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## Articles

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**Introduction: Zambia's Postcolonial Historiography**

*Walima T. Kalusa & Bizeck J. Phiri*

1

**Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement**

*Mutumba Mainga Bull*

12

**The Practice of Witchcraft and the Changing Patterns of its Paraphernalia  
in the Light of Technologically Produced Goods as Presented by Livingstone  
Museum, 1930s - 1973**

*Friday Mufuzi*

50

**Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perception of  
climate change and variability in Zambia**

*Libert Mweemba*

72

**Book Reviews**

*Brendan P. Carmody*

94

## Introduction: Zambia's Postcolonial Historiography

Walima T. Kalusa & Bizeck J. Phiri  
*University of Zambia*

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Zambia's fiftieth independence anniversary is an opportune time to take stock of advances and limitations in the country's postcolonial historiography and, as the contributions to this special issue indicate, to point out themes which still call for scholarly attention. It is common knowledge that at independence from Britain in 1964, Zambia, like most other newly liberated African countries, inherited what some observers have aptly described as a "colonial-minded historiography" (Denoon and Kuper 1970, p. 329; Meebelo 1971). Among the chief architects of this historiography were European anthropologists and historians. European anthropologists led the way in undertaking studies that unravelled and highlighted the nature and organisation of African societies. Collectively, they generated academic knowledge to understand the nature and workings of African societies. This knowledge assisted colonial authorities to develop administrative systems through which they hoped to rule Africans effectively (Schumaker 2001).

If colonial anthropologists produced knowledge essential to the exercise of colonial power, colonial historians no less denied the existence of African history before colonialism than assumed that the history of Zambia and of the African continent in general, was the history of Western imperial entrepreneurship (see, for examples, Gann 1964; Gann and Duignan 1967; Gelfand 1961). Given the denial of African history by the architects of colonial historiography, it is unsurprising that in the immediate aftermath of independence, most political scientists, historians, and other keen observers shared a deep commitment to place Africans back in their history.

Broadly speaking, the drive to document African history, rather than that of European colonisers, spawned a two-pronged academic discourse, which on the one hand, sought to prove that the subjects of empire had their own precolonial and colonial history worth studying (Kimambo and Temu 1969; Meebelo 1971). For many scholars, this could best be accomplished through studying African pre-colonial states (see, for example, Mainga 1973; Langworthy 1964; Roberts 1973) as well as resistance to colonial occupation and misrule. Scholars interested in these topics generated knowledge of the societies they studied and not of ordinary individuals *per se*. These studies were dominated by the search for how kings ruled their communities and not so much how the common people in those kingdoms related and influenced the state of affairs. From a historical perspective, this was the history of the "big men", or history from the top. Unwittingly, these studies proved crucial to understanding the workings of the system of indirect rule, which made traditional authorities part of the colonial administrative system.

## *Introduction: Zambia's Postcolonial Historiography*

On the other hand and, more germane to our review of Zambia's postcolonial historiography, historians poured much ink over nationalist politics out of which modern Zambia and other independent African countries were born. The most important concern of the architects of this discourse was to "place the achievement of [African] independence within its immediate historical context" (Rotberg 1965, pp. vii-viii). Unwittingly, this provided the excuse to study the nationalist struggle and the concomitant political change from the vantage point of the politically conscious African elites, who spearheaded the fight for independence and who often served as the primary source of information on which most early writers on Zambia heavily depended.

To their credit, these academics impressively chronicled the role of the African elites in the creation of nationalist political parties after the Second World War, the structures and mobilisation strategies of such parties, and the constitutional engagements between leading nationalists and their colonial masters that resulted in independence in 1964 (see Mulford 1967; Rotberg 1965. For an early critique of this approach towards studies on Zambia, see Rasmussen 1974).

For all their accomplishments, observers who constructed Zambia's immediate post-independence historiography were "far from dispassionate" (Macola, Gewald and Hinfelaar 2011, p. 7; Macola 2010, p. 2). Influenced by the bitter, protracted struggle against the settler-dominated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland between 1953 and 1963, these specialists identified themselves closely with the top brass such as Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's founding president and his lieutenants in the United National Independence Party (UNIP), which orchestrated a successful, if not violent, nationalist struggle against British colonial rule (Macola 2010). The close identification of these observers with leading nationalists inevitably yielded an uncritically UNIP-centred narrative that not only eulogised UNIP's role in the drama of the freedom struggle but also portrayed the party as the custodian of the interests of Zambian citizens and embodiment of the new nation (*ibid.*).

The emphasis on top UNIP leaders' role in the struggle for independence had ominous implications for the early postcolonial historiography of Zambia. Narrowly and uncritically conceived, the UNIP-dominated historiography not only glossed over the ethnic and socio-economic forces that informed Zambia's nationalism but also expunged from the country's history the real, lived experiences of ordinary people (Macola 2010). This blurred the important part political actors at grassroots level played in the struggle for political freedom. But, as one scholar has observed, it was these people who felt the full blunt of colonial exploitation and power and, often, fought against foreign domination without any direction from national level leadership (Rasmussen 1974).

Another shortcoming of the UNIP-centred discourse is that it scarcely illuminated political projects that challenged the party's grip on power both before and after the nationalist struggle (Macola 2010). Central among such counter-hegemonic projects was that of Harry Mwanga Nkumbula, the founding president of the African National Congress from which UNIP broke away in the late 1950s and which tenuously continued to contest UNIP power after independence (*ibid.*). In removing

from the historical record anti-UNIP voices, this historiography silenced projects that threatened UNIP political hegemony (ibid). By celebrating UNIP hegemony and obfuscating the fact that nationalism is almost always the consequence of many conflicting visions, the UNIP-dominated historiography impoverished our understanding of the conflicts that marked the freedom struggle in Zambia and politics after independence, conflicts that have now begun to attract growing academic attention (see Larmer 2006 and 2013; Macola 2010, Macola 2006; Gordon 2013).

If specialists writing on postcolonial Zambia in the 1960s trumpeted the achievements of “political liberators” in UNIP, their successors in the 1970s and 1980s were more preoccupied with unravelling the UNIP government’s role in the construction of modern Zambia (Tordoff 1974 and 1980), its foreign policy and involvement in liberation wars in southern Africa (Pettiman 1974; Shaw 1976 and 1979; Anglin and Shaw 1979; Anglin 1980), its economic reforms leading to the nationalisation of the economy in the late 1960s (Bratton 1980; Baylies and Szeftel 1982; Burdette 1984) and, lastly, its creation of the one-party state (Gertzel 1984) in 1972-1973. Admittedly, studies that focused on these themes exhibited less nationalist bias. They were also more broadly conceived than earlier works in the sense that these works were concerned with several contemporary social, economic and political concerns largely ignored by earlier writers.

However, whether focusing on Zambia’s foreign policy, participation in liberation wars in southern Africa or economic reforms, the new studies were still dominated by what a perceptive scholar has describes as “the viewpoint of the centre” (Bratton 1980, p. 10; see also Macola 2006, p. 44). Consequently, how ordinary Zambian citizens influenced the formulation of these and other postcolonial policies remained as obscure as how the policies themselves impacted on the people. Ironically, the scholarly neglect of the impact of UNIP policies on citizens was in stark contrast to President Kaunda’s awareness, for instance, of the devastating effects on the citizenry of his own government’s involvement in freedom struggles in southern Africa. Assessing in parliament in early 1980 the high cost Zambians paid for his government’s support of the liberation war in nearby Zimbabwe, Kenneth Kaunda, the country’s postcolonial chief policy architect, noted that

*[T]he Zambian people ha[d] made a great contribution on the historic victories of the people of Zimbabwe. The rebellion ha[d] been crushed by the resolute determination of the patriotic forces... The task of the Zambian people ha[d] been to assist freedom fighters remove a rebellious and fascist regime. .... Our task was to help create conditions on which the people of Zimbabwe could hold elections under a true democratic constitution based on majority rule, under conditions which are genuine, free and fair. [Zambians] ha[d] paid dearly in resources, in human life and property to help bring about [independence] in Zimbabwe (Republic of Zambia 1980).*

## *Introduction: Zambia's Postcolonial Historiography*

In spite of President Kenneth Kaunda's admission of the devastating consequences on people of his own southern African foreign policy, few scholars seriously emulated his efforts to analyse such impact. Similarly, not many academics paid sufficient attention to the fractiousness of the ruling class in independent Zambia, erroneously portraying it as a domain of united political leadership with common interests and ideologies (for exceptions, see Burdette 1984 and Baylies and Szeftel 1982). However, as one perceptive scholar noted in 1984, Zambia's new ruling class was far from united or homogenous (Burdette 1984). Made up of disparate interest groups and professionals including lawyers, businessmen, and politicians, it was deeply fractured along ideological, class, ethnic and regional fault lines. Expectedly, the new rulers held conflicting views over a wide range of issues: the country's foreign relations with the outside world especially settler regimes in southern Africa, the nationalisation of the economy in the late 1960s, and the resultant restrictions placed on foreign capital, which entrepreneurs within the governing class, for example, perceived as inimical to their own businesses and the economic welfare of the country as a whole. A comprehensive study of how the inter-class and intra-class tensions which erupted over these issues and how the ruling elites tried to overcome them still largely awaits its historian to this day.

Zambia's return to multiparty politics in the early 1990s carved out an intellectual space in which two categories of keen observers began to carry out researches that shied away from the viewpoint of the centre. The first category consisted of former UNIP leaders who, ironically, played a no minor part in the party's demise and in the reintroduction of liberal politics in the 1990s. Through autobiographies, these writers sought to document their experiences and decisions, particularly stressing their own role in the construction of post-1964 Zambia (Mwanakatwe 2003; Sardanis 2002). Undoubtedly, these memoirs are an invaluable source of information on their authors' lives and decisions that influenced the workings of the postcolonial regime. However, these autobiographies are not merely "ego-documents" which celebrate the achievements of their authors; they are also scarcely "attempts at an objective history" (Gewald, Hinfelaar and Macola 2008, p. 7). Indeed, some of them have evidently falsified Zambian history by denying, for example, the use of torture by the Kaunda-dominated regime to silence its opponents (*ibid*).

The second category of studies stimulated by the rebirth of democratic politics in Zambia address contemporary political and economic concerns. Laudable for exploring such wide-ranging issues as the denationalisation of the economy in the 1990s, the obstacles hindering consolidation of democratisation in Zambia (Ihonvbere 1995 and 1996; Baylies and Szeftel 1997; Larmer 2005), and the persistence of autocratic rule and presidentialism in spite of the liberation of the political space in Zambia (Van Dong 1995), these works have plugged in some of the glaring lacunae in the country's historiography. But these works "are often insufficiently contextualised in Zambian history and political cultures" (Gewald, Hinfelaar and Macola 2008, p. 4).

The process to revise the country's postcolonial historiography commenced in earnest in 2005, when the Network for Historical Research in Zambia (NHRZ)

convened a three-day international conference in Lusaka, Zambia. Drawn from the United States, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Netherlands, Canada, Britain, and Zambia itself, participants at the conference were united in expressing their concern over the continuity and dominance of the nationalist-centred scholarship and in calling for its reinterpretation. Out of the papers presented at the conference subsequently emerged, in 2008, a book entitled *One Zambia, Many Histories: Toward a History of Postcolonial Zambia* (ibid).

The contributors to this volume rightly insisted that nationalist-based scholarship had failed to illuminate “the complexity of postcolonial Zambian history and the internal lines of conflict and contestation that characterised” the country’s social, economic and political landscape (Macola, Gewald and Hinfelaar, 2011, p. 3). To redress this lacuna, the contributors not only “insert[ed] for the first time within the mainstream of Zambian historiography the memory of obscure and subaltern political ideas and actors”; but they also “call[ed] into question the real extent of the hegemony of UNIP and its ability to impose a singular narrative of nation-building upon a fragmented and refractory body politic” (Gewald, Hinfelaar and Macola 2008, p. 10). Informed by this perspective, the contributors to the volume explored Zambia’s historical trajectories and themes long ignored or glossed over in earlier studies. They shed fresh light upon, among other themes, the counter-hegemonic projects of the ANC, the Lumpa church, and Simon Kapwepwe’s United Peoples Party that threatened UNIP political hegemony in the early 1970s; the debilitating impact on the rural poor of Kaunda’s economic reforms of the late 1960s; and, lastly, the rise of charismatic churches together with their anti-UNIP alliance with the Movement for Multiparty Democracy in the 1990s.

Since 2008, new studies have built upon the foundation laid by the publication of *One Zambia, Many Histories*. Notable among them is an outstanding political biography on Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula. Authored in 2010 by Giacomo Macola, who had also earlier played a sterling role in organising the NHRZ conference, the biography illuminates the shrewd leadership of Nkumbula, showing how the ANC president sustained his opposition to UNIP misrule well up to 1972, when his party withered away with the introduction of the Kaunda-dominated one-party state. In an earlier study also authored in the spirit of revising Zambia’s historiography, Macola (2006) astutely showed how people in Luapula Province contested UNIP power because of the party’s failure to deliver on the “expectations of independence”.

Efforts to bring many other political and social actors obscured in earlier studies into the postcolonial historiography of Zambia have more recently yielded two important collections of papers. The first collection, *Living the End of Empire*, explores the lives of individuals such as Dixon Konkola (Vickery 2011) and minority social groups, notably Indians, earlier marginalised in the mainstream of the Zambian scholarship (Mufuzi 2011). The second monograph, *The Objects of Life in Central Africa*, published in 2013, is a collection of papers that investigate, *inter alia*, how African labour migrants under colonial rule reworked their own notions of respectability and social status through the ways they consumed imported goods (Barrett 2013), how they reimagined such goods to subvert European power (Kalusa

2013), and how, more recently, Zambian urban dwellers have moulded their dreams and aspirations through their sartorial preferences and habits (Hansen 2013).

Together, the recent works have undoubtedly enriched Zambian historiography for they have exposed the diversity and complexity of the country's historical experiences. But the process of revising this historiography is far from complete, and a lot more remains to be done. Robert Ross (2008) recently remarked that there is need to write more critical political biographies and to carry out studies on the Kafue Dam, the Tanzania-Zambia Railway, and the collapse of the copper industry after 1970. He also challenged scholars to include Western Zambia in the country's history. We would add that Zambia's postcolonial historiography would be all the more invigorated by carrying out research into many other neglected social, cultural, economic, political and environmental trajectories of the country. Among themes that require such scholarly attention are Zambia's descent into poverty, corruption, and economic mismanagement in the aftermath of the imposition of the one-party state in the 1970s, the inimical impact of the country's involvement in the liberation wars in southern Africa, shifting relations with the donor community, environmental degradation arising from charcoal-burning and mining, trans-border trade which became rampant among Zambian women in the 1980s and 1990s, rising witchcraft accusations as poverty deepened in that period, and HIV/AIDS.

It is in the quest to throw light upon forgotten themes in Zambia's historiography and to invigorate this scholarship that contributions in this special issue have been penned. The paper (in this issue) by Liberty Mweemba, "Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perceptions of climate change and variability in Zambia", is most welcome because it discusses an issue that in the recent past has assumed global magnitude both in scholarship and its impact on human livelihoods and development. The author highlights controversies that surround the issue of climate change and suggests that no other global environmental issue has been so controversial. He further argues that the controversies around climate change are not so much the consequence of lack of scientific knowledge as they are a product of human actions that impact on human beings everywhere.

While examining the question of climate change, the paper assesses the perception of Zambians on climate change. This is in an attempt to see whether climate change is considered a significant threat and how it has influenced Zambians' awareness of the degradation of the environment. From this perspective, the paper examines the affective images Zambians have of global warming and the extent to which these images influence individuals' behaviour towards mitigating global warming.

The fundamental claim of this paper, however, is that better environmental information dissemination, more environmental knowledge, or more environmental communication alone will not necessarily lead to desirable social change. The author argues that while better understanding has an important role to play, environmental knowledge that does not act as a barrier to behaviour and social change is unlikely to be effective or sufficient. Mweemba further points out that successful environmental policies that mobilize action on climate change education must take into account the



options that people have for action and their social and cognitive characteristics.

Studies on environmental change are more recent and therefore the paper brings to the fore the need for more studies from the education perspective so that the ordinary citizens are sensitized on the challenges their environment is faced with and what they need to do to mitigate those challenges. This paper is also differently conceptualized as it is approached from an educational perspective. Most studies on environmental issues are done from the natural science background and therefore do not deal with how the people generally respond to the environmental changes that take place.

In the recent past, Zambia has seen a resurfacing of the controversy over the Western Province where some members of that community have been calling for the independence of Barotseland. There have been debates over the Barotseland Agreement signed in May 1964. It is in the context of these recent developments that Mutumba Mainga Bull seeks to highlight the history of the Barotseland Agreement by pointing out the origins of what was known as the Barotse Reserved Area established through the 1900 Concessions between Lewanika (the Litunga of the Lozi people), the British South Africa Company (BSACo.) and the British Government. Bull points out that the concession was extended in 1909. The Barotse Reserved Area (Bulozi) was the central area of the Lozi Kingdom and the Lozi Kingship centred on the Upper Zambezi Flood Plain and westward to the Angolan boundary.

The Barotse Reserved Area was for the exclusive use of the Lozi people under their traditional ruler. One of the major understandings regarding the Barotse Reserved Area was that prospecting for minerals and white settlement were prohibited while land was inalienable. The Barotse Reserved Area later became the Barotse District under the British South Africa Company administration. In 1935, the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Hubert Winthrop Young through Proclamation No. 5 of December 1934, divided Northern Rhodesia into five Provinces: Barotse Province, Southern Province, Central Province, Northern Province and Eastern Province.

Mutumba Mainga Bull notes that the Barotse Province comprised six districts, namely Lealui (later Mongu-Lealui), Senanga, Sesheshe, Mankoya, Kalabo and Balovale. She further points out that the 1900 Reserved Area boundaries as extended in 1909, differed slightly from the boundaries of the 1935 Barotse Province in that Machile in the south was transferred to the Southern Province, and Dongwe in the north was transferred to the Central Province. In 1941, Balovale District was removed from Barotse Province or the Reserved Area and joined to the Central Province. During the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Barotse Province became Barotseland Protectorate with a Resident Commissioner instead of a Provincial Commissioner. Consequently, therefore, when the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was dissolved in 1963 and as the Barotseland Agreement was being signed in May 1964, the area that constituted Barotseland was well defined.

Thus according to Mutumba Mainga Bull, Barotseland or whatever of it survived, managed to make the transition into the colonial era mainly due to the Reserved Area and the privileges and rights which the Lewanika Concessions conferred. She further argues that Barotseland developed isolationist tendencies because of the

splendid isolation in the stagnated reserve. It was in view of this that all successive Lozi rulers from Lewanika through to his three son-successors Litunga Yeta III, Litunga Imwiko, and Litunga Mwanawina III petitioned for secession from Northern Rhodesia whenever it came to the crunch. Bull argues that the politics of secession evolved from the separation of the Reserved Area with the rights and privileges that pertained to it.

If Mweemba and Bull illuminate issues pertinent to environment, Friday Mufuzi (this volume) resurrects the question of witchcraft, a topic on which many European anthropologists in colonial Zambia and elsewhere poured much ink (Evans-Pritchard 1937; White 1948; Crawford 1967). But whereas the latter perceived witchcraft as a primitive residue of what the African society inherited from some remote past, Mufuzi's article challenges colonial studies that sought to explain the phenomenon in terms of the primitiveness of the practice and of its practitioners. Mufuzi further suggests that this was probably done to justify colonialism in the area because during this era, the Western world considered itself duty-bound to carry the burden of 'civilizing' Africans through the introduction of European civilization. The "civilizing mission" meant influencing Africans to embrace modern lifestyles and abandon their indigenous culture and belief systems, including witchcraft. The African culture and belief systems were to be replaced with Christianity and modernity (Gann and Duignan 1967).

In his article, Mufuzi points out that colonial studies on witchcraft paid particular attention to African belief in witchcraft, the nature and variance of witchcraft, the reasons for involvement in witchcraft as well as divination (see, for example, White 1969; Reynold 1963) In most of these studies, witchcraft was described as imaginary and the witchdoctors or diviners who worked against it as mere charlatans or fraudsters whose utterances were unreliable. In the same vein, the witches and sorcerers were considered to be mentally sick people obsessed with the belief that they had the power to harm others by simply directing their thoughts against their targets (Evan-Pritchard 1937; Murray n.d.) The reality of witchcraft to Africans was denied and totally disregarded.

Mufuzi's article makes the observation that the devices and material objects which witchcraft practitioners used in their practice to invoke their supposed power or energy to cause harm to their targets, were neither static nor sufficiently studied by scholars. The only exception to this is Reynolds' study on Western Zambia, an area that formed part of what was known as Barotseland Protectorate during the colonial period (Reynolds 1967). While the study was consequential to the colonial government officials' investigations made in October 1956 following a rumour that proved correct that two women had been murdered and reported to the District Commissioner in Kalabo, the witchcraft investigations carried out in all other districts of the Protectorate and other districts outside it revealed numerous witchcraft practices, murder, divination and cannibalism. More importantly, Mufuzi's article shows that modern objects, some of which were donated to the Livingstone Museum, had been incorporated into existing practices of witchcraft. The objects included Kaliloze guns originally made of wood or human limb bones believed

to have been used by the Mawiko people (Mbunda, Luvala, Chokwe and Luchazi) against witches. To operate, they were loaded with powder and some medicine and were fired at the sun. Barotse murderers used a modern type with a metal barrel, which was capable of firing metal pieces, and causing fatal wounds (Anonymous 1957) Thus, Mufuzi contends that modern objects were integrated into witchcraft practices as new paraphernalia in conformity with the rapidly changing material world of their users.

The articles presented in this issue are a testimony to the fact that scholars of Zambia are now increasing turning their attention to themes and topics that were not in the main domain of scholarly debates on Zambia. This is a most welcome, if not belated, move that has stimulated historical research, yielded important conferences, and resulted in path-breaking studies on Zambia (Larmer, Hinfelaar, Phiri, Schumaker and Szeftel 2014). We can only hope that the spirit of reinvigorating the country's postcolonial historiography will continue to possess Zambianists for many years to come.

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*Introduction: Zambia's Postcolonial Historiography*

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# Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement

Mutumba Mainga Bull  
*University of Zambia, Institute of Economic and Social Research*

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*As part of the independence constitutional arrangements for Northern Rhodesia, in May 1964 in London, Kenneth David Kaunda, then Prime Minister at the head of the Self Government of Northern Rhodesia signed the Barotseland Agreement with the Litunga of the Lozi people Sir Mwanawina Lewanika III. The Barotseland Agreement of 1964 recognised the Litunga of Barotseland (Bulozi) as the principal local authority for the government and administration of Barotseland, with powers to make laws of Barotseland in respect to matters such as land, natural resources and taxation. The Barotseland Agreement 1964 was abrogated and cancelled by the Zambian Republican Government (GRZ) through the Constitutional (Amendment) Act of October 1969. Some groups among the Lozi (activists) have been lobbying for the restoration of the Barotseland Agreement 1964 for over four decades. Some extreme elements have even called for secession. The Barotseland Agreement activists include among others the Movement of the Restoration of Barotseland Agreement (MOREBA), the Barotse Patriotic Front (BPF) and Linyunga Ndambo. On 23<sup>rd</sup> October 2010 and 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011, the activists were involved in violent disturbances, which rocked Mongu and surrounding areas. The 14<sup>th</sup> January riots resulted in fatalities, serious injuries, arrests and detentions. The state came down heavily on the activists who were arrested. Twenty-four detainees were charged with treason for seeking to secede Barotseland, now Western Province, from the Republic of Zambia, while others were charged with riotous behaviour or conduct likely to cause a breach of peace. The nation was shocked by the violence and deaths. Concerned nationals, civic and church organizations, scholars, lawyers, political leaders and analysts from all corners of the country and in the diaspora raised issues and concerns: What was the basis of the Litunga's power? Was secession a viable alternative? And what geographical area was to be excised from Zambia? etc. etc. This paper attempts to throw more light on the deep historical roots of the Barotseland Agreement 1964, going as far back as the 1900 Concessions/Treaties which were negotiated and signed by Lubosi Lewanika ruler of the Lozi, the British South Africa Chartered Company (BSA Co.) and the British Government.*

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## Introduction

The Barotse Reserved Area was established through the 1900 Concessions of Lewanika, the British South Africa Chartered Company (BSA Co.) and the British Government. It was extended in 1909.<sup>1</sup> The Reserved Area (Bulozi) was the central

<sup>1</sup>The Barotse Concessions – Part II, T. W. Baxter – The Northern Rhodesia Journal Number IV December 1951 pp.38 – 43. The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia, T. W. Baxter Occasional Papers No. 1 June 1963. The National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland pp. 13-23.

area of the Lozi Kingdom and the Lozi Kingship, centred on the Upper Zambezi Flood Plain and westward to the Angolan boundary. The Reserved Area was for the exclusive use of the Lozi people under their traditional ruler. Prospecting for minerals and white settlement were prohibited in the Reserved Area while land was inalienable.

It was the Reserved Area, which became the Barotse District under the British South Africa Company administration.<sup>2</sup> In 1935 the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Hubert Winthrop Young, through Proclamation No. 5 of December 1934, divided Northern Rhodesia into five Provinces: The Barotse Province, Southern Province, Central Province, Northern Province and Eastern Province. The Barotse Province comprised six districts namely Lealui (later Mongu-Lealui), Senanga, Sesheshe, Mankoya, Kalabo and Balovale.<sup>3</sup> The 1900 Reserved Area boundaries as extended in 1909, differed slightly from the boundaries of the 1935 Barotse Province in that Machile in the South was given to the Southern Province, and Dongwe in the north was given to the Central Province now North Western Province. Furthermore in 1941 Balovale District currently Zambezi District was removed from Barotse Province or the Reserved Area and joined to the then Central Province now North Western Province.<sup>4</sup> During the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Barotse Province became Barotseland Protectorate with a Resident Commissioner instead of a Provincial Commissioner. After independence Barotseland Protectorate became Barotse Province. In August 1969 the name Barotse Province was changed to Western Province.

This study will attempt to show that Barotseland or whatever of it survived, managed to make the transition into the colonial era mainly due to the Reserved Area and the privileges and rights which the Lewanika Concessions conferred. Furthermore, Barotseland developed isolationist tendencies due to their splendid isolation in their stagnated Reserve. The result was that all successive Lozi rulers from Lewanika (ruler 1878 to 1884, and 1885 to 1916) through to his three son-successors Litunga Yeta III (1916 to 1945 when he abdicated following a debilitating stroke), Litunga Imasiku Mwanahono Imwiko (1945 to 1948), and Litunga Mwanawina III (1948 to 1968) all in their time petitioned for secession from Northern Rhodesia. The culture of separation evolved due to the separation of the Reserved Area with the rights and privileges that pertained to it, limited though they might have been. At the onset of nationalist politics and the struggle for independence the traditionalists were unaccommodating to the nationalists but in the end they were able to make the transition through another negotiated settlement. The Barotseland Agreement 1964 was signed on 18<sup>th</sup> May 1964 in London by Kenneth David Kaunda, then Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, on behalf of the Northern Rhodesia Government, and by Sir Mwanawina Lewanika III KBE, the Litunga of Barotseland, on behalf of the Lozi people and the Barotse Native Government. The Rt Hon. Duncan Sandys,

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<sup>2</sup> The word 'District' was used in place of 'Province', see *Your Friend Lewanika* by Gervas Clay. Chatto & Windus 1968 London p.119.

<sup>3</sup> Proclamation No. 5 of 1934. The Northern Rhodesia Order-in-Council 1924. Article 13. Establishment of Provinces. RC/1521 National Archives Zambia (NAZ)  
See 4 maps attached to this paper.

<sup>4</sup> Proclamation No. 5 of 1934. The Northern Rhodesia Order-in-Council 1924. Article 13. Establishment of Provinces. RC/1521 National Archives Zambia (NAZ)  
See 4 maps attached to this paper.

## *Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

MP, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and for the Colonies signed 'Signifying the approval of Her Majesty's Government' in Britain.<sup>5</sup>

The purpose of the Agreement was (a) to ensure that Northern Rhodesia proceeded to independence as one country with Barotseland as an integral part of Zambia and that all its peoples were one nation. (b) 'To enter into arrangements concerning the position of Barotseland as part of the Republic of Zambia to take the place of the treaties and other agreements hitherto subsisting between Her Majesty the Queen and the Litunga of Barotseland.'<sup>6</sup>

The Litunga of Barotseland was accorded recognition by the Government of the Republic of Zambia under the Customary Law of Barotseland. Secondly, the Litunga was to be the principal local authority for the government and administration of Barotseland.<sup>7</sup>

In October 1969 however, the Zambian Government unilaterally abolished the Barotseland Agreement 1964 through the Constitution (Amendment) Act of 15<sup>th</sup> October 1969. Some traditionalists and activists have campaigned and struggled for the restoration of the Barotseland Agreement 1964 for over four decades. Some extremists have even demanded secession. Now, asking for the restoration of Barotseland Agreement 1964 is perceived as separatism, but secession is actual separation.

At this juncture, the study looks at how the Reserved Area, which was pegged and mapped, came about and how it shaped the survival of the Lozi kingship throughout the colonial period up to the time of the nationalist freedom struggle and independence. The paper will also look at the privileges and rights, which were conferred by the Lewanika Concessions as well as the changes and reforms, which came with the new colonial administration. In a separate paper, I have looked at the issue of Barotseland Agreement 1964 in great detail and how the struggle for the restoration of the Agreement has continued to highlight Barotseland's separation and isolationist tendencies up to present day.

### **Delineation of the Barotseland Western Boundary**

Bulozi was caught up in rival European claims for territory in Central Africa during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Portuguese advancing from Angola in the West were attempting to establish their Sphere of Influence on the territory between their two colonies of Mozambique and Angola. They pointed to their historical attempts to open a transcontinental trade route between their two colonies.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the

<sup>5</sup>The Barotseland Agreement 1964. Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations by Command of Her Majesty. May 1964. Her Majesty's Stationery Office. CMND 2366. London.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid

<sup>7</sup>Ibid

<sup>8</sup>Portuguese Africa. James Duffy. Harvard University Press Cambridge Massachusetts, 1968 – pp.213-224 - Portuguese Expeditions in Zambia. Richard Hall in A Short History of Zambia. Oxford University Press. Nairobi 1966 pp.128-134.



Germans who occupied South West Africa (Namibia) in 1883 were desirous to advance north through the no man's land between their possessions in East Africa and South West Africa. The British using the British South Africa Chartered Company of Cecil John Rhodes dismissed Portuguese claims pointing out that according to the Berlin Conference of November 1884 rules and regulations, 'Sphere of Influence' was based on effective occupation and having Treaties and Concessions with local rulers. The British argued that the Portuguese had not established effective occupation anywhere in the interior, and Britain would therefore not prevent expansion from her possessions in the south to parts, which Portugal claimed without legal basis.

Under the provisions of the 1889 Africa Order in Council of 15<sup>th</sup> October, the British Sphere of Influence was defined as North of Bechuanaland, North and West of the Transvaal and West of Mozambique. No western or northern geographical limit was set. The British claimed special interests in Khama's country, Lobengula's Matebeleland and Mashonaland, and Lake Nyasa through English missionaries. On 29<sup>th</sup> October 1889 the British South Africa Company was granted the Royal Charter by Queen Victoria. Through the Royal Charter, the British South Africa Company was granted powers, subject to the British Government's approval, to make Treaties and to acquire Concessions, and to maintain a police force. Initially the Chartered Company's sphere of operations was within the British Sphere of Influence as was defined in the 1889 Order in Council, but excluded Nyasa District which was declared a Protectorate of Her Majesty.

In 1891 the Chartered Company's sphere of operations was, through an Agreement between the British Government and the British South Africa Chartered Company, extended to territories north of the Zambezi River. In actual fact however, Cecil John Rhodes had extended the operations of the British South Africa Company across the Zambezi River long before that. On 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1889, C. J. Rhodes purchased on behalf of the British South Africa Company the Ware Concession by which Lewanika granted to Harry Ware the sole right of mining for precious stones, gold or other minerals in the Batoka country on 7<sup>th</sup> June 1889.<sup>9</sup> And wishing to extend the Ware Concession further, as well as to forestall Portuguese and German expansion, Rhodes sent a Company representative, Frank Elliot Lochner to negotiate a much broader Treaty with the Lozi ruler. Before Lochner knew the terms and conditions of the Royal Charter, on 26<sup>th</sup> June 1890 Lewanika and the British South Africa Company representative signed the Lochner Treaty.<sup>10</sup>

Lewanika's choice was to be under the British imperial rule. On 8<sup>th</sup> January 1889, the Lozi ruler had written a letter through the missionary Francois Coillard to the Administrator of Bechuanaland, Sir Sidney Shippard, stating that he wished to be placed under British protection.<sup>11</sup> In February 1889 Lewanika had another letter written to the High Commissioner for South Africa, Sir Henry Brougham Loch, inquiring about British protection. In April 1890 Loch urged the British Government to include the Barotse country in the British Sphere of Influence. On 1<sup>st</sup> November 1890 Lewanika wrote to the Queen (Victoria) requesting the Queen's protection.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia, T. W. Baxter. – Occasional Papers No. 1

June 1963. The National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, pp.6-7

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* pp. 8-10

<sup>11</sup> Coillard to Sir Sidney Shippard, Administrator of Bechuanaland, 8<sup>th</sup> January 1889 No. 115 Conf. 5918 Public Record Office London.

<sup>12</sup> Lewanika to the Queen. 1<sup>st</sup> November 1890 Enclosure 3 in Colonial Office to Foreign

*Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

Lewanika was given assurances that he was under the protection of the Queen.<sup>13</sup>

In November 1890 Portugal and Britain discussed the possibility of setting up a temporary boundary line, a *Modus Vivendi*, to separate Portuguese and British Spheres of Influence on the Upper Zambezi. In Article IV of the Treaty between Britain and Portugal of 11<sup>th</sup> June 1891 it was specified that the entire Barotse Kingdom would remain within the British Sphere and its limits to the West would constitute the international boundary between the British and the Portuguese Spheres of Influence.<sup>14</sup> It was specified further that the limits to the west of Lewanika's kingdom would be decided by a joint Anglo-Portuguese Commission, and in case of differences there would be a right to appoint one umpire for purposes of arbitration.<sup>15</sup>

In June 1893 the *Modus Vivendi* was established setting up a temporary dividing line between the Portuguese and the British Spheres on the Upper Zambezi. The dividing line was the course of the Zambezi River from Katima Mulilo rapids to the confluence of the Zambezi River with the Kabompo River, and then up the course of the Kabompo River. The temporary boundary was originally intended as a two-year measure only but it was extended in January 1896 to July 1898, and it was in place until 1905.<sup>16</sup> Lewanika and his Council (Kuta) frequently expressed their disappointment that the Queen's Government had not been able to come to any settlement with Portugal. The Lozi ruler complained that the Portuguese had encroached very rapidly into the heart of his country pushing their forts, and encouraging slave trade. Furthermore, the Lozi ruler wrote to both the British High Commissioner for South Africa and Queen Victoria in the United Kingdom, protesting against any division of his country between the Portuguese and the Germans.<sup>17</sup>

The unsatisfactory nature of the *Modus Vivendi* line was highlighted by the BSA Co. which saw the dividing line along the Zambezi River and the Kabompo River as depriving Great Britain of considerable and important territorial rights.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the *Modus Vivendi* meant that the Lozi Chieftainship at Libonda in present Kalabo district, then under Lewanika's younger sister, Akatoka, fell under the Portuguese Sphere in Angola! Similarly Kaunga Mashi Lozi Chieftainship, then under Lewanika's nephew Litianyana, was also in the Portuguese Sphere! The western limits of Lewanika's Kingdom was to prove a subject of serious contention

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Office. 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1891 No. 119 Conf. 6178 Public Record Office, London.

<sup>13</sup> Knutsford to Sir H. Loch. 25<sup>th</sup> August 1891 Enclosure in C.O. to F. O. of 26<sup>th</sup> August 1891 No. 140 Conf. 6178 - Loch to Lewanika 18<sup>th</sup> September 1891 Enclosure 2 in C.O. to F.O. 14<sup>th</sup> March 1892 No. 50 Conf. 6337.

<sup>14</sup> A History of Northern Rhodesia. Early Days to 1953. L. H. Gann. Chatto & Windus London 1964, p.65 - BSACo. to High Commissioner 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1894 Enclosure I in Rhodes to Kimberley 7<sup>th</sup> December 1894 No. 1 Conf. 6688.

<sup>15</sup> A History of Northern Rhodesia. Early Days to 1953. L. H. Gann. Chatto & Windus London 1964, p.65. M.de.Castro to Salisbury. 7<sup>th</sup> September 1896 No. 56 Conf. 6911.

<sup>16</sup> Foreign Office to R. T. Coryndon 8<sup>th</sup> April 1897 No. 101 Conf. 6968

<sup>17</sup> Lewanika to the Queen. 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1896. Enclosure No. 3 in C.O. to F.O. 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1897 No. 96 Conf. 6968 Lewanika to H. Robinson, 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1896. Enclosure No. 2 in C.O. to F.O. 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1897 No. 96 Conf. 6968.

<sup>18</sup> C. J. Rhodes to Kimberley 7<sup>th</sup> December 1894. No. 1 Conf. 6688 - Dr. Harris (BSA Co.) to High Commissioner. 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1893, Enclosure 2 in C.O. to. F. O. 4<sup>th</sup> September 1893 No. 179 Conf. 648.

between Britain and Portugal to the extent that the matter had to be referred for arbitration.<sup>19</sup>

The missionary Francois Coillard writing from Lealui on 27<sup>th</sup> June 1890 during the negotiations for the Lochner Treaty gave the frontiers of the Barotse Kingdom as defined in a Council held by the King Lewanika, his Councillors and the principal Headmen of the nation, held at Lealui on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1890. Coillard, before going into greater details of the boundary lines and a list of 23 tribes, recorded that the general boundary lines of the Barotse Kingdom were:

*On the South the Zambezi and Chobe Rivers; On the West the 20 longitude E; On the North the watershed of the Congo and the Zambezi Rivers; and on the East the Kafue River.*<sup>20</sup>

In preparation for the delimitation of the permanent boundary between British and Portuguese territories, the British Government in 1896 sent out an expedition under Major Goold Adams in an effort to determine the 'Western limits' of Lewanika's kingdom.<sup>21</sup> When Major Goold Adams asked King Lewanika to describe the boundaries of his kingdom, the Lozi ruler reportedly replied 'I do not know what you mean by kingdom, but I will tell you where my people live'. Lewanika then went on to list the tribes under his suzerainty. Ten of the seventeen tribes listed by the Lozi ruler occupied territory to the West of the '*Modus Vivendi*'. Major Goold Adams submitted his Report with a map showing the route he took through the country, and also showing the total area, which Lewanika had informed him, comprised his Kingdom.<sup>22</sup> Goold Adams indicated that a large portion of Barotse country lay west of the Zambezi and Kabompo rivers and west of the provisional *Modus Vivendi* line of 31<sup>st</sup> May 1893. As a result of Major Goold Adams' Report the British Government declined to accept the line of the *Modus Vivendi* as definitive.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, they requested the Portuguese Government that the area between the boundary of Major Goold Adams and the *Modus Vivendi* line be regarded as neutral territory between the two Governments until an award had been given by an Arbitrator. Major Goold Adams outlined what he considered to be the 'irreducible minimum' of Lozi territory in the West and North as: 'The Chobe River from its junction with the Zambezi to 14½ latitude south, to Luchazi country and east to the Cubangu river and up its source and north to the Lungwebungu and down this to the village of Dioma, to the source of the Lumbala river, down to its junction with the Zambezi and up the

<sup>19</sup> Goold Adams to F.O. 10<sup>th</sup> October 1897 No. 54 Conf. 7010 -F.O to C.O. 20<sup>th</sup> October 1897. No. 56 Conf. 7010 - C.O. to F.O. 11<sup>th</sup> June 1898 No. 81 Conf. 7074.

<sup>20</sup> C.O. to F.O. 4<sup>th</sup> September 1893 No. 179. Conf. 6482 - Dr. Harris (BSACo.) to High Commissioner. 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1893, Enclosure 2 in C.O. to F.O. 4<sup>th</sup> September 1893 No. 179 Conf. 6482. Original Memorandum on Frontiers by Lewanika at full Pitso 26 June 1890 Enclosure 3 in C.O. to F.O. 4<sup>th</sup> September 1893 No. 179 Conf. 6482.

<sup>21</sup> Major Goold Adams to Lord Rosemead. 21<sup>st</sup> October 1896 Enclosure 2 in C.O. to F.O. 6<sup>th</sup> February 1897 No. 38 Conf. 6968.

<sup>22</sup> Goold Adams to Foreign Office 28<sup>th</sup> November 1896. No. 65, Conf. 6968 Goold Adams to Foreign Office, 24<sup>th</sup> August 1897 No. 35 Conf. 7010

<sup>23</sup> C.O. to F.O. 11<sup>th</sup> June 1898 No. 81. Conf. 7074 - F.O. to C.O. 1<sup>st</sup> July 1898 No. 1 Conf. 7143 - F.O. to C.O. 20<sup>th</sup> October 1897 No. 56. Conf. 7010.

*Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

Zambezi to the source.’<sup>24</sup>

Further investigations and reports followed that of Major Goold Adams after the British Government and the Portuguese Government failed to agree over Major Goold Adam’s Report.<sup>25</sup> In 1898 the Expedition of Major A. St. H. Gibbons followed. The objectives of the 1898 Expedition included:

- (1) to determine the geographical limits of Lewanika’s country, with which, in accordance with the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 1891, the British boundary in the west is conterminous.
- (2) to define the Congo-Zambezi watershed, as representing the Treaty frontier between the British sphere and the Congo state.
- (3) to make a hydrographical and ethnographical survey of the whole of Lewanika’s territory.

Major Gibbons pushed the boundaries of Lewanika’s Kingdom further in the west and north to the Kwito River and Kasai River respectively.<sup>26</sup> Major Gibbons also produced a map of the Upper Zambezi Basin showing the distribution of tribes under the rule of the ruler of the Lozi people. The map was produced from surveys and exploration by Gibbons and others on his Expeditions 1895-96 and 1898-1900.<sup>27</sup>

Later Reports in 1901 by Major Colin Harding and R. T. Coryndon came to conclusions very similar to those of Major Gibbons and his Party. Coryndon, who in 1897 had been the first resident representative of the British South Africa Company in Bulozhi and who in 1901 was the Administrator for North-Western Rhodesia, claimed that Lewanika had not told the full extent of his Kingdom to Goold Adams.<sup>28</sup> Coryndon’s own recommendations were that the western boundary should run from the Kwito River to its junction with the Okavango, to the junction with Cuanavare and up this to the source, the watershed dividing the Kwanza on the west from Lungwebungu in the east to the source of the Kasai to the Congo Free State border. (Democratic Republic of the Congo).<sup>29</sup>

The Missionary Adolphe Jalla was in 1903 asked by the Administrator of North Western Rhodesia to make a statement on what was the state of affairs before June 1891. Jalla could not give a detailed report since he was on his way from leave and did not have any notes with him. He however gave the western boundary of Bulozhi/Barotseland as the Luvale and Lunda countries in the present North Western Province of Zambia, to the source of the Zambezi in the north; Kwito River to the Okavango in the west; the Chobe to its confluence with the Zambezi and along the

<sup>24</sup> Major Goold Adams to the Foreign Office 10<sup>th</sup> October 1897. No. 54 Conf. 7010.

<sup>25</sup> Foreign Office to Colonial Office 11<sup>th</sup> June 1896 No. 139 Conf. 6851-BSACo. to Foreign Office 16<sup>th</sup> June 1896. No. 140 Conf. 6851.

<sup>26</sup> Africa from South to North through Marotseland. Volume I. Major A. St. H. Gibbons FRGS, RCI, John Lane London MDCCCIV p.4. See also Volume II for the whole account.

<sup>27</sup> See map showing the Lozi Kingdom at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century by Major Gibbons et alias here attached.

<sup>28</sup> Coryndon to Salisbury. Lealui 29<sup>th</sup> December 1897 No. 40 Conf. 7074.

<sup>29</sup> Coryndon to Salisbury. Lealui 29<sup>th</sup> December 1897 No. 40 Conf. 7074.

Zambezi to the junction with the Kafue River in the south. Lewanika in an affidavit in June 1903 pointed out his boundary to the north as the Kasai River and the headwaters of the Zambezi River. He included the Luvale and Lunda countries. In the West, Lewanika stated that his kingdom extended to the Kwito River and the headwaters of the Lungwebungu River. He claimed the Mambunda country but excluded the Chokwe area. In the South, Lewanika pointed to the Okavango River and the area north of the Mangwe Kwanu River. The Lozi ruler went on to declare that Lozi representative Indunas in these areas, and Indunas of the indigenous tribes there could give evidence in support of his claim.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, the Colonial Office in a letter dated 15<sup>th</sup> September 1903 requested the Director-General of Military Intelligence to draw up a map showing the whole of Lewanika's country 'with a certain margin of the surrounding territories on the scale 1:2,000,000'. The Colonial Office directed that the limits of Lewanika's country should be:

- 10<sup>o</sup> South latitude on the North
- 18<sup>o</sup> 25' South latitude on the South, being the Southern Limit of Intelligence Divisions Map No. 1541
- 29<sup>o</sup> East longitude on the East
- 17<sup>o</sup> East longitude on the West.<sup>31</sup>

The Colonial Office directed further that the western limit of the Lozi kingdom should be the headwaters of the Quanza and its affluents; and the boundary in the east, between Barotseland North Western Rhodesia and North Eastern Rhodesia should also be shown on the map; the names of all the tribes mentioned in the Reports to be used were to be inserted on the map; and the Reports to be used were those of Major Goold Adams; Col. C. Harding and Major Gibbons and his companions. Mr. Coryndon and Col. Harding were to assist in the preparation of the case for border arbitration.<sup>32</sup>

The international boundary between the British and the Portuguese Spheres was finally established on 23 June 1905, through the arbitration of the King of Italy, King Emmanuel III. The King of Italy did not base his arbitration on legitimacy claims. The area in dispute was simply divided into two equal parts between Britain and Portugal. The new boundary was defined as follows:

*The straight line joining Katima Rapids on the Zambezi to the village of Andara on the Okavango as far as the point of intersection with the river, Kwando, the eastern bank of that river to the point of intersection with the twenty-second meridian then the twenty second meridian to its intersection with the thirteenth parallel, the thirteenth parallel to its intersection with the twenty-fourth meridian, thence the twenty-fourth meridian up to*

<sup>30</sup> Reports on Lewanika's influence 1903-1904 A2/2/3 Tag. 312 Loc 59 NAZ.

<sup>31</sup> Downing

Street, September 15, 1903 - In Annex to NRG Despatch of August 1964 Re. Mineral Rights (Unpublished) Maxwell Stamp Associates Ltd. Moor House London Wall London E.C.2 pp.152-156.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid

*Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

*the frontier of the Congo Free State.*<sup>33</sup>

Lewanika was disappointed by the decision,  
*it is not quite a good boundary is only to make us much disappointed,  
how a boundary can goes like a zig zag ... is not a boundary only a  
joke indeed... How shall we do Sir to be cutted half and half.*<sup>34</sup>

The British Government declared their inability to do anything. The High Commissioner, Lord Selbourne wrote to Lewanika:

*The territory awarded to King Edward VII is less than you and His Majesty Government hoped to get, but His Majesty expects us to respect and loyally abide by the decision arrived at after much careful thought by an impartial King, a great friend of his to whose arbitration he was glad to leave the decision.*<sup>35</sup>

The missionaries of the Paris Missionary Society in Bulozhi were also upset by the decision.<sup>36</sup> They however felt that without the recommendations of Rev. Adolphe Jalla, who participated in the arbitration by the Italian King, the decision could have been worse. In 1935 Adolphe Jalla was decorated by Britain with the Commander of the British Empire (CBE) medal for his services to the country and for his contribution in the boundary dispute.<sup>37</sup>

While the Portuguese saga was unfolding, the British and the Germans were similarly engaged in negotiations to resolve their rival claims to territory in East Africa and South West Africa. Through the Anglo-German Agreement of 1<sup>st</sup> July 1890 Article II the German and British Spheres of Influence in South West Africa were delimited. The British were determined to see that Germany did not cross to the East of the Zambezi River. A narrow strip of land, west of the Zambezi, the Caprivi Zipfel, was extended to bring South West Africa (Namibia) to the Zambezi River. This impacted on Bulozhi to the extent that Litia (later Yeta III) Lewanika's eldest son whose chieftainship was centred at Kazungula at the confluence of Linyanti/Chobe River and the Zambezi River had to be resettled in Sesheke while his subjects were given the option to remain under Germany rule or move with Litia across the new southern boundary of Bulozhi into Sesheke.<sup>38</sup> Lewanika was not party to the

<sup>33</sup> Award of Boundary Arbitrator, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1905 HC/1/2/4 2173/05. NAZ

- See also Your Friend Lewanika-Litunga of Barotseland 1842-1916. Gervas Clay. Chatto and Windus London 1968 p.137.

<sup>34</sup> Lewanika to Coryndon 19<sup>th</sup> July 1905, Your Friend Lewanika, Gervas Clay, Chatto and Windus London 1968 p.137 also Note 15 p.180.

<sup>35</sup> High Commissioner to Lewanika. 24<sup>th</sup> July 1905. Your Friend Lewanika, Gervas Clay, Chatto and Windus London 1968 p.137 See also Note 16 p.180

<sup>36</sup> Your Friend Lewanika. Gervas Clay 1968 p.138

<sup>37</sup> The Spread of the Gospel in Barotseland. From the Paris Mission to the United Church of Zambia. A Chronological History. 1885-1965. Edited by Phillippe Burger, Francois Escande and André Honegger. DEFAP Paris 2010. p.34.

<sup>38</sup> Selous to Rhodes 6<sup>th</sup> December 1894 on Barotse authority in Chobe area. Enclosure 2 in Rhodes to Kimberly 7<sup>th</sup> December 1894 No. 1 Conf. 6688.

Africa from South to North Through Marotseland. Vol. 1 Major A. St. H. Gibbons FRGS, RCI John Lane London MDCCCIV p.110

The Caprivi Strip during the German Colonial Period 1890-1914 Maria Fisch Out of Africa Publishers Windhoek, Namibia 1999. pp.51-63

Anglo-Germany Agreement. At the outbreak of the First World War, Lewanika wrote to the King in England requesting to get his 'impis' to go into Caprivi to drive the Germans out. The reply came in the negative pointing out that it was a different kind of warfare. All the same Lewanika sent £200 as his contribution to the war effort.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, in 1915 he sent 2000 men to transport food between the line of rail and the Tanganyika border.<sup>40</sup> After the defeat of Germany Lewanika was disappointed that the Caprivi Zipfel as part of South West Africa was handed over by Britain to the Union of South Africa as part of the mandated territory. Later Yeta III the son and successor to Lewanika petitioned the Imperial Government for return of the Caprivi Strip to Buluzi.

### **The 1890 Lewanika Concession and the Quest for a Resident**

While these developments were unfolding along the borders of the Lozi Kingdom, parallel developments were going on inside Buluzi/Barotseland. As already seen on 26<sup>th</sup> June 1890 Lewanika and the British South Africa Company representative Frank Elliott Lochner signed the Lochner Treaty. Through the Lochner Treaty Lewanika gave to the British South Africa Company 'the sole, absolute, and exclusive and perpetual right and power to search for, dig, win and keep diamonds, gold, coal, oil and all other precious stones, minerals and substances over his entire kingdom including any future extension thereof, including all subject and dependent territory'.<sup>41</sup>

In return the Company was to appoint and maintain a British Resident to reside permanently with the king. There were also promises of development and a subsidy of £2,000 per annum. The Lochner Treaty was as required by the Charter submitted to the British Government for scrutiny before approval. The Treaty was found to have overlooked certain areas and to have overstepped in others. For example, under Section 26 of the Company's Charter the Company was not permitted to set up or grant any monopoly of trade, yet the Lochner Concession gave to the Company 'the sole absolute and exclusive and perpetual right and power to carry on any manufacturing, commercial or other trading business'. Secondly, the Lochner Treaty did not give the Company administrative powers, which according to the Charter had to be ceded to the Company by Treaty with Lewanika. The British Government did not therefore ratify the Lochner Treaty and none of its terms and conditions was ever fulfilled. Furthermore, Lewanika tried to repudiate the Lochner Treaty claiming

<sup>39</sup> NR HC-in letters-A2/3/1 NAZ. See also A1/1/16 Tag. 698 LOC 162 NAZ.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

The Spread of the Gospel in Barotseland: From the Paris Mission to the United Church of Zambia. A Chronological History 1885-1965 edit. Phillippe Burger, Francois Escande and Andre Honegger DEFA, Paris 2010. P.49

Your Friend Lewanika. Litunga of Barotseland 1842-1916 Gervas Clay, Chatto and Windus London 1968 pp.153-154

<sup>41</sup> The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia. T. W. Baxter, Occasional Papers No. 1 June 1963. The National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Pp.8-10

See also Lochner's Document Enclosure in Middleton (for Lewanika) to Lord Salisbury, Lealui. 27<sup>th</sup> October 1890 No. 158 Conf. 6178

*Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

that it was obtained by fraudulent means. The Lozi ruler protested that he did not know that Lochner was in fact a representative of a commercial company, and that he had granted a monopoly of the natural resources of his country to a commercial concern. Lewanika claimed that he thought he was dealing with a representative of the British Queen (Queen Victoria).<sup>42</sup>

For nearly seven years after the signing of the Lochner Treaty, there was no sign of imperial or Company rule on the ground in Bulozhi. Lewanika wrote to the Queen amid fears that he was not under the protection of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Government. The missionary Coillard wrote to the High Commissioner pointing out the need to send a Resident to Barotseland.<sup>43</sup> Initially it was thought that Bulozhi would be under the control of Harry Hamilton Johnston, Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the territories under British influence north of the Zambezi who was stationed in Zomba in Nyasaland, present Malawi.<sup>44</sup> In a letter to the High Commissioner Loch dated 25<sup>th</sup> August 1891 Knutsford (C.O.) instructed Loch to inform Lewanika that Johnston the Queen's Commissioner to Central Africa would visit Barotseland to explain Her Majesty's wishes and feelings in regard to the Chief and his country. Knutsford went on to reveal that Mr. Johnston made arrangements between the Foreign Office and the British South Africa Company for administration of the territory. It followed therefore that Lewanika should communicate with Johnston in future on all problems affecting his country.<sup>45</sup>

On 18<sup>th</sup> September 1891 Loch wrote to Lewanika to assure the Lozi ruler that he was under the protection of the Queen and that Johnston H. M. Commissioner in Central Africa would visit Barotseland. Furthermore he revealed that the Queen and the BSACo. had arranged that Johnston should take over the administration of the territory.<sup>46</sup>

Lewanika replied that he was very pleased but had nothing to say till the arrival of Johnston before whom he would lay his complaints. Similarly Coillard declared that he would be very happy to welcome Johnston as H. M.'s Representative and introduce him to the king and the headmen of the nation.<sup>47</sup>

On 19<sup>th</sup> August 1893 Johnston wrote to Rosebery to inform him that he had had consultations with Loch and Rhodes concerning his assignment with the Barotse King. He reported that Rhodes had left it to his discretion as to when and how he should proceed to take up the assignment in Barotseland. At the same time however Rhodes promised to place £5,000 annually to be spent on the development of

<sup>42</sup> Lewanika to the Queen. Sefula 1<sup>st</sup> November 1890 Enclosure 3 in C.O. to F.O. 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1891 No. 119 Conf. 6178  
Middleton (for Lewanika) to Lord Salisbury. Lealui 27<sup>th</sup> October 1890 No. 158 Conf. 6178

<sup>43</sup> Coillard to Loch 4<sup>th</sup> July 1895 Enclosure 2 in C.O. to F.O. 6<sup>th</sup> December 1895 No. 176 Conf. 6784

<sup>44</sup> C.O. to F.O. 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1891 No. 119 Conf. 6178  
See also F.O. to C.O. 12<sup>th</sup> August 1891 No. 128 Conf. 6178.

<sup>45</sup> Knutsford to Sir H. Loch 25<sup>th</sup> August 1891. Enclosure in C.O. to F.O. 26<sup>th</sup> August 1891 No. 140 Conf. 6178.

<sup>46</sup> Loch to Lewanika 18<sup>th</sup> September 1891 Enclosure 2 in C.O. to F.O. 14<sup>th</sup> March 1892 No. 50 Conf. 6337.

<sup>47</sup> Coillard to Loch Sefula 13<sup>th</sup> November 1891 Enclosure 4 in C.O. to F.O. 14<sup>th</sup> March 1892 No. 50 Conf. 6337.



relations with the Barotse.<sup>48</sup> Johnston however felt he should not embark on such an expensive operation till the boundaries of Barotseland were defined. According to Johnston the lower portions of Barotseland were not worth opening up – marshy and exceedingly unhealthy.<sup>49</sup> In the end Johnston was unable to go to Barotseland and the arrangement fell through.

As already seen through the Treaty of 11<sup>th</sup> June 1891, Britain had claimed and Portugal had agreed that the entire Lozi kingdom belonged to British Sphere of Influence. Furthermore, Portugal had agreed that the western limits of Lewanika's kingdom would mark the international boundary between the British and Portuguese Spheres on the Upper Zambezi.<sup>50</sup>

On 31<sup>st</sup> May 1894, the Foreign Office revealed that Johnston did not administer Barotseland since there was no ratified Treaty with the Lozi ruler under the Charter of the British South Africa Company.<sup>51</sup> The Company was therefore requested to renegotiate the Lochner Treaty in order to make Lewanika confer on the British South Africa Chartered Company administrative powers in Buluzi. Furthermore, on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1894 an agreement was signed between the Foreign Office and Cecil John Rhodes for the Company to undertake the direct administration of the British Sphere of Influence north of the Zambezi over which its Charter had been extended in 1891. Thus the responsibility to administer Barotseland was transferred from Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul General in Malawi who was in charge of British Sphere north of the Zambezi under the African Order in Council of 1889 to the British South Africa Chartered Company on the basis of the Agreement between the Company and the Foreign Office of 24<sup>th</sup> November 1894.<sup>52</sup>

The Foreign Office then suggested that the High Commissioner at the Cape should confer with Rhodes as to the policy to be adopted towards Lewanika. The Company selected H. J. A. Hervey to go to Lewanika to renegotiate the Lochner Treaty to obtain administrative powers from the Lozi ruler. Hervey died of wounds received in the Matebele Rebellion of 1896 before he could start for Barotseland. Due to problems of the Matebele and the Shona resistance in present Zimbabwe then Southern Rhodesia and due to the Jameson Raid fiasco of 1895 the British Government chose to suspend the assumption by the Company of further

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<sup>48</sup> Johnston to Rosebery 19<sup>th</sup> August 1893 No. 225 Conf. 6482.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> A History of Northern Rhodesia. Early Days to 1953. L. H. Gann Chatto and Windus London 1964 p.65

Foreign Office to Mr. R. T. Coryndon 8<sup>th</sup> April 1897, No. 101 Conf. 6968.

<sup>51</sup> Precise of Barotseland Correspondence Since 1889 – Enclosure 2 in C.O. to F.O. 16<sup>th</sup> January 1897 No. 17 Conf. 6968

See also F.O to BSACo. 14<sup>th</sup> April 1894 No. 117 Conf. 6537

<sup>52</sup> Precise of Barotseland Correspondence since 1889 Enclosure 2 in C.O. to F.O. 16<sup>th</sup> January 1897 No. 17 Conf. 6968

The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia by T. W. Baxter. Occasional Papers No. 1 June 1963. The National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. p. 11.

### *Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

administrative responsibilities.<sup>53</sup> But pressure from Lewanika and his missionary advisors was such that even before a new Treaty was negotiated, the Foreign Office in December 1896 asked the Chartered Company to nominate and send a 'Resident' to live in Barotseland and to assist Lewanika in maintaining order among persons who were subject to Her Majesty's jurisdiction i.e. white traders and concession seekers. The Resident to be nominated by the Company had to be approved by Her Majesty's Government. Secondly, the Government had to know and agree to instructions issued by the Company to him. Thirdly, the Resident would represent both Her Majesty's Government and the Company and he would go up to Barotseland with a suitable escort which would include a few policemen.<sup>54</sup> Thus in March 1897, Robert Thorne Coryndon, a South African born officer of the British South Africa police was nominated by the BSACo. and appointed by the Imperial Government the first resident with Lewanika.<sup>55</sup> Coryndon arrived in Lealui on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1897, accompanied by his Secretary Frank Vigers Worthington and an escort of five European policemen.<sup>56</sup> As the 'Resident' initially Coryndon resided in the flood plain near Lealui but in 1898 he moved his residency to the present Mongu site. By February 1899 he had founded stations at Mongu, Kalomo, Kazungula and Monze.<sup>57</sup> At this juncture Coryndon was responsible to the Imperial Government through the Foreign Office as was stipulated under the 1889 Africa Order in Council relating to British Sphere of Influence.

### **The British South Africa Company Administration**

In a bid to regularise the administration of British territories north of the Zambezi over which the Charter was extended, the British South Africa Chartered Company suggested and the British Government agreed that the country be divided into two administrative units:- Barotseland North Western Rhodesia and North Eastern Rhodesia.<sup>58</sup> This was because at that time the Eastern and Western sections of the territory had to be served by different routes from the coast, North Eastern via Zambezi and Shire; North Western via Bulawayo.

The Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia Order in Council of 28<sup>th</sup> November 1899 established and defined Barotseland North Western Rhodesia while the North Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council of 29<sup>th</sup> January 1900 established and defined North Eastern Rhodesia. The two Orders in Council superseded the 1889 Africa Order in Council. It was intended that the area covered by the 1899 Order in Council

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> C.O. to F.O. 16<sup>th</sup> January 1897. No. 17, Conf. 6968

<sup>55</sup> Foreign Office to R. T. Coryndon 8<sup>th</sup> April 1897, No. 101 Conf. 6968

The Barotse Concessions Part II, T. W. Baxter The Northern Rhodesia Journal Number IV December 1951 p. 38

<sup>56</sup> Coryndon to Salisbury. Lealui 25<sup>th</sup> November 1897. No. 12 Conf. 7074

<sup>57</sup> Africa from South to North through Marotseland, Vol. I. Major A. St. H. Gibbons, FRGS, John Lane London RCI MDCCCIV p.111

<sup>58</sup> B.S.A. Co. to F.O. 6<sup>th</sup> May 1898 No. 59, Conf. 7074  
see also F.O. to C.O. 14<sup>th</sup> May 1898 No. 63 conf. 7074.

should be coterminous with lands which fell under Lewanika's suzerainty although the Western boundary was not yet determined.

The Barotseland-North Western Order in Council of 1899 in Section 3 defined Barotseland North Western Rhodesia or the limits of the Order as:

*... the parts of Africa bounded by the river Zambezi, the German South West African Protectorate, the Portuguese possessions, the Congo Free State and the Kafukwe (Kafue River) or Loengi river. Such limits further include so much of any territory belonging to the Mashukulumbwe tribe as may lie east of the Kafukwe or Loengi River. The territory within the limits of this Order, shall be known as Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia.*<sup>59</sup>

Barotseland North Western Rhodesia was to be administered under the direct control of Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa, acting under the directions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the United Kingdom. It was said that this was due to the fact that the frontier between North Western Rhodesia and Portuguese West Africa (Angola) was still not determined, and pending the boundary settlement Imperial authorities had to be closer. It could also be argued that after the crises the Company found itself in with the Matebele War of 1893 and the Shona and Ndebele rebellions of 1896, the British Government was hesitant in its dealings with the Company. North Eastern Rhodesia on the other hand was to be administered directly by the British South Africa Chartered Company officers under the control of Her Majesty's Commissioner at Zomba in Nyasaland (Malawi) acting under the directions of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.<sup>60</sup>

Through the Barotseland North Western Rhodesia Order-in-Council 1899 the British High Commissioner for South Africa at the Cape, had full powers over Barotseland North Western Rhodesia. He was empowered to make laws for Barotseland North Western Rhodesia by Proclamation, for raising revenue and generally for its government. The British South Africa Chartered Company was to pay for the administration of North Western Rhodesia; the Chartered Company could nominate administrative and judicial officials for appointment by the High Commissioner. In other words Company officials worked under the control of the High Commissioner in South Africa. As for Lewanika, the Colonial Office wrote to the British South Africa Chartered Company on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1900 that:

*'The Queen's authority had already taken place of that of Lewanika, and the grants to be made by him will only be operative so far as they are ratified by Her Majesty or are not inconsistent with the Order in Council.'*<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Richard Goodle to the Administrator. Salisbury. 26<sup>th</sup> October 1921 – Barotse Sphere of Influence. Annex to NRG Despatch of August 1964 History of Mineral Rights of Northern Rhodesia - Maxwell Stamp Associates Ltd, Moor House London Wall London E.C. 2 (unpublished) January 1967 p.124

<sup>60</sup> Foreign Office to the British South Africa Company. 11<sup>th</sup> March 1899, No. 30 in Conf. 7310

<sup>61</sup> Colonial Office to BSACo. 8<sup>th</sup> May 1900 Africa (South) 656 No. 65

## **The 1900 Lewanika Concessions and the Reserved Area**

Meanwhile a new renegotiated Treaty with Lewanika was central to all these constitutional and administrative arrangements although the Treaty would have to be ratified by Her Majesty the Queen.<sup>62</sup> The responsibility to negotiate a new Concession/Treaty with Lewanika was assigned to the newly appointed Resident. It is reported that Coryndon possessed 'all the attributes of a sound negotiator-skill, patience and tact'. The result was first the Lawley Concession of June 1898, so named after Captain Arthur Lawley the Administrator of Matebeleland, who had travelled to the Victoria Falls to represent the 'Chartered Company in negotiations with the Lozi ruler.'<sup>63</sup>

After days of negotiations Lewanika did not sign the Concession and instead he wrote to Captain Lawley on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1898 at Victoria Falls, making an unprecedented request, saying that he would approve the proposed new Concession provided that part of his territory was excluded from prospecting and white settlement to be reserved for the exclusive use of his people under their traditional ruler.

*I am writing you this letter which is to be attached to the new Concession which we have been talking about for the past few days. We are perfectly satisfied with everything that is written in the new concession, and ready to change it for the one which is known as the Lochner Concession, provided that a clause be added to the following effect, namely:-*

*'The British South Africa Company agrees to reserve from prospecting the whole area of the country within the following boundaries:-*

*Northern Boundary – from the headwaters of the Dongwe and Kabompo Rivers, to the junction of the Kabompo and Zambezi rivers.*

*Western and Southern Boundary – from the junction of Kabompo and Zambezi Rivers along the Zambezi Rivers (**n.b.** Modus Vivendi of 1893) to its junction with the Majili (Machile) River.*

*Eastern Boundary – from the junction of the Zambezi and Majili Rivers, along the Majili River to its headwaters, then northward, along the line of the watershed, to the headwaters of the Dongwe River, as per map attached.<sup>64</sup>*

Lewanika made one condition for the reservation to be withdrawn: if payable gold was not discovered in the conceded area outside the Reserved Area. Secondly, he stated that reservation did not imply the exclusion of traders and other travellers.<sup>65</sup>

The British Government however wished to have the Concession put on hold

<sup>62</sup> Foreign Office to BSACo. 14<sup>th</sup> April 1894. No. 117 Conf. 6537

<sup>63</sup> The Lawley Concession of 1898, Victoria Falls, 25<sup>th</sup> June 1898 – Enclosure 1 in B.S.A. Co. to F.O. 11<sup>th</sup> October 1898, No. 73 Conf. 7143.

<sup>64</sup> Lewanika to Lawley. 25<sup>th</sup> June 1898 Enclosure 2 in BSA Co. to F.O. 11<sup>th</sup> October 1898 No. 73, Conf. 7143.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

while the Imperial Government was preparing for the settlement of the matter of the administration of Barotseland. Moreover, there were concerns that the terms of the Concession should not be inconsistent with the proposed Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia Order in Council, which was finally issued as already seen, on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1899.

New and final Concessions with Lewanika comprising the Lawley Concession and the Coryndon Concession were both signed by Lewanika and the British South Africa Chartered Company on 17<sup>th</sup> October 1900. The British Government approved the Lawley Concession as Concession 'A' on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1901, and the Coryndon Concession as Concession 'B' on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1901. Both the Lawley Concession and the Coryndon Concession included Lewanika's request to reserve from prospecting and white settlement the area which was specified in his letter of 25<sup>th</sup> June 1898 to Captain Lawley. Through the 1900 Concessions Lewanika succeeded in having the Central area of the Lozi kingdom centred on the Zambezi Flood Plain reserved for the exclusive possession and enjoyment of the Lozi people.<sup>66</sup> Due to delays in settling the international boundary between the Portuguese and The British Spheres of Influence, the Reserved Area was limited to the eastern side of the Zambezi River as was determined through the 1893 temporary *Modus Vivendi*. After the international border settlement the territory west of the Zambezi to the Angolan border was added in 1909 to the Reserved Area.<sup>67</sup>

Through the 1900 Concessions Lewanika granted to the British South Africa Chartered Company

*the sole absolute and exclusive perpetual right and power to do the following acts free of any royalty or deduction over the whole of the territory of the said Nation or any future extension thereof including all subject and dependent territory:*

*To search for dig win and keep diamonds, gold, coal, oil and all other precious stones minerals or substances.*<sup>68</sup>

In return and in addition to the Reserved Area, Lewanika through the 1900 Concessions/Treaties managed to win for himself and Buluzi terms and conditions which were more favourable than any other indigenous ruler in present Zambia was able to secure:

- A special Reserved Area (which was pegged and mapped), and inalienable land within the Reserve for the exclusive use of the Lozi people under their traditional ruler.
- Retention by Lewanika of Constitutional power or authority as Chief of the Barotse Nation.

<sup>66</sup> The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia. T. W. Baxter. Occasional Papers No. 1 June 1963. The National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. pp.15, 18

<sup>67</sup> The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia. T. W. Baxter. Occasional Papers No. 1 June 1963. The National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. pp. 22-23

The Barotse Concessions Part II, T. W. Baxter. Northern Rhodesia, Journal No. IV December 1951 p.42.

<sup>68</sup> The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia, T. W. Baxter. Occasional Papers No. 1 June 1963. The National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. p.13 (Concession A) p. 17 (Concession B).

*Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

- Exclusive jurisdiction over cases between natives.
- All land (in North Western Rhodesia) other than that required by the British South Africa Chartered Company for mining and trading purposes or that granted as farms in Batoka and Mashukulumbwe countries.
- Certain named iron mines.
- Reservation of all elephants to the King as his exclusive property.
- Reservation to the use of the king and his people of all trees suitable for canoes on any rivers running from the east into the Zambezi between Kabompo River and Ngwezi River (30-40 miles above the Victoria Falls in the South).
- Unrestricted use of white granite for making anvils.
- The preservation (as far as the Company can) of all game in the Liuwa west of Lealui and the Zambezi and South of Lower Lungwebungi, certain named game on the Lower Luena River; certain other named game in the Barotse Valley Proper.
- Protection from interference (as far as the Company can) of natives on the Luanginga and Nyengo rivers (Western tributaries of the Zambezi) and those between the Machile and Luena rivers (eastern tributaries of the Zambezi) and those between the Zambezi and the 'Waggon Road' which runs west to the Zambezi from Kalomo and then north to Lealui.
- A subsidy to Lewanika of £850 per annum.<sup>69</sup>

On 18<sup>th</sup> October 1900, a day after signing both the Lawley Concession and Coryndon Concession Lewanika while fully aware of the *Modus Vivendi*, wrote to the British South Africa Chartered Company requesting that that part of the country west of the Zambezi river and the *Modus Vivendi*, be reserved for the exclusive use of the king and his people:-

*To the British South Africa Company,*

*Lealui, Barotsiland  
October 18, 1900*

*We have seen Major Coryndon and we thank you for sending him. We signed the Concession, and we kindly ask a strip of country within these boundaries:-*

*From Lutembwe which is the tributary of Lungwebungo, along to Luanginga, from Luanginga along to the Loowe. From Loowe to Kutee, from Kutee to Kuando, and from Kuando down to Kazungula.*

*We kindly asks this strip of country for our own exclusive use.<sup>70</sup>*

<sup>69</sup> Ibid pp. 16-19 See also Lawley Concession. 25<sup>th</sup> June 1898 Victoria Falls. Enclosure 1 in BSACo. to F.O. 11<sup>th</sup> October 1898 No. 73 in Conf. 7143.

<sup>70</sup> Lewanika to the British South Africa Company, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1900, in Administrator, North West Rhodesia to the Secretary BSA Company, 24<sup>th</sup> June 1901. History of Mineral Rights of Northern Rhodesia Part II Appendices. Maxwell Stamp Associates Ltd. Moor House, London Wall, London E.C.2 (unpublished) January 1967 P.121

The Colonial Office in a letter dated 17<sup>th</sup> June 1901 to the British South Africa Chartered Company stated that 'no rights of any kind beyond the line fixed by Article V of the Agreement with Portugal of 1893, as the provisional boundary between the Spheres of Influence of Great Britain and Portugal, can be recognised by His Majesty's Government, pending a final settlement of the boundary question between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Portugal'.<sup>71</sup>

On 24<sup>th</sup> June 1901, Coryndon, then Administrator of Barotseland North Western Rhodesia wrote to the Secretary of the British South Africa Chartered Company pointing out that 'the great majority of this area is heavily populated and is in close communication with the numerous important kraals in the valley. From it the King and his Chief Indunas drive a large proportion of their animal tribute and many fine canoes ... several sorts of mats and household utensils which are extensively used in the valley. Furthermore the area supplied a large number of workers for work in the Barotse Valley.'<sup>72</sup> On 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1901, when the Secretary of State confirmed the 17<sup>th</sup> October 1900 Lewanika Concessions, he stated that the area asked for by Lewanika on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1900 to be reserved for the sole and exclusive use of the King and his people would be shut to prospecting if it were eventually found within the British Sphere of Influence and not in that of the Portuguese.<sup>73</sup>

As already seen above, the King of Italy settled the international boundary between Angola and Zambia in 1905 through arbitration. It was claimed however that in return for having the land west of the Zambezi to the Angolan border added to the Reserved Area Lewanika in 1909 agreed to give to the British South Africa Chartered Company all land within his territory outside the Reserved Area! Yeta III disputed this later.<sup>74</sup>

The eastern limit of Barotseland as already seen was the Kafue River and the Mashukulumbwe (ILA) country. The Kafue River and the Mashukulumbwe (ILA) country therefore became the boundary/dividing line between Barotseland North West Rhodesia and North Eastern Rhodesia. It was the official policy of the Imperial Government and the British South Africa Chartered Company that the dividing line between Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia and North Eastern Rhodesia should be coterminous throughout its length with the eastern boundary/limit of Lewanika's kingdom and its subject territory. It therefore followed that whenever the boundaries of Barotseland-North, Western Rhodesia were altered and extended to cover new territory Lewanika's kingdom and the Lewanika Concessions were

<sup>71</sup> Colonial Office to the British South Africa Company 17<sup>th</sup> June 1901. History of Mineral Rights of Northern Rhodesia Part II. Maxwell Stamp Associates Ltd. Moor House, London Wall London. E.C.2 (unpublished) January 1967. Pp.121 -122

<sup>72</sup> Administrator, North Western Rhodesia to the Secretary, BSA Company 24<sup>th</sup> June 1901 paragraph 6 History of Mineral Rights of Northern Rhodesia Part II. Maxwell Stamp Associates Ltd. Moor House, London Wall London E.C.2 (unpublished) January 1967 p.119

<sup>73</sup> See Para. 5 in Conditions of Colonial Secretary's approval of Concession B. 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1901 in Appendix F in Your Friend Lewanika, Gervas Clay, Chatto & Windus. London. 1968.

<sup>74</sup> The Barotse Concessions Part II. T. W. Baxter. The Northern Rhodesia Journal No. IV December 1951, pp.42-43.

Yeta's Petition to Privy Council, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1923. B1/2/8 220 LOC NAZ

Yeta's Petition to H. H. Prince Arthur of Connaught 1921. B1/2/6 Tag 862 LOC 220 NAZ

## *Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

similarly 'extended' and Lewanika was required to sign supplementary treaties to the 1900 Concessions in order to cover the newly added strips of territory.<sup>75</sup>

On 21<sup>st</sup> October 1903, the British South Africa Chartered Company wrote to the Colonial Office expressing dissatisfaction with the Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia and North Eastern Rhodesia boundary from the Kafue Hook to the East. It was said among other several reasons that the Kafue River divided a mineralised area and caused some mines to be in North Eastern Rhodesia and others to be in Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia. On 24<sup>th</sup> June 1904 the British South Africa Chartered Company wrote again to the Colonial Office asking for a further adjustment of the boundary to the Pedicle, the narrowest part of Northern Rhodesia between Mozambique and the present Congo D. R. The reasons for moving the boundary to the Pedicle were many and varied. First of all with the coming of the railway line from the South across the Victoria Falls, through Kalomo, Broken Hill to the Copperbelt, it was felt the territory along the rail line could be more easily and economically administered from Kalomo than from Fort Jameson (Chipata) in North Eastern Rhodesia. Secondly, the new boundary would be of minimum length, easy and cheaper to maintain. Thirdly, the new boundary would bring the principal mining properties under one administration and under the Lewanika Concessions. The Chartered Company would thus gain stronger economic rights "more easily susceptible of strict proof in case of need than the similar rights in North-Eastern Rhodesia."<sup>76</sup>

On 29<sup>th</sup> September 1905, the adjustment of the boundary between Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia and North Eastern Rhodesia to the Pedicle was gazetted in the official Gazette of the High Commissioner for South Africa and in the London Gazette. The boundary line in the High Commissioner's Notice was defined as:

*a line drawn from the point where the Congo-Zambezi Watershed is cut by the meridian which passes through the point at which the Luapula River leaves Lake Bangweolo to the headwaters of the River Mlembo thence along the centre of the channel of the River Mlembo to the junction of that River with the River Lukasashi thence along the channel of the River Lukasashi to the junction of that River with the River Loangwa and thence along the centre of the channel of the River Loangwa to the junction of that River with the River Zambezi.*<sup>77</sup>

The adjustment of the border to the Pedicle 'extended' the Lozi ruler's chieftainship over a vast area, in current terms, equal to the Western Province, North Western Province, the Copperbelt Province, Central Province, Lusaka Province and Southern Province, all put together! It is however necessary to point out that this

<sup>75</sup> The BSACo's claims to Mineral Royalties in Northern Rhodesia, Government Printers 1964 pp21-23).

<sup>76</sup> The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia. T. W. Baxter, Occasional Papers No. 1 June 1963 pp. 23-24.

The BSACo's Claims to Mineral Royalties in Northern Rhodesia Government Printer 1964 para. 47 p.20

<sup>77</sup> High Commissioner's Notice No. 88 of 1905. Johannesburg, 29<sup>th</sup> September 1905. Signed C. H. Rodwell, Imperial Secretary - HC1/2/20 Tag 567 LOC123 NAZ



arrangement lasted only between 1905 and 1911. The 1911 Northern Rhodesia Order in Council repealed both the Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia Order in Council of 1899 and the 1900 North Eastern Rhodesia Order in Council and created Northern Rhodesia. The dividing line was no longer applicable. On the other hand, Lewanika's rights and the BSACo.'s rights under the 1900 and 1909 Lewanika Concessions were recognised in the Order in Council.<sup>78</sup>

The Lozi ruler received 10% of all the annual payment from the Native Tax Revenue of the entire North West Rhodesia up to the Pedicle in lieu of tribute.<sup>79</sup> The Native Hut/Poll Tax introduced in 1904 was by 1913 paid by all Africans in North Western Rhodesia. The Lozi share of the Native Tax was paid into the Barotse Trust Fund for the benefit of the King and the Lozi people.<sup>80</sup> On 21<sup>st</sup> September 1905 the High Commissioner for South Africa wrote to Lewanika:

*It has been settled that every year a tenth part of the money collected shall be put on one side. The part which is set aside will be called the Commission ... Every year, after the Commission has been set aside, £1,200 will be taken from it and paid to you and you will keep this for yourself. This will be your share. I have made your share of £1,200 because this is the sum which it has been the custom to pay to the Paramount Chief in Basutoland.*

*In the following years I expect that the Commission will be more than £1,200 so that there will be some money left after you have received your share. The money, which is left over, will be spent for the benefit of your people, in building schools, or improving the villages, or making roads, or in any other way that is good and useful for the natives.<sup>81</sup>*

In 1925 after Her Majesty's Government had taken over the administration of Northern Rhodesia from the British South Africa Chartered Company administration the 10% of native tax collected in North Western Rhodesia was converted into 30% of the native tax collected within the Barotse Province and paid by Lozi taxpayers everywhere. In December 1938 the Barotse Trust Fund was liquidated and £4,484.37 was paid into the Native Treasury Account following the introduction of the Barotse Native Authority and Native Courts Ordinances to Barotseland.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>78</sup> HC1/2/52 Tag 600 LOC133 - NAZ

<sup>79</sup> The Barotse Concessions Part II. T. W. Baxter Northern Rhodesia Journal No. IV December 1951 pp.43,44

Colonial Office to High Commissioner The Earl of Selbourne, 11<sup>th</sup> August 1905 HC1/2/20 Tag 567 LOC. 123 NAZ

<sup>80</sup> The Barotse Concessions Part II, T. W. Baxter. Northern Rhodesia Journal No. IV December 1951 p.44

The Barotse Trust Fund 1905 June 6 - June 24. A3/5 Tag 327 LOC 63 NAZ

<sup>81</sup> The High Commissioner to Lewanika. 21<sup>st</sup> September 1905 in the Barotse Concessions Part II. T. W. Baxter, Northern Rhodesia Journal No. IV December 1951 p.44

<sup>82</sup> 1938 Barotse Annual Report. Sec 2/71 Vol. 4B. NAZ

1933-36 Re-organisation of Barotse Trust. SEC2/360 NAZ

1936-38 Barotse Trust Fund and Barotse Native Treasuries matters and Proposed Merger SEC2/366 NAZ

## *Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

Furthermore and in keeping with the 1900 Concessions, Lewanika had the right to Game in North Western Rhodesia. In 1924 this entitlement was commuted for cash payment of £350 annually. Similarly, the Lozi ruler had the right to the ground tusks of ivory found in North Western Rhodesia. In 1924 Litunga Yeta III gave up the right to the ivory in return for an annual payment of £500. Through the same arrangement in 1924 in return for voluntarily giving up the right to tribute in the form of free labour which Yeta III and his Indunas were entitled to exact, it was agreed that the Lozi ruler would be paid an annual sum of £2,500 to be shared with the Mulena Mukwae of Nalolo and Indunas. This however was considered to be inadequate by the recipients.

### **Areas of conflict between the Lozi rulers and the BSA Co. Administrators**

The Company Officials were however, not happy with the Lozi ruler's continued authority and influence outside the Reserved Area. Contrary to the terms of the 1900 Concessions, in November 1904 Lewanika was persuaded to surrender powers of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction over Africans in the area outside the Reserved Area. Furthermore, in a move calculated to diminish the Lozi ruler, in 1907 Lewanika was officially deprived of the title 'King' and came to be officially recognised as merely 'Paramount Chief'. The directive to withdraw the title of 'King' from Lewanika was sent to the District Commissioner, Mongu, on 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1907. The Secretary for Native Affairs wrote 'His Honour the Administrator directs that Lewanika shall be officially designated as the 'Paramount Chief of the Barotse Nation.' The title of 'King' as applied to Lewanika, and that of 'Prince' to Letia are to be discontinued and discountenanced.<sup>83</sup>

The Company administration officials committed themselves to reducing the Lozi ruler's authority and influence in the territory outside the Reserved Area to the minimum. L. A. Wallace Administrator in Livingstone wrote on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1918 to the Magistrate, Mumbwa, who had earlier written to him to complain about Barotse interference in Native Affairs in Kafue District, that when he visited the Lozi ruler 'Litia asked what was his position outside the Barotse District with regard to Native Affairs. I told him that he had no position at all and that he must not interfere at all in any matter:

*this is the attitude we have taken for some years and there is no doubt that the Khotla has been at the same time trying to maintain its influence especially in the Balla country. Their claim is based on the Agreement of 1900 where all Native Affairs are reserved for Lewanika. It is only by custom that we have confined him to the Barotse District and by passing laws we have confirmed the custom, but if he claimed his privileges under the Concession, I am inclined to think a great deal of trouble would arise and that we might need a Special Order in Council taking away his rights. We should hardly be likely to get this in face of the 1900 Agreement.<sup>84</sup>*

<sup>83</sup> Secretary for Native Affairs Livingstone. North Western Rhodesia to the District Commissioner, Barotse District Mongu. 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1907, KDE 2/34/17 NAZ

<sup>84</sup> Barotse interferences in native affairs in Kafue District 1909 March 20 - 1921

Another area of conflict between the Lozi ruler and the British South Africa Chartered Company administration concerned Land. In the 1900 Concessions with Lewanika immigration was only allowed if approved by the King, and there was no general provision for granting land to settlers. The Charter did not give power to the Company to make land grants unless they had such powers from the Lozi ruler.<sup>85</sup> The King on behalf of his people held all land. The British South Africa Chartered Company was however given the right to land for mining and trading purposes. The Company was also given the right to make grants of land for farming purposes in any portion of the Batoka or Mashukulumbwe country to white men approved by the King.<sup>86</sup>

Subsequently, the Company pressed the Lozi ruler to give them more land through Land Concessions of 1904, 1905, 1906 and in 1909 reportedly in return for having the land west of the Zambezi river to the international boundary with Angola added to the 'Reserved Area', Lewanika gave to the British South Africa Company all land within his territory outside the Reserved Area. All the money realised from the sale of such land was to be treated as commercial income for the Company.<sup>87</sup>

The Company acquired land for the railway, for the work of the mines, for plantations of the Company itself and for settlers, and the development of townships. The Company's land policy caused friction between Africans and Europeans as the former were removed from land intended for European settlement. The Company justified its position by arguing that 'it holds its land assets under valid concessions which it was authorised by its Charter to acquire and hold and which had been approved by a Secretary of State, that its title to these assets is wholly independent of its administrative position and that it has full rights of ownership.'<sup>88</sup>

Thus Lewanika, knowingly or unknowingly, gave away the land and mineral rights in the whole of North Western Rhodesia outside the Barotse Reserved Area to the British South Africa Chartered Company. L.A. Wallace the Administrator for North Western Rhodesia commented "In reality I think that Lewanika and his Council have made up their minds for some time that the eastern part of North Western Rhodesia is nothing to them; they exercise no control, almost no influence outside the Barotse Valley."<sup>89</sup> Similarly, the High Commissioner of South Africa at the time, described the 1909 Lewanika Land Concession as practically abandoning all North Western Rhodesia outside Barotseland Proper to the Company.<sup>90</sup>

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October 26 – B2/1/4 Tag 545 LOC 116 NAZ

<sup>85</sup> C.O. to F.O. 29<sup>th</sup> September 1897 No. 49 Conf. 7010

<sup>86</sup> The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia. T. W. Baxter, Occasional Papers No. 1 June 1963 p.17

<sup>87</sup> The Barotse Concessions – Part II. T. W. Baxter, The Northern Rhodesia Journal No. IV December 1951 pp. 41 - 42.

See The Concessions of Northern Rhodesia, T. W. Baxter in Occasional Papers No. 1 June 1963. The National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland pp.19-22

<sup>88</sup> Colonial Office to Law Officers 6<sup>th</sup> May 1920. Position of the BSA Co. regarding the ownership of Land and administrative deficits. Para.10 in A History of the Mineral Rights of Northern Rhodesia (unpublished) Part II Appendices. Maxwell Stamp Associates Ltd. Moor House, London Wall, London E.C.2 January 1967. P.294

<sup>89</sup> Wallace to High Commissioner, November 1909. HC1/2/9 NAZ

Your Friend Lewanika. Gervas Clay, Chatto & Windus London 1968 p.145

<sup>90</sup> C.O. to Law Officers 6<sup>th</sup> May 1920. Para. 7. In A History of the Mineral Rights of Northern Rhodesia (unpublished). Part II Appendices Maxwell Stamp Associates Ltd, Moor House London Wall. London E.C.2 January 1967 p.293

## *Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

Soon, differences began to emerge between the Lozi on one hand, and the Company on the other as to the real meaning and significance of the Land Concessions given by Lewanika. In 1910 during consideration of the Draft 1911 Order in Council for the then proposed amalgamation of Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia and North Eastern Rhodesia, Lewanika and his Indunas explained that they did not allow the Company to sell land nor to own it.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, it was subsequently argued that the extension of the Reserved Area to the Angolan border could not be made a condition for obtaining the 1909 Land Concession, since the extension had been promised by the Secretary of State in Britain, when he confirmed and approved the 1900 Concession in 1901.<sup>92</sup>

By 1909, the Lozi ruler had lost his title as King; he had lost his mineral rights; his rights of civil and criminal jurisdiction over natives which he surrendered in 1904; and rights over substantial territorial land in the area outside the Reserved Area. Lewanika's dissatisfaction with the British South Africa Chartered Company was such that on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1907 he had written to the Secretary of State for the Colonies stating that he did not want to be under the Chartered Company any more, but under the Imperial Government as a Protectorate Native State.<sup>93</sup> The High Commissioner of South Africa H. C. Selbourne proposed complete partition of the Reserved Area and the rest of North Western Rhodesia. He proposed direct imperial protection for the Barotse Reserved Area on the lines of Basutoland and other High Commission Protectorates. The British Government however turned down the proposal on grounds that the Company would not agree to the proposal, and due to questions of financial self-sufficiency.<sup>94</sup>

When the issue of amalgamation of North Western Rhodesia and North Eastern Rhodesia was raised the Colonial Office stated that there was 'no question ... of establishing for the (Barotse) Reserve any other system of government than that provided for the rest of Northern Rhodesia by the Order in Council.' The Special Status of the Barotse Reserve under the 1900 Concessions was safeguarded by two clauses in the 1911 Order in Council. One clause provided for the non-alienation of the land in Barotseland. The second clause confirmed the rights and obligations of the Lozi ruler and the Lozi people under the Concessions/Treaties of 1900.<sup>95</sup>

Lewanika died in 1916 and was succeeded by his son Litia who became Litunga Yeta III.<sup>96</sup> Yeta III was convinced that his father had been cheated into signing away

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<sup>91</sup> Administrator North Western Rhodesia to the Secretary BSACo. 9<sup>th</sup> December 1910 in History of the Mineral Rights of Northern Rhodesia (unpublished) Part II Maxwell Stamp Associates Ltd. Moor House, London Wall, London E.C.2 January 1967 pp.272-273

<sup>92</sup> Yeta's Petition to the Privy Council. 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1923 Lealui Barotseland -B1/2/8 Tag. 862 LOC 220NAZ Yeta's Petition to the H H Prince Arthur of Connaught 1921 - B1/2/6 Tag 862 LOC 220 Conditions of Colonial Secretary's Approval of Concession B. at Appendix F in Your Friend Lewanika, Gervas Clay, Chatto & Windus London 1968

<sup>93</sup> Complaints by Lewanika against the BSACo. 1907-1908 HC1/2/30 Tag.578 LOC126 NAZ

<sup>94</sup> Selbourne to Secretary of State, 17<sup>th</sup> June 1907 - HC1/2/6 NAZ Barotseland: Survival of an African State. E. Stokes, The Zambesian Past edit. E. Stokes & R. Brown Manchester University Press 1966 pp. 289, 290

<sup>95</sup> 1911 Northern Rhodesia Order-in-Council - A1/1/13 NAZ  
See also HC1/2/52 Tag 600 LOC 133NAZ

<sup>96</sup> B1/2/4 Tag. 860 LOC 219 NAZ  
HC/1/3/29 Tag. 1115 LOC 277 NAZ

his rights through the use of documents, which he did not fully understand.<sup>97</sup> He expressed unhappiness with the British South Africa Chartered Company as a commercial concern and its preoccupation with the acquisition of minerals, and the sale of land. 'All our Concessions with the Company and Agreements with it should be repealed and new ones made with a perfect knowledge that we are dealing with a Commercial Company.'<sup>98</sup>

As to the future administration of Barotseland, Litunga Yeta III petitioned that:

*Whatever change of Government will take place, the territories defined as Barotseland-North Western Rhodesia in the Order in Council of 1899, as these territories had been put under the British Protection by neither conquest nor annexation but by the free will request of the Barotse people, should be put under the Direct Rule of His Majesty the King and His Imperial Government, as a Protectorate Native State with a British Resident Commissioner to reside permanently with the Paramount Chief.*<sup>99</sup>

The British Government did not accede to the request for the cancellation of the Lewanika Concessions. They notified the Lozi ruler that the British South Africa Chartered Company's administration of Northern Rhodesia would terminate from 1<sup>st</sup> April 1924. The Company would then cede to the Crown all rights and interests in land acquired by virtue of the Land Concessions with Lewanika. The Company would similarly cede to the Crown all administrative and commercial rights granted to the Company under Lewanika Concessions. The mineral rights which were granted to the Company under the same Lewanika Concessions would however neither be cancelled nor transferred, and the Company would continue to pay the annual subsidy of £850 to the Lozi ruler as was provided for in the 1900 Concession.<sup>100</sup>

On 29<sup>th</sup> September 1923 just before the British South Africa Chartered Company's Government ceased, the British Government and the Company signed the Devonshire Agreement. The British Government reaffirmed the British South Africa Chartered Company's claim to mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia. Clause 3(G) of the Agreement provided that:

*the Company shall retain and the Crown shall recognise the Company as the owner of the mineral rights acquired by the Company in virtue of the Concessions obtained from Lewanika in North Western Rhodesia.*<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Yeta's Petition to H H Prince Arthur of Connaught. 1921 - B1/2/6 Tag. 862LOC 220 NAZ

<sup>98</sup> Yeta's Petition to Prince Arthur of Connaught 1921- B1/2/6 Tag. 862LOC 220 NAZ

<sup>99</sup> Yeta's Petition to Prince Arthur of Connaught 1921-B1/2/6 Tag. 862 LOC 220

<sup>100</sup> Letter from the Secretary of State to the High Commissioner, South Africa. 20<sup>th</sup>

October 1923 in the History of the Mineral Rights of Northern Rhodesia Part II (unpublished) Maxwell Stamp Associates, Moor House London Wall, London E.C.2 January 1967 pp.315-316

<sup>101</sup> The BSACo's claims to Mineral Royalties in Northern Rhodesia 1964 Government Printer: Lusaka Paragraph 62, p.26)

See Agreement between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the British South Africa Company for the Settlement of outstanding questions relating to Southern and Northern Rhodesia dated 29<sup>th</sup> September 1923. Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty. November 1923. London. Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office. In Annex to NRG Despatch of August 1964 RE. Mineral Rights. Maxwell

## **Barotseland under Colonial Office Rule 1924 – 1964**

The Northern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1924(a) 1924 No. 324 came into operation on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1924 and it revoked the 1911 Order in Council. The British South Africa Chartered Company's administration of Northern Rhodesia ceased and the Governor was put in charge of the territory on His Majesty's behalf. Northern Rhodesia became a Protectorate through the Colonial Office with a partly elected Legislative Council and an Executive Council of Senior Civil Servants responsible to the Governor. The special status of Barotseland within the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia was recognised in Clause 41 of the Northern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1924:

*Clause 41 (1) It shall not be lawful for any purpose whatever, except with the consent of the Chief of the Barotse and with the approval of the Secretary of State, to alienate from the chief and people of the Barotse, the territory reserved from prospecting by virtue of the Concession from Lewanika to the British South Africa Chartered Company, dated 17<sup>th</sup> day of October 1900 and the 11<sup>th</sup> day of August 1909.*

*(2) All rights reserved to or for the benefit of natives by the aforesaid Concessions as approved by the Secretary of State shall continue to have full force and effect.<sup>102</sup>*

In 1932 at the Colonial Office proposals were presented to the Governor of Northern Rhodesia Sir James C. Maxwell whether it was possible at that moment to make Barotseland a separate administrative unit, managing its own finances, making its own laws, and employing its own civil servants subject only to some such control being exercised by the Resident and the Governor as was exercised in Basutoland by the Resident and the High Commissioner for South Africa.<sup>103</sup> Sir James C. Maxwell felt the Barotse were at that moment unfitted to be entrusted with the financial responsibility which they would have to bear if Barotseland was immediately constituted into an independent native state, even with the assistance of European officers. He instead succeeded in persuading the Colonial Office officials to apply to Barotseland the Native Authority and Native Courts Ordinances 'modified in agreement with the Paramount Chief to suit the special circumstances of Barotseland.'<sup>104</sup> According to David Mulford in his book 'Zambia Politics of Independence 1957 – 1964', when in 1936 the Government established the Native Authority system, the Barotse Native Government was granted wider powers and a greater degree of local autonomy than the Territory's other Native Authorities.<sup>105</sup>

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Stamp Associates Ltd. Moor House London Wall London E.C.2 (unpublished) p.331

<sup>102</sup> A1/1/52 NAZ

See also the Northern Rhodesia Order in Council 1924(a) 1924 No. 324 in A History of the Mineral Rights of Northern Rhodesia (unpublished) Part I. Maxwell Stamp Associates Ltd Moor House, London Wall, London E.C.2 January 1967 p.337

<sup>103</sup> RC/1243.NAZ

<sup>104</sup> RC/1243.NAZ

<sup>105</sup> Zambia Politics of Independence 1957 – 1964 David C. Mulford Oxford University

Barotse Province was initially excluded from Native Authority Ordinances for the territory reportedly due to essential differences and out of deference for the expressed wish of the Paramount Chief.

The Barotse Native Authority Ordinance No. 25 of 1936 was promulgated in November 1936, while the Barotse Native Courts Ordinance No. 26 of 1936 became law on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1937.<sup>106</sup> The introduction of the Ordinances recognising Native Authorities and Native Courts in Barotseland was a stipulation of the Agreement signed on 21<sup>st</sup> September 1936 between the British Crown and the Litunga Yeta III.<sup>107</sup> The Kuta at Lealui under the Paramount Chief became the Superior Native Authority for the Province. Seven Subordinate Authorities were appointed at Nalolo, Libonda, Mwandi, Sesheke, Kaunga, Nawinda in Balovale and Naliele in Mankoya. The seven Subordinate Authorities were appointed at Kutas, which were already in existence per Lozi tradition and under a chief or chieftainess in each of the six districts of the Province.

A Native Authority with the approval of the Governor could legislate and make Rules on any matter providing for the peace, good order and welfare of the natives. But such Rules were subordinate legislation only and could be held to be ultra vires unless they were reasonably necessary for peace good order and welfare of the natives.<sup>108</sup> Similarly a Native Authority or Subordinate Authority could make Orders for the purposes specified in sub-sections to Section 8 of the Ordinance. All Orders however had to be reported at the earliest possible time to the Native Authority to which it was subordinate as well as to the District Commissioner. The Provincial Commissioner or the District Commissioner could order an Order to be revoked or refrain a Native Authority from enforcing an Order. The Superior Native Authority at Lealui could make Rules and Orders for all districts in the Province.

The Barotse Native Courts Ordinance recognised the Paramount Chief's Court at Lealui as the first Superior Court and Nalolo as the second Superior Court. The District Kutas were recognised as First Class Courts and they were courts of first instance and appeal except for courts at Nawinda and Naliele, which had appellate jurisdiction only. This was to allow the local courts under indigenous chiefs (non Lozi) to hear cases in their respective areas and come to the District only on appeal. Second Class Courts were recognised at the Kutas of Silalo Indunas. The District Officer in his capacity as a holder of a Subordinate Court had wide powers of review in criminal cases. He could suspend, reduce, annul or modify any sentence or decision of a native court. In criminal cases appeals from the Superior Court at Lealui went to the Provincial Commissioner, while in civil cases appeals went to the High Court.

Authority to establish a Native Treasury was provided for in the Barotse Native Authority Ordinance. Therefore a Central Treasury was established at Lealui. Five Sub-Treasuries were established one in each of the Districts. (Mongu-Lealui did not

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Press 1967 p.212

<sup>106</sup> SEC2/71 NAZ. Also SEC2/400 NAZ

<sup>107</sup> 1936 Annual Report, Barotse Province Sec 2/71 NAZ

<sup>108</sup> SEC 2/1268 NAZ

### *Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

have a sub-Treasury until later). Sub-Treasuries received local revenue i.e. fines, fees, licences. They conducted the necessary local payments and all monies were accounted for to the Central Treasury at Lealui. The Central Treasury's main sources of revenue included: (a) 30% Native Tax collected from the Barotse nationals (b) Government Subsidy (c) Mineral Rights (£850) paid by the BSACo. (d) Timber Royalties (e) Fines, fees, various licences and rents.<sup>109</sup> The main items of Expenditure were: (a) Education including grants to Missions<sup>110</sup> and the upkeep of the Barotse National School established in 1907 (b) Upkeep of Lealui and District Kutas (c) Personal emoluments to the Paramount Chief and allowances to his family.<sup>111</sup> The Native Treasury allocated revenue to particular public subheads and provided for the separation of the Litunga's personal income from public revenue.

The Provincial Commissioner initially supervised the Native Treasury. The Provincial Commissioner signed all vouchers for payments made by the Native Treasury, while cheques signed on behalf of the Native Treasury by the Paramount Chief and the Ngambela were countersigned by the Provincial Commissioner. A Native Treasury Clerk was attached to the Provincial Commissioner's Office where the European Chief Clerk taught him his work.<sup>112</sup>

### **The Quest for Local Autonomy**

In 1948 the Barotse Native Government presented a petition to the Northern Rhodesia Government. It was pointed out that the Litunga's power as presented to him by the early Treaties had suffered a sharp and progressive decline with the introduction of such instruments as the Barotse Native Authority and the Barotse Native Courts Ordinances of 1936. The Litunga's prestige was affected through the influence exerted by Government on the manner the Native Treasury was conducted and its annual estimates settled. The Litunga was also unhappy about the control the Northern Rhodesia Government exercised over the appointments and dismissals of members of his courts. The Barotse Native Government petitioned that powers lost should be restored and rights and privileges should be reaffirmed. The Northern Rhodesia Government was quick to assure the Litunga and the Council that the status of Barotseland was enshrined in the Treaty of 1900 and in the Order in Council of 1924 and interests of Barotseland were fully protected.<sup>113</sup>

In July 1951 the Litunga, the Ngambela and two Indunas were invited to Government House in Lusaka to examine the grievances in the 1948 petition. The Government pointed out that it was impossible for Government to relinquish all supervisory control much as they wished to leave the Litunga completely unfettered, but where agreement could not be reached with the Paramount Chief, (Litunga) the matter was to be reported to the Governor.<sup>114</sup> Richard Hall in his book 'Zambia'

<sup>109</sup> 1938 Annual Report, Barotse Province SEC 2/71/ NAZ

<sup>110</sup> Four Missionary Societies in the Province were: The Paris Evangelical Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Christian Missions in Many Lands and the Capuchin Fathers.

<sup>111</sup> 1938 Annual Report, Barotse Province, SEC 2/71 NAZ

<sup>112</sup> 1938 Annual Report Barotse Province. SEC 2/71 NAZ

<sup>113</sup> 1951 Annual Report Barotse Province SEC2/71/NAZ

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*



recorded that on three occasions between 1945 and 1950 the British Government had given assurances that no constitutional changes affecting Barotseland would be made without full consultations with, and the prior consent of the Paramount Chief. Hall recorded further that in 1958 the Colonial Secretary, Lennox Boyd, gave a similar assurance.<sup>115</sup>

The Native Authority System was in place until 1965 when the United National Independence Party (UNIP) Government through the Local Government Act (No. 69), 15<sup>th</sup> October 1965 repealed the Native Authority Ordinance and established a new local government administrative structure based on Local Authorities directly under the control of the Central Government.

### **Barotseland's Special Status**

Throughout the colonial period the British Government upheld the Special Status of Barotse Reserved Area as contained in the 1900 and 1909 Concessions with Lewanika. Where and when modifications were necessary the Litunga and his Kuta were usually consulted or informed. Thus in 1924 Sir Herbert Stanley the first Governor of Northern Rhodesia concluded Agreements with the Lozi ruler Yeta III that were confirmed by the Colonial Offices concerning Forced Labour, Game Licences and Ivory Trade (see above). Similarly on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1936 an Agreement was signed between His Majesty King Edward VIII, (the Governor Sir Hubert Young signed on behalf of His Majesty King Edward VIII) and the Lozi ruler Yeta III to provide for the recognition of Native Authorities and to bring Barotse Native Courts within the Judicial System of Northern Rhodesia. In 1954 an Agreement was entered into on 29<sup>th</sup> April between Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and Litunga Mwanawina III. The Agreement acknowledged and reaffirmed the traditional ruler's authority over the Barotse area's wildlife and natural resources. In respect of the registration of Africans the Agreement made it not obligatory for natives residing in Barotseland to apply for an identity card (Chitupa). In 1941 when the Lozi Kuta of Nawinda, which was established in Balovale in 1932 under Daniel Kufuna the eldest son of Litunga Yeta III, was wound up, and the Balovale District was removed from Lozi jurisdiction and transferred to the then Kaonde-Lunda Province (the present North Western Province) the Lozi received compensation. The Barotse Native Government was awarded £8,000 as compensation. The amount was broken down as follows: £6,000 for loss of rights to land, timber and minerals in Balovale District; and £2,000 for loss of rights to game, ivory and fish.<sup>116</sup>

Similarly, Lozi concern to safeguard the special status of Bulozhi was evident during the debate of the proposed Amalgamation of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. The Lozi including Litunga Yeta III himself told the Bledisloe Commission of 1938-1939 that Bulozhi should either secede and be made a full Protectorate or should continue in its special status within Northern Rhodesia under

<sup>115</sup> Zambia. Richard Hall. Pall Mall Press London 1965 p.238

<sup>116</sup> Balovale Dispute 1936 - 1940 KDE 2/3/1 NAZ

Separation of Balovale from Barotse Province. SEC2/361 NAZ  
Balovale Settlement Compensation Fund uses SEC2/374 NAZ

the direct protection of the British Crown based on the 1900 Treaty.<sup>117</sup> The Bledisloe Commission showed considerable sympathy for the Lozi position. In its report the Commission recalled and reaffirmed the British Crown's Treaty obligations to the Lozi ruler.<sup>118</sup>

### **Zambia's Struggle for Independence and Barotseland's Special Status**

Meanwhile significant changes were taking place among the African population in Northern Rhodesia. The first political party was formed in 1948 when the conference of Welfare Societies met at Munali School and renamed the Federation of Welfare Societies as the Northern Rhodesia African Congress with Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika as President.<sup>119</sup> In 1951 Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula was elected President of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress which in 1952 was renamed African National Congress. The African National Congress mounted a vigorous campaign to thwart the imposition of the Federation comprising Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland but to no avail. In 1953 the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was imposed against the wishes of the majority of the African people especially in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>120</sup> The Lozi declared that they would not object to the Federation provided:

- (a) Rights under the Lewanika Concessions were preserved by an appropriate provision in the Federal Constitution.
- (b) Buluzi or Barotseland should be styled or declared by Order in Council as the Barotseland Protectorate.<sup>121</sup>

The British Government's response to the Lozi demands was very sympathetic and supportive. In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Constitution) Order in Council of 1<sup>st</sup> August 1953, Article 33(2) repeated the provisions concerning the non-alienability of land in Buluzi as was contained in both the 1911 and 1924 Orders in Council. Article 44, is a provision binding the Federal Government to observe the terms of any Agreement affecting any of the three territories comprising the Federation by which Her Majesty's Government was bound. Furthermore when Litunga Mwanawina III was in the United Kingdom in May 1953 on the occasion of the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, the Queen made an Order-in-Council, the Northern Rhodesia (Barotseland) Order-in-Council 1953, providing

<sup>117</sup> A History of Northern Rhodesia. L. H. Gann, Chatto & Windus 1964 p.275  
1935 - 52, Annual Reports on Native Affairs of the Barotse Province. SEC2/71 NAZ

<sup>118</sup> A History of Northern Rhodesia. L. H. Gann, Chatto & Windus 1964 p.275.  
The Elites of Barotseland 1878 - 1969. A Political History of Zambia's Western Province. Gerald L. Caplan, C. Hurst & Co. London 1970 p.155

<sup>119</sup> Memoirs of Alexander Grey Zulu by A. G. Zulu. Times Printpak Zambia Limited, Ndola 2007 p.65, 66

<sup>120</sup> See Stiffening the Opposition to a white Federation by Simon Zukas in Chapter Five, Into Exile and Back. Bookworld Publishers, Lusaka 2002 pp.59-80

See also Zambia, Richard Hall Pall Mall Press, London 1965. Pp.153-159

<sup>121</sup> 1935 - 1952 Annual Reports on Native Affairs of the Barotse Province. SEC2/71 NAZ, The Elites of Barotseland, Gerald L. Caplan 1970 p.177

The Politics of Independence 1957-1964 David C. Mulford, Oxford University Press 1967. p.19

that Barotseland be called the 'Barotseland Protectorate', while the Provincial Commissioner was given the new title of 'Resident Commissioner'.<sup>122</sup>

The imposition of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the African majority in 1953 turned African nationalist movements into mass movements as they fought to dismantle the Federation. On 18<sup>th</sup> December 1958 in Accra Ghana while attending the All-African People's Conference, Mr. Harry Nkumbula of the African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Mr. Joshua Nkomo of the African National Congress in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Mr. Kenneth David Kaunda of the Zambia African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia, Dr. Hastings Banda of the Malawi African National Congress in Nyasaland (Malawi) and Gordon C. Chindele of the Northern Rhodesia Trades Union Council, signed what they called 'The Charter of Unity'. The declaration on the 'Charter of Unity' read:

*We, the representatives and leaders of organisations in our countries do here in Accra December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1958 declare that we are unalterably opposed to the Central African Federation a fraudulent and bogus scheme, imposed on us by the British Imperialist Government. On this issue we are all united. We have therefore agreed among ourselves to use this unity of purpose to establish a broad based united front linking up the various anti-colonialist organisations in our respective countries and also to coordinate our activities with those in East Africa to win Self Government and national independence for our people now.*<sup>123</sup>

African nationalists pushed for constitutional advancement and more effective and larger representation. In the African National Congress Circular of 30<sup>th</sup> April 1956, party members, organisers and sympathisers were urged to speak of African Freedom and self-determination. In 1958, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia Sir Arthur E. T. Benson met African National Congress leaders to consider constitutional changes whereby eight seats were given to Africans, while Europeans were given 14 seats in the Legislative Council.<sup>124</sup> Radical elements in the African National Congress choose to boycott both the constitution and subsequent elections which were scheduled for 20<sup>th</sup> March 1959. The radicals in October 1958 split away from ANC to form the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC). The leadership of ZANC comprised Kenneth David Kaunda, President; Munukayumbwa Sipalo; General Secretary; and Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe as General Treasurer. ZANC mounted such a formidable campaign against the registration of voters for the 20<sup>th</sup> March 1959 elections that the government feared the nationalists would interfere with the actual elections. ZANC was banned on 11<sup>th</sup> March 1959 and all its leaders were arrested and sent into detention in remote rural districts.<sup>125</sup>

The Barotse Native Government participated in the 20<sup>th</sup> March 1959 territorial elections, which were boycotted by the radical nationalists of ZANC. The candidate

<sup>122</sup> A History of Northern Rhodesia. L. H. Gann. Chatto & Windus London 1964 p.439

<sup>123</sup> The Charter of Unity Published by Oxford University Press and Neczam. Printed by Associated Printers Ltd. Zambia

<sup>124</sup> According to the 1958 Census of Population, there were 72,000 Europeans and 2,220,000 Africans in the Northern Rhodesia territory

<sup>125</sup> Northern News. Friday 13<sup>th</sup> March 1959

See also Memoirs of Alexander Grey Zulu by A. G. Zulu. Times Printpak Ndola 2007 pp.105, 115-116.

of the Lozi traditionalists defeated two other candidates who stood as independents. That same year, the Litunga Mwanawina Lewanika III was included in the Queen's New Year Honours List. He was knighted and became Sir Mwanawina Lewanika III, KBE. The Governor Sir Evelyn Hone went to Limulunga, the Litunga's winter capital in May 1959 to present Mwanawina with the insignia of knighthood. When leaders of the banned ZANC came out of prison, Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda was elected President of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), which was the successor to ZANC. Dr. Kaunda recalled that in early 1960 soon after he was elected President of UNIP, he travelled to Mongu in the then Barotseland Protectorate with a large delegation of new UNIP leaders to pay a courtesy call on the Litunga Mwanawina Lewanika III, KBE. The Litunga did not only refuse to receive the UNIP delegation, but he invoked Order 8 of the Barotse Native Government Orders and Rules to ban the delegation from holding any public meetings.<sup>126</sup> Order 8 relating to Public Meetings stated that 'No person shall hold a public meeting of any kind whether for religious or other purposes unless such person has first obtained written permission from the Native Authority (District Kuta) to do so'. This particular Order was used by the Barotse Native Government to deport, arrest and imprison nationalists in Barotseland. In their isolation the Lozi traditionalists although suspicious of white settler politics and intentions did not make any effort to accommodate the nationalist forces.

In anticipation of the Federal Review Conference, which was due in December 1960, UNIP decided to boycott the Monckton Commission, which visited the Federation in early 1960. UNIP called for immediate self-government as a way of putting pressure on the colonial regime. The Federal Review Conference produced inconclusive results. The February 1961 Constitution which was drawn up when Iain Macleod was Secretary of State for the Colonies was modified in March 1962 following a violent campaign (Cha Cha Cha) by UNIP from July to October 1961. UNIP and ANC together with the UFP accepted the March 1962 Constitution and participated in the subsequent territorial elections of October 1962.

Faced with the prospect of the collapse of the Federation, in 1960 the Barotse Native Government asked Britain to allow Barotseland to secede from Northern Rhodesia and the Federation. They requested to be proclaimed a Protectorate directly under the British Government on the lines of the High Commission Territories.<sup>127</sup> In April 1961 Sir Mwanawina III flew to London to demand secession from the British Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod. The Ngambela Imasiku told Macleod that the Paramount Chief, the Barotse Native Government and the people were unanimous in demanding a separate state. Secession was denied but the British Government reaffirmed Britain's previous commitments and proposed to entrench the Lozi special rights in Orders in Council. It was also announced that the Lozi ruler would be officially styled the LITUNGA- 'Earth' i.e. owner of the land of the Barotseland

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<sup>126</sup> Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda former President of the United National Independence Party 1960 - 2000, and the first President of the Republic of Zambia, 1964-1991. Interview at his Office in Kabulonga, Lusaka. 10<sup>th</sup> May 2007

<sup>127</sup> The Elites of Barotseland. A Political History of Zambia's Western Province. Gerald L. Caplan, C. Hurst and Co. London 1970 p.193

Protectorate.<sup>128</sup>

The Barotse National Council accepted the new 1962 Northern Rhodesia Constitution but the Council decided to fight the October 1962 territorial elections on a separate ticket from that of the nationalists. The Lozi traditionalists created a traditionalist political party – the SICABA Party. The Sicaba Party reaffirmed the policy of separate existence and opposed the United National Independence Party (UNIP) on the grounds that UNIP threatened to destroy the Lozi kingship, depose the Indunas, and integrate Barotseland into Zambia. The Sicaba Party would free Barotseland from UNIP rule. UNIP on the other hand reassured the Lozi traditionalists that a UNIP Government would not interfere with the Litunga's personal position and with Barotseland's protectorate status, but Barotseland would remain within the new Republic of Zambia. Great economic benefits for Barotseland within the Republic were listed, and these included more schools, agricultural development centres, more and better roads including a railway line from Mongu to Lusaka.<sup>129</sup>

In the October 1962 elections UNIP won 14 seats, ANC won 7 seats while the white settler dominated UFP won 16 seats. In Barotseland UNIP candidates defeated both the Sicaba Party and the African National Congress candidates. In December 1963 UNIP and ANC came together in a Coalition to form the first African Government. In January 1963 the ANC/UNIP coalition submitted to R. A. Butler, First Secretary of State who was also Minister in charge of the Central African Office in London when he visited Northern Rhodesia, a joint Memorandum requesting the dismantling of the Federation and demanding a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia. On 19<sup>th</sup> December 1962 Nyasaland had been allowed the right to secede from the Federation.<sup>130</sup> The nationalists in Northern Rhodesia pressed for the right to secede for Northern Rhodesia. In March 1963 R. A. Butler invited a delegation from Northern Rhodesia to go to London for Constitutional talks and at the end of those talks Northern Rhodesia won the right to secede from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In June 1963 a Conference was held at the Victoria Falls on the reversion of Federal Government functions to territorial governments. On 5<sup>th</sup> November 1963 the Chief Secretary was authorised by the Secretary of State to make a ministerial statement in the Legislative Council concerning the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia to proceed to internal Self Government. The new 1963 Constitution replaced the Executive Council with a Prime Minister and a Cabinet; an enlarged Legislative Assembly with seventy five members replaced the Legislative Council; the franchise was based on Universal Adult Suffrage; the new Constitution had a Bill of Rights, the Public Service Commission and the Police Service Commission.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Zambia. Richard Hall, Pall Mall London 1965 p.240

<sup>129</sup> UNIP Policy by UNIP Party. P. O. Box 302 Lusaka 1962

<sup>130</sup> Welensky's 4000 Days. The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sir Roy Welensky. Collins London 1964 p.355

<sup>131</sup> Zambia, A Generation of Struggle. Elijah Mudenda SAPES Books, Harare 1999 p.27-

## *Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

The British Government was however anxious that before a new constitution for Northern Rhodesia to proceed to internal Self Government could be introduced the question of Barotseland's future had to be resolved. In January 1963 senior officials from the Central African Office in London had met with the Chief Secretary and the Minister of Native Affairs to discuss the Barotseland issue. On 26<sup>th</sup> January it was agreed that the ultimate aim was to integrate Barotseland into Northern Rhodesia.<sup>132</sup>

Meanwhile the UNIP/ANC Coalition Government in order to make the Barotse Native Government more receptive to political change set in motion measures to reform it. The Katengo Kuta of the Barotse National Council with 25 seats was to become a wholly elected body. In the Katengo elections of 15<sup>th</sup> August 1963 UNIP won all the 25 seats with seven of them unopposed. In September 1963 the Litunga with a delegation of 13 Indunas, five of whom were elected, met with UNIP representatives comprising Mr. Arthur Wina and Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, at the Victoria Falls in an attempt to resolve the issue of the future of Barotseland. To the UNIP delegations' disappointment even the elected members of the Katengo Kuta in the Litunga's delegation refused to compromise on the question of Barotseland's special status! The Indunas wanted Barotseland to be 'part and parcel of Zambia' but with Barotseland's special status intact and enshrined in the Zambian Constitution.<sup>133</sup> In December 1963 the Barotse Native Government presented a memorandum to the Coalition Government in Lusaka setting out its ideas for the future relationship of Barotseland and Zambia. They requested that the traditional institutions of Barotseland should remain intact, and that Barotseland's special status should be written into the Zambian Constitution. Furthermore, they requested that the territorial Government should formally accept responsibility for the financial support and economic development of Barotseland.<sup>134</sup>

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was dissolved at the end of December 1963. Northern Rhodesia held territorial elections on 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> January 1964 under the new 1963 Constitution based on Universal Adult Suffrage. Three major political parties contested the elections – the United National Independence Party, the African National Congress and the National Progress Party the successor to the United Federal Party, which was disbanded when the Federation was dissolved. In the election campaign UNIP promised:– to abolish racial discrimination; to increase job opportunities; to improve wages; to provide more and better schools; more hospitals; cheaper food; and better living conditions after independence.<sup>135</sup>

UNIP won a landslide victory with 55 seats, which included all the seven seats in Barotseland. ANC won 10 seats, while the NPP won 10 seats. Kenneth David Kaunda

<sup>132</sup> Zambia Politics of Independence, David C. Mulford. Oxford University Press 1967 p.312

<sup>133</sup> The Elites of Barotseland. Gerald L. Caplan C. Hurst & Co. London 1970 pp.203-204

<sup>134</sup> The Elites of Barotseland, Gerald L. Caplan C. Hurst & Co. London 1970. Pp.204-205

<sup>135</sup> Teacher Politician Lawyer: My Autobiography. John Mwanakatwe. Bookworld Publishers Lusaka 2003 p.167. Mr.

Mwanakatwe was a UNIP candidate in the January 1964 Elections.  
See also When UNIP becomes Government Publicity Bureau UNIP 1964

became the Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia at the head of Self Government of Northern Rhodesia. Preparations were on for talks on the Constitution for independence. John Mwanakatwe in his autobiography wrote that at the beginning of 1964 the colonial government allowed the Northern Rhodesia Government to consult with leaders of major political parties and chiefs in the country to prepare a draft independence constitution. Leaders of major political parties then were Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda of the United National Independence Party; Mr. Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula of the African National Congress; and Mr. John Roberts of the National Progress Party the successor to the United Federal Party. The Governor set up a Committee of Colonial civil servants and members of the Legislative Assembly chaired by the Attorney General and supported by legal draughtsmen from the Ministry of Legal Affairs to draft a new independence Constitution for Northern Rhodesia. Each of the three political parties nominated two members from their representatives in the Legislative Council to sit on the Committee. Dr. Kaunda nominated Mr. James Skinner and Mr. John Mwanakatwe on the basis of their legal qualifications to represent UNIP on the Independence Constitution Committee.<sup>136</sup>

Subsequently at the Independence Conference in London which began on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1964, the Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, Kenneth Kaunda was able to state that “it is with considerable satisfaction, Mr. Chairman, that I am able to inform you that as a result of discussions that I and my colleagues have had in Lusaka with leaders of the African National Congress and of the National Progress Party, and with a Committee of the House of Chiefs, general agreement has been reached in the type of Independence Constitution we want for our country”.<sup>137</sup> The Independence Constitution introduced a republican form of government in Zambia.<sup>138</sup>

The Litunga Sir Mwanawina Lewanika III KBE found himself under pressure from both the traditionalists who were anxious to maintain Barotseland’s special status, and the nationalists who wanted Barotseland to remain an integral part of the future independent Republic of Zambia. Traditionalists of the ‘Barotse Patriots’ and ‘Barotse Democratic Party’ were quick to warn the Litunga in March 1964 not to succumb to pressure from UNIP. In a letter dated 30<sup>th</sup> March 1964 to the Litunga they wrote:

*Your Highness*

*As you have been reading in newspapers there will be constitutional talks in Lusaka between leaders of the three political parties and it is rumoured that your representative may be invited to come. As you are also aware Barotseland is a separate state under your leadership and your sending representatives to the so called constitutional talks is in fact curtailing your powers ...*

<sup>136</sup> Teacher Politician Lawyer: My Autobiography. John Mwanakatwe. Bookworld Publishers Lusaka 2003 pp. 454

and 455

<sup>137</sup> Zambia Independence and Beyond. The Speeches of Kenneth Kaunda. Edited by Colin Legum-Thomas Nelson. London 1966 p.83

<sup>138</sup> Ibid pp.83-85

See also Zambia. Richard Hall. Pall Mall London 1965 pp.301-303

## *Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

*“We therefore suggest that instead of your sending representatives to Lusaka talks as being planned by UNIP, you should now arrange to have some unbiased Lozis chosen who will represent you only at London Constitutional talks. As UNIP will be fully represented, your representatives should only consist of traditionalists and members of such organisations as Barotse Patriots and Barotse Democratic Party or any other political party that may be formed ...*

*“The relationship between Barotseland and Britain must remain as it is now when Northern Rhodesia becomes independent. Barotseland’s relationship with Northern Rhodesia must be on federal basis – Barotseland can send its representatives to Northern Rhodesia Parliament but she must keep her identity as a separate state ... This must be the stand of the Barotse representatives when in London at the Constitutional talks.*

*“It would appear from the various speeches of the governing party that they are bent on going into independence without any further elections. Barotseland will not be part and parcel to independent Northern Rhodesia unless elections under the new constitution are held so that Barotseland can send her representative ...<sup>139</sup>*

### **The Barotseland Agreement 1964**

On 16<sup>th</sup> April 1964 Litunga Sir Mwanawina Lewanika III KBE and the Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda concluded a Provisional Agreement, under the chairmanship of the Governor, that Northern Rhodesia and Barotseland would go forward to independence as one country.<sup>140</sup>

Secondly, while agreeing to recognise the special status of Barotseland the UNIP Government declined to incorporate this into the new Republican Constitution. It was proposed instead that a separate formal treaty would be drawn up and the British, the Lozi and the Northern Rhodesia Government would sign the treaty. In May 1964 the Litunga was invited by Duncan Sandys who had replaced R. A. Butler at the Central African Office in London to send a delegation to London to participate in the Independence Constitutional talks. The Government delegation led by Prime Minister Kenneth David Kaunda was already in London as were the delegations of the African National Congress led by Harry Nkumbula, and National Progress Party led by John Roberts. The Provisional Agreement of 16<sup>th</sup> April was replaced with a permanent agreement. The Barotseland Agreement of 1964 was signed at the

<sup>139</sup> To the Litunga of Barotseland Sir Mwanawina III KBE. Letter from Barotse Democratic Party and Barotse Patriots. BSE1/10/95 File No. 2/11/13 Vol. II LOC 5045, NAZ

<sup>140</sup> See Appendix the Barotseland Agreement 1964. Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations by Command of Her Majesty. May 1964. Her Majesty’s Stationery Office. CMND 2366.



Commonwealth Relations Office in London on 18<sup>th</sup> May 1964.<sup>141</sup> The Litunga was recognised as the principal local authority for the government and administration of Barotseland.<sup>142</sup>

On 24<sup>th</sup> October 1964 Northern Rhodesia became the independent Republic of Zambia. Soon after independence factors, which appeared to undermine the Barotseland Agreement 1964, began to appear. The Chiefs' Act of 4<sup>th</sup> October 1965 and the Local Government Act (No. 69) of 15<sup>th</sup> October 1965 directly affected the Litunga and the Barotse Native Government. The Chiefs' Act gave the President unilateral authority to recognise or withdraw recognition from any chief in Zambia. The Litunga of Barotseland was explicitly mentioned as falling under the provisions of this Act. The President was further empowered under the same Act to determine subsidies to be paid to any chief 'for the purposes of enabling him to maintain the status of his office and to discharge the traditional functions of his office ...' In Barotseland the President's Office became the source of the Litunga's own annual income of £10,000 and salaries of the royal family and the Litunga's household staff. The Local Government Act of 15<sup>th</sup> October 1965 on the other hand introduced the repeal of Native Authorities' Ordinances and the abolition of Native Treasuries. Through the Local Government Act of 1965 the Central Government established a new local government administrative structure with local authorities and District Councils under the control of the Central Government through the Minister of Local Government. In Barotse Province, district councils were established in Mongu, Senanga, Kalabo, Sesheke and Mankoya (now Kaoma). Funds held in the Barotse Native Treasury were transferred to the newly established Barotse Local Government Fund under the control of the Minister of Local Government. On 1<sup>st</sup> November 1965 the Barotse National Council was abolished as most of the functions of the National Council were transferred to the District Councils. The Barotse Royal Establishment and the traditionalists accused the Central Government of breaking the 1964 Barotseland Agreement.

On 26<sup>th</sup> August 1969 the President announced at a Press Conference that the name of Barotse Province was to be changed to Western Province, and its traditional rulers would have their authority over the area's wildlife and fishing rights terminated.<sup>143</sup> This was a direct negation of the Barotseland Agreement 1964. In October 1969 the Government unilaterally cancelled the Barotseland Agreement through the Constitution (Amendment) Act of 15<sup>th</sup> October 1969. Through the Act all the rights, liabilities, and obligations, which attached to the Barotseland Agreement 1964 were abolished. The Lozi Royal Establishment and traditionalists had unsuccessfully

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<sup>141</sup> The Barotseland Agreement 1964. Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations by Command of Her Majesty. May 1964. Her Majesty's Stationery Office. CMND 2366.

<sup>142</sup> The Appendix - The Barotseland Agreement 1964. Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations by Command of Her Majesty. May 1964. Her Majesty's Stationery Office. CMND 2366.  
Zambia Independence and Beyond. The Speeches of Kenneth Kaunda. Edited by Colin Leguin. Thomas Nelson. London 1966 p.90.

<sup>143</sup> Reforms in the Barotse Province. The Text of a Speech made by His Excellency the President Dr. K. D. Kaunda at a Press Conference held on Tuesday 26<sup>th</sup> August 1969.

## *Reserved Area: Barotseland of the 1964 Agreement*

petitioned the President personally to drop the Bill. On 15<sup>th</sup> October the Second Reading of the Bill was overwhelmingly passed by Parliament in which the ruling United National Independence Party had an inbuilt majority of 81 seats compared to 23 seats for the opposition African National Congress. Since 1969 however, some activists and traditionalists have campaigned and struggled for the restoration of the Barotseland Agreement 1964. In the encounter between activists for the restoration of Barotseland Agreement 1964 and security forces on 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011 there were violent disturbances, which rocked Mongu and surrounding areas. There were fatalities and serious injuries. The police used live ammunition. The nation was shocked and stunned by the violence and deaths.<sup>144</sup>

On 15<sup>th</sup> January 2011 just before the 20:00 hours radio news broadcast the then Minister of Home Affairs Mr. Nkhondo M. Lungu delivered a short statement concerning what happened in Mongu. On 16<sup>th</sup> January 2011 the Head of State then Mr. Rupiah Bwezani Banda announced that he was saddened by loss of life in the Western Province during riots by activists for the restoration of Barotseland Agreement 1964. The Head of State went on to warn that no one should take advantage of the volatile mood in the Western Province. He cautioned 'friends and leaders' not to fish in troubled waters. He concluded by revealing that no negotiations were going on over the Barotseland Agreement 1964 'which was done a long time ago' although government was talking to the leaders and people in the province.<sup>145</sup>

On 17<sup>th</sup> January 2011 the Minister of Home Affairs revealed further that more than 100 people were arrested in Mongu during the riot. Twenty-four of the arrested activists were charged with treason and these included the then 'ailing' 92 year old former Ngambela of Barotseland Mr. Maxwell Mututwa.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Radio II. News Network carried the report on the same day, 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011 at both 13:15 hours and 20:00 hours.

<sup>145</sup> ZNBC Radio II News Network 13:15 hours. 16<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

<sup>146</sup> The full record and account of Barotseland Agreement 1964 activities and protests since 1969 is the subject of another paper already produced by Dr. Mutumba M. Bull.

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# **The Practice of Witchcraft and the Changing Patterns of its Paraphernalia in the Light of Technologically Produced Goods as Presented by Livingstone Museum, 1930s - 1973**

Friday Mufuzi  
*Lusaka National Museum, Zambia*

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*In many African societies, there is an ingrained belief that misfortunes are induced by fellow human beings. Often, some family members are accused of being responsible for inexplicable problems. These may include infertility, impotence, miscarriage, lack of success in business, inability to gain promotion, poor crop harvest, sickness, and many others. In all these problems, witchcraft has been blamed. Its continued existence has thrived on human needs, quest for knowledge, desire for power, and more especially the fear of death; and when executing their operations, practitioners often use objects, and, over time, these have undergone several transformations. This paper explores the extent to which witchcraft objects were transformed from the traditional type, often made of wood, wax, and other such stuff to imitations of western technological goods such as television and aeroplanes and in some cases the use of the actual western produced goods such as mirrors and metal pipes made common by the capitalist colonial economy. The paper demonstrates that western consumer goods were not only used by the general populace to transform their lifestyle from the traditional to western style but also by witchcraft practitioners to enhance their power and authority through the 'modernisation' of their paraphernalia thereby making them more potent. Through examination of the witchcraft collection at the Livingstone Museum and the press coverage on the phenomenon, the paper posits the thesis that witchcraft is a theory of power and authority and practitioners believed that it possessed energies that could protect them against any kind of harm from their perceived enemies, and that it had the power to protect whatever wealth had been accumulated from destruction by supposed enemies who in general were either their kith and kin or close friends.*

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## **Introduction**

Studies on witchcraft in colonial Africa in general and Zambia in particular have focused on explaining the phenomenon in terms of the primitiveness of the practice and its practitioners.<sup>1</sup> Most probably, this was done in order to justify colonialism in the area. During this era, the western world considered itself duty bound to carry the burden of 'civilizing' Africans through the introduction of western civilization,

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<sup>1</sup> E. E. Evans Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937); C. M.N. White, "Witchcraft Divination and Magic Among the Balovale Tribes" *Africa Journal of the International African Institute* 18, 2, April 1948; and J.R. Crawford, *Witchcraft and Sorcery in Rhodesia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967.)

which in essence meant Africans embracing European lifestyles and abandoning their indigenous culture and belief systems, including witchcraft, replacing it with Christianity.<sup>2</sup> Generally, these studies tackled the subject of witchcraft from the anthropological context, focusing on how it related to the African way of life. These studies paid particular attention to issues such as belief in witchcraft, its nature and variance, reasons for involvement in witchcraft, and divination.<sup>3</sup> Basically, these studies argued that witchcraft was imaginary and witchdoctors or diviners who worked against it were mere charlatans and fraudsters whose utterances were unreliable, while witches and sorcerers were considered mentally sick people obsessed with the belief that they had the power to harm others by simply directing their thoughts on their targets.<sup>4</sup> This was in total disregard of the fact that to people who believed in witchcraft, it was real.

Although witchcraft practitioners used devices or material objects in their practice to invoke their supposed power or energy to cause harm to their targets, these have not been studied in detail but ephemerally. An exception to this, however, is Reynolds' study<sup>5</sup> on Western Zambia, an area that formed part of what was known as Barotseland Protectorate during the colonial period. This study was consequential to the colonial government officials' investigations made in October 1956 following a rumour that proved correct that two women had been murdered and reported to the District Commissioner, Kalabo. Following this rumour, witchcraft investigations were carried out in all other districts of the Protectorate and some districts outside it. These investigations revealed numerous witchcraft practices, murder, divination, and cannibalism and yielded witchcraft objects, which were donated to the Livingstone Museum. These objects included *Kaliloze* guns originally made of wood or human limb bone and are believed to have been used by the Mawiko people (Mbunda, Luvale, Chokwe and Luchazi) against witches. To operate, they were loaded with powder and some medicine and were fired at the sun. However, the Barotse murderers used a modern type with a metal barrel, which was capable of firing metal pieces and capable of causing fatal wounds.<sup>6</sup>

This paper examines the nature and practice of witchcraft. It also explores the extent to which witchcraft objects were transformed from the traditional type, often made of wood, wax, and other such stuff, to imitations of western technological goods made common by the capitalist colonial economy which developed after the imposition of British colonial rule towards the twilight years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion on this subject see, L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, *Burden of Empire* (London: Pall Mall, 1967).

<sup>3</sup> See for instance, White, *Witchcraft Divination and Magic Among the Balovale; Elements in Luvale Beliefs and Rituals* The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, 32 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969); Barrie Reynolds, *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937) and Margaree Murray, *The God of Witches* (London: Marston and Company, n.d.).

<sup>5</sup> Reynolds, *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*. (Berkeley: University of California Press)

<sup>6</sup> Anon, "Witchcraft and Cannibalism in N.R. Not Yet Stamped Out: Biggest Investigation in History of Territory", *Livingstone Mail*, 1 June 1957, p. 1.

Examples include television sets, airplanes, military tanks, and in some cases the use of the actual western produced goods such as mirrors and metal pipes. In this paper, I argue that western consumer goods were not only used by the general populace to transform their lifestyle from the traditional to western style in terms of dressing, food and housing, and other changes, but also by individuals operating in the supernatural world in their quest to enhance their supernatural power and authority through the 'modernization' of their paraphernalia for the purpose of increasing their potency. In this paper, I examine the witchcraft collection made over time at the Livingstone Museum, and press coverage of the phenomenon made during the study period. I also use oral sources and both published and unpublished sources. I begin by defining witchcraft and its practice, and argue that contrary to the general belief that the phenomenon was an African peculiarity, it was endemic in Europe before the advent of education and industrialization.

### **Conceptual Framework**

The study of witchcraft has been associated with anthropological studies, particularly those that deal with religion. Consequently, anthropological accounts of witchcraft beliefs and practices of African societies have inclined to locate these beliefs and practices within the framework of traditional religious beliefs.<sup>7</sup> Generally, anthropological studies that focus on African witchcraft are divided into two main schools of thought. In the first are studies that have followed the conventional ethnographic approach to the study of witchcraft. In this theoretical perspective, focus is on the structure and function of witchcraft beliefs and practices within the social structures of those societies and communities. Their principle argument is that individual beliefs meet a necessity of social existence and make a contribution to a socially desirable end. This approach was pioneered by Evans-Pritchard whose work among the Azande of the Sudan became the foundation upon which successive scholars on witchcraft based their studies.<sup>8</sup> The conventional structural ethnographic approach dominated African witchcraft studies in colonial Africa.

The second school of thought emerged as a means of understanding the postcolonial context of Africa. In this approach, the theory shifted to the role of African witchcraft in adaptation to political, economic, and social change. The approach emphasised how witchcraft can impact on power relations, whether political or economic and how it can be used and adapted as African communities struggled to cope with the postcolonial demands and stresses of modernity.<sup>9</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> See, Evans-Pritchard, E.E., *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937); Leslie, C. (ed.), *The Anthropology of Folk Religion* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960); Middleton, J. and Winter, E., *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa*. (London: Routledge and Paul, 1963); Mbiti, J.S., *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. 1970); and Pauw, B.A. 1975. *Christianity and Xhosa Tradition: Belief and Ritual among Xhosa- Speaking Christians* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press.1975).

<sup>8</sup> Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande*.

<sup>9</sup> Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J.L. (eds), *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Geschiere, P. *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (London: University Press of Virginia, 1997); Bond, G. and Ciekawy,

main thrust of this theoretical perspective is exemplified by Peter Geschiere's study on witchcraft in postcolonial Cameroon which lucidly posits that witchcraft covers perceptions of underhand efforts made by the powerful to accumulate resources and wealth, and secret attempts by the weak in society to equalise or eliminate such perceived inequalities in power through occult means.<sup>10</sup> Arising from this perspective, witchcraft provides a lens through which Africans make sense of modernity. Building on this discourse, this paper discusses the practice of witchcraft to illuminate transformations that have transpired in witchcraft objects that have been collected by the Livingstone Museum. The paper shows that modern objects such as mirrors, beads, metal pipes, imitations of aeroplanes, military tanks, and other capitalist western objects have been integrated into witchcraft objects and beliefs on the premise of making the witchcraft practitioners more powerful and wealthy, thereby enhancing their prestige and respect (and fear) among their peers and other members of their community.

### Methodology

This paper was written whilst its author was working at Livingstone Museum in Livingstone, Zambia. Data for the paper predominantly came from the study of primary and secondary sources on the subject of witchcraft collected and deposited in the Livingstone Museum Library and Archives. Livingstone Museum houses the first Library in Zambia and its library and archival collections date as far back as the early 1930s. It has a lot of literature collected and generated by the Livingstone Museum research staff, particularly during the colonial period, who worked on the subject of witchcraft. Some of the researchers, for instance, Max Gluckman who served as its Curator when the incumbent (John Desmond Clark) was on active service during the Second World War, and Barrie Reynolds, who was its Keeper of Ethnography from 1956 to 1965 when he became its Director, researched on the subject of witchcraft in western Zambia. However, the Livingstone Library has paucity of contemporary or recent literature on the subject. The author was also unable to access such literature from other libraries and this has been a seriously limiting factor on this study.

Primary sources consulted included written published and unpublished sources such as newspapers, as well as exhibition storylines and reports, and research reports of interviews made by the Livingstone Museum research staff. Secondary published sources such as books on witchcraft, most of which focus on the colonial period, were also consulted. Data was also collected through semi-structured oral interviews and this involved formal interviews and informal discussions with respondents on the subject. However, these were not many owing to time limitation, as this author was not on formal absence of leave from work during the period of

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D. (eds). 2001. *Witchcraft Dialogues: Anthropological and need to join up here Philosophical Exchanges* (Ohio: Centre for International Studies, 2001); Niehaus, I. "Witchcraft, Power and Politics: An Ethnographic Study of the South African Lowveld". PhD thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand (1997).

<sup>10</sup> Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa*.

data collection for this work, and the fact that most of the targeted respondents, who included witch-finders (witch-doctors) and perceived victims of witchcraft practices were unwilling to talk about their experiences on the subject. Most probably, this was because of the negative view of witchcraft in contemporary Zambian society. In fact, this researcher was at times derogatorily called a 'witch' for showing interest in such a bizarre subject. It is the researcher's view that a white researcher on the subject would be more accepted by local respondents than an African, in particular a Zambian researcher in the Zambian context. Thus, this too has been a serious limitation on this paper. Also, whilst the study is on an anthropological topic, the author is a historian who is more conversant with historical methods of research than anthropological methodologies.

To analyse data, the author has used the qualitative approach as it was found appropriate in obtaining detailed descriptions and interpretations of the topic under study. This approach was necessary as it provided a deep understanding of the practice of witchcraft and how its paraphernalia changed during the time frame of this study, 1930s to 1973.

### **Definition of Witchcraft and Associated Terms**

A standard definition of the term witchcraft is elusive and different scholars have defined it differently. In the *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary* (1992), the term is defined as "use of magic powers, especially evil ones: sorcery". The same dictionary defines sorcery as "art, use or practice of magic, especially with evil spirits; witchcraft". Whilst the dictionary suggests that the two terms mean the same thing, anthropologists make a distinction and have suggested that witchcraft is a psychic act while sorcery aims at inflicting harm to the targeted victim and involves the use of spells, medicines, and rituals.<sup>11</sup> J.R. Crawford brings in the concept of wizardry to the issue of witchcraft. According to Crawford, wizardry is a combination of sorcery and witchcraft.<sup>12</sup> It is believed to cause death, illness, or misfortunes on the victim. The Cambridge International Dictionary of English (1996) defines a witch as "a woman who is believed to have magical powers and who uses them to harm or help other people". However, Reynolds' work on the subject in western Zambia reveals that both women and men were involved in what is defined as witchcraft and sorcery. In fact, Lisa Cliggett's work in the Gwembe Valley, southern Zambia reveals that male witches were more potent and dangerous than female witches.<sup>13</sup> Thus, in this paper, the term 'witch' refers to both males and females believed to be engaged in the supernatural world to inflict harm on perceived enemies.

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<sup>11</sup> See Crawford, *Witchcraft and Sorcery in Rhodesia*, pp. 40-41; for details on the definitions and meaning of witchcraft, see Kisilu Kombo, "Witchcraft: A living vice in Africa.", pp. 73 - 74. <http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/ajet/22-1073.pdf> (accessed: July 2, 2014)

<sup>12</sup> Crawford, *Witchcraft and Sorcery in Rhodesia*, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Lisa Cliggett, *Grains from Grass: Aging, Gender and Famine in Rural Africa* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 131.



There are also other terms linked to the subject of witchcraft and these include 'diviner' and 'witch-doctor'<sup>14</sup> or 'witch-finder'. A diviner is a practitioner who is consulted to diagnose the cause of an illness or misfortune that has befallen the victim, while the witch-doctor cures or finds a remedy to the problem diagnosed by the diviner.<sup>15</sup> However, one person usually performed the two functions of diagnosing and treating the sick and as C.M.N. White observed, the two terms are synonymous to the European 'doctor'.<sup>16</sup> 'Black magic' is also associated with witchcraft or sorcery and the three terms have negative connotations, while 'white magic' is associated with divining and treatment, or cure, of ailments and other misfortunes. Generally, white magic is accepted by society and therefore viewed positively, unlike black magic which is considered antisocial.<sup>17</sup>

### **Forms of Witchcraft and its Paraphernalia**

Witchcraft is in four main categories: offensive, defensive, communicative, and divination and in all these, special objects are used by witches in the execution of their activities. 'Offensive witchcraft' falls under the category in which practitioners use their art to cause harm to their perceived enemies or their property while in 'defensive witchcraft', practitioners use their charms to protect themselves against harm directed at them.

In 'communicative witchcraft' practitioners, who may be witch-doctors or wizards, employ a wide range of objects to help them communicate in their mysterious supernatural world of witches. Generally, witch-doctors use objects that include miniature drums to summon the spirits of the dead, while witches use similar objects and command spirits of those they wish to harm. 'Familiars', such as owls, hyenas, nightjars, jackals, and many others are used to convey information on matters of interest to their owners. Essentially, familiars are agents or animated weapons witches employ to seek the victim or indeed to execute the mission assigned by the owner. In an interview, Boniface Liwanga noted that witches operate at night, naked, and that they are capable of inflicting harm on the victim by simply projecting at will from their minds as they have power to harm others by simply wishing them harm.

On the other hand, sorcerers use black magic to inflict harm on their perceived enemies through the use of materials such as medicines, or charms, and familiars. They are believed to use spiritual or magical devices, or charms that cause harm to

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<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that modern scholars who have written on the subject of traditional medicine, including witchcraft in southern and central Africa have replaced the term witchdoctor with traditional healers (categorised into three, diviners, herbalists and faith healers), as they considered it a colonial legacy which did not take into account the healing properties of traditional healers. See for instance, George L. Chavunduka and Murray Last, "Conclusions: African Medical Profession Today." In *The Professionalisation of African Medicine*, ed. Murray Last and G.L. Chavunduka, 259-70. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986). However, in this paper, I use the colonial term witch-doctor as the time frame for the study focuses more on the colonial period - 1930s to 1973.

<sup>15</sup> White, "Witchcraft Divination and Magic Among the Balovale Tribes", p. 92.

<sup>16</sup> For details, see, White, "Witchcraft Divination and Magic Among the Balovale Tribes", p. 92.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.* pp. 98-103.

their targets and operate during both day and night.<sup>18</sup> Crawford, as already noted, combines witchcraft and sorcery which he terms wizardry, arguing that “anyone who deliberately causes harm to others in a way which is not socially approved of is a witch or a sorcerer, even if his act is not a psychic act” and that “in addition to being antisocial, for an act to be wizardry, there must be something mysterious about the way in which the victim is harmed”.<sup>19</sup> The misfortunes witches and sorcerers are believed to cause include: illness, death, disability, accidents, theft, barrenness in women, impotence in men, lack of promotion at the work place, general lack of success, crop failure, and ruin. There are various motives for inflicting harm on other people and these include vengeance, fear, jealousy, envy, hatred, and greed.

Divination is the category of witchcraft in which the practitioner detects causes of a misfortune and predicts its effects. In this phenomenon, the practitioner obtained knowledge of secret nature or future events by mechanical means, psychological, spiritual, or manipulative techniques. To execute their work, diviners used objects such as baskets, bones and frictional devices. The belief in witchcraft and sorcery instilled fear in those who believed in it. This is the case even in today’s Zambian society. It was common during precolonial and colonial times and even among many people in contemporary Zambia, particularly in rural areas, that when one suffered a misfortune there was a hunt to seek an explanation for it. The person who suffered this misfortune wanted to know why it happened and started thinking of all those who might have a grudge. Generally, the victim might already have had suspects in mind and simply wanted the diviner to help positively identify or diagnose the problem.

It should be emphasized that the fear of injury and indeed any other misfortune by some means other than material was a serious issue in an individual’s life during precolonial times to about the 1970s. It is this fear that led to the rise and prominence of diviners and witch-doctors. In his *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, Reynolds observed that the *mulauli* (diviner) overshadowed the witch or *muloi* (sorcerer) and the *ng’aka* (witch-doctor) because without his intervention the witch would remain undiscovered while the witch-doctor would be impotent. He also noted that in the absence of the diviner, the belief in witchcraft would lose prominence as it is he who confirmed and demonstrated its importance in the daily affairs of the people and in this way diviners perpetrated

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<sup>18</sup> Interview with Boniface Liwanga (aged 78), a witch-doctor from Western Zambia but currently residing inimba, in the Southern Province of Zambia, Livingstone, 30 August 2013. Liwanga hails from Senanga, western Zambia. He came to Livingstone practising divination and healing in the early 1970s. Occasionally, he has also been doing his business of divination and healing in Namibia. In late 1990s, he moved to imba, a small town along the Great North Road situated less than 100km from Livingstone where he has settled. Liwanga claims to be registered with the Traditional Health Practitioners Association of Zambia (THPAZ), an umbrella body to which all witchdoctors are supposed to belong. This Association does not use the term witch-doctor but rather traditional healers which it categorises into three groups: diviners, herbalists and faith healers. This is because the term witch-doctor is considered colonial as it does not take into consideration the healing role of traditional healers. However, this paper uses the term witch-doctor as the timeframe for the study (1930s – 1973) is largely located in the colonial period.

<sup>19</sup> Crawford, *Witchcraft and Sorcery in Rhodesia*, pp. 106-107.

people's fear of witchcraft.<sup>20</sup> For this reason, the diviner was often considered by people who believed in witchcraft as the "chief" witch and this explains why many people always sought for medicines and charms from the diviner for self-protection. During precolonial, colonial and the early decades of the independence period, most adults and children wore charms around their neck, arms, or waist for protection. Others protected their granaries, cattle kraals and their crops against the devious scheming of witches. This author witnessed a lot of this when he was growing up in Siandombwe village in Chief Mukuni's area, southern Zambia, during the mid-1960s to early 1970s.

The general sequence of events was that the victim of witchcraft consulted a diviner, at a fee, to find the person who caused the victim's misfortune or simply to confirm the victim's suspicion. The diviner then responded by dressing in special regalia to mystify his act and to affect and perpetuate his grip on the people's minds so that they believed that he operated in a spiritual realm. This phenomenon is generally referred to as a 'séance'.<sup>21</sup>

Depending on the specialisation, various options of divining were open to the diviner. He could divine solely by means of spirits which possessed him which was some form of psychic divination, or use a psychological divination method where the divinatory technique involved the extraction of information which the diviner required for his client. In this case, the client was required to agree to whatever the diviner stated as this helped the diviner to ascertain where the points of friction lay and to ascertain who the suspect was. The diviner could also use some form of casual divination, which in essence was based on chance; or indeed use all the three methods. However, whichever method or methods were used, the verdict needed to be popular for it to be accepted.

Following the identification of the cause of the victim's problems, the witch-doctor appeared on the scene. Often the diviner combined the two roles of diviner and witchdoctor. Usually, the witch or sorcerer was made to confess and recant his or her activities before the witch-doctor took any curative action to stop the witch from inflicting further harm..

The witch, or sorcerer, was - and still is - the most dreaded and hated member of the society in which they lived. It was unusual for witches to confess their antisocial activities except when they were accused and made to do so. Before the advent of colonialism in Africa, just like in medieval Europe, once the witch confessed his or her deeds, he or she was severely punished. Punishment included violent death (by burning, spearing or poisoning), torture, banishment and fines. Because diviners and witch-doctors worked for the public good, they were often held in honour by society as their role concerned ridding society of the ills inflicted on it by witches and sorcerers. It was largely for this reason that during the 1956-57 witchcraft

<sup>20</sup> Reynolds, *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 95.

<sup>21</sup> For a detailed discussion of séance, see Parrinder, *Witchcraft: European and African*, pp. 186-187; Crawford, *Witchcraft and Sorcery in Rhodesia*, pp. 214-220; and V.W. Turner, *Ndembu Divination: Its Symbolism and Techniques*, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1961; White, "Witchcraft Divination and Magic among the Balovale Tribes", pp. 92-95 and *Elements in Luvale Beliefs and Rituals*, The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, 32 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), pp. 60-68.

investigations, most of the African people refused to bear witness against diviners who were arrested for their divining works. As a result most of them could not be imprisoned for lack of evidence.<sup>22</sup> The people considered their arrest unfair as they considered them their defenders and protectors from the evil deeds of witches and sorcerers.

In an interview, Boniface Liwanga noted that during their divining sessions, diviners searched for evidence of witchcraft and sorcery, the devices which gave witches and sorcerers immense energy, or supernatural powers that enabled them perform their practices. Such devices included charms, herbs, and objects such as human bones, and night guns such as *Kaliloze*. Some used familiars such as owls, and nightjars, and animals such as jackals and hyenas, while others used creatures such as Ilomba as mediums through which they performed their witchcraft activities.<sup>23</sup> According to White, the Ilomba was a spirit in the form of a snake with a human head in the likeness of the owner and was found in various versions. During its early stages, it was harmless and fed on eggs. However, as it grew, it became more demanding, killing people that its owner targeted, feeding on their blood. As it grew fatter and sleeker, its owner also flourished and this continued for as long as the snake existed.<sup>24</sup> Thus, some people became witches or sorcerers for the purpose of prosperity or in order to become rich.

A classic example of an Ilomba object, how and why it was acquired, and its function is provided by an Ilomba/Kambuma that was confiscated from a witch by the Livingstone High Court Magistrate, Austin Nkoloma, on 14 October 1988. Upon pleading guilty the accused was sentenced to a fine of Ten Kwacha (K10.00), which he paid, or in default, two months imprisonment. The Magistrate ordered the destruction of the charm, but through the order of the high court judge, Judge Mainga, it was donated to the Livingstone Museum for preservation and study.<sup>25</sup>

According to the story, the witch secured the Ilomba in Durban, South Africa where he had gone to work as a migrant labourer in the 1960s. On retirement, his colleagues advised him to obtain medicine to defend himself against witchcraft because Zambia was believed to be a haven of witches. He followed this advice and consulted a medicine man. The medicine man made incisions on different parts of the body of the Zambian where he rubbed and carefully siphoned some blood which he mixed with medicines and placed in a container for him to carry home. On his arrival in Zambia, the stuff in the container began to grow into a living creature which demanded eggs for its food. As it grew, the owner claimed that apart from protecting him from other witches, it performed numerous tasks such as killing people he wished dead, stealing mealie-meal and money from neighbours.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Reynolds, *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 58.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Boniface Liwanga, Livingstone, 30 August 2013.

<sup>24</sup> White, "Witchcraft Divination and Magic among the Balovale Tribes", p. 100.

<sup>25</sup> LMA, Francis Musonda, "Special Witchcraft Exhibit, Lilomba", Livingstone Museum, n.d. but c. 1988, pp. 3-5.

<sup>26</sup> LMA, Musonda, "Special Witchcraft Exhibit, Lilomba", pp. 3-4.

### Use of Western goods in Witchcraft Practices

In his work on the Sharma Brothers' trading store in Mukuni village, Friday Mufuzi demonstrated that the mass-produced western consumer goods sold by the store in the 1950s and 1960s acted as a medium for social change in the area, creating new tastes among the local people which influenced society. Western goods led to the demise of locally produced handicrafts and utensils. This desire for consumer goods propelled labour migration and questioned established age, gender and power hierarchies.<sup>27</sup> In fact, this demise of locally produced goods was observed by colonial government officers as early as mid-1920s. To mitigate the situation, in 1934, they established a museum, the David Livingstone Memorial Museum, later renamed the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum and Livingstone Museum following independence "to make a collection of the material culture of the various ethnic groups in the territory for study and preservation, as it was fast dying out due to colonial mass-factory produced goods"<sup>28</sup> The first handbook to collections in the Museum, compiled in 1936 by R.S. Hudson, who later became Secretary for Native Affairs, provides us with information on the collections then under the custody of the Museum.<sup>29</sup> In 1937, W. V. Brelsford, an administrative officer in the colonial government of Northern Rhodesia, revised the handbook and meticulously documented the exhibits, both on display and in storerooms.<sup>30</sup> Among the collections reflected in the handbook are witchcraft objects, some of which were made from mass-produced European manufactured material objects such as mirrors, wires, nails, beads, and needles, or their imitations.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, western produced goods were not only consumed in ordinary life situations but also by witches in the supernatural world. Following the introduction of European mass-produced goods into the area by traders, witches took advantage by incorporating them into their paraphernalia. This is because Africans in general and witches in particular believed that western material objects were imbued with special powers. As Felix Kaputu observed:

*The African people were awed at the way they were conquered and subjugated to colonialism with its attendant religion, Christianity. They were in particular astonished at how small numbers of white people were able to defeat them. Consequently, material objects that Europeans*

<sup>27</sup> Friday Mufuzi, "Indian Traders as Agents of Western Technological Consumption and Social Change in Mukuni: Memories of the Sharma Brothers' Trading Store, 1950s to 1964" in Robert Ross, Marja Hinefelaar and Iva Pesa (eds), *The Objects of Life in Central Africa: The History of Social Change, 1940-1980* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 189-214.

<sup>28</sup> National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ), Northern Rhodesia Government, Legislative Council Debates, Second Session of the Third Council, 7 March to 1 April 1930, cols. 166-167; NAZ, District Notebook Series (hereafter KDB) 1/5/6: Secretary for Native Affairs to Chief Secretary, Livingstone, 2 December 1931; NAZ, KDB 1/5/6: SNA, Livingstone, to Provincial Commissioner, Mazabuka, 10 May 1933; and *National Museums of Northern Rhodesia, the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1934-1951* (Government Printer, Lusaka, 1951), p 4.

<sup>29</sup> R.S. Hudson, *Livingstone Memorial Museum Handbook* (Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1936).

<sup>30</sup> W.V. Brelsford, *Handbook of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum* (Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1937).

<sup>31</sup> See Brelsford, *Handbook of the David Livingstone Memorial Museum*, pp. 96-97.

*used such as guns and Christian symbols they carried and used during mass such as crucifixes and other objects were seen to be more powerful than the local people's witchcraft objects and those they used during their traditional religious activities.*<sup>32</sup>

Among the witchcraft objects collected by the Livingstone Museum were rattles, nut shells, gourds, carved piece of wooden mortar, bees wax, lucky beans, and red and white ochre which was daubed on the victim according to his guilt or innocence. According to Mungoni Sitali, red symbolized guilt while white stood for innocence.<sup>33</sup> Others included horns of various species of animals filled with special medicinal concoctions, carved figures, and the familiars they symbolized. Generally, these were used by both sorcerers and witchdoctors. Magic mirrors, which in fact were not mirrors in the ordinary sense but oil gourds, bottles, skulls, and similar containers filled with medicine were also collected. Nevertheless, they were used in the same way as actual reflecting mirrors. Before the onset of colonial rule, water was used as a reflective material, especially by diviners. According to Reynolds, the principle behind the use of water was similar to that behind crystal gazing in which the diviner peered into his or her crystal ball to see the future, the wizard (sorcerer) or the diagnosis. The water was usually put in a bowl-shaped gourd, or wooden dish, or a meal-mortar.<sup>34</sup>

Others that were used as transport devices were traditional reed baskets, winnowing trays, and mats. In an interview, Kaputu, noted that one of the main issues in witchcraft is the ability to move from one place to the other. To substantiate his assertion, Kaputu narrated what he witnessed as a young boy in North-Western

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Felix U. Kaputu, Lusaka, 20 August 2013. Kaputu is a Congolese (his mother is from north-western Zambia and his father is from the Democratic Republic of Congo - DRC) and is a Professor lecturing at Ghent University, Belgium. He is highly knowledgeable on issues of witchcraft and is an expert in African Studies, African politics, literature, mythology, gender, religion, diaspora and art. Apart from Lubumbashi, DRC, he lectured in several universities in USA, Europe and Japan. This author first met him in the Netherlands, Leiden at Africa Study Centre where both were Visiting Fellows in 2013 and were accommodated in the same house. Upon learning Kaputu's expertise and experiences on issues of witchcraft, this author had several conversations with him on the subject. This was followed by an interview in Lusaka when Kaputu came to Zambia for his field work on a paper he was working on.

<sup>33</sup> White ochre symbolized purity and good deeds and during pre-colonial times it was smeared on the face or head of people who contributed immensely to the betterment of their communities or those who perfumed heroic deeds such as serving their people in tribal wars and other threats such as hunger. It was also doused on the bodies of young women in a ceremony in which the young women were presented to the public following their initiation into adulthood after reaching puberty to symbolize their entering adulthood in innocence and purity. Diviners used white ochre as a symbol of innocence of people facing witchcraft accusations brought to them. Red ochre symbolized fertility in women. It also symbolized the pain they went through during menstruation and parturition. Ethnic groups in Zambia such as the Luvale, Chokwe, Luchazi and Mbunda smeared it on the bodies of their boys after the Mukanda camp in which they were initiated into adulthood to symbolize the pain they went through when they were circumcised. Wizards used red ochre on their witchcraft objects to symbolize the pain they inflicted on their victims. Black ochre symbolized sadness and was predominantly used by witches and sorcerers on their witchcraft or sorcery object to darken or dampen the future and hopes of their victims. They also symbolized the sadness they caused people associated with the victims they killed such as their parents, children, relatives and friends. Interview with Mungoni Sitali, former Senior Keeper of Ethnography and Art at Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, 3 September 2013.

<sup>34</sup> Reynolds, *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 116-117.

Zambia in the early 1960s. He noted that one day, a middle aged man by the name Moke came to their village, Kipopo in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in the big village of Chief Ina Kiluba. Moke was coming from a Kaonde village called Kambova in the DRC, 120 km away. When he was asked where he came from and the purpose of his visit, he stated that he came from afar and used a basket as his mode of transport, but ran out of fuel and that he was there seeking shelter and food. Moke then showed them a simple basket, but they could not tell or understand where the fuel was put and took his story as nonsensical. After two days, he bade farewell to his hosts. As he was leaving, Kaputu and other family members scornfully laughed at what he told them. However, his father told them that their guest was actually a wizard and that what he said was not silly but real. He also assured them that as soon as he was out of the village, he would definitely fly out using the basket he came with. He also told them that the fuel Moke talked about was some kind of human energy which was invisible to ordinary people and was derived from human blood. Furthermore, Kaputu's father noted that during the time he was recuperating, Moke must have communicated with his people at the village he came from who could have provided the necessary invisible fuel for his flight using the same basket.<sup>35</sup>

Kaputu's observations were echoed by Liwanga who added that wizards and witch-doctors used some form of gadgets to communicate with their colleagues. Usually objects used for this purpose included strings tied to a stick. Also some traditionally medicated things such as animal horns stuffed with concoctions such as bees wax and red lucky bean seed were involved.<sup>36</sup>

In some cases, genital organs, or their familiars such as wooden carvings shaped in the form of sexual organs were used. According to Liwanga, the principle underlying their use as witchcraft devices lay in the belief that human beings received power to procreate from the heavens or super being through their sexual organs. In that light, sexual organs were believed to possess extraordinary power and energy. They brought human beings closer to the creator for them to procreate themselves. Sexual organs were therefore a symbol of power and abundant energy and were generally used for protection. Some witches or sorcerers used them, especially male organs, to direct them to their targets, while female organs were used to terminate life as they believed that the same energy the female organ had in bringing forth life on earth could also be used to terminate it.<sup>37</sup>

Beads, which ordinarily were used as adornments by women, were also used in witchcraft objects. During the early precolonial period beads used in Zambia were made from plant seeds. With the advent of long distance and intercontinental trade, plant beads were replaced by glass beads. In an interview, Kaputu noted that during times of wars and other social disasters, women were believed to be holders of witchcraft whilst their men folk were fighting. Women would be possessing objects which contained energy that enabled men to fight. Although men were strong

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<sup>35</sup> Interview with Felix Kaputu, Lusaka National Museum, Lusaka, 20 August 2013.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Liwanga.

<sup>37</sup> Interview with Liwanga.

and engaged in a fight, the energy they used was believed to come from women.<sup>38</sup> Most likely, this was the reason why during precolonial times, when war broke out between the Leya and another tribe, all Leya soldiers were gathered in a sacred hut before they went to battle with the enemy. The Priestess Be-Dyango then appeared at this hut and stood on the doorway with her legs wide apart whilst giving orders to the soldiers:

*Come out of the hut,  
Go and meet the enemy,  
Defeat him!  
He was born out of a woman such as me,  
Do not turn back,  
Or you will die like a woman!*<sup>39</sup>

Each of the soldiers then came out of the hut crawling between Be-Dyango's legs marching in frenzy to the battleground ready to fight.<sup>40</sup> The soldiers' crawling from the hut, marching to the war front symbolized their rebirth, change of behaviour and bravery obtained from the Be-Dyango's body, the source of energy that renewed them as brave and powerful soldiers. This ritual is therefore in line with Kaputu's observation, which saw women as the owners of energy, or witchcraft that men used in war.

Further, arising from Kaputu's observation, beads were used as witchcraft objects because they were used by women as adornments around their waists, neck or any part of their bodies to charm men. In this respect, they were associated with power to entice and control men and it is this power witches needed for control, thereby doing good or harm to others as they willed.

Following the advent of colonialism, western factory-produced goods and/or their imitations found themselves being used in witchcraft practices. For instance, water as a reflective device was replaced with glass mirrors, which were adorned or suitably decorated with bees wax, lucky beans, or beads that suited the taste of the diviner or sorcerer. An example of this is provided in the type of witchcraft charm called *Sikuyeti* in Silozi in which a mirror was used wherein the diviner saw the spirit or reflection of the *muloi* (wizard). The mirror captured sun rays and therefore energy which could be used in either harming, or doing good to someone.

In 1991 Vincent Katanekwa, former Director, Livingstone Museum, collected a number of witchcraft objects donated to Livingstone Museum by Senanga Police station. The objects were confiscated by Senanga court authorities after convicting four elderly men to six months imprisonment for witchcraft practices.<sup>41</sup> In an interview I had with him on the issue of witchcraft objects, he told me that he had a rare opportunity to interview the four witches in Senanga Prison. Katanekwa noted that two of the incarcerated wizards got their witchcraft paraphernalia in South

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Kaputu.

<sup>39</sup> Maud Muntamba, "The Political and Ritual Sovereignty among the Leya of Zambia", *Zambia Museums Journal*, 1 1975, pp. 32-33.

<sup>40</sup> Muntamba, "The Political and Ritual Sovereignty among the Leya of Zambia", p. 33.

<sup>41</sup> Interview with Vincent K. Katanekwa, former Director, Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, 3 September 2013.



Africa in 1961 where they had gone as migrant labourers. He also said that of the two, one paid £200 to acquire the witchcraft power while the other paid £120 and that they both acquired witchcraft powers to protect themselves from witches back home and to sort out any person who exhibited signs of jealousy or coveted their achievements. The remaining two also got their witchcraft power in the 1960s. One of the two got the witchcraft power in western Zambia and paid four head of cattle for it. The other did not know how he became a witch but believed that it was a gift from God. Katanekwa further noted that although all four convicted wizards indicated that they understood the power of witchcraft they did not know how it happened and that sometimes it worked according to their instructions but at times, it did not.<sup>42</sup>

On the question of the use of mirrors as witchcraft objects, Katanekwa as confided to him by the convicted witches observed thus:

*Both wizards and diviners used mirrors; the difference was in the end use. They were a potent reflective object used by both witches and diviners. They galvanized energy from the sun which they used as some form of a satellite or scanner linking objects after bringing them into focus. As the sun shone, it collected images and connected everybody on earth, including the targeted person who if his or her image came into view in the mirror was likely to die. Death was achieved by piercing the image of the victim using a traditionally medicated needle. If the intention was not to kill but make the life of the victim miserable either through sickness or lack of prosperity, appropriate spells were cast on the image through invocations to operationalise the witch's desire.<sup>43</sup>*

Arising from Katanekwa's observations, people got into witchcraft practices through different means and for different reasons, the main one being security or self-preservation or protection from perceived enemies. While others sought and wilfully acquired the power of witchcraft, others did not know how they got it. It is suggested here that much of the sophisticated and more potent witchcraft objects came to Zambia through migrant labourers who did not only return home with western material objects such as clothes, metal and enamel plates, three-legged pots, metal trunks, radios, gramophones, and other goods but also with witchcraft devices which were more potent than the type their contemporaries had in the villages. They acquired these devices in order to protect themselves and their newly acquired wealth and social status from their colleagues back in their homesteads who they believed might be jealous of their success.

This point comes out clearly in Michael Barrett's study on Lozi Migrants in Barotseland.<sup>44</sup> According to Barrett, returning Barotseland migrant workers from

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Michael Barrett, "'Walking Home Majestically': Consumption and the Enactment of Social Status among Labour Migrants from Barotseland, 1935-1965", in Robert Ross, Marja Hinfelaar and Iva Pesa (eds), *The Objects of Life in Central Africa: The History of Consumption and Social Change 1840-1980* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 68-92.

Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and the South African gold and diamond mines reached home with an enhanced prestige and social standing among their peers owing to the wealth they acquired in the form of luxury goods and money. They also looked smart. Some of them used their money to buy their first cattle. Because they looked smart in their new European clothes, had money and other goods, they were valued highly as spouses compared with those who remained behind, most of whom depended on clothes and blankets made from bark and animal skins.<sup>45</sup> The migrants had to fortify and protect their newly gained social status, wealth and luxury goods they brought to their homesteads. They feared their peers in the homesteads whom they believed would be jealous and envious of their achievements and might harm them through witchcraft. In fact, two reports written by a research staff member of Livingstone Museum in more recent years (2003 and 2004) on witchcraft objects donated by witch-doctor, 'Dr' Kanjolo to the Museum show that the owners got their witchcraft objects during their stints as migrant labourers in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa during the 1960s. The owners acquired their witchcraft powers for the purpose of self-defence back home but went wild, as they demanded food, which in this case meant human blood.<sup>46</sup>

Other western material objects that came to be employed in witchcraft included nails, needles, and wires. Generally, nails were included in witchcraft objects to enforce suffering or death to the victim. This was done through what Frazer as quoted by Theodore S. Petrus calls 'homeopathic magic'.<sup>47</sup> According to Petrus, in this type of witchcraft, the practitioner applied his or her evil powers against a doll or object representing the intended victim and this action produced the desired result in the victim.<sup>48</sup> Petrus' observation is echoed by Liwanga, who in an interview on the subject noted that:

*As the nail was hammered more and more into an object that represented the targeted person, so was the intensity of the pain/suffering or an illness being inflicted on the victim until that person died if no remedial action was taken through a witch-doctor. Needles performed a similar role to that of nails. They were used for piercing the object that represented the person the witch wanted to harm. The object was akin to the person the witch targeted to cause harm. Once that was done, wherever that person would be, he or she would be affected.*<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Barrett, "Walking Home Majestically": Consumption and the Enactment of Social Status among Labour Migrants from Barotseland," pp. 95-96, 107-108 and 110.

<sup>46</sup> LMA, Mwala Inambao, "Interview with Dr Kanjolo on capture of a Lilomba at Matengu Village, Chief Musokotwane", 23 November, 2003; and "Donation of Witchcraft Object from Mwiinga Village, Chief Musokotwane", 5 February 2004. Also interview with Mwala Inambao, formerly Conservator, Livingstone Museum but now at Lusaka National Museum, 12 September, 2013, Lusaka.

<sup>47</sup> Theodore S. Petrus, "An Anthropological Study of Witchcraft Related Crimes in Eastern Cape and its Implications for Law Enforcement Policy and Practice", PhD Thesis, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, (2009), p.77. <http://dspace.nmma.ac.za8080/xmlui/bitstream/hanc>. (accessed: 2 August 2014).

<sup>48</sup> Petrus, "An Anthropological Study of Witchcraft Related Crimes in Eastern Cape and its Implications for Law Enforcement Policy and Practice", p.77.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Liwanga.

In this case therefore, the witchcraft artefact or object became the double of the man or woman the witch wanted to harm.

Wires were used particularly for communication and represented telephones in the western sense. During precolonial times, horns of animals and differently-shaped gourds and pots were used for this purpose. They were also used as lethal weapons and represented bullets. As far as most of the African people were concerned, they believed that wires, like other western material objects, represented some kind of power or energy the whites had and used. Witches and diviners coveted this perceived European power which they believed was also present in their cultural material objects. Whites were associated with power and the conquering of enemies. Africans could not believe how in most cases a handful of white men were able to conquer and defeat a huge number of Africans and subject their territories to colonial hegemony, turning their kings into vassals and in some cases removing them from power, putting their own choice as tribal kings or chiefs.<sup>50</sup> Consequently, whatever the whites used was associated with power and represented power or some kind of energy the whites used. The power witches used can therefore be explained by one branch of psychology – psychoanalysis – in which the subject's memory and mind is given to produce things he is able to see through concentration to capture power and project it to someone for good or bad.

### **Lethal witchcraft objects and prestige enhancement**

As noted earlier, the Livingstone Museum had a collection of witchcraft objects in its custody from as far back as the 1930s when it was established. Their number increased tremendously in 1958 when the Museum received a donation of 267 objects confiscated from Kalabo, Senanga and Sesheke and later from Mongu, Mankoya (now Kaoma) and Lukulu. These objects were confiscated during the 1956-57 witchcraft investigations in Barotseland and consisted of a wide variety of divining apparatus and witchcraft dolls, rain-making equipment, night-guns and similar weapons for killing witches or other undesirables, and of items of dress used in witchcraft and divining processes.<sup>51</sup> Some of the witchcraft devices were entirely made from traditional material objects while others were a mixture of traditional and western material objects.

Among the western objects was the *Kaliloze* gun. According to Reynolds, the traditional gun has its origin in the precolonial times and the use of gun powder was borrowed from European traders and explorers, probably the Portuguese of Angola, as its distribution was mainly restricted to the Lunda-Luvale peoples and those tribes they came into contact with. The modern *kaliloze* dates back to the early 1920s; however, 1942, though unconfirmed, is said to be the year in which it was introduced to Barotseland, originating probably along the line of rail or through mining centres where the manufacturers of these weapons could easily obtain a

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Kaputu.

<sup>51</sup> Livingstone Museum Archives (LMA), *Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Annual Report for the Period 1<sup>st</sup> January to 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1957* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1958), pp.28 and 32.

supply of discarded metal tubing, a major component of these guns.<sup>52</sup> Thus, most probably, the lethal modern *kaliloze* guns, just like most western cultural goods, were introduced to Barotseland through migrant workers, as the area was deeply involved in labour migration.<sup>53</sup>

Writing about the *Kaliloze* gun, Reynolds observed that the name *Kaliloze* comes from the Luvale verb, *kuloza* which means 'to kill or 'to bewitch'. He also noted another form of *Kaliloze* called *wuta wa mufuko* which he said, in its literal translation means 'a gun made from an arm bone'. According to Reynolds, the traditional form of the gun was a human bone from which the epiphyses were removed while the exposed stem was hollowed out and the remaining epiphysis acted as a butt. Reynolds further noted that sometimes, the bone was mounted on a wooden stock, and that at times the whole gun was carved from a hard piece of wood. The material for the stock of the gun and most likely for the latter case for the whole gun was usually taken from poles of a stretcher that had once been used to carry a corpse to the grave. Where the barrel and stock were separate, they were fastened together with bark strip.<sup>54</sup> This type of gun is believed to have been originally used by the Mawiko people, (Mbunda, Luvale, Chokwe and Luchazi) against people they targeted. To operate, they were loaded with powder and some medicine and then fired at the sun. However, the Lozi used an advanced modern type whose main feature was a metal barrel, often a piece of gas or similar piping and occasionally, a heavy rifle bullet case. A touch hole was cut in and the butt end of the barrel stopped. The whole piece was tied with a string or wire to a wooden butt which was often carved to resemble a rifle stock. The wood for this stock also came from a funeral bier. Often, the gun was coated with bees wax mixed with charcoal powder while bright red and black lucky beans (*Abrus precatorius*) called *mupitipiti* in the Silozi language were set in the wax.<sup>55</sup>

According to Sitali, lucky bean seeds were always associated with dangerous black magic and, whenever an object decorated with them is found, care should be taken as most likely it will have been used in sorcery, witchcraft, or other such practice as diviners did not normally use lucky beans in their practicing devices.<sup>56</sup> To use the gun, it was charged with gunpowder and medicated shot, which normally consisted of finger bones, pieces of roots and other charmed objects. Some *kaliloze* practitioners used millet or sorghum seeds as bullets. However, modern *kaliloze* guns, some of them double-barrelled, in imitation of double-barrelled pistols, or other western guns and used missiles such as wire, or fragments of copper, or any other metal. Generally, traditional *kaliloze* weapons did not produce wounds, whereas the modern guns did. The *Kaliloze* guns were used by witch-doctors, diviners and witches or sorcerers.<sup>57</sup> Witch-doctors used them for killing wizards, while wizards or sorcerers used them to kill people they targeted.

<sup>52</sup> Reynolds, *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 85 and 88.

<sup>53</sup> For details, see Barrett, "'Walking Home Majestically': Consumption and the Enactment of Social Status among Labour Migrants from Barotseland, 1935-1965." pp. 93-114.

<sup>54</sup> Reynolds, *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 79.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.* pp. 79-80. Also see, Anon, "Witchcraft and Cannibalism in N.R. Not Yet Stamped Out: Biggest Investigation in History of Territory", *Livingstone Mail*, 1 June 1957, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Mungoni Sitali.

<sup>57</sup> Reynolds, *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, p.81.

The most fascinating object of witchcraft this author saw is the imitation of a western military tank, donated by 'Dr' Vongo, Chairperson for Traditional Health Practitioners Association of Zambia (THPAZ) to Lusaka National Museum in August 2013 and currently on permanent display in the Ethnography Gallery. This object is in the shape of a military tank and has six mirrors: one on each of its sides, one in front and the other on the back, while the fifth is located on its upper part, and the sixth inside. It also has three porcupine quills, two in front and one at the rear, all of which Vongo said acted as barrels through which magical missiles were shot to the target. This object was extremely lethal. Missiles from it were intercontinental and could maim or kill the targeted person regardless of wherever he or she was located – whether in Europe or America and indeed anywhere. The mirrors performed the role of scanners and/or radar whose function was to search and pick the targeted person wherever he or she was located and bring that person into focus on the mirror inside which acted as a screen from which targets could be seen or observed. As soon as the image of the targeted person came into view and was shot, the real person would immediately fall sick and die if quick remedial action through a witch-doctor was not taken. Vongo refused to reveal the identity of the wizard from whom he confiscated this witchcraft device but noted that its owner acquired it outside Zambia during his migrant labour escapades in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa in the 1950s to the late 1960s.<sup>58</sup> Undoubtedly, from the above, witches went to great lengths in their imitations of western goods and technology as they believed that they possessed a lot of power and by using them or their imitations, their devices became more potent.

Witch-doctors (*balauli*) also adopted western cultural objects and/or their ideas to protect their clients from harm caused by wizards or sorcerers (*baloi*), particularly through magical charms called *siposo* in the Silozi Language, which Reynolds defines as “the projection of magic in the form of invisible missile”<sup>59</sup> to cause harm to their targets. The most common protective method used was needle implantation in which needles ranging from one to three or even more were implanted in the body of the person who wanted protection, particularly from the fatal effect of the *kaliloze* gun. Needles implanted included halves of sewing needles and ordinary gramophone needles and sometimes pieces of iron nails, wires, and even small horns. The needles were often inserted beneath the skin of the chest, arms, or shoulder of their subjects for defensive or offensive purposes. The insertion of needles in the body appears to have been copied from the European concept of homoeopathy principle in which medicine was injected in the body of the patient to cure the disease the patient was suffering from. This European practice of curing an illness may have given witch-doctors “the idea of inserting needle charms.”<sup>60</sup>

Writing about the use of human familiars, employed by both sorcerers and witch-doctors, the most common ones being *likishi*, *nameya*, *kanenga*, Reynolds noted that, when employed by sorcerers, they usually made direct attacks on the agent or on the person of the former. He also noted a Mbunda familiar that was

<sup>58</sup> Communication with Charity Salasini, Keeper of Ethnography, Lusaka National Museum, Lusaka, 20 August 2013. Salasini was the collector of the object from 'Dr' Vongo. She also interviewed him over it.

<sup>59</sup> Reynolds, *Magic, Divination and Witchcraft Among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 39 and 59.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.* pp. 12 and 76.

reputed to remove evil spirits troubling a patient and a Kwangwa *kanenga* which was able to identify and destroy a witch or sorcerer and that “the owner boasted that every death caused by these attacks or by bewitching others raised his own prestige among his colleagues”.<sup>61</sup>

It is important to note that following the advent of colonial rule; the colonial government saw witchcraft practices as repugnant to natural justice, while Christianity saw it as heathen. The two forces worked hard to suppress it. The government considered the provision of protection to members of the society from what was seen as groundless accusations and to deliver them from the fear of witchcraft as its duty. Consequently, in 1914, the Witchcraft Ordinance was passed. The Ordinance defined witchcraft as “the throwing of bones, the use of charms and any other means, process or device adopted in the practice of witchcraft or sorcery”. This Ordinance went through several amendments. It is now cited as Witchcraft Act, Chapter 90 of the Laws of Zambia. Through this Act, it is an offence to practice witchcraft or sorcery and to name or threaten to accuse any person as being a witch or any person to profess ability to inflict physical or mental injury to another by unnatural means. However, despite this Act, witchcraft practices are still common as is evidenced by press coverage as noted earlier.<sup>62</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The practice and belief in witchcraft has been an integral part of the way of life of the African people in general, including Zambians, and studies of anthropologists have discussed it in the context of traditional or precolonial African religious beliefs. Since ancient times, the witchcraft phenomenon has performed a variety of social functions, the most important of which, undoubtedly, was as a response to social needs. Witchcraft could for certain be said to be a theory of power and authority. As shown in this paper, practitioners sought it with the view to enhancing their power, authority, and social standing. Practitioners believed that witchcraft possessed energies that could fortify them against any kind of harm from their perceived enemies, and that it had the power to protect whatever wealth they had accumulated, from destruction by their supposed enemies who in general were either their family members or close friends.

This paper therefore subscribes to the colonial school of thought whose main thrust was on the structural functionalism theory, which saw witchcraft beliefs and practices within the social structures of those societies and communities and as fundamental to individual beliefs.<sup>63</sup> It also subscribes to the postcolonial framework

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<sup>61</sup> *ibid.* p. 72.

<sup>62</sup> See for instance, Anonymous (hereafter, Anon), “Witchcraft visits lead people to divorce”, *Sunday Mail*, 8, October 1995; Anon, “Suspected witch Crash-lands in Ndola”, *Times of Zambia*, 7 March 2006; Anon, “Court fines Kapiri Witch- finder K15, 000 for naming names”, Anon, “*Sunday Mail*, 23 July, 1995; “We are Witches and eat exhumed corpses”, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 16 February, 1996; Anon, “Court Knows no witchcraft”, *The Sun*, April 18-24, 1985; Anon, “Angry villagers raid ‘hyenas’ man’s home”, *Zambia Daily Mail*, 28, March 1996; and Anon, “Dog case dismissed”, *The Sun*, 30 January - 5 February, 1995.

<sup>63</sup> Scholars who have followed this approach include Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*.

in which the theoretical perspective's thrust is on the role of African witchcraft in adaptation to political, economic, and social change.<sup>64</sup> The two frameworks put together give us an understanding of the continuation of witchcraft practices and beliefs from precolonial to postcolonial times, despite punitive legislation enacted in both the colonial and postcolonial times to curb it.

Other than disappearing, the phenomenon of witchcraft survived the onslaught of colonialism and western objects were incorporated by witches, sorcerers, and witch-doctors or diviners in their paraphernalia, as these were believed to have the capacity to enhance their practice thereby boosting their prestige and social standing amongst their colleagues. It is therefore here argued that witchcraft beliefs and practices among the broad spectrum of the Zambian people, will for a long time continue to be experienced, particularly as more and more people face the attendant socio-economic and political challenges associated with the modern world. The paper therefore challenges researchers, particularly historians, to attach more energy to the study of the witchcraft phenomenon and its transformation over time, particularly regards its practice and legislation on it, rather than dismissing witchcraft as a mere belief that should be left to the anthropologist.

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<sup>64</sup> This approach has been followed mainly by scholars who wrote during the postcolonial period. Examples include Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J.L. (eds), *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa*; Geschiere, P. *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa*; Bond, G. and Ciekawy, D. (eds), *Witchcraft Dialogues: Anthropological and Philosophical Exchanges*; Niehaus, I. "Witchcraft, Power and Politics: An Ethnographic Study of the South African Lowveld". PhD thesis.

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# Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perception of climate change and variability in Zambia

Mweemba Libert  
University of Zambia

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*No environmental issue has been of such truly global magnitude as the issue of climate change. And no other global environmental issue has been so controversial, not because of lack of scientific knowledge, but rather because it is a result of every human action and will have a direct impact on all human endeavour everywhere. We assessed whether Zambians perceive climate change as a significant threat and whether their risk perceptions of climate change influence their awareness of the degradation of the environment. The paper also examines the affective images Zambians have of global warming and whether these images can influence individuals' behaviour to mitigate global warming. The mean image affect for the most salient image association of global warming was - 4.60 (SD = 4.36); demonstrating that global warming has primarily negative connotations for Zambians. The results indicate that greater perception of the severity of climate change problems cause respondents to be more aware of the degradation of the environment ( $\beta = 0.56, p < .001$ ). The results also indicate that respondents with higher risk experience and perception prefer the risk management policies. The result further indicates that the more the respondents experienced the environmental risks, the higher they perceived the risks. Respondents also felt that environmental education strategies were very important in changing public behaviour to reduce the environmental risks. The fundamental claim of this paper, however, is that better environmental information dissemination, more environmental knowledge, or more environmental communication alone will not necessarily lead to desirable social change. While we strongly believe that better understanding has an important role to play, environmental knowledge that does not keep barriers to behaviour and social change in mind is unlikely to be effective or sufficient. Successful environmental policies that mobilize action on climate change education therefore, must take into account the options that people have for action and their social and cognitive characteristics.*

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## Background to the study

No environmental issue has been of such truly global magnitude as the issue of climate change (IPCC, 2001; Olofsson, 2007). And no other global environmental issue has been so controversial, not because of lack of scientific knowledge, but rather because it is a result of every human action and will have a direct impact on all human endeavour everywhere. Global climate change is arguably the single most significant environmental issue of our time. Scientific reports indicate that global

warming will have widespread ecological consequences over the coming decades including changes in ecosystems, weather patterns and sea level rise (IPCC, 2001; Olofsson, 2007). Impacts on human society are predicted to be widespread and potentially catastrophic as water shortages (due to receding glaciers and shifting weather patterns), decreased agricultural productivity, extreme weather events (cyclones, flooding, droughts, torrential rains), and the spread of diseases (especially malaria, dengue and cholera) take their toll (IPCC, 2001).

Zambia is already dealing with the early impacts of climate change. Every year since 2000, drought and floods have taken turns in destroying the livelihood options of the rural poor whose livelihood depends on a normally predictable rainfall pattern (Zambia Vulnerability Assessment Committee, 2004). Changes in climate patterns have a negative impact on the health and nutrition status of people and agricultural production. Society at large does not appear to be deeply concerned with global warming; as a result, it is not yet acting on the ever more urgent warming emanating from the science and advocacy communities. Despite encouraging signs, ignorance, disinterest, apathy, and opposition are still prevalent.

So, clearly, there is something in which climate change is communicated that is failing to mobilize a wider audience. Simply talking about climate change in the way that has been done for the past few decades is not creating a sense of urgency or effective action. Certainly, there is an important role still for making the science of global warming accessible to the public. This function has served well in raising the issue to the high level of awareness that it already enjoys.

We believe that the characteristics of the problem itself, the way people perceive and process information, and the motivators and barriers to action need to be examined through a new lens – one that integrates multidisciplinary knowledge on communication and social change. We look at what works – and what doesn't – on the ground, in different sectors, at different levels of governance, and let these practical experiences inform our communication and social change strategies and theories.

### **Why is climate change not perceived as urgent?**

This paper highlights some successes in communicating and action on climate change, while taking a realistic look at the challenges before us. Without doubt, global warming is a difficult topic to talk about, a tough issue to spark interest among non-experts (IPCC, 2001; Olofsson, 2007). Climate change has several characteristics that make it difficult to understand and communicate, much less perceived as urgent, as indicated in the sections which follow.

#### *Lack of immediacy*

Carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases (GHGs) are invisible and at atmospheric concentrations (even rising ones) have no direct negative health impacts on humans as do other air pollutants. Moreover, it has taken a while (in most places) for impacts

### *Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perception of climate change and variability in Zambia*

on the environment to be detected. Many people do not connect driving their cars or flipping on a light switch with emitting CO<sub>2</sub> into the atmosphere. As a social problem, then, it is not visible or experienced directly in the same way that job losses, obesity, or traffic congestion are.

#### *Remoteness of impacts*

The impacts of global warming are typically perceived as remote. In many less-developed societies that are facing immediate, grave risks from disease, poverty, unsanitary conditions, warfare, and so on, global warming simply cannot compete against these direct personal threats and concerns.

#### *Solution scepticism*

The proposed solutions to solving the climate change problems also do not engender a sense of urgency. Solutions are rarely discussed in scientific presentations, leaving the audience to fill in their own (often incorrect) concepts of what those solutions might be. When they are discussed, suggestions such as reducing home energy use or using public transportation can provoke scepticism and resistance, as it is hard for individuals to see how alternatives could be made to work, or how those small actions could make any discernible difference to this global problem (Bostron, 2001).

#### *Threats to values and self-interests*

At national and international levels, solutions to global warming are seen as intensely political. Climate change remains a highly contested political issue as proposed solutions and policy mechanisms are viewed by some as conflicting with closely held values, priorities, and interests such as national sovereignty, economic growth, job security, and the general Zambian way of life which depend mainly on agriculture. As a highly contested issue with an elusive, distant payoff, tackling climate change solutions is a challenge that most politicians would rather avoid unless political gain can be granted from taking such a position (IPCC, 2001; Olofsson, 2007).

#### *Tragedy of the commons*

The problem of global warming may be the ultimate “commons” problem (NRC, 2002; Dietz, Ostrom, and Stern, 2003). The nations of the world all share one atmosphere. When GHGs are emitted from anywhere, they affect the climate of the earth as a whole. Rules about using the atmosphere for the discharge of GHGs are only slowly being defined; monitoring, accountability, and consequences for “overusing” the global atmospheric commons are extremely difficult to ensure and implement.

### *Political economy and injustice*

The ethical implications of sharing one atmospheric commons go further. Some regions are disproportionately affected by climate change, and societal vulnerability to these negative impacts is also highly uneven due to differential levels of exposure and sensitivity to the risks, and differential ability to cope and adapt (Agyeman, Bullard, and Evans, 2003). Whether the decision is taken to maintain the status quo or undertake aggressive action to mitigate global warming, the burden and benefits of outcomes are unequally shared across nations and generations. Unfortunately, those who currently benefit from the status quo and who perceive themselves to be less severely impacted have little incentive to push for action.

### **Statement of a problem**

The fundamental scientific consensus on human-induced climate change has become stronger (Houghton et al., 2001; Oreskes, 2004) and impacts from global warming are now being regularly documented at far-flung locations around the globe (McCarthy et al., 2001). Carbon dioxide and other heat-trapping GHGs continue to rise inexorably in the atmosphere, and people continue to lack adequate coping strategies for climate variability or change. This speaks to the magnitude of the challenge, the reality of the problem, and the lack of real progress as yet on effective solutions. Society at large does not appear to be deeply concerned with global warming, and as a result it is not yet acting on the ever more urgent warning emanating from the science and advocacy communities. Despite encouraging signs, ignorance, disinterest, apathy, and opposition are still prevalent. The resulting frustration among climate scientists and advocates runs high. They see the problem of global warming as urgent, difficult but not impossible to address, and needing immediate and substantial societal action. Yet their strategies to raise the sense of urgency in the public and among policymakers don't seem to be working – at least not fast enough. It is against this background that this study sought to investigate risk perception of climate change in Zambia and how better communication of climate change is essential in leading us out of this conundrum, out of political gridlock, pointing a path forward, and energizing leaders and the broader public to mobilize for effective action.

### **Justification of the study**

Awareness of global warming and its causes is an important step towards undertaking remedial measures. People have to be aware of environmental problems, its consequences and eventual mitigating measures before they can engage in any conservation behaviour. Awareness of the problem should generate greater willingness to change practices in order to engender environmental improvement. They are unlikely however, to take individual action or strongly support government

policies until they view global warming as a serious risk. Well, some things are being done, but not nearly enough to be commensurate with the magnitude of the problem. Thus, a persistent conundrum and challenging opportunity emerges: while the balance of available scientific evidence conveys an increasing sense of urgency, society as a whole does not appear to view the problem as immediate, and certainly not as urgent. The often suggested remedy – by scientists and others – is the generic prescription: “better communication.” Better communication is seen as essential in leading us out of this conundrum, out of political gridlock, pointing a path forward, and energizing leaders and the broader public to mobilize for effective action. Results of this study would serve to provide decision makers with a knowledge foundation upon which environmental policies, educational programmes, and communication strategies can be adequately established. It is hoped that findings and generalisations drawn from a local region could be used in other regions where people have the same plight. Furthermore, it is hoped that the recommendations suggested will be of value to authorities involved in formulating climate change policies in Zambia and elsewhere.

### **Research questions**

The following are the questions addressed in this study:

1. Does the Zambian public perceive global warming or climatic change as a significant threat? How likely and how severe do they believe the consequences will be?
2. What affective images do Zambians have of global warming? Which of these images are the most salient?
3. What kinds of individual actions have Zambians already taken to mitigate global climate change and how common are these behaviours?
4. Do Zambians’ risk perceptions of climate change influence their awareness of the degradation of the environment?
5. Do Zambians’ perception of severity and barriers significantly influence their attitude and behaviour towards the degradation of the environment?
6. How best can the problem of climate change be communicated?

### **Research Hypothesis**

The following are the hypotheses for the study:

1. Affective images of global warming influence global warming risk perceptions.
2. Perceived risks of environmental degradation factors are positively related to environmental awareness and attitude.
3. Attitude toward, and awareness of the degradation of the environment will significantly influence Zambians’ environmental behaviour.
4. Respondents who perceived high levels of environmental barriers are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards environmental conservation.

## Methodology

A survey instrument was constructed to measure climate change risk perceptions, Attitude, self-efficacy and environmental behaviour among Zambians. The survey instrument:

1. *Measured perceived risk of climate change using six different definitions:* (i) general concern about global warming; (ii) human fatalities; (iii) harm to natural ecosystems; (iv) present vs. future risks; (v) likelihood of starvation, disease, decreased living standards both globally and locally (adapting likelihood measures used by O'Connor, *et al.* 1998).

2. *Measured several hypothesized predictors of risk perception such as:*

- (a) *Affective imagery:* Each respondent provided up to four images in response to the stimulus “global warming,” using the method of continued associations (Szalay & Deese 1998; Peters & Slovic 1996). Respondents rated each image they provided on a Likert scale of extremely positive (+5) to extremely negative (-5). Affective image analysis employs a particularly structured and systematic form of word association. Issues like “global warming,” and “drought,” places like “hot deserts,” diseases like “cancer” and names like “George Bush” and “Osama bin Laden” are provocative terms with strong positive or negative connotations for different people in different places. Affective image analysis is an innovative, simple, yet powerful technique to “map” the range, diversity, and distribution of subjective and connotative meanings within individuals, groups, and populations. Some instruments gather multiple images in addition to subjects’ first answers. For example:

Q1. “What is the first word or image that comes to mind when you think of drought?”

Q2. “What is the second word or image that comes to mind when you think of drought?”

- (b) *Measured individual climate change behaviours:* A set of 24 actions that could be performed *regularly/sometimes/seldom/never/do not know* was used to measure responsible and appropriate environmental behaviour. Here the instrument was designed to identify structures of personal responsibility and value, which are individually or collectively directed towards prevention and/or resolution of environmental issues/problems. Behaviours included: using energy-efficiency as a selection criterion when buying a light bulb, household appliance, or motor vehicle; seek information to solve environmental problems, use public transport, purchasing alternative energy, lobbying policy makers, etc.

- (c) *Knowing about climate change causes and solutions:* To assess respondents’ awareness of global warming in Zambia, they were asked to indicate their agreement with the knowledge of various environmental issues, e.g. which of the following is a direct cause of global warming? (i) nuclear power plants; (ii) damage to the ozone layer; (iii) burning of fossil fuels; (iv) aerosol spray cans; etc.

*Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perception of climate change and variability in Zambia*

- (d) *General environmental attitudes questions:* Environmental attitudes were measured by five item questions which were rated based on a six-point scale from 1 = *none* to 6 = *a great deal*. The attitude scale (including the cognitive and affective) was designed to measure the extent of the subjects' consciousness, beliefs, and feelings toward concern about specific environmental issues in Zambia. Specifically, how do Zambian people feel about the potential shortage of water and energy resources? Are citizens in favour of air quality and transportation control by limiting availability of privately own vehicles? Are people willing to pay for the sake of improving the environment? Can people purchase and consume resources wisely for the sake of environmental protection? Can people sacrifice their excessive demands for enjoyment by expressing their physical and ethical support for ecotourism? e.g. (i) What do you think is more important – protecting the environment, even if it costs jobs, economic growth, etc.? (ii) When you buy things at the store, do you usually think of the impact the things you buy have on the environment, etc.?
- (e) *Perceived self-efficacy toward action* was measured by 15 item questions which were rated on a six-point scale ranging from 1= *not at all* to 6 = *very*. Knowledge about individuals' perceived self-efficacy is important in understanding people's beliefs about what people can do, and predicting the relevant behaviour. This section of the questionnaire was designed to induce people's beliefs about their own ability to act for the environment.
- (f) *The scale of perceived barriers (both extrinsic and intrinsic) to action* was measured by 12 statements in the survey instrument to assess the extent of the subjects' reluctance to act for the environment, such as economic forces, absence of information and knowledge, etc.

### **Sample design**

The sample size for this study was made up of students from higher learning institutes, namely: University of Zambia, Rusangu University, Charles Luangwa College of Education, Nkrumah College of Education, Chipata College of Education, Mufulira College of Education and Mongu College of Education. It was especially important for us to gather information from students who are soon to be the major leaders of society and whose environmental concern and decisions will significantly guide the future of our environment. A sample of 486 respondents was used. This was found to be adequate and manageable due to time and resource limitation. A systematic random sampling was used. This is based on the selection of elements at equal intervals, starting with a randomly selected element on the population list. So the members of the population have to be numbered first. For example, to select ten elements from a population of 100, the length of intervals 'K' is determined as:

$$K = \frac{100}{10} = \text{i.e. } \frac{\text{Size of population}}{\text{Size of Sample}}$$

So the ten<sup>th</sup> from the sample would be numbers 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100.



## Processing and analysis of data

The processing of the data began shortly after questionnaires were received from the field. Data were coded and entered in a sequential manner using a relational database engine developed using Microsoft Access. Analysis of data was completed using SPSS software version 16.

### *Exploratory factor analysis*

Exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the data to extract the items that are loaded on each construct. Exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the occurrence responses of each latent construct using the SAS software system (Hatcher, 1994). Each set of items defining a particular construct was submitted separately to the exploratory factor analysis. The SCREE was used to determine the number of meaningful factors retained for interpretation, and an orthogonal Varimax rotation, which attempts to minimize the number of variables that have high loadings on each factor, was used. A reliability assessment (Cronbach's alpha  $\alpha$ ) was used to check for internal consistency of each factor. A reliability calculation was done by using Cronbach Alpha ( $\alpha$ ) to produce a test of homogeneity (Gorge & Mallery, 2001). In this study, Alpha values for clusters of the items and/or the scale were set at the level of not less than 0.60.

Causal effects of awareness and attitude on environmental behaviour were investigated. For all covariates with ordinal or ratio level data, linear regressions were run with the interpretive predictors of environmental awareness and attitude as independent variables. The standardized regression coefficients ( $\beta$ ) and  $p$  values are reported. Beta ( $\beta$ ) is a standardized score, which allows for direct comparisons of the relative strengths of relationships between variables.  $P$  is a standardized measure of statistical significance and identifies the likelihood that a particular outcome may have occurred by chance (Gorge & Mallery, 2001).

### *Validity and reliability of the instrument*

The questionnaires were field pretested with 40 students. This was done to test the comprehension, phrasing, sensitivity and length of the questionnaire. The Cronbach's alpha was calculated to test the consistency of each construct.

## Results

### *Zambian Images of Global Warming*

A summary of the results indicate that there were many categories in which Zambians associate global warming. The number of different categories indicates that global warming was a richly meaningful term, evoking many different connotations. The

### *Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perception of climate change and variability in Zambia*

sample had a relatively strong negative affect associated with global warming. Overall, the mean image affect for the most salient image association of global warming was - 4.60 (SD = 4.36); demonstrating that global warming has primarily negative connotations for Zambians.

Associations to drought (Affect mean = -4.71; SD = 2.83) was the most dominant category. Examples include “water shortages”, “too dry”, “no drinking water”, “dry rivers”, “unreliable rainfall”. Associations to food shortages (Affect mean = - 3. 72; SD = 3.93) were the second most dominant category. Examples include “decreased agricultural productivity”, “food insecurity”, “hunger”.

The third most dominant category comprised heat and rising temperatures (Affect mean = -2.11; SD = 3.67). Examples include “temperature changes”, “heat,,” “hot”.

The fourth dominant category was associated with general disaster (Affect mean -4.11; SD = 3.19). Examples include “death”, “the end of the world”, “cyclones”.

The fifth most dominant category was associated with impacts on non-human nature, which included ecosystems and different species (Affect mean = -2.97; SD = 3.09). Examples include “damage to the environment”, “animals and their habitat destroyed”.

The sixth category comprised disease and human health (Affect mean = - 1.91; SD = 2.11). Examples include “malaria”, “cholera”, and “malnutrition”.

The seventh category was associated with religion (Affect mean = -0.81; SD = 1.11). Examples include “it is God’s will”, “cannot do anything, God has decided”.

The eighth category comprised associations to general changes in the climate system (Affect mean = -0.68; SD = 1.37). Examples include “seasonal shifts”, “short summers causing crop failure”, “long and severe winters”.

Finally, the ninth category was associated with floods (Affect mean = -0.47; SD = 0.59). Examples include “torrential rain”, “poor drainage”, “river bank bursts”.

### *Zambians’ environmental risk perceptions*

According to Table 1, most respondents (87%) agreed or strongly agreed that droughts would increase due to global warming, that there would be starvation due to global warming (83%), and that many peoples’ living standards would decrease due to global warming (81%). Respondents, in general, agreed that the environment was in danger due to climate change (79%), that deforestation could contribute to the process of climate change (71%), and that non-human nature including ecosystems and species would be negatively affected by global warming.

**Table 1: Factor Loadings on environmental risk perception factor**

Indicator	Factor loading	Cronbach's alpha
<i>Risk perception</i>		0.84
Diseases will increase due to global warming		0.71
My standard of life will decrease due climate change		0.91
Water shortages will occur where I live		0.86
Non-human nature will be affected due to climate change		0.67
Environment is in danger due to global warming		0.78
I will suffer from starvation due to climate change		0.91
Serious global warming impacts in the world		0.68

Exploratory factor analysis was used to extract the most important items defining the severity factor. This factor mainly reflects the perception of the damages caused by climate change at local and international level. The reliability of coefficient for this factor is  $\alpha = 0.84$  indicating a relatively good internal consistency (Table 1).

#### *Respondents' awareness of global warming or climate change*

To assess respondents' awareness of global warming in Zambia, they were asked to indicate their agreement with the knowledge of various environmental issues. The results show that, in general, respondents agreed that they are aware of climate change in Zambia. Most respondents (87.8%) agreed or strongly agreed that they were aware of climate change problems in Zambia; that they were aware of climate change problems in the region (78.5%) and that they were aware of the effects of climate change in their area (91%). Respondents who indicated little or no awareness of environmental degradation at national level and local levels represented 9% of the surveyed sample. Although a majority of people perceived climate change problems at the various scales of influence, about 4% of the respondents seemed to disagree that they experienced climate change effects in their area. Respondents, in general, agreed that they were aware that burning of fossil fuels can cause global warming (74.5%), that aerosol spray cans could cause global warming (83.4%), that climate change reduces plot yields (88.7%), and that crops grown depended on climatic conditions (98.5%). Respondents had the view that tree cutting was responsible for climate change (89.1%), and that farming practices in Zambia increased land degradation (85.4%). These findings suggest that respondents had a sound understanding of environmental degradation.

**Table 2: Awareness Factor with Varimax rotated factor loadings**

Indicator	Factor loading Cronbach's alpha
<i>Awareness</i>	0.86
I am aware of effects of climate change in Zambia	0.83
I am aware of effects of climate change in my area	0.87
I am aware that nuclear power plants cause global warming	0.68
I am aware that burning of fossil fuels cause global warming	0.67
I am aware that aerosol spray cans cause global warming	0.59
Deforestation can contribute to climate change	0.71
Crops grown in Zambia depend on climatic conditions	0.91

The scales of these variables demonstrate a high level of reliability with an estimate of  $\alpha = 0.86$ . Questions that heavily load on the awareness factor covered a large range of issues. The items of the awareness factor are related to knowledge of the existence of climate change effects at national and local levels. Two of the variables capture the impact of climate change on water availability and crop yields. From the exploratory factor results in Table 2, items directly related to activities on the local level have the highest loadings on the awareness factor.

*Respondents' attitude toward the environment*

Questions included in this study were to elicit respondents' opinions regarding the linkages between climate change and food, water, and health problems; the responsibility of various actors for the climate change process, and their willingness to participate in environmental improvement. The results show that 89.6 percent of the respondents believed that the environment in Zambia was in danger of climate change, 44% strongly agreed that the environment was in danger, and 20.2% simply agreed with the statement. About 10% of the respondents did not think that climate change put the environment in great danger. Most respondents (90%) believed that deforestation caused climate change problems.

Further, with respect to the linkages between climate change and other issues, all respondents agreed that climate change caused food shortages in Zambia; that it caused water shortages (89.4%), and played a significant role in disease infection in the communities (61.5%). Most respondents (77.5%) believed that developed countries were highly responsible for global warming problems. The majority (81%) also agreed that every citizen was responsible for climate change, and that the government had a role in the problem (82%).

Improvement of the environment requires investments from different actors including the government and Zambians themselves. For people to invest in the amelioration of the environment, not only do they need to have the economic means, but they also must be willing to do so. Respondents were asked a set of questions in order to assess their willingness to participate in the improvement of the environment. About 81% of the respondents agreed they were willing to

participate in the improvement of the environment. However, 62% of them did not think that Zambia had the means to improve the environment and that they were not willing to contribute financially towards this activity (91%). The items dealing with environmental attitudes in the questionnaire were subjected to a Varimax rotation factor analysis. Out of the nine items, five have loadings greater than 0.40 and were retained for further analysis (see Table 3)

**Table 3: Attitude factor with Varimax rotated loadings**

Item	Factor loading	Cronbach's alpha
<i>Attitude</i>		0.76
Developed countries are responsible for global warming		0.71
Every citizen is responsible for climate change		0.68
Governments have a role in solving environmental problems		0.85
Increase in taxes if used to prevent global warming		0.48
Protect the environment at the expense of economic development		0.76

The items mainly reflected the global effects of climate change and the individuals' responsibility in the process. The factors seem to have a relatively good reliability. The coefficient alpha was  $\alpha = 0.76$ .

*Respondents' environmental self-efficacy*

Respondents expressed their opinions regarding their capacity to influence decision makers, and their ability to intervene at national level to improve the environment in Zambia. The results show a sense of respondents' incapacity to act beyond their community. Only 11% of respondents believed they are capable of reducing environmental degradation at national level. Respondents, however, did not understand how their involvement in conservation practices might reduce environmental degradation in the country. Nevertheless, 33% of respondents thought they could influence decision makers to take actions to improve the environment.

**Table 4: Self-efficacy factor loadings**

Item	Factor loading	Cronbach's alpha
<i>Efficacy</i>		0.63
My own actions could have an effect on the environment		0.84
I could influence the solution to specific environmental issues		0.63
My ability to reduce environmental degradation in my area		0.79
I could commit time to influence water and energy conservation		0.63
I could commit time to influence transport and air quality control		0.69
My ability to reduce environmental degradation at national level		0.48

*Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perception of climate change and variability in Zambia*

Out of the nine items, six have loadings greater than 0.40 and were retained for further analysis (see Table 4). The first three self-efficacy factors deal with respondents' ability to reduce environmental degradation at local levels. The last part deals with respondents' capacity to reduce environmental degradation at the national level. The factor has a poor internal consistency with a reliability coefficient of 0.63. This suggests that Zambians feel greater capability to act locally rather than at national and global levels.

*Respondents' environmental behaviour*

To assess individuals' environmental behaviour, a number of items were included in the questionnaire that inquired about the extent to which respondents engaged in certain behaviours. Of respondents interviewed, 86% agreed that conservation of the environment was the best way to guarantee their survival. Among those who agreed with this statement, 81% strongly agreed. Further, 87% felt that it was their responsibility to encourage their peers to adopt environmental conservation techniques. The results suggest that respondents understood the need for necessary collective action on the part of all individuals to improve the environment. The respondents' opinions on their financial effort to protect the environment were weaker than other cases. Of respondents interviewed, 9% agreed that they have made financial decisions to protect the environment. The results also show that 91% of respondents declared they did not make financial investments to improve the environment.

**Table 5: Perceived behaviour factor loadings**

<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Factor loading Cronbach's alpha</b>
<i>Behaviour</i>	0.74
It is my responsibility to encourage others to conserve nature	0.73
Seek information to solve environmental problems	0.45
Purchase an energy efficient car and appliances	0.68
Plant and care for trees	0.58
Purchase the ozone-safe products	0.73
Prepared to pay for the sake of the environment	0.47
Use public transport	0.84

Table 5 reports the items that have loadings greater than 0.40 on the behavioural construct. The items highly load on the behaviour factor. All the items but three had loadings greater than 0.70. The seven items together had a coefficient of reliability of  $\alpha = 0.74$ , indicating a reasonable internal consistency.

*Respondents' perceived barrier factor*

The results show that 90% of respondents agreed with the statements that they did not take actions to ameliorate their environment; that environmentally safe/friendly

alternatives for many of the products they want to buy were just too expensive (89%). Further the results show that 91% of respondents were not willing to pay for the sake of the environment, that they perceived themselves not having enough information on global warming (89%), that they could not solve environmental problem on their own (86%), and that there was no channel accessible for taking environmental problems (79%). Factor analysis suggests six items that measure perceived barriers to environmental improvement.

**Table 6: Perceived barrier loadings**

Item	Factor loading	Cronbach's alpha
<i>Barrier</i>		0.84
Environmentally safe alternative products are expensive		0.74
I didn't feel I could solve environmental problems alone		0.67
I didn't think it is worth scarifying for environment protection		0.83
I didn't perceive myself having enough information about warming		0.91
Acting for the environment is not of interest at all to me		0.65
There is no channel accessible for taking environmental issues		0.59

These items have high loadings on the perceived barrier factor. The coefficient alpha was  $\alpha = 0.84$  for all six items (Table 6). Based on the coefficients, the scale measuring the items is reliable.

#### *Influence of perceived risks of environmental degradation factors on awareness*

The role of risk perception of the susceptibility toward the problem, its perceived severity, the social and technical barriers, and the benefit of environmental improvement in raising public awareness were examined. The results show that among the belief factors, only risk perception of severity of the degradation of the environment was found to cause awareness of the problems. Results in Table 7 show a positive and significant relationship between perceived severity and awareness of environmental degradation ( $\beta = 0.56$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

**Table 7: Predictors of environmental awareness**

Variable	Coefficient
Perceived susceptibility	0.29
Perceived risks (severity)	0.56*
Perceived barriers	-0.51*
Perceived benefits	0.17
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>0.42</b>

\*Significant at  $\alpha = 0.001$

*Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perception of climate change and variability in Zambia*

These findings support the hypothesis that perception of severity of the degradation of the environment was positively and significantly related to awareness. The results indicate that greater perception of the severity of climate change problems caused respondents to be more aware of the degradation of the environment. Perceived susceptibility with coefficient of 0.29 and perceived benefit factor with coefficient of 0.17 were positively related to awareness, whilst perceived barrier factor had a negative relationship (- 0.51). These coefficients were significant at 99% level of significance.

*Influence of perceived environmental degradation factors on attitude*

The results show that three of the four factors were significantly related to attitude toward the environment. The perception of susceptibility was positively related to attitude toward the environment ( $\beta = 0.51, p < .001$ ). The results suggest that Zambians who felt more susceptible to environmental degradation are more likely to develop a positive attitude towards the environment (Table 8).

**Table 8: Predictors of environmental attitude**

Variable	Coefficient
Perceived Susceptibility	0.51*
Perceived Risks (Severity)	0.26*
Perceived Barriers	- 0.48*
Perceived Benefits	0.29*
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>0.66</b>

*\*Significant at  $\alpha = 0.001$*

The perceived severity risk factor was positively related to the attitude variable ( $\beta = 0.26, p < .005$ ). Increasing severity of environmental degradation tends to promote a positive attitude of Zambians towards the environment. Perceived benefits of environmental improvements had also a positive relationship with attitude ( $\beta = 0.29, p < .001$ ). Perception of the benefits of an improved environment seemed to play a significant role in influencing respondents' attitude toward environmental degradation. Although attitude may not lead to actual behaviour, the results indicate that respondents are more likely to develop a positive attitude toward the environment if they perceive a greater benefit from an improved environment.

*Influence of attitude and awareness on behaviour*

This section examined the role played by individuals' beliefs about the environment on their behaviour. It was hypothesised that a set of Zambians' beliefs about the degradation of the environment would be significantly related to their awareness of the situation and their attitude toward it. Attitude and awareness would in turn have



a significant relationship with respondents' environmental behaviour. Therefore, it is assumed that attitude and awareness would play a mediating role between respondents' environmental beliefs and their behaviour.

**Table 9: Influence of awareness and attitude on environmental behaviour**

Variable	Coefficient
Awareness	0.39*
Attitude	0.11
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>0.39</b>

\* Significant at  $\alpha = 0.001$

Table 9 shows that awareness of the degradation of the environment has a positive influence on respondents' self-reported behaviour ( $\beta = 0.39$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The results support the hypothesis that greater awareness of the degradation of the environment leads to a more positive environmental behaviour.

#### *Influence of barriers on attitudes towards environmental conservation*

This section assessed the extent of the subjects' reluctance to act for the environment, such as economic forces, absence of information, and knowledge. The results show that perceived environmental barriers have a negative causal effect on attitude ( $\beta = -0.48$ ,  $p < .001$ ), supporting the hypothesis that respondents who perceived high levels of environmental barriers are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards environment conservation (see Table 8).

## **Discussion**

### *Awareness of the degradation of the environment*

Descriptive statistical analysis of the scale responses showed that respondents in the study area demonstrated an awareness of the degradation of the environment. Consistent with other studies (Loomis & Helfand, 2003; Nickerson, 2003), respondents generally agreed that they were more aware of environmental degradation at the local than at national or international levels. They felt stronger about issues involving their nearness to the environment than those focusing on macro levels. The perception of severity internalised might improve their awareness of the problems, which could lead to a more positive environmental behaviour. A recent study conducted by Eurobarometer (2008) revealed that concrete experiences of environmental problems appear to imply a more environmental awareness, a higher support for the environmental protection and a higher likelihood of taking actions in order to protect the environment. These findings imply that

*Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perception of climate change and variability in Zambia*

policymakers need to develop strategies to point out the importance of the severity of other environmental problems such as global warming and climate change which are not seen to be of immediate concern by the population. In this case, not only is it important to stress the extensiveness of environmental damages, but also the consequences of not taking appropriate and immediate actions to stem the process of environmental degradation.

*Relationships among a set of environmental beliefs and awareness of, and attitude towards environmental conservation*

The study also tested five hypotheses to establish the relationships between the set of environmental beliefs (perceived risks, severity, and barriers) and awareness of, and attitude towards environmental conservation. Causal effects of awareness and attitude on environmental behaviour were also investigated. The results show that perception of the severity of environmental degradation appeared to play a significant role in raising Zambians' awareness and shaping their attitude. Perception of the severity of environmental degradation had a positive influence on both awareness of, and attitude toward environmental degradation. Perception of susceptibility and benefits significantly influence Zambians' attitude toward environmental degradation. The results are similar to those of previous research which indicated that people who find environmental protection very important are more informed about environmental issues, have personal experiences of environmental problems, and are more likely to make environmentally friendly choices (Ziervogel & Taylor 2008). According to Hawthorne and Alabaster (1999), awareness of environmental degradation is a significant precursor of environmental self-efficacy and behaviour. Greater awareness of environmental degradation enhances peoples' capacity in making decisions to improve the situation. Greater environmental awareness leads to greater involvement in environmental management programs. Respondents' environmental self-efficacy also plays a significant role in their decision to change their behaviour. Greater perception of one's capability to improve the environment is significantly associated with a more positive environmental behaviour. Consistent with other studies (Gowdy 2005; O'Brien 2002; Hawthorne & Alabaster 1999), people must have a clear consciousness of the problems before they can take decisions to act.

The findings support the hypothesis that perception of severity of the degradation of the environment was positively and significantly related to awareness. Vezzoli and Manzini (2008) observed that pro-environmental behaviour becomes more probable when an individual is aware of harmful consequences to others from a state of the environment and when those persons ascribe responsibility to themselves for changing the offensive environmental damage.

Awareness of the degradation of the environment has a positive influence on respondents' self-reported behaviour. The results support the hypothesis that greater awareness of the degradation of the environment leads to a more positive environmental behaviour. Consistent with other studies (Vezzoli & Manzini 2008),

the more the individuals are aware of the existence of the degradation of the environment and of its consequences, the more likely they are to do something about it in order to ameliorate the situation. The results of the present study suggest that behavioural change is a process. This is especially true for environmental problems which generally have direct impacts and cause significant externalities. Before individuals can take a given measure to limit the effects of climate change for instance, they have to be conscious of the problems.

### **Education and communication strategies**

Overall, the findings of this study help explain the paradox in Zambian risk perceptions of global warming. While a large majority of Zambians believe global warming is real and consider it a serious problem, global warming remains a low priority relative to other national and environmental issues. In other words, global warming currently lacks a sense of urgency. Most of the Zambian public considers global warming a moderate risk that is more likely to impact people and places far distant in space and time. These findings suggest that multiple communication strategies are needed.

*Strategy 1: Highlight potential local and regional climate change impacts.*

Local threats are generally perceived as more salient and of greater urgency than global problems. This suggests that it is critical that efforts are made to describe the potential local, national and regional impacts of climate change and communicate these potential impacts to the public.

*Strategy 2: Climate change is happening now*

Immediate threats are generally perceived as more salient and greater urgency than future problems. This suggests that educators and communicators should highlight the current impacts of climate change around the world, which in some places are already profound. What is needed now are concrete details, images, and stories of climate change impacts on people, places, economies, cultures, and ecosystems to bring the issue to life, and to help people understand the potential dangers for the rest of the world. In short, educators and communicators need to make global climate change local and to discuss climate change in the present, as well as the future.

*Strategy 3: Highlight the potential impacts of climate change on human health and extreme weather events*

This research found that the Zambian public does not currently associate global warming with any impacts on human health. Communicators need to articulate

## *Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perception of climate change and variability in Zambia*

and emphasize these impacts, which are among the most serious consequences of projected climate change. An emphasis on the projected impacts on human health is also likely to elevate public concerns about global warming.

### *Strategy 4: Careful choice of messengers*

The selection of climate change communicators is very important. Just because a government official or scientist knows “the issue” about climate change and can articulate them does not mean they can communicate effectively to a concerned public. The wrong framing, word, or phrase in a public meeting can generate the opposite effect from that which you are seeking and lead to hostility being directed at you or your organization. Communicators should understand the socio-cultural values of the stakeholders, be able to communicate sensitive information effectively, not take criticism personally or push back when challenged and, in general, be able to engage in an open and equal dialogue with stakeholders.

## **Conclusion**

Natural scientists warn that global climate change is a very serious risk with potentially devastating consequences for human societies and natural ecosystems around the world. This paper gives examples and challenges that have worked in preventing audiences from getting bogged down in these characteristics of climate change problems in different settings. This research found that a clear majority of respondents expressed concern about climate change and global warming. While 86% of respondents said they were ready to buy ecologically friendly products even if they are more expensive, only 13% had actually done so during the period of this survey. Only 4% of respondents had purchased energy from an alternative source, such as wind or solar power, and only 6% of respondents who drive reported using alternative transportation instead of driving. The fundamental claim of this paper is that better environmental information dissemination, more environmental knowledge, or more environmental communication alone will not necessarily lead to desirable environmental behaviour. While it is strongly believed that better understanding has an important role to play, environmental knowledge that does not keep barriers to behaviour and social change in mind is unlikely to be effective or sufficient. More importantly, in this study, although it is noted that knowledge of the environmental problem is a prerequisite for appropriate environmental behaviour, abilities alone, such as awareness, knowledge, skills, and others are not sufficient to guide one’s actions, unless an individual possesses a desire to act. Respondents who perceived high levels of environmental barriers are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards environment conservation. Perceived barriers have a negative causal effect on attitude towards environmental conservation. Successful environmental policies that mobilizes action on climate change, therefore, must take into account the options that people have for action and their social and cognitive

characteristics. In other words, what can they effectively do with the information they are given? Global environmental politics will only fulfil its tasks if the decision makers in the individual nations are supported by a population whose environmental awareness and willingness to behave in an environmentally appropriate way permits them to demand and assert the solutions to global environmental problems

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*Climate change in the Zambian mind: Communicating risk perception of climate change and variability in Zambia*

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## Book Reviews

Brendan P. Carmody  
*University College, London*

*Education in East and Central Africa*, edited by C. Wolhuter (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 462pp; *Education in Southern Africa* edited by C. Harber. (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 265 pp; *Education in West Africa*, edited by E.J. Takyi-Amoaka (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 503ff.

These three books provide a broadly focused lens on the current situation of education in much of sub-Saharan Africa. They are part of a larger Bloomsbury series on education globally.

*Education in East and Central Africa* presents an account of education in Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome, Principe, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Kenya, Rwanda, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. Almost all these countries view the eradication or alleviation of poverty to be a major challenge for education (pp. 16, 71, 113, 155, 159, 223, 279). Unsurprisingly, most of them approach this concern through what has been known as a human capital approach to development (Brock & Alexiadou, 2013, 87-100; Walters, 1981). Investment in education for economic return makes sense even if this perspective has been seen to be highly limited when addressing issues of socio-economic development (Piper 2007:106-107; Samoff, 2013: 552-587). This is largely because of its linear framework which tends to exacerbate rather than help correct class or regional bias, often making the school resemble a factory of unemployed (p.72). Educationally, this means that we are dealing with schooling systems in the image of a pyramid where, as in colonial times, the majority were excluded in favour of an elite (Clignet & Foster, 1966). This surely does not help the cause of equity creation but instead opens the door to major social problems especially as drift to the city becomes even more widespread. Such a paradigm however feeds the deep-set desire to be selected which currently translates in many instances into a mushrooming of private educational provision at all levels (pp.53, 147). In study after study for instance we read of the increased number of private universities across the region. Some deliver quality education but there appears to be an increasing number which provide the graduate with dubious certification (p.228).

At the primary level, we are presented with much evidence to indicate that the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Education for All (EPA) projects have positively impacted the majority of settings (pp. 30, 32, 43, 90, 282, 275, 301, 330). This gives reason to believe that the levels of literacy have improved significantly. That is of course if we can speak of being literate in terms of years in school which may be questionable (p.45). More soberly, what is noted frequently in this regard is expansion without concomitant attention to infrastructure. We find that all too frequently increased enrolment led to overcrowded classrooms, poorly trained teachers, and meagre teaching resources (pp.43, 49, 75, 77, 286). What emerges is an enormous demand for certification resulting in the age-old problem stretching back to the Phelps-Stokes era of mismatch between schooling and the world of



work (pp.33, 72, 53, 163). Again and again, we hear of the need for schooling to be more 'relevant' to life (37, 72, 82, 138, 155, 238, 273). At the same time, vocational education does not seem to be on high demand nor does it seem to be well included in educational systems, despite earlier calls from the 1960s and 1970s for self-reliance (378, 395). It is true that there are repeated calls for better science teaching but here again what this generally means is academic natural science rather than practical science. Allied to such lack of 'relevance' are issues linked to the need for ever greater concern for the education of girls, the rise of preschools, and better inclusion of those with disabilities. Much ambivalence also still surrounds the long-standing issue of the role and place of local languages and their significance in the localization process, which ought to help to make schooling more meaningful (Piper, 2007:111).

In *Education in Southern Africa* we find descriptions of educational systems in Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe. Again, in most instances schooling is seen to be the means of development. This results in a high level of commitment to basic schooling in line with the 1990 Jomtien agreement, MDG 2000 and EPA movements. It is reported often that this development has been highly successful in so far as it has meant dramatic increased access to schooling (pp. 5, 34, 55, 93, 89, 117, 123, 128-9, 156, 189, 234). Similarly to what has already been noted already in the context of eastern and central Africa, such an outcome on this large section of the African continent is undoubtedly a huge achievement.

Nonetheless, as earlier mentioned, it has to be approached cautiously as numbers have increased without corresponding quality of learning. There is for instance little evidence of reformed pedagogy even when in official statements there is talk of student-centred learning (Mudalitsa, 2002: 17; Jewett & Schultz, 2011). Rather, it is affirmed frequently that the method of teaching has tended to be outdated and teacher centred. Thus, the level of basic literacy may be weakly correlated with the number of years in school (pp.11-13).

We are reminded almost everywhere that there is a widespread demoralization of teachers and educational personnel resulting in a marked widespread decline in professionalism. Concern about lack of punctuality, absenteeism, appointments not honoured, poor preparation for classes is reported widely. Yet, what needs to be juxtaposed to this is that teacher standing in terms of poor salaries and conditions of service have been given very poor attention universally. A consequence of teachers' lack of professionalism in the public schools appears to be an enhanced growth of private schools, particularly in Malawi (p. 119), Mozambique (p.137) and South Africa (p.236). It has also led in the South African setting to concern with 'meaningful access' to school. By this is meant not only ensuring that quality is high but also that there is generated a sense of the significance of systematic learning (p.190).

As noted elsewhere, the much debated issue of the relevance of the school's curriculum is a persistent concern. This is not to imply that countries have neglected to strive to localize their curricula (Bown, 2009: 58-59). Even in the early 1970s, as a secondary school teacher in Zambia, after some frustration with largely uninterested students in a Latin class, I was gratified to be told by my headmaster that largely because of its irrelevance this would be the last time it would be taught. This incidentally dismayed my European colleagues. In the following semester I was instead given a civics class that was intended to help students appreciate Zambian

humanism. Almost surely, students found it easier to relate to Zambian rather than classical humanism. What emerges however is that the educational systems and frameworks inherited from the colonial era die very hard deaths. To some degree this may happen because, despite their distance from local realities, they are still seen to be the unchanging road to modernity and its consequences as seen in upward mobility and salaried employment (O'Brien 2006; Larmer et al. 2013:933ff; Musgrove 1982). In general, life in the village may sound romantic but it is not what most of the younger generation want. This may explain why almost no country is reported to be seriously proposing a different educational route to development. Experiments with socialism and self-reliance, however well intentioned they may have been at an earlier stage, appear to be almost history while indigenisation of the curricula, despite the rhetoric, appears cosmetic for the most part. Nonetheless, in the context of globalization, this merits more determined advocacy if schooling's tendency to uproot from tradition is to be addressed (Carmody, 2004: xix).

*Education in West Africa* provides an account of the educational development in Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. We have a useful introduction which helps to identify cross-cutting issues in this region. Among other things, the author argues for better communication and local understanding between donors and recipients.

This seems long overdue (Samoff,2013; Maclure 2006). As a university lecturer involved in teacher education in the early 2000s, I remember being dismayed by the crude way in which programs were imposed. In the various accounts, we repeatedly hear about how progress has been shaped or perhaps misshaped by external agencies (pp. 32,40, 44, 63, 171,185,366). It has been seen especially in the context of the World Bank's structural adjustment programme (SAP) of the mid 1980s. With minimal input from local agents, the World Bank advocated a strong emphasis on basic schooling at the expense of secondary and tertiary education.

This is not meant to imply that universal access to schooling was undesirable. Surely, attempting to enable the preponderantly youthful population to become basically literate could hardly be faulted. What was unsatisfactory was its lack of a balanced socio-economic perspective. (Vavrus, 2005; Shizha, 2006; Brock & Alexiadou, 2013, 100 ff.). As a consequence we now have numerous situations where the pyramid image has been replaced with that of a bottle-neck in describing educational systems throughout the region with large barely literate populations adrift in a sea of severely limited employment or further educational opportunities.

Yet, as elsewhere, many accounts witness major success stories in terms of widening access to schooling. This is commendable but again there is a recurring observation that quantity was gained at the expense of quality. This seems especially true of public schools, opening the door, as we have seen, to private provision. It does not help avoid the creation of social elites, whose emergence has been a major concern of African governments when striving for national unity.

In this part of the continent, we also find that the teacher has lost much of his/her professional status in so far as he/she has become part of heavily centralized and bureaucratic systems enveloped within a competitive examinations ethos, leaving little room for autonomy or creativity. In addition, teachers' salaries and conditions of service have been so abysmal that few are ready to remain long in the service as they seek alternative employment.

The emphasis on and desire for academic schooling clearly reflects the dominant perception of it as the key to development and individual success. Even though technical education may offer greater access to economic opportunity, it is still generally seen to be second class (pp.5, 91,380). Perhaps, action research may hold some promise in this regard (Serpell, 2007).

Looking at education today across the region in light of these volumes one cannot but appreciate the large-scale improvement in access to basic schooling, not only in countries that were stable politically but also those which witnessed major civil strife. The inclusion of girls and women has also gained momentum. Less impressive for the moment is the inclusion of those with disability. There is an increasingly larger profile for the preschool in many areas. Linked to the expansion of access to schooling, the social problem of the educated unemployed is exacerbated leading to the age-old concern with the relevance of a kind of knowledge that largely neglects, among other things, the personal development of the student and the professionalism of the teacher.

Here, one regrets the absence of any significant discussion of the purpose of education. While the preponderant emphasis is unmistakably upon education for development within the framework of investment in human capital, this occasionally bows briefly to some concern with holistic personal development. Yet, there is little, if any, discourse on this rather pivotal issue. Undoubtedly, schooling as an avenue to potential employment makes great sense in this setting of limited opportunity, but this is hardly sufficient (McGrath, 2010:250). What of preparing people for lives that are also flourishing? To limit students to what reason and science provide is to miss the deeper aspect of life which can have major impact on personal lives and the resulting community in terms democracy and peace (White, 2009:423-35; Bellah, 2006: 434-449; Balim & Segal, 2003; Pring, 2010).

In this context, the HIV/AIDS pandemic and some of its consequences for schooling feature much less prominently than one might expect. Besides, there is little reference to how educational systems have attempted to deal with this issue. It is far from clear that it is seen to be a concern for schooling. While practically all the countries under consideration have, or are aiming to have, multiparty systems of democracy, again there is surprisingly little discourse on how schools might better educate for it. Similarly, although religion and religious education feature in the various accounts and in some parts of the continent is of major social concern, it is disappointing that there is no extended discussion of its nature and role in different settings and its potential contribution to inter-faith cooperation and democracy (Alexander & McLaughlin, 2003; Bellah, 2011; Noddings, 1993; McCowan & Unterhalter,2015:208). Moreover, we gain little perspective on how non-government agencies have been part of the recent schooling process even though much of the present scene is rooted historically in missionary endeavour (Carmody, 2013).

Given that too high a percentage of scholarly work on sub-Saharan Africa is produced by non-Africans, the editors of these books should be lauded because nearly all the authors are African. It is also true that most of the accounts strive to connect with the local and as a result are heavily descriptive. This is commendable. Less satisfactory however is the fact that in the majority of cases the particular country's history is weakly linked to the politics and economics of national development. We find little on how for instance educational programmes fostered

social division, inequality, and injustice or how they can reform rather than reproduce social conditions. The outcome is that there is little basis for critical or comparative analysis of systems, leaving the reader with parallel accounts. In this regard, it is true that Harber's introduction in *Education in Southern Africa* provides some cross-country patterns but most of the contributors rarely give reason to believe that the educational world is larger than their particular setting that is being described. This seems to be a great opportunity lost which, if seized, would have left us with a narrative of richer texture. The editing of *Education in East and Central Africa* is especially weak leaving the reader with inaccurate accounts, unwarranted generalizations, and tediously repetitious narratives. All three books would have profited from having a map of the region under discussion.

Overall, these books provide a useful survey on what was largely unarticulated and so help to fill a gap in the scholarly literature by providing a window on what is taking place in the school in sub-Saharan Africa.

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Associate Research Professor  
CRDCE, Institute of Education  
University College, London.

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