talk about one without making reference to the other.

We have earlier noted that place names are historical records, identity markers, cultural bearers, and power emblems. Thus, an argument can be made that the toponymic hegemony noted in the study is a manifestation of the dominance of the Tonga people's culture, history, language, and identity in the studied districts. Since there are other ethnic groups that live in the districts in addition to the Tonga people, it can be argued further that the history, culture, language, and identity of these ethnic groups are dominated by that of the Tonga people. This status quo, however, is expected given that Tonga is the ROL of the province and districts under study and that, according to the census report, there are more Tonga people in the Southern Province. That notwithstanding, our view is that the history, culture, identity, and language of few people is as important as that of many people.

To better understand the effects of having one's culture, history and identity over-shadowed or dominated, there is need to know the importance of these social aspects to any group of people. The culture/tradition and history of any group of people is invaluablely important to a point that its destabilisation becomes a ruthless assault on the *humanhood* of that group [26]. The term *humanhood* in this context is used to refer to anything that makes a group of people live a dignified life socially, economically, culturally and religiously, among others. Similalry, opines that "if a race [or group of people] has no history, if it has no worthwhile tradition... it stands in danger of being exterminated..." It

follows then that the dominance of the Tonga people's culture, history and identity through the dominance of Tonga place names, has the potential to dehumanize, exterminate, and dislocate the Ila, Leya and Toka people socially, economically and religiously.

### 5.2. Scale in School Naming

The data studied also showed that there is a striking difference between private and government school names. Private school names are predominantly given in the English language while government school names are predominantly in Tonga. The list of school names examined in this study comprises 42 private schools. Out of the 42 private schools names, 33 are in English, 4 in Tonga while 1 is in Bemba. The language in which the remaining 4 are named was not identified. Looking at the combination of their morphemes, we can only speculate that some of them are bastardized forms of English names.

One of the plausible explanations, which was corroborated by three proprietors of private schools, for this state of affairs is that the goal of namers of private schools is to imbue high status on their schools. The rationale behind this philosophy is that English occupies a top notch on the language scale in Zambia because it is the official language of the country. For that reason, bestowing English names would be reflective of the high status that the schools should be viewed.

Three owners of private schools noted that the goal for most parents who send their children to private schools is so that they can speak and write good English. As such, one of the ways to attract them is to select an English name for the school. The respondents opined that a well thought out name; an English name, can easily pull parents to bring their children to the school. This is consistent with the observation that sometimes place names are selected on account of the status they command [cf 28]. When asked why it was important to imbue high status on private schools, the respondents argued that private schools are principally business entities; they are run on a profit-making basis. As a result, high status for these schools is invaluable if the schools are to compete favourably with government schools. A selection of place names driven by financial gain as the result is known as commodification in critical toponymies literature.

## Appendix

**Table A1.** List of school names in Kazungula, Livingstone, Namwala, and Siavonga districts.

S/N	School name	Language	District	Ward	Location	Type
1	Acacia International	English	Livingstone	Simonga	Urban	P. S
2	Allison Future	English	Livingstone	Maramba	Urban	P. S
3	Baambwe	Tonga	Namwala	Baambwe	Rural	G. S
4	Bbakasa	Tonga	Siavonga	Nanyanga	Rural	G. S
5	Bbugali	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
6	Bbuyu	Tonga	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
7	Beautiful Beginnings	English	Livingstone	Shungu	Urban	P. S
8	Bombwe	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
9	Bright Day Christian	English	Livingstone	Libala	Urban	P. S
10	Buiketo	Lozi	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S

## 6. Conclusion

This study has used school names to argue that even seemingly banal place names are drawn in social power struggle, thereby making them poised toward the interests of their bestowers. It has also been shown that the dominance of Tonga government school names (re) produces, legitimizes and brings into mundane existence the Tonga people's worldview, history, and culture while denigrating that of the Ila, Toka, and Leya. This conclusion finds justification from the assertion that: "place naming represents a means of claiming the landscape, materially and symbolically, and using its power to privilege one's world view over another. [This is so because] toponyms are not simply evidence of history... but part of the ideologically driven process of visibly grounding the past into the present and framing these historical meanings as legitimate [28].

Thus, toponymic hegemony is an insignia of victory by the bestowers. On the other hand, this victory comes with a heavy price on those whose culture, identity, culture, and language is over-shadowed in the sense that it entails that the nucleus of their existence is threatened.

It has been shown in this study that government school names (which are predominantly named in Tonga) which appear innocent on account that they name schools in areas predominantly inhabited by the Tonga are not innocent; they perpetuate unequal social power balance in most of the social aspects that are projected in place names, especially that there are other ethnic groups that co-exist with the Tonga people in the concerned districts. On the other hand, the study shows how private school names are handy in leveraging the interests of those who own them. In other words, this study has contributed to a body of literature which argues that place names are key agents in social contestations. The outstanding feature of this study is that it exposes the non-prosaic temperament of place naming and place names using data drawn from both rural and urban areas.

The study recommends a study which examines all the school names in the Southern Province. Such a study may underscore toponymic hegemony and toponymic replication which may enhance the arguments advanced in this paper.

S/N	School name	Language	District	Ward	Location	Type
11	Bunsanga	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
12	Busangu	Tonga	Namwala	Maala	Rural	G. S
13	Busongo	Tonga	Livingstone	Dambwa	Urban	P. S
14	Bwizu	Tonga	Namwala	Mbeza	Rural	G. S
15	Chaanga	Tonga	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
16	Chaanga	Tonga	Siavonga	Mulimya	Rural	G. S
17	Chaba	Tonga	Livingstone	Mukuni	Rural	G. S
18	Chabalanda	Tonga	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S
19	Cheshire Homes	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	G. S
20	Chibiya	Tonga	Namwala	Nakamboma	Rural	G. S
21	Chibote	Tonga	Namwala	Chitonga	Rural	G. S
22	Chibule	Tonga	Namwala	Chitongo	Rural	G. S
23	Chibunze	Tonga	Namwala	Baambwe	Rural	G. S
24	Chibuyu	Tonga	Kazungula	Katapazi	Rural	G. S
25	Chiili	Tonga	Kazungula	Chooma	Rural	G. S
26	Chilaba	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
27	Chilala Riverside	Tonga	Namwala	Maala	Rural	G. S
28	Chileleko	Tonga	Livingstone	Kasiya	Rural	G. S
29	Chilumino	Tonga	Namwala	Kantengwa	Rural	G. S
30	Chimilute	X	Livingstone	Mosi-Oa-Tunya	Urban	P. S
31	Chininde	Tonga	Siavonga	Nanyanga	Rural	G. S
32	Chinkonzya	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
33	Chisiwe	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
34	Chisumpule	Tonga	Namwala	Chitongo	Rural	G. S
35	Chivuma	Tonga	Namwala	Chitongo	Rural	G. S
36	Chizilika	Tonga	Siavonga	Mulimya	Rural	G. S
37	Chooma	Tonga	Kazungula	Chooma	Rural	G. S
38	Choonzo	Tonga	Kazungula	Moomba	Rural	G. S
39	Chris Media	English	Namwala	Chitongo	Rural	G. S
40	Christ The King	English	Livingstone	Mwalibonena	Urban	G. S
41	Chuulu Chikunka	Tonga	Namwala	Chitongo	Rural	G. S
42	Chuunga Namalazu	Tonga	Kazungula	Mukuni	Rural	G. S
43	Dambilo	Tonga	Siavonga	Lusangazi	Rural	G. S
44	Dambwa Christian	Tonga	Livingstone	Freedom	Urban	P. S
45	Dambwa Secondary	Tonga	Livingstone	Dambwa	Urban	G. S
46	David L/Stone Memorial	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	P. S
47	David Livingstone Secondary	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	G. S
48	Dibbwi	Tonga	Siavonga	Manchamvwa	Rural	G. S
49	Donaleo	X	Kazungula	Mandia	Urban	P. S
50	Dundumwezi	Tonga	Kazungula	Nguba	Rural	G. S
51	Ebenezer Trust	English	Livingstone	Dambwa	Urban	P. S
52	Ellain Britel	English	Livingstone	Mosi-Oa-Tunya	Urban	P. S
53	Faith Christian Trust	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	P. S
54	Father Hugh Memorial	English	Livingstone	Kasiya	Urban	P. S
55	Game	English	Siavonga	Kariba	Urban	G. S
56	Gates Of Silver Lights	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	P. S
57	Global Samaritan	English	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	P. S
57	Great North Academy	English	Livingstone	Dr Mubitana	Urban	P. S
58	Guta	Tonga	Kazungula	Nguba	Rural	G. S
59	Hachibozi	Tonga	Siavonga	Mulimya	Rural	G. S
60	Hakaloba	Tonga	Namwala	Ndema	Rural	G. S
61	Hamajata	Tonga	Siavonga	Mulimya	Rural	G. S
62	Highlands Creative	English	Livingstone	Dr Mubitana	Urban	P. S
63	Highlands	English	Livingstone	Dr Mubitana	Urban	G. S
64	Hillcrest	English	Livingstone	Mosi-Oa-Tunya	Urban	G. S
65	Holycross	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	G. S
66	Ichila	Tonga	Namwala	Ndema	Rural	G. S
67	Indeco	English	Livingstone	Simonga	Urban	G. S
68	Inongwe Basic	Ila	Namwala	Ngabo	Rural	G. S
69	Inongwe Central	Ila	Namwala	Ngabo	Rural	G. S
70	Itapa	Ila	Namwala	Itapa	Rural	G. S
71	James Siachitema	English	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
72	Janda	Tonga	Kazungula	Chooma	Rural	G. S
73	Johannmyburg	X	Siavonga	Nanyanga	Rural	G. S
74	Kaambo	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
75	Kabanga	Tonga	Namwala	Mandondo	Rural	G. S
76	Kabulamwanda	Tonga	Namwala	Kabulamwanda	Rural	G. S

S/N	School name	Language	District	Ward	Location	Type
77	Kabulanjovu	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
78	Kabuyu	Tonga	Siavonga	Sinadambwe	Rural	G. S
79	Kabuyu	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
80	Kabwe	Tonga	Namwala	Moobola	Rural	G. S
81	Kachabula	Tonga	Kazungula	Sikaunzwe	Rural	G. S
82	Kalamba	Tonga	Kazungula	Moomba	Rural	G. S
83	Kalundu	Tonga	Namwala	Namwala	Urban	G. S
84	Kamatanda	Tonga	Kazungula	Mandia	Rural	G. S
85	Kamwi	Tonga	Kazungula	Mukuni	Rural	G. S
86	Kanchele	Tonga	Kazungula	Kanchele	Rural	G. S
87	Kanimbwa	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
88	Kanono	Tonga	Kazungula	Kanchele	Rural	G. S
89	Kantamba	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
90	Kantengwa	Tonga	Namwala	Kantengwa	Rural	G. S
91	Kantumbi	Tonga	Kazungula	Kanchele	Rural	G. S
92	Kapili	Tonga	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
93	Kariba	X	Siavonga	Kariba	Urban	G. S
94	Kasaya	Tonga	Kazungula	Sikaunzwe	Rural	G. S
95	Kasenga	Tonga	Namwala	Kabulamwanda	Rural	G. S
96	Kasensa	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
97	Kasiya	Tonga	Livingstone	Kasiya	Rural	G. S
98	Kasonkomwa	Tonga	Namwala	Itapa	Rural	G. S
99	Katapazi	Tonga	Kazungula	Katapazi	Rural	G. S
100	Katemwa	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
102	Katombola	Tonga	Kazungula	Mandia	Rural	G. S
103	Katondo	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
104	Katowa	Tonga	Namwala	Namakambo	Rural	G. S
105	Katubya	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
106	Katulumba	Tonga	Siavonga	Kariba	Rural	G. S
107	Kaundu	Tonga	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
108	Kaunga	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
109	Kauwe	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
110	Kawewa	Tonga	Kazungula	Sikaunzwe	Rural	G. S
111	Kawila	Tonga	Siavonga	Lusangazi	Rural	G. S
112	Kawilizhi	Ila	Namwala	Baambwe	Rural	G. S
113	Kazungula Primary	Tonga	Kazungula	Mandia	Rural	G. S
114	Kazungula Secondary	Tonga	Kazungula	Mandia	Rural	G. S
115	Kazungula Riverview	Tonga	Kazungula	Malanda	Rural	G. S
116	Kazunikalila	Ila	Namwala	Ndema	Rural	G. S
117	Kentworth	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	P. S
118	Kids Ark Trust	English	Livingstone	Libala	Urban	P. S
119	Kooma	Tonga	Kazungula	Sekute	Rural	G. S
120	Koonje	Ila	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
121	Kulishoma	Tonga	Siavonga	Kariba	Urban	P. S
122	Libala	Lozi	Livingstone	Mosi-Oa-Tunya	Urban	G. S
123	Libala	Lozi	Kazungula	Katapazi	Rural	G. S
124	Libuyu Primary	Tonga	Livingstone	Libuyu	Urban	G. S
125	Libuyu Secondary	Tonga	Livingstone	Libuyu	Urban	G. S
126	Light Of Hope	English	Livingstone		Urban	G. S
127	Linda School	Tonga	Livingstone	Nansanzu	Urban	G. S
128	Linda East Primary	Tonga	Livingstone	Nansanzu	Urban	G. S
129	Linda Secondary	Tonga	Livingstone	Nansanzu	Urban	G. S
130	Linda South	Tonga	Livingstone	Shungu	Urban	G. S
131	Linda West	Tonga	Livingstone	Kariba	Urban	G. S
132	Little Lambs	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	P. S
133	Little Teddy Ece	English	Livingstone	Simonga	Urban	P. S
134	Livingstone	English	Livingstone	Freedom	Urban	G. S
135	Local Cowboy Ece	English	Livingstone	Simonga	Urban	P. S
136	Lubanga	Ila	Namwala	Lubanga	Urban	G. S
137	Lubangabanga	Ila	Namwala	Kabulamwanda	Rural	G. S
138	Lumbo	Tonga	Kazungula	Mandia	Rural	G. S
139	Lunungu	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
140	Lupani	Tonga	Kazungula	Sikaunzwe	Rural	G. S
141	Luwe	Tonga	Kazungula	Chooma	Rural	G. S
142	Maala	Ila	Namwala	Maala	Rural	G. S
143	Maanumbwami	Tonga	Livingstone	Libuyu	Urban	G. S
144	Mabwa	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S

S/N	School name	Language	District	Ward	Location	Type
145	Mabwe	Tonga	Kazungula	Moomba	Rural	G. S
146	Mahe Christian Academy	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	P. S
147	Mahululo	Tonga	Livingstone	Kasiya	Rural	G. S
148	Makaba	Ila	Namwala	Chitonga	Rural	G. S
149	Makkaba	Tonga	Siavonga	Sinadambwe	Rural	G. S
150	Makoli	Tonga	Kazungula	Katapazi	Rural	G. S
151	Makotoolo	Tonga	Namwala	Chitongo	Rural	G. S
152	Makumba	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
153	Makunka Primary	Tonga	Kazungula	Sekute	Rural	G. S
154	Makunka Secondary	Tonga	Kazungula	Sekute	Rural	G. S
155	Malembela	Ila	Namwala	Ngabo	Rural	G. S
156	Malima	Tonga	Kazungula	Katapazi	Rural	G. S
157	Malimba	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
158	Malombe	Tonga	Kazungula	Chooma River	Rural	G. S
159	Malota	Tonga	Livingstone	Mulungushi	Urban	G. S
160	Mambova	Tonga	Kazungula	Sikaunzwe	Rural	G. S
161	Mamili Happy Horizon	English	Kazungula	Mandia	Urban	P. S
162	Mamvu	Tonga	Namwala	Kabulamwanda	Rural	G. S
163	Manchamvwa Inland	Tonga	Siavonga	Munyama	Rural	G. S
164	Manchamvwa L. Shore	Tonga	Siavonga	Munyama	Rural	G. S
165	Mandia	Lozi	Kazungula	Mukuni	Urban	G. S
166	Mandondo	Ila	Namwala	Mandondo	Rural	G. S
167	Mangwa	Tonga	Kazungula	Chooma	Rural	G. S
168	Mangwele	Ila	Namwala	Chitonga	Rural	G. S
169	Mankodi	Tonga	Kazungula	Kanchele	Rural	G. S
170	Manono	Tonga	Kazungula	Sekute	Rural	G. S
171	Mantolo	Ila	Namwala	Itapa	Rural	G. S
172	Manyemunyemu	Tonga	Kazungula	Katapazi	Rural	G. S
173	Mapampi	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
174	Maramba	X	Livingstone	Kasiya	Urban	G. S
175	Maranatha	English	Livingstone	Lizuma	Urban	G. S
176	Maria Assumpta	X	Livingstone	Libuyu	Urban	G. S
177	Masompe	Ila	Namwala	Ndema	Rural	G. S
178	Matengu	Tonga	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S
179	Matuwa	Tonga	Siavonga	Simamba	Rural	G. S
180	Maunga	Tonga	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S
181	Mayobo	Tonga	Kazungula	Nguba	Rural	G. S
182	Mazhiba	Ila	Namwala	Ndema	Rural	G. S
183	Messiah	English	Livingstone	Zambezi	Urban	P. S
184	Mitchel	English	Siavonga	Kariba	Rural	G. S
185	Moobola	Tonga	Namwala	Moobola	Rural	G. S
186	Moomba	Tonga	Kazungula	Moomba	Rural	G. S
187	Moonga	Tonga	Siavonga	Lusangazi	Rural	G. S
188	Mopani	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	P. S
189	Mother Eve	English	Livingstone	Lubuyu	Urban	P. S
190	Mpango	Tonga	Siavonga	Simamba	Rural	G. S
191	Mubiana	Lozi	Kazungula	Katapazi	Rural	G. S
192	Mubuyu	Tonga	Siavonga	Simamba	Rural	P. S
193	Mubuyu Ovc	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
194	Muchambila	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
195	Muchila	Tonga	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
196	Mujala	Tonga	Livingstone	Freedom	Urban	G. S
197	Mukamusaba	Tonga	Livingstone	Freedom	Urban	G. S
198	Mukuni	Tonga	Kazungula	Mukuni	Rural	G. S
199	Mulala	Tonga	Namwala	Ndema	Rural	G. S
200	Mulemi	Tonga	Kazungula	Mandia	Rural	G. S
201	Mulindi	Tonga	Kazungula	Katapazi	Rural	G. S
202	Mulwani	Tonga	Livingstone	Simonga	Urban	G. S
203	Muntanga	Tonga	Siavonga	Mulimya	Rural	G. S
204	Munyama	Tonga	Siavonga	Manchamvwa	Rural	G. S
205	Musamumuyumu	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
206	Musokotwane	Tonga	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S
207	Musokotwane	Tonga	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S
208	Mutwanjili	Tonga	Kazungula	Katapazi	Rural	G. S
209	Muyala	Tonga	Kazungula	Nguba	Rural	G. S
210	Muyunda	Lozi	Kazungula	Nguba	Rural	G. S
211	Mwaangwe	Ila	Namwala	Mandando	Rural	G. S



S/N	School name	Language	District	Ward	Location	Type
212	Mwandi	Lozi	Livingstone	Freedom	Urban	G. S
213	Mweemba	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
214	Nabutezi	Tonga	Siavonga	Simamba	Rural	G. S
215	Nachilinda	Tonga	Kazungula	Sekute	Rural	G. S
216	Nachuumba	Ila	Namwala	Chitongo	Rural	G. S
217	Nakachenje	Ila	Namwala	Kabulamwanda	Rural	G. S
218	Nakamboma	Ila	Namwala	Nakamboma	Rural	G. S
219	Nakatindi	Lozi	Livingstone	Simonga	Urban	G. S
220	Nakavundu	Ila	Namwala	Itapa	Rural	G. S
221	Nalituwe	Lozi	Livingstone	Mosi-Oa-Tunya	Urban	G. S
222	Nalombe	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
223	Nalukwale	Ila	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
224	Namaamba	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
225	Namakaka	Tonga	Namwala	Ndema	Rural	G. S
226	Namakube-Musemu	Tonga	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
227	Namankubaula	Ila	Namwala	Ngabo	Rural	G. S
228	Namapande	Tonga	Kazungula	Sikaunzwe	Rural	G. S
229	Namasanga	Ila	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
230	Namasute	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
231	Namatama	Lozi	Livingstone	Namatama	Urban	G. S
232	Namayovu	Ila	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
233	Naminwe	Ila	Namwala	Ngabo	Rural	G. S
234	Namoomba	Tonga	Siavonga	Nanyanga	Rural	G. S
235	Nampongo	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
236	Nampuyani	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
237	Namubanga	Tonga	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
238	Namudimba	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
239	Namukaba	Tonga	Kazungula	Mandia	Rural	G. S
240	Namumu	Tonga	Siavonga	Kariba	Rural	G. S
241	Namusenga	Tonga	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
242	Namusonde	Tonga	Namwala	Kabulamwanda	Rural	G. S
243	Namwala Central	Tonga	Namwala	Namwal Central	Urban	G. S
244	Namwala Secondary	Tonga	Namwala	Lubanga	Urban	G. S
245	Namwala Primary	Tonga	Namwala	Lubanga	Urban	G. S
246	Nansanzu	Tonga	Livingstone	Nansanzu	Urban	G. S
247	Nansongwa	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
248	Nanyati	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
249	Nashongo	Tonga	Siavonga	Lusangazi	Rural	G. S
250	Natebe Dam Primary	Tonga	Livingstone	Kasiya	Rural	G. S
251	Natebe Primary	Tonga	Livingstone	Kasiya	Rural	G. S
252	Nazibula	Tonga	Kazungula	Nguba	Rural	G. S
253	Nchole	Tonga	Namwala	Kabulamwanda	Rural	G. S
254	Ndeele	Tonga	Kazungula	Mukuni	Rural	G. S
255	Ndema	Tonga	Namwala	Ndema	Rural	G. S
256	Ngabo	Tonga	Namwala	Ngabo	Rural	G. S
257	N'gandu	Tonga	Kazungula	Mukuni	Rural	G. S
258	Nguba	Tonga	Kazungula	Chooma	Rural	G. S
259	Ngweeze- Malo	Tonga	Kazungula	Sikaunzwe	Rural	G. S
260	Ngwenya	Tonga	Livingstone	Namatama	Rural	G. S
261	Niko Girls	Tonga	Namwala	Kabulamwanda	Rural	G. S
262	Nkalikile	Tonga	Namwala	Kabulamwanda	Rural	G. S
263	Nkombi	Tonga	Namwala	Moobola	Rural	G. S
264	Nsanti	Tonga	Namwala	Kabulamwanda	Rural	G. S
265	Nsongwe	Tonga	Kazungula	Mukuni	Rural	G. S
266	Nyanzabili	Tonga	Livingstone	Libuyu	Urban	G. S
267	Nyawa Primary	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
268	Nyawa Secondary	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
269	Nzwida	Tonga	Kazungula	Kanchele	Rural	G. S
270	Oba Premia Trust	X	Siavonga	Kariba	Urban	P. S
271	Palmgrove	English	Livingstone	Shungu	Urban	P. S
272	Parins	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	P. S
273	Queen's Gate	English	Siavonga	Kariba	Urban	P. S
274	Saala	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
275	Sekute	Tonga	Kazungula	Sekute	Rural	G. S
276	Senkobo	Tonga	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S
277	Shababwa	Ila	Namwala	Maala	Rural	G. S
278	Shamukunchi	Ila	Namwala	Maala	Rural	G. S

S/N	School name	Language	District	Ward	Location	Type
279	Shamutiki	Ila	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
280	Shichaanda	Ila	Namwala	Mbeza	Rural	G. S
281	Shimashikwe	Ila	Namwala	Itapa	Rural	G. S
282	Shimatambo	Ila	Namwala	Moobola	Rural	G. S
283	Shimayoba	Ila	Namwala	Maala	Rural	G. S
284	Shimukopola	Ila	Namwala	Kantengwa	Rural	G. S
285	Shimunyumbwe	Ila	Namwala	Chitongo	Rural	G. S
286	Shokombwe	Ila	Namwala	Chitongo	Rural	G. S
287	Shungu	Tonga	Livingstone	Maramba	Urban	G. S
288	Siacabakubi	Tonga	Kazungula	Kanchele	Rural	G. S
289	Siakalima	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
290	Siakalima	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
291	Siakasipa	Tonga	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S
292	Siamasimbi	Tonga	Kazungula	Mukuni	Rural	G. S
293	Siamatika	Tonga	Siavonga	Shimamba	Rural	G. S
294	Siambaulwa	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
295	Siamulunga	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
296	Siamunde	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
297	Sianchelwa	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
298	Siandunda	Tonga	Kazungula	Mandia	Rural	G. S
299	Siansina	Tonga	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S
300	Sianyongo	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
301	Sianyoolo	Tonga	Siavonga	Sinadambwe	Rural	G. S
302	Siavonga Primary	Tonga	Siavonga	Kariba	Urban	G. S
303	Siavonga Secondary	Tonga	Siavonga	Kariba	Urban	G. S
304	Sibbulu	Tonga	Kazungula	Sikaunzwe	Rural	G. S
305	Sichaanda	Tonga	Namwala	Mbeza	Rural	G. S
306	Sichibaka	Tonga	Kazungula	Nyawa	Rural	G. S
307	Sichifulo	Tonga	Kazungula	Chooma	Rural	G. S
308	Sihumbwa	Tonga	Kazungula	Kanchele	Rural	G. S
309	Sikachapa	Tonga	Kazungula	Chooma	Rural	G. S
310	Sikaunzwe	Tonga	Kazungula	Sikaunzwe	Rural	G. S
311	Silelo	Tonga	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S
312	Silongo	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
313	Siluyasila	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
314	Simamba	Tonga	Siavonga	Simamba	Rural	G. S
315	Simango	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
326	Simanje	Tonga	Namwala	Nakamboma	Rural	G. S
317	Simatobolo	Tonga	Livingstone	Kasiya	Rural	G. S
318	Simonga	Tonga	Livingstone	Simonga	Rural	G. S
319	Simukali	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
320	Simukombo	Tonga	Kazungula	Sekute	Rural	G. S
321	Simuumbwe	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
322	Sinadambwe	Tonga	Siavonga	Sinadambwe	Rural	G. S
323	Sinde	Tonga	Kazungula	Musokotwane	Rural	G. S
324	Singwamba	Tonga	Kazungula	Chooma	Rural	G. S
325	Sinsimuka	Tonga	Kazungula	Kauwe	Rural	G. S
326	Sitondo	Tonga	Kazungula	Moomba	Rural	G. S
327	Sons Of Thunder	English	Kazungula	Kasiya	Rural	G. S
328	Hermann Gmeiner	English	Livingstone	Dr Mubitana	Rural	P. S
329	South Horizon	English	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	P. S
330	St Margret	English	Namwala	Moobola	Rural	G. S
331	St Mary's	English	Livingstone	Libuyu	Urban	G. S
332	St Peter's	English	Livingstone	Freedom	Urban	G. S
333	St Raphael's	English	Livingstone	Namatama	Urban	G. S
334	St. Kizito Ece	English	Livingstone	Simonga	Urban	P. S
335	Syakalinda	Tonga	Siavonga	Mulimya	Rural	G. S
336	Syamwiinga	Tonga	Siavonga	Mulimya	Rural	G. S
337	Syanalumba	Tonga	Livingstone	Mwalibonena	Urban	G. S
338	Taikila Ece	Bemba	Livingstone	Dambwa	Urban	P. S
339	Tampwe	Tonga	Namwala	Namakube	Rural	G. S
340	Terry Schwartz	English	Livingstone	Mubitana	Urban	G. S
341	The Kings	English	Livingstone	Mubitana	Urban	P. S
342	Thebe	English	Kazungula	Mandia	Urban	P. S
343	Tongabezi Trust	X	Kazungula	Simonga	Rural	P. S
344	Tusime	Tonga	Kazungula	Simango	Rural	G. S
345	Twabuka	Tonga	Livingstone	Simonga	Rural	G. S

S/N	School name	Language	District	Ward	Location	Type
346	Ungwe	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
347	Vaala	Tonga	Kazungula	Ngwezi	Rural	G. S
348	Victoria	English	Livingstone	Mosi-Oa-Tunya	Urban	P. S
349	Vision	English	Livingstone	Freedom	Urban	P. S
350	Wilson Adventist	English	Livingstone	Freedom	Urban	G. S
351	Woodlands	English	Kazungula	Katapazi	Rural	G. S
352	Zalu	Tonga	Kazungula	Nguba	Rural	G. S
353	Zambezi	X	Livingstone	Akapelwa	Urban	G. S
354	Zambezi Sawmills	English	Livingstone	Zambezi	Urban	G. S

Source: Provincial Education Office, Southern Province, Zambia.

Key.

G. S: Government school.

P. S: Private school.

X: Naming language not identified.

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