

Mngqwayi: a stick throwing game of the Kalanga people of Zimbabwe.

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Abstract

This paper describes an indigenous game, *mngqwayi*, a stick throwing game of the *Kalanga* people of Zimbabwe. Participation in traditional indigenous games by communities improves their quality of life by supporting self-determined sports, games and cultural activities, which encourages equal access to participation in the social and cultural fabric of the communities.

Data was collected from a population of the *Kalanga* people of Zimbabwe. Focus Group Discussions, individual interviews, demonstrations, observations, visual recordings and audio recordings assisted in capturing of physical skills, techniques and game patterns.

Players, mostly boys, played the game in summer on grasslands and riverbanks, used long slender sticks blunt at one end and aerodynamically sharpened at the other end, with the object of having the stick ricochet, slide on the ground or traject off the ground for some distance. Competence is premised on power, skill and technique, from which, *mngqwayi* can be classified as a game of physical skill. The physical and cultural appeal of this game makes it ideal for sportification and institutionalization.

Key words: *Mngqwayi*, Traditional game, Indigenous sport, Recreational activity, Kalanga people

Introduction

Games have a significant role in the lives of all human beings. They embrace the fundamental nature of Homo sapiens, which is play. Hence, Eichberg and Norgaard, (2000) say, "the human being is only then really human, when playing." The Kalanga people of Zimbabwe are indeed no different from any other group of people in the world as they also have their own forms of play for recreational purposes. Just as it is possible to identify people by their language, it is also possible to identify people by their forms of games and play. Indeed, the Kalanga people as an ethnic group of people in Zimbabwe can also be identified by their games and play which are unique to their existence and culture. Among this plethora of games is a stick throwing game called *mngqwayi*. It is a game in which skill in physical performance is the dominating factor in achieving an end result Cheska 1987, in van der Merwe and Bressan, (1995).

Games and sport have been found to reflect the evolution of a people's culture. Participation in Traditional Indigenous games by rural communities improves their quality of life by supporting self determined sport and cultural activities. This encourages equal access to participation in the social and cultural fabric of the community that they reside in and which respects indigenous distinctiveness, Eichberg and Norgaard (2000).

Cheska, cited in van der Merwe and Bressan, 1995, looks at socio-cultural games, dance along with art, ornamentation, music, drama, song and literature as products that reflect and reinforce the beliefs of a society, serving the needs both of the society in which they are found and the individual performing them. These cultural activities are miniature windows through which, values, behavior and other cultural activities constituting a unique group of people are seen.

Games as cultural mirror and product carry with them the reflection of lived realities and “cognitive maps” of communities within a given socio-cultural and historical context (Stuart, 1993 cited in Burnett & Hollander 2003). Traditional games, play and recreational activities are generally regarded as important aspects of a people’s culture, although in some modern societies they tend to be neglected in favor of general disciplinary training sport. In sportive practice, play and games are used as educational entertainment for children or as warm-up (Eichberg & Noogar, 2000). Ethnic groups and people distinguish themselves from each other by their language and other cultural activities such as play, games and recreational activities. Play, games and recreational activities provide the bodily language for the different cultures world over, (Eichberg & Norgaard 2000).

The recognition by academics that a community’s leisure time activities are as important in molding its identity as is its political climate or metaphysical view of the world, has resulted in a flurry of play related studies with pragmatic overtones. A number (such as Glassford, 1970; Lansley, 1968; Miller, 1983; and Salter, 1974) have focused on the impact of Western civilization on ethnic minorities and have tried to assess the extent to which traditional play cultures have been modified through acculturation, (Van der Merwe, 1990).

North American Indians have revived the game of “snow snake”, in which a short spear is hurled as far as possible along a track in the snow (Renson, 1992). This game has some similarities with the stick throwing game observed among the Bushmen of Namibia and the Kalanga of Zimbabwe. The name *mngqwayi* is derived from the Ndebele word *Mngqwayi*, meaning stick. *Mngqwayi* is also known as *umshiza*, *umzaca* or *isikwili* depending on the regional discourse. These terms are Ndebele or Zulu names for stick, (Coetzee, 2002). In their research Van de Merwe and Salter, (1999), discovered a variety of names that are used in Namibia to refer to the stick throwing game, such as *ba*, *a* (a formal play), *arab* (a Nama word) and *x’abi*.

The game as reported among the Bushmen of Namibia employed straight sticks about 50 – 70 cms long and 0.5 –1.0 cms in diameter to play the game. Players first removed the bark and smoothed their rigid, slightly tapered sticks (Van de Merwe & Salter 1990). In the study of the Zulu stick fighting, Coetzee, (2002) found out that the length of the *induku* depends on the physical stature of its owner, but is generally about 88centimetres in length. Likewise in the *mngqwayi game*, the length of the stick depends on the general stature of the thrower with the average length of the sticks used during the demonstrations being 85 centimetres. The *Induku’s* circumference increases slightly from bottom to top and the extra weight that the head carries enhances the mobility of stick during offensive maneuvers. The sticks for stick fighting have also a sharpened end point, which can be used for stabbing (Coetzee, 2002).

In their research, Van der Merwe & Salter, (1990) observed that in some schools in Namibia, the boys cut their own throwing sticks from a raisin bush (*dqhoe*). All foliage was removed and the bark peeled off. The sticks were about a meter long and slightly tapered. The stick was held by the thick end and when thrown would turn 180° in the air so that it flew away from the mound thick end first. Players approach randomly from one end at a trot. When all had thrown, they retrieved their sticks, rearranged the grass, and run back toward the mound from the other direction. There was no vying for position. The stick was delivered with a lot of force. A successful throw left the mound with a very distinct whipping sound.

Variations were observed in mounds used by the Bushmen in their similar stick throwing game. The throwing surfaces varied from old anthills to mounds of clay and sand half a metre to a metre high and several meters around the base covered by some grass. In some cases boys constructed mounds of old clay with approaches on opposite sides or mounds of sand and earth about a half metre high covered with dried veld grass. The sand was packed hard by wetting it with water. Long dried veld grass was spread over the top (Van de Merwe & Salter, 1990).

***Mngqwayi* as a game of physical skill**

According to Cheska’s classification scheme, a “game” is defined as an organized, a fixed sequence of action or plot” that has “an uncertain outcome, resolution or end result,” (Cheska, 1987, in Van de Merwe and Bressan, 1995:33).

In the game of *mngqwayi* the players compete against oneself performance, amongst each other and/or cooperate to arrive at a conclusion to their game. According to Cheska's presentation, in van de Merwe and Bressan, (1995), seven major categories of traditional games are proposed:

1. Games of physical skill
2. Games of strategy
3. Games of chance
4. Games of Memory
5. Rhythm Games
6. Stimulation Games
7. Verbal games

From this classification scheme *mngqwayi* can be classified as a game of physical skill. Games of physical skill are games in which skill in physical performance is the dominating factor in achieving an end result. In this kind of game, the outcome is determined by the physical and motor skills of the players, e.g. endurance strength, co-ordination, agility, speed etc. Within the main category of games of physical skill, four types of games of physical skill are identified:

- Games dependent on the performance of physical skills only
- Games dependent on the performance of physical skills with the element of strategy involved.
- Games dependent on the performance of physical skills but which luck is also a factor.
- Games dependent on the performance of physical skills with a special emphasis of the rhythmic aspect on performance.

Mngqwayi definitely is a game dependent on the performance of physical skills with the element of strategy involved.

Methodology

Population

Kalanga constitute the people and language, which is spoken in Southwestern parts of Zimbabwe in Bulilima and Mangwe Districts. Kalanga is one of the ethnic groups of Zimbabwe. Linguistically and culturally they belong to the main Karanga tribe of Zimbabwe. The Kalanga are part of an ethnic group which has its origins closely linked to the Shona ethnic group, although today they are viewed to be linked to the Ndebele, an ethnic group which took over their land in the mid-nineteenth century, Nyathi (2005).

Data was collected from a population of the Kalanga people of Zimbabwe found in the district of Bulilima which is part of a dichotomy of two districts, Bulilima and Mangwe in the west of Zimbabwe, where most of the Kalanga people are found.

Sample

The sample consisted of middle aged and elderly males and females. They all resided in the six villages of Masendu ward of Bulilima district and should have spent their childhood there. Six Focus Group Discussions were held averaging 15 to 20 members. One Focus Group Discussion made up of 15 *mngqwayi* players and former players was held. Fifteen individual interviews were conducted. Between 95 and 100 demonstrations were observed. Eight demonstrations were video taped.

Methods

The indigenous games and recreational activities were sought and traced from the villagers through Focus Group Discussions and individual interviews. After tracing the games and recreational activities from all the six villages using focus groups, this was followed by intensive interviews in which individuals were interviewed by the research team recording the data through a video camera and Dictaphone. The individuals interviewed explained how the game was played, when it was played and the purposes of the game.

The interviews were then followed by demonstrations of the game by villagers who were mostly in the 50year age group. To verify the authenticity of the game and to gather more detail and depth of how the game was played the demonstrations were done from village to village. Observations, visual recordings and audio recordings assisted in capturing of physical skills, techniques and game patterns. When the game was

explained prior to demonstrations and during interview sessions, complete descriptions of the game aspects and some rules were captured visually and in writing.

The demonstrations were done on various surfaces in the different villages. The villagers chose the site for demonstrations. In most cases this was done on surfaces where there was considerable space to allow for the sliding movement of the stick for a considerable distance without disturbance. Participatory observation was also used during demonstrations.

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed used the following procedures:

- Classification of themes to identify recurrent themes.
- Playback of videos and still photos to further analyse technique.
- Verification through triangulation of the methods used.

Findings/Observations

Participation

Both males and females ranging from 8-25 years played this game. There was no fixed maximum number of participants at a particular time. Nonetheless, female stick throwing was a result of them being involved in cattle herding where they ended up playing with the boys and also learnt the game. Thus, Kalanga young women ended up competing with the boys. The game was considered an activity for the young people and they usually stopped playing the game in their mid-twenties, by which time they would have learnt the skills of the game.

Spectators made up of younger fellow herd boys and girls who would have accompanied their older brothers and sisters to herd cattle in the pastures, they would be present during stick throwing competitions to acknowledge and cheer up their village competitors.

Object of the game.

The throwing of *mngqwayi* provided an opportunity for the teenager herd boys and girls to develop throwing skills and have fun. Throwers also needed to distinguish themselves as proficient throwers and hence earn respect in their herds groups. *Mngqwayi* is a game whose dynamics are generally playful. This game is more popular during the summer seasons on grasslands or on couch grass covered riverbanks. *Mngqwayi* was mainly for entertainment and for driving back cattle going off or out of the herd.

Competitions were done for “courtship” of a particularly beautiful girl in the area. Boys would throw the sticks to see who the winner was and the winner would be “given the girl” even though he would not have made any marriage proposals. If another thrower superseded the longest thrower’s distance then, he became the winner and “took the girl away” from the previous winner, this went on until the day’s winner is determined.

The playing area

The nature of the throwing surface varied from village to village. In some villages players preferred a flat grassy surface; others preferred a bare surface while villagers from one village insisted on throwing on a grassy ridge.

Organization of players

Each player carried 3-6 sticks, but generally 3 sticks were ideal except during competitions, where more than 3 sticks could be carried to cater for breakages and losses. Competitions could be organized between villages and these would be done in the vleis or on couch grass covered riverbanks. There were spectators for cheering players. Players were supposed to stand in a line and perform a standing throw. They take turns to throw. A “foul” line was thus determined by the line of players. Players employing a walk up or run up had to respect this ‘player foul’ line.

The stick

The players used simple long slender sticks blunt at one end and aerodynamically sharpened at the other end. The stick ranges in length from 70cm to one meter. The taller the player the longer the stick and vice versa. The diameter of the stick also ranges between 0, 4 and 0, 6 cm with a circumference of anything between 2 and 3 centimeters. All foliage was removed and the bark peeled off. The sticks are made from thin branches of *Mutehwa/mubhubhunu/mutezwa/munjiri/ umklampuzi* tree (common English name - Donkey Berry), (*Grewia monticola, F. Tiliaceae*). Sticks for competitions were marked for identity purposes. Some of the marks would run spirally along the stick or just as black rings on the *mngqwayi*. The marking was done by a red-hot piece of iron and this was later done by paintings and eventually by scratching the participant's name on the stick (later after the introduction of schools).

Procedure of play

Grip

In order to grasp the stick firmly and comfortably most throwers use the thumb and first finger grip or the second finger grip, with the stick diagonally in the hand and palm facing the side of the thrower.

Approach phase

There is a standing throw, a throw with a walk up or run up depending on the technique of the player. Females generally favor a standing throw or a very short walk up. Males go for a walk up or outright run up (3 to 5 strides). Players were supposed to stand in a line and perform a standing throw. A "foul" line was thus determined by the line of players. Players employing a walk up or run up had to respect this 'player foul' line.

Delivery

The delivery phase helps the thrower with additional velocity, which should then be transferred to the implement (the stick) before it is released, Muller & Ritzdorf, (2000). In order to generate this additional velocity most throwers observed had to make a side-backward swing of the stick holding arm before a frontal whipping action of the stick. This almost circular final arm swing movement helps to transfer velocity from the shoulder and arm to the stick. If properly placed the stick would then hit the ground in a horizontal fashion, with all of its body length at the same time. The stick then slid on the ground with considerable slithering swift speed which had an aesthetic appeal, often arousing ululation from the women and whistling from the men.

When the stick lands on a mound it flies for some distance then slides. If the player stepped beyond the run way boundary into the throwing area then the throw would be considered a no throw. The stick in all cases had to move by sliding on the ground for the throw to be considered legitimate. The major difficulty in the technique of throwing lay in the ability to throw the stick so that it would always hit the ground on its full length and then slide along. The most common error, which was observed, was the failure of the stick to hit the ground on its full length. The stick would instead hit the ground with the point of the front tapered end first. Instead of gliding on the ground the stick would then move forward by spinning on its transverse axis, hitting the ground alternately with the front end and the back end until it lost its momentum.

This kind of fault, which was the commonest in the game, was marked by a call out shout. The umpire would call out '*mapembwe*'. A call signifying that the stick is galloping like a *common duiker*, (*Sylvicapra grimmia*), which in the Kalanga language is called *pembwe*, *Mhembwe/impunzi*.

Recovery

Just like in all other athletic throws, in the recovery phase the thrower braces in order to avoid fouling. The bracing action stops the forward movement of the thrower. Observations made during the recovery phase of all the throwers, from standing throw and short approach run throw, show that at recovery throwers' tummies almost touch the knee of the braced leg.

Determining the winner

After all the players have thrown in a specific round, only the correct throws are considered to determine the winner. The players walk to their stick. They then hold it erect on the furthest tip from the throwing point. Each player stands holding their

stick and the player agreed to be the furthest away from the throwing line was declared the winner. There was no measuring instrument and the zero point was not accurate so the final decision on the winner was by agreement. The reward was the “beauty queen” of the village and the player who was the last winner at the end of the day “claimed the prize”

Rules and regulations:

Despite the fact that there is no consistency and standard documented rules for the game players generally seemed to agree on the following rules:

- The throwing implement should be a wooden stick (no specific length, circumference or mass).
- The throwing surface could be any agreed surface among the following, grassland, couch grass covered riverbank, sand riverbed, ridges, mounds and any bare ground could be used.
- The throwers stand in a straight row waiting for their turn.
- Throwers should make sure there is no one in the throwing and landing area or probable line of flight of stick before the throw is made.
- The stick should slide continuously or should first slide and spin on hitting the ground after the throw (a spin of the stick on first landing (*mapembwe*) is a no throw).
- After throwing, the thrower should wait until all have thrown and they all move into landing area to mark their own throwing distances, by planting their sticks up right with the end furthest from the starting point stuck in the ground.
- The stick that has landed furthest ahead of others from the throwing point determines the winner.
- Each thrower should have at least 3 marked throwing sticks for competition.
- Teams can be mixed (boys and girls with no specific age groupings).

Discussions

Participation

Currently no youth have been observed to be able to play the game, but information from the interviews show that historically young males and females have been shown to participate. The non-participation by the youths could be a result of the effect of acculturation on the play patterns of traditional games of Kalanga youths. The current youths play practices show patterns of contemporary games culture where games like soccer dominate. This tendency can help in establishing the degree of cultural erosion and cross-cultural assimilation. It transpires from the effect that the Western education has left a mark on the games culture of the Kalanga youths. The Zimbabwe Schools syllabus for physical education being followed does not include traditional games from some of the minority ethnic groups. The fact that school teachers followed a European physical education and sport syllabus in foreign language contributed to acculturation as regards Kalanga play forms (Van der Merwe & Salter, 1990).

From the investigations it seems that as traditionally functional play activities disappear and are replaced by culturally non-functional Western play forms. Not only are they taught western and the main two ethnic groups (Ndebele and Shona) play patterns, but the original Kalanga terminology is also dying out. The schools have further encouraged cultural erosion by supplying western games like volleyball, track and field athletics, and netball and play apparatus such as swings, jungle gyms rubber ball and ropes, (Van der Merwe & Salter, 1990). The play culture of the children would be eroded to a greater degree by acculturation than that of their parents. Boys today no longer practice the stick throwing game and a few middle aged adults are familiar with the game. Old adults still know how to make the *mngqwayi* and throw the stick, but the youths do not.

Female participation could be said to be accidental. Few girls were involved in playing the game, because the playing of the game was done in the pastures where the youths would be herding cattle. Only those girls who herded cattle could end up playing the game with the boys. There seems to be very limited records on the participation of females. Recordings on the game among the Bushmen do not reveal any female participation (Van der Merwe & Salter, 1990). The fact that the boys would be competing for a “village beauty” could be a strong indicator that this was a game for boys. The pragmatic side where the stick could be used to maim animals is also a

strong indicator that it was a young men's game as there are no records of female hunters. It has to be pointed out that some females outclassed men in both technique and distance from the results of the intra and inter village competitions and other demonstrations. This is a game with potential for both genders' maximum participation if it were to be institutionalized.

Procedure of play

The major features of the game played by the Bushmen are also found in the form of the game played by the Kalanga. There is a general consistency of the game in terms of the implement, the throwing technique and the nature of the throwing surface. These could be used to trace its origins and development over time. Documented data on the game on the Bushmen of Namibia shows a lot of common aspects in terms of the implement used, the throwing technique, the throwing surfaces and some of the rules and objectives with the Kalanga stick throwing game.

If properly released the stick would then hit the ground in a horizontal fashion, with all of its body length at the same time. The stick then slid on the ground with considerable slithering swift speed which had an aesthetic appeal, often arousing ululation from the women and whistling from the men. The furthest moving stick in the trials went for a distance of 64 meters.

The technical challenge of this game lies in the competitors being able to throw the stick so that every time it hits the ground on its full length and then slide on. This is indeed a technique which seems to surpass the techniques of the entire field throwing events (javelin, discus, shot put and the hammer) in field and track athletics in its degree of difficulty and demand for technical ability. Given this high demand for technique and its aesthetic appeal when the stick moves on the ground with slithering swiftness, the game has both educational values and the appeal to be a sport which will be readily consumed by spectators in the same zeal as experienced with field events such as the throws as we know them in track and field athletics today.

Attitudes & Values

There is social cohesion within the community of youths as all participate as players or spectators cheering their teams.

The determination of a winner by agreement inculcates skills of negotiation and the value of respecting and accepting other people's views.

Participation in the game by the youths ensures continuity of the recreational activities as part of cultural inheritance.

Origins of the game

The historical origins of this can be attributed to the historical settlement patterns of the Kalanga people and the Bushmen/ San people in the western regions of Zimbabwe before the coming of Mzilikazi. Historically it is believed that the Kalanga people, during their movement from the eastern regions of Zimbabwe and from Swaziland through Botswana into western regions Zimbabwe, they found the Bushmen/San occupying these regions and some are still found in the Mabhongwane area near the western Botswana border, Nyathi, (2005). From the research, the origins of the game were not revealed. Therefore it can be assumed that the Kalanga people of Zimbabwe could have learnt this game from the Bushmen or vice versa.

Conclusions and Summaries

The western school system and the introduction of contemporary games and the use of Ndebele, Shona and English as the main national languages leaving out the other minority languages in schools was responsible to a reasonable degree for the acculturation and erosion of Kalanga play patterns. There has not been a deliberate effort by the Zimbabwe Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture to ensure the continued existence of the Kalanga play culture. Kalanga and many other minority ethnic groups were neglected and consequently their ethnic play forms also suffered. Due to western influence and ethnic domineering by the two main ethnic groups of Zimbabwe the Kalanga people have been exposed to; there is no Kalanga group which still lives purely in the indigenous and traditional way.

Recommendations

The Kalanga people, being a marginalized group may see the process of reintroducing their traditional cultural activities as a way of further marginalization and

repression in this modern time Zimbabwe. It is therefore necessary to consider the views and feelings on the issue of revival of some of their cultural activities especially where young children and youths are involved considering the fact that during the research no young people were involved in the stick throwing game, a sign that there could be a deliberate knowledge gap created as a result of inferiority complex felt with the coming of a myriad of western games and sports. Due to the similarities observed between the Kalanga of Zimbabwe stick throwing game and the Bushmen of Namibia stick throwing game the following recommendations are made with most of them being adapted from Van der Merwe and Salter's 1990 recommendations on the Bushmen's stick throwing game.

Recommendation 1

That Kalanga children and youths be motivated by their parents, knowledgeable community elders and teachers to practice the reintroduced traditional cultural games and recreational activities.

A number of native groups around the world have encouraged the teaching of traditional activities to their children in an attempt to instill a sense of cultural identity in their offspring. Parents, community elders and teachers would have to play a central role in the reintroduction of traditional games and recreational activities. The stick throwing game requires easy to make equipment and facilities it can therefore be easily introduced into schools.

Recommendation 2

That the formal school physical education and sport curriculum include and encourage the inclusion of traditional indigenous games and recreational activities.

If cultural heritage is considered important then it must be acknowledged as such and the appropriate environment created to allow for its transmission (Van der Merwe & Salter 1990).

Recommendation 3

That the medium of play and games be used as much as possible to enhance the revival and continuity of Kalanga and other minority ethnic groups' inheritance.

It is possible that prior to adulthood Kalangas traditionally spent a considerable portion of their time at play. Without question, much of their learning occurred in this forum. The fact that play was interwoven with other recreational activities allowed youngsters to learn about their environment and their heritage. Today the playing of *mngqwayi* has virtually disappeared with the result that few youngsters are able to prepare the stick used in playing the game (Van der Merwe & Salter, 1990). The introduction of traditional games and other recreational activities would go a long way in the promotion of the Kalanga cultural heritage.

Recommendation 4

That elderly and knowledgeable Kalangas assist local schools in the transmission of Kalanga indigenous traditional activities to children and youths.

During the course of their study Van der Merwe & Salter (1990) found out that two Bushmen elders were used at some of the local schools as educators in some of the Bushmen traditional activities. The games sparked considerable interest, particularly amongst the boys, while the interaction between young and old was clearly enjoyed by all involved. Elderly Kalanga showed vast knowledge of their traditional games.

Recommendation 5

That the indigenous traditional games and recreational activities be carefully and clearly documented for future use in schools.

This will encourage youths to develop interest in their traditional games for the promotion of their cultural identity.

Recommendation 6

That traditional game *mngqwayi* be further studied and modified for institutionalization and competitions.

Most schools in Zimbabwe tend to emphasize competitive Western games and occasionally

an indigenous activity is included but it is normally modified to allow it to be played under competitive conditions. With the assistance of local elders and senior citizens, traditional games and rhythmic play forms, such as *mngqwayi*, *tsoro*, *gwini* and others could easily be incorporated into the programme and enjoyed in the conventional fashion, Burnett & Hollander, (2004).

Recommendation 7

That the Kalangas be encouraged to organize, on a regular basis, cultural festivals designed to highlight and promote traditional culture.

Ethnic groups who have made a conscious effort to pass on their heritage have accepted that it cannot be done in a haphazard fashion. Rather they have endeavoured to formally involve all members of their community in the process. Some have attempted to accomplish this in an educational setting, others through structured social programs. A good example of the latter includes the South African Indigenous Games Festival and Competitions, Canadian Inuit and Dene Indians games. These groups enthusiastically promote ethnic "Carnivals" that highlight all aspects of their traditional cultures - inter alia music, handicrafts, hunting skills, art, drama and games. The South African Indigenous games, provincial and national festivals and competitions, Inuit's Northern Games and the Dene Games are held regularly and organized on a regional basis to encourage maximum participation and to allow for regional differences. If the Kalanga Cultural festivals were to effectively promoted and marketed, in time they could be expanded to embrace as many elements of the Kalanga culture as considered necessary and such gatherings would supplement school programs and serve to promote community spirit, a sense of identity and ethnic pride. These festivals could provide a distinct possibility of attracting tourists and tourist revenues through cultural tourism (Van der Merwe & Salter 1990).

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