

ZAMBIA SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

Editor

Jotham Momba

Managing Editor

Hikabwa Chipande

Associate Editors

Fay Gadsden, Manenga Ndulo, Caesar Cheelo and Marja Hinfelaar

Editorial Advisory Board

Kassahun Berhanu Alemu, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia
Nic Cheeseman, University of Oxford, United Kingdom
John Ssentamu-Ddumba, Makerere University, Uganda
Evans Kaimoyo, University of Zambia, Zambia
Steve Kayizzi-Mugerwa, African Development Bank, Tunisia
Joyce Luma, World Food Programme, Italy
Edwin MacLellan, Cape Breton University, Canada
Mable Milimo, COMESA Secretariat, Zambia
Mirfin Mpundu, Dimensions Health, USA
Moses Musonda, Zambian Open University, Zambia
Kalombo Mwansa, Zambian Open University, Zambia
Pamela Nakamba-Kabaso, University of Zambia, Zambia
Muna Ndulo, Cornell University, USA
Alistair Nolan, OECD, France
Bizeck Phiri, University of Zambia, Zambia
Lloyd Sachikonye, University of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe
Mohamed Salih, Institute of Social Studies, The Netherlands
Ventakesh Seshamani, University of Zambia, Zambia

The Zambia Social Science Journal is published under the auspices of the Southern African Institute for Policy and Research. The primary objective is to publish scholarly work in the social sciences and development. Serving as a forum for argument, debate, review, reflection, and discussion, the Journal is informed by the results of relevant and rigorous research. The published papers are peer reviewed by anonymous reviewers. Final acceptance or rejection of submitted papers rests with the Editorial Board. The Editorial Board reserves the right to refuse any material for publication. The Journal is published biannually, with editions coming out in May and November. Subscriptions rates are available on request.

© Southern African Institute for Policy and Research.
ISSN 2079-5521

Zambia Social Science Journal

Volume 5

November 2014

Number 2

Articles

- Mud Pies and Msasa [Tree] Leaves: The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), International Sanctions and Settler Agriculture in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1965 - 1979**
Simeon Maravanyika 1
- Religion's transformative role in African education: A Zambian perspective**
Brendan P. Carmody 19
- Accounting for the shift towards "Multi-faith" Religious Education in Zambia, 1964 - 2017**
Nelly Mwale, Joseph C. Chita & Austin M. Cheyeka 37
- Exploring differences and finding connections in Archaeology and History practice and teaching in the Livingstone Museum and the University of Zambia, 1973 -2016**
Francis B. Musonda 61
- Book Reviews**
Jessica Achberger 85

Mud Pies and Msasa [Tree] Leaves: The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), International Sanctions and Settler Agriculture in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1965-1979

Simeon Maravanyika
*Department of Historical and Archaeological Studies,
University of Zambia*

This article examines the impact of Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) sanctions on settler agriculture in colonial Zimbabwe between 1965, when UDI was declared, and 1979, when the Internal Settlement agreement ushered in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Having witnessed a significant rise in the two decades after the Second World War, settler agriculture plummeted in subsequent years. UDI, this article argues, was a major reversal of fortunes for the white agricultural sector as it opened a new chapter in the colony's economic and social history characterised by biting international sanctions. A combination of sanctions-induced fuel shortages, loss of markets because of embargoes on Rhodesian products, falling international commodity prices, inability of government to continue to support agriculture at pre-UDI levels, African armed conflict, compulsory military "call-up", and insecurity in the countryside delivered a heavy blow not only to settler agriculture but also other sectors of the colonial economy. This article argues that UDI sanctions, which forced the Rhodesian economy to operate under austerity, triggered a decline in the settler agricultural sector and reduced a significant proportion of the white farming community to a position where a combination of insecurity and the prospect of subsisting on "mud pies" for food and "Msasa leaves" for clothes became a terrifying possibility. Hardship and insecurity prompted a significant number of disaffected settler farmers to trek to other countries, particularly South Africa, for greener pastures from 1976 onwards.

Key words: colonial Zimbabwe, Rhodesia, Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), sanctions, settler agriculture

Introduction

"Glazier [presumably, a farmer] voices a truism when he says farmers are given the smell of an oil rag and wants to know if farmers don't eat but go out to graze and live on mud pies and dress in Msasa leaves. No doubt this will be the case if prices of everything the farmer needs keep on reaching sky-high prices while everything we produce fetch prices almost below cost." (Que Que Farmer, *The Rhodesia Herald*, 25 May 1966, p. 7.)

On 11 November 1965, at 13:15 hours the Prime Minister of Rhodesia¹, Ian Douglas Smith, announced to the nation and the world, in a speech aired on state radio that his country was, with immediate effect, independent from British rule (Cohen, 2011). The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), as the move came to be internationally known, marked a new phase in Rhodesian history, which also happened to be the closing chapter of settler colonial dominance of the territory (Cohen, 2011). This article examines the efficacy of UDI sanctions on settler agriculture between 1965 and 1979. This subject was not one worth serious consideration in November 1965, at least as far as the press and public opinion in the West was concerned, as it was almost a foregone conclusion that the Rhodesian regime would not be able to hold for long. *The New York Times*, for example, reported on 12 November 1965, that the British government, in concert with the Commonwealth, could “strangle the Rhodesian economy over a period of months” (Gann, 1972, 46). Similarly, *The Economist* postulated in January 1966 that the only way the “rebellion” would be able to survive beyond a full month was “if the rebels are determined to hold out to the last drum of petrol” which, the publication argued, would be an exercise in futility as, either way, the endgame for the Smith administration was near (Gann, 1972, 83).

The media’s view of the imminent collapse of the Rhodesia Front-led government found its way into political opinion. The Rhodesian minority regime would be on its knees in “weeks, not months”, the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson assured African heads of state in January 1966, at the Commonwealth Summit in Lagos, Nigeria (Bailey, 1979, 128-9). This assurance, it became clear with each month that passed, was off the mark as the Rhodesian government continued to hold effective power for another fourteen years. Although this was remarkable, it was not without cost for the economy. This article examines the efficacy of UDI sanctions on Rhodesia’s white agricultural sector and argues that sanctions delivered a fatal blow to the sector to the extent that the prospect of “grazing” on “mud pies” for food and dressing in “Msasa leaves” for clothes became a petrifying reality to significant numbers of farmers. This triggered emigration to other countries such as South Africa, from 1976 onwards, as it dawned on farmers and other segments of the white population that Rhodesia’s days were numbered.

The Efficacy of Sanctions Debate

White people in colonial Zimbabwe were, from the onset, determined to build what Maravanyika has termed a “neo-Britain” for their permanent settlement (Maravanyika, 2010). This second Britain, it was envisaged, would mirror Great Britain in terms of its economic health and demography. This mindset was boldly echoed by the Premier, Sir Charles Coghlan, when he told the all-white legislative

assembly in 1927 that Southern Rhodesia was “essentially a country where the white man [had] come and [desired] to [permanently] stay” (Machingaidze, 1991, 559). Permanency, explained the *Committee of Enquiry into the Economic Position of the Agricultural Industry*, appointed to investigate the impact of the Great Depression on the colony’s agriculture which reported in 1934, could not be premised “on any other basis other than a white agricultural population” (Committee of Enquiry into the Economic Position of the Agricultural Industry, 1934,1). Though many white farmers emigrated and took up farming in Southern Rhodesia, especially after the Second World War, the lofty ambition to mirror Britain in demographic terms was never realised as, in David Hughes’ words, “whites never approached demographic superiority *vis-a-vis* native peoples, as [their] population never exceeded five percent of the national total” (Hughes, 2006, 269).

On the economic front, however, in the post-Second World War period – particularly the Federal decade when the colony’s GDP almost doubled – Rhodesia registered significant milestones. A number of factors drove growth in the agricultural sector from the mid-1940s, among them a wave of mainly ex-servicemen who immigrated to the colony and took up land and invested significantly in farming, increased inflow of capital from external sources, expanding tobacco exports, improved fortunes of the mining sector and the rise of manufacturing as a third pillar of the economy, which provided an extended market for agricultural products. Government efforts through the Natural Resources Board (NRB) and the Department of Conservation and Extension (CONEX) to spearhead soil and water conservation programmes in white farming districts and government intervention in pulling farmers out of indebtedness and in marketing through the creation of agricultural marketing parastatals (Maravanyika, 2014). Good mineral prices, particularly gold after the devaluation of sterling in 1939 and handsome returns from copper, also accounted for the surge in the Rhodesian economy (Phimister, 1988).

It was in such a context of a thriving economy that the Smith regime was, in spite of repeated warnings from London, emboldened to declare UDI, seemingly convinced that Rhodesia, with support from her powerful southern neighbour, South Africa, would weather the storm of anticipated economic reprisals. Rhodesian thinking was not without basis as scholars, such as Strack, also characterised sanctions as not only “ineffective”, but also “counter-productive” (Strack, 1978, 237-8). There are two schools of thought on the efficacy of economic sanctions. One argues that sanctions were ineffective while the other counter-argues that it was a combination of the weight of sanctions and armed conflict that brought an end to minority rule in Rhodesia. Davidow

has argued that isolation of Rhodesia and its minority settlers “encouraged insularity and reinforced unrealistically hard positions” (Davidow, 1983, 6). Doxey characterises the impact of sanctions as having been generally “limited” (Doxey, 1980) while Gann, also sceptical of the efficacy of sanctions, argued, in 1972, that prophecies that Rhodesia would collapse as a result of sanctions were nothing more than “the futurology of the past” (Gann, 1972, 143). Renwick has also taken Gann’s view, concluding that it was not sanctions that brought down the Rhodesian regime, but “the world economic recession, and, increasingly the war” (Renwick, 1981,91). Rowe concurs and classifies Rhodesia as “a compelling example of the futility of using economic sanctions to pursue important foreign policy goals” (Rowe, 2004, 207, 256).

The other school of thought has argued that sanctions achieved what they were intended to (Minter and Schmidt, 1988; Baldwin, 1985). These scholars premise their view on two levels; that sanctions work outright, even in the absence of other policy instruments, and that they were a very powerful symbol that often gave support to other dynamics that combined to work towards the intended goal (Morgan and Schwebach,1997). Minter and Schmidt have argued that sanctions against Rhodesia had the direct effect of isolating Ian Smith’s regime, a factor which affected the regime’s capacity at the war front (Minter and Schmidt, 1988). There is evidence that Zimbabwe’s two liberation movements, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), leveraged on the sanctions discourse by supporting them and utilising them to court international attention and support in spite of the fact that the sanctions also had an effect on the African population. ZANU actually called for tighter enforcement (Minter and Schmidt, 1988).

The Road to UDI Sanctions

Richard Coggins has characterized the Federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, between 1953 and 1963, as having been a period of economic consolidation for Southern Rhodesia. The colony’s economy had begun to expand at a phenomenal pace after the Second World War, resulting in a big immigration wave into the colony. The economic boom continued in the Federal period (Coggins, 2006). Robert McKinnell has observed;

Gross domestic product increased by 85 percent, while the contribution of manufacturing more than doubled, partly to supply the new, expanded, ‘domestic’ market. The growth of the whole Federation was mainly attributed to expanding exports and to the inflow of external capital (McKinnell, 1969, 573-4).

The expansion of the economy, however, was not accompanied by corresponding political successes. Whites in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland felt that the lion's share of Federal benefits was going to Southern Rhodesia at their expense, while Africans in the three colonies clamoured for the end of the Federation and for independence. These developments culminated in the dissolution of the Federation in 1963 and, consequently, the independence of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi) in 1964. Britain was agreeable to the independence of the two territories, and also supported the aspirations of Africans in Rhodesia for a transition towards majority rule (Smith, 1997).

Rhodesian Front politicians were not open to the idea of majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. They argued that the 1961 Constitution, a smokescreen meant to deceive the British government into believing that Southern Rhodesia was on the road to greater African involvement in political life, provided the basis for African participation in the country's politics. The Constitution provided that, over time, as the economic and educational position of Africans in the colony improved, more and more Africans would become eligible to vote (Coggins, 2006). The British government did not agree with this position. Winston Field, who had been elected to the premiership in the 1962 elections on a Rhodesian Front (RF) ticket, was elbowed out in an internal coup for his alleged failure to reach a favourable agreement with the British Government on the matter. He was replaced by Ian Douglas Smith in 1964. Smith, a hardliner, immediately began to steer the country towards UDI. UDI was, in the eyes of the minority government, a necessary step to preserve white rule in the colony in the face of increasing African demands for independence.

The change in British policy had largely become evident after the significant 3 February 1960, "Winds of change" speech in South Africa by Harold Macmillan, the British prime minister, during his tour of South Africa and British colonies in Africa. The speech not only signalled British intentions to grant independence to her colonies, but also gave legitimacy to African nationalist demands for independence. The government of Southern Rhodesia was familiar with nationalist sentiments on the continent as many African countries were gaining their independence. Locally the settler administration had crushed various protest actions by nationalists (Mothibe, 1996). Smith and the Rhodesian Front chose not to yield to the nationalists and to British pressure.

From 1964, the British government had tried to use diplomatic channels to stop Rhodesia from declaring independence after it became apparent that Ian Smith and his party were mobilizing the country's populace for it. A referendum was carried out in 1964 to determine whether the white electorate was ready for independence under the 1961 Constitution. An *Indaba* was also held in 1964 with African chiefs to get them to support independence, as the purported legitimate

representatives of African people, as opposed to the African nationalists, who the regime attempted to cast as dissentient “communist” malcontents (Coggins, 2006, 365). On 27 October 1964, the British prime minister issued a stern warning that unilateral declaration of independence would be met with biting economic sanctions (Coggins, 2006, 365).

The British prime minister’s advice was not taken by Smith and his government, as a year later - on 11 November 1965, the colony declared its independence. UDI did not get international recognition; the colony had prepared itself for confrontation with the United Kingdom and the international community (Hodder-Williams, 1970). Smith was convinced that Britain had changed, and going along with the British would yield African rule in the territory, which, he argued, would destroy everything the white minority had toiled for in 75 years. Smith, an admirer of former British Prime Minister Churchill, said in 1965;

If Churchill were alive today, I believe he would probably emigrate to Rhodesia. I believe that all those admirable qualities and characteristics of the British we believed in, loved and preached to our children, no longer exist in Britain (Meredith, 1979, 44).

Britain, with the support of the international community, warned that it would not accept Rhodesian independence if it did not embrace African aspirations for majority rule (Minter and Schmidt, 1998).

Sanctions and Border Closures

The British response to UDI was swift; on the day UDI was announced Britain announced an embargo on Rhodesian sugar and tobacco, an immediate withdrawal of British aid, removal of credit facilities on Rhodesia’s exports, and Rhodesia’s immediate removal from the Sterling area and Commonwealth trade system (Strack, 1978). These measures were given legal effect by the passing of the Southern Rhodesia Act, 1965 (De Smith, 1966). On 1st December 1965, the British government expanded the number of Rhodesian products on its embargo list to include two more agricultural products; maize and beef. It further embargoed copper, asbestos, chrome, iron and steel, and the sale of petroleum and petroleum products. Assets of the Rhodesia Reserve Bank, worth approximately, £10 million, were frozen, as was the disbursement of pensions to Rhodesians (Strack, 1978). These restrictions had huge implications on the Rhodesian economy as, according to Morris Bornstein, they prohibited “95 percent of the value of Rhodesia’s normal exports to the United Kingdom” (Bornstein, 1968, 421).

Apart from British sanctions, Rhodesia was also slapped with UN sanctions. On 12 November 1965, a day after Smith announced UDI, the United Nations Security Council requested all members of the United Nations not to recognize Rhodesian independence and to withhold all their assistance to the country. This paved the way for the imposition of UN voluntary sanctions on 20 November 1965. The United Nations urged its members to stop sales of arms and military hardware, and petroleum products, and to sever all economic ties with Rhodesia (Minter and Schmidt, 1988). A little over a year later, on 16 December 1966, the UN followed up on its voluntary sanctions with mandatory sanctions (an embargo on petroleum and petroleum products, arms, military hardware, aircraft, and motor vehicles). UN sanctions were stepped up on 29 May 1968 to “comprehensive mandatory sanctions” which put a blanket ban on all imports from, and exports to, Rhodesia and on loans, immigration and investment (Losman, 1979 and Security Council Resolutions, 232 and 253). Sanctions on Rhodesia, were in four categories, covering: exports, imports of Rhodesian goods, transportation and financial controls (Bornstein, 1968).

The souring of relations with neighbouring territories, Zambia and Mozambique, also dealt the Rhodesian economy a significant blow. In 1973, Rhodesia closed its border with Zambia, citing increased guerrilla activities as the reason. Zambia retaliated by telling the Rhodesian authorities that reopening of the border would not be left to the Rhodesians, as the Zambian government wanted the border permanently closed. This move hurt both economies, with Rhodesia losing railway revenue to Tanzania, as Zambian copper exports were rerouted via Tanzania - Zambia Railway (TAZARA) routes (Renwick, 1981). Three years later Mozambique also closed its border with Rhodesia. This had a significant impact on Rhodesia as the Mozambique port of Beira was nearer in comparison to Durban, South Africa. Apart from the distance and the greater transport cost, South African ports were congested, which resulted in higher shipping costs and longer delays (Renwick, 1981). The closure of the Mozambique border also gave the South Africans more leverage over Rhodesia.

Sanctions and Settler Agriculture

The Rhodesian agricultural sector was vulnerable because of its reliance on exports. The colony's tobacco was its major agricultural export, accounting for 30 percent of the country's exports (Cross, 1981). There was uncertainty whether the colony would be able to sell her crop when UDI was declared and sanctions were imposed in the 1965-6 season. Most Mashonaland farmers had either completed tobacco planting or had planted the majority of their crop. The 1965-66 and 1966-7 selling seasons turned out to be catastrophic for the tobacco sector. As Morris Bornstein has put it;

The 1965-66 tobacco crop was 250 million pounds, but only 120 million pounds could be sold in the government's secret auction, with the remainder purchased by the government at the support price for stockpiling. The 1966-67 crop was about 200 million pounds, with about half being stockpiled (Bornstein, 1968, 424).

In spite of this catastrophic situation, the first few months after UDI were characterised by unexplainable optimism among farmers and government officials. This optimism was not shared in the United Kingdom.

Lord Hastings, a Conservative legislator, predicted in November 1965 that the immediate impact of the sanctions would be "massive (African) unemployment" (*Rhodesia Herald*, 15.11.65, 4). Hastings, who had lived and even owned a farm in Rhodesia, further stated that African unemployment would further foment revolution in the colony, which would become the colonial regime's downfall (*Rhodesia Herald*, 15.11.65, 4). True to his prediction, by December 1965 farmers were already considering the fate of their workers in Mashonaland. A survey by the *Rhodesia Herald* showed that many farmers were cutting their African workers' wages. White farm managers and assistants were not spared by the wage reductions and redundancies (*Rhodesia Herald*, 31.12.65, 3).

Apart from the loss of jobs, Rhodesia had, without question, entered into an era of austerity. An editorial in the *Rhodesia Herald* of 10 December 1965, captures the economic climate of the period in a very concise way;

The era of easy credit to Rhodesia farmers has ended. From now on the man who has the cash to pay for his needs will be able to get what he wants, but only if it is available. The farmer who asks for extended credit is unlikely to get it. Rhodesia has entered a period of shortage of money and goods, and this will inevitably mean that the trade will give preferential treatment to the farmer who can pay. Traditionally at this time of the year the money from overseas for the purchase of the next tobacco crop begins to flow in strongly, but to date the flow has not yet started and ... it is unlikely to do so in the foreseeable future (Rhodesia Herald, 10.12.65).

Optimism gave in to despair. Farmers were no longer certain they would be able to sell their produce on international markets, or get enough to be able to remunerate their workers at existing wage levels. They were not able to access credit as the Land Bank and other banks' capacity to lend was conditional on their getting deposits from private enterprise, something that was not happening at a significant scale at the end of 1965, as the cited editorial reveals.

Less than six months after the declaration of UDI and imposition of subsequent sanctions, the settler agricultural sector was 'screaming.' In April 1966 the Rhodesia National Farmers' Union (R.N.F.U) reported that the agricultural sector was in trouble and needed to be urgently subsidized by the government. Truscott, the vice-president of the R.N.F.U, explained that such a

subsidy would improve farm incomes and productivity, and the whole country would enjoy the benefits of such a programme because, as things stood, farmers' indebtedness was "frightening" (*Rhodesia Herald*, 5.4.66, 4). Truscott elaborated;

To my knowledge there is no country in the world that does not subsidise agriculture. We have always been proud of the fact that we can maintain ourselves and so we don't want subsidies. This is because credit facilities have been big enough to let people carry on - but now I think we must consider the possibility of subsidising agriculture, particularly where there are export possibilities (Rhodesia Herald, 5.4.66, 4).

The inability of the financial system to give credit to farmers meant that everything needed to be paid for upfront.

In addition to funding challenges, pricing and marketing of agricultural goods on international markets became cumbersome for the colony. One farmer complained in 1970 that prices "farmers receive for their milk, and tobacco are considerably lower (than they were ten years ago), but machinery, fuel spares etcetera cost more. Farmers will eat *sadza* (the Zimbabwean staple, a thick porridge made from maize flour) if necessary, but would also enjoy some cake" (*Rhodesia Herald*, 13.3.70, 15). In the case of tobacco, a quota system was put in place from 1967 (*Rhodesia Herald*, 5.5.67, 1). This was meant to ensure that the colony produced only what it would be able to market. This situation continued into the 1970s (*Rhodesia Herald*, 13.4.73). Tobacco marketing in the UDI era was characterized by secrecy, as the Smith regime sought to bust and evade sanctions. Farmers were urged to maintain secrecy as "experts in espionage had a way of collating small pieces of information from various sources and making them into something worthwhile", Freeman, the chairman of the Tobacco Corporation told farmers in 1973 (*Rhodesia Herald*, 18.7.73, 6).

Pricing was a major grievance. Farmers had no control over their input costs, and they also had no say in the determination of the end price of their products. One farmer wrote to *The Rhodesia Herald* about this situation in 1968;

Since UDI, if the cost of living has increased in the towns, it has well been disguised by the general air of prosperity. But on the farms our cost of production has been increased immensely, by, among other things, higher fuel prices, transport costs, upwards of 100 percent increase in spares costs, and above all the general "farmers are fair game" attitude of commerce and industry. It must be obvious to everyone that a reduction of twenty-one and a half percent in the gross return to the grower makes production impossible to everyone without large capital reserves, a rare thing nowadays. The tobacco farmers originally financed the Rhodesian Front to power. Perhaps this is just retribution (Rhodesia Herald, 18.3.68, 5).

With the fall of the tobacco price from 26d per pound in the pre-UDI period to 22d in 1968, growers felt it was they who bore "almost the entire brunt" of the burden of sanctions (*Rhodesia Herald*, 23.3.68, 1). It was time for Prime Minister

Ian Smith, the chairman of the Umvukwes Farmers and Tobacco Growers Association (TGA) stated at a TGA meeting in April 1968, to;

...tell us categorically whether or not it is the present Government's intention to sacrifice the tobacco growers of Rhodesia for the good of the country and if so, what possible good does he see coming from such sacrifice... and I will remind (him), that it was this present Government that got Rhodesia into the mess we are in, and it is this Government that must get us out of it or resign (Rhodesia Herald, 5.4.68, 1).

Government bureaucrats, however, thought that tobacco farmers were crybabies who, instead of diversifying in response to the low prices and marketing difficulties, chose to lament and to apportion blame. This accusation was unjustified as in January 1969 the Minister of Agriculture, David Smith, admitted that diversification was taking place "at a good rate", as 28,000 acres formerly under tobacco had been replaced by other crops (*Rhodesia Herald*, 3.1, 69, 1).

Fuel shortages and rationing also had a huge impact on agricultural viability during UDI. Just five months from November 1965, for example, many farmers could no longer get the same amount of petrol and diesel as before UDI. While in the past farmers had been able to access fuel from fuel companies on credit, the companies began to insist on payment when farmers placed their order. "The rule (to pay cash in advance) was always applied to commerce and industry, and no exceptions have been allowed in these two sectors," stated a *Rhodesia Herald* editorial on 9 December 1969, "but its strict application to agriculture, I understand, has not always been possible." The editorial continued;

Sometimes fuel tankers travel many miles to district farms to deliver bulk orders of petrol and diesel fuels, only to find that the farmer is either away in the lands or in town. To save time and costs in these cases ... the fuel would be delivered and payment collected on the return round, or later. But any concessions of this nature, and others, to farmers are now to be stopped. The rule will be applied equally to fuels delivered to farmers by bulk lorries or tankers and those collected in drums from drum filling points at depots (Rhodesia Herald, 9.12.65).

The requirement for farmers to pay for fuel in advance was not just a reaction to the method of payment mentioned above, which obviously resulted in oil companies getting their money from the farmers late, but to a severe fuel shortage which the country began to experience.

From January 1966 farmers who bought petrol in bulk had their allocations reduced by half as a result of the colony's inability to secure adequate fuel. A statement issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry on 3 January 1966 stated that fuel rationing would be applied to all, including diplomats and consular officials (*Rhodesia Herald*, 4.1.66,1). Farmers could, however, still access their normal allocations of diesel. A spokesperson for the Ministry of Commerce and Industry stated;

It is appreciated that diesel fuel is the basic fuel used by farmers and there is no intention at the moment to reduce their supply of this. But it is considered that the farming community can afford to make their contribution to the conservation of fuel supplies by curtailing their use of petrol. Naturally, any farmers who find his reduced fuel ration inadequate can apply in the ordinary way for an extra allocation (Rhodesia Herald, 4.1.66,1).

The shortage of fuel naturally affected farmers. For example, at the end of January 1966 the Chairman of the Ploughing Championships, Linnel, announced that the National Ploughing championships which had been scheduled to take place in April 1966 in Karoi had been cancelled. Fuel shortage was given as the reason for the cancellation. "The fuel shortage has made this decision inevitable," Linnel said, adding;

We have also been informed that many of the local competitions have been cancelled for the same reason. The cancellation of the National Championships will mean that we will be unable to nominate any competitors for the World Ploughing Contest to be held in New Zealand in May next year (Rhodesia Herald, 1.27.66, 14).

Local competitions such as the Barwick Ploughing Match, held by the Barwick ICA Committee (Concession), were also cancelled due to constraints in finding adequate fuel (*Rhodesia Herald*, 27.1.66, 14). Though the cancellation of the championships would not have a major impact on Rhodesian farming life, it was small things, such as these competitions, that contributed to building closer relationships and community in the several farming districts over time, and fostered a spirit of healthy competition, which was good for the colony's agrarian sector.

Farmers' desperation for fuel was exhibited when The Rhodesia National Farmers' Union (R.N.F.U) reported at the end of January 1966, that their office was "inundated with requests from farmers and smallholders for additional supplies of fuel" (*Rhodesia Herald*, 1.2.66, 3). This was despite the fact that the R.N.F.U did not deal with applications for fuel. This was the brief of local district commissioners, who were the designated issuing authorities, and petrol rationing officers. In April 1966, the R.N.F.U criticised government petrol rationing regulations. *The Rhodesian Farmer*, the official publication of the R.N.F.U and the Rhodesia Tobacco Association asked in its editorial entitled, 'Does Government want agricultural production to be cut?' whether the government understood the importance of fuel in farmers' operations. The editorial reported that a lot of harm was already being done by the fuel shortage; farmers had had problems with harvesting their tobacco while ploughing was behind schedule.

While financial difficulties, marketing challenges, poor international prices for commodities, and fuel shortages were often a very important determinant of whether farmers carried out conservation projects on their farms or not, conservation efforts often also succumbed to the effect of droughts. The 1967-8 drought is an example, which was invariably described by the press as “the worst crisis” and “a national disaster” (*Rhodesia Herald*, 28.3.68, 1). Commenting on the impact of this drought on farming operations, a farmer wrote to *The Rhodesia Herald* in December 1968, “Sir, drought and slumps are far more dangerous than sanctions” (*Rhodesia Herald*, 17.12.69, 9).

The African Response: Arson, Farm Killings and Armed Resistance

Apart from the difficulties experienced by farmers as a result of the sanctions, growing African militancy and the liberation struggle also disrupted white settler agriculture. The declaration of UDI effectively shut the door on a peaceful transition to majority rule, as had happened in Malawi and Zambia. Sanctions against the Smith regime created additional conditions necessary for the prosecution of the liberation struggle. ZANU supported the sanctions, saying that they created conditions fertile for African disgruntlement, and consequently made it easier to recruit cadres to fight the Smith regime. ZANU support for sanctions was also because, according to Eddison Zvobgo, one of the leading African nationalists during the war of independence, they hurt the Smith regime more than they impacted on the African population. Giving evidence to a US Congressional hearing in February 1973, Zvobgo stated;

It is not us who need sheets to sleep on or cars to come into the city, or spare parts to run the industries. We do not own the economy. Those comforts which have been siphoned off by sanctions are totally irrelevant to the African people. Over 90 percent of the African people live on the land... They are fed by the very soil. So to suggest that sanctions hurt the Africans and therefore in the interest of the African we ought to drop sanctions is nonsense (Minter and Schmidt, 1988, 232).

Zvobgo’s position seems to have been politically expedient for him and his ZANU but, in reality, sanctions also impacted negatively on Africans. The sanctions led to massive unemployment, and a general increase in African poverty. Between 1965 and 1972, Losman observed, the gap in average wages given to white and black employees grew by 40 percent, while farm income also tumbled by 16 percent in the same period (Losman, 1979, 116).

The African response to UDI was swift and calamitous. In December 1965, only a month after the declaration of UDI, farmers in Raffingora and Karoi were employing the services of guards to ensure security of their crops and barns. This followed incidents of arson, where disenchanted Africans set ablaze the tobacco crop and barns on farms in these areas (*Rhodesia Herald*, 14.12.65,3). One

farmer told *The Rhodesia Herald*; "There is a general feeling in the district that something peculiar is going on and quite a few farmers have decided to protect their barns in addition to the patrols on the lands" (*Rhodesia Herald*, 14.12.65, 3). At the end of December 1965, three African men were arraigned before the Salisbury Regional Court for uprooting three acres of maize at Frascati farm in Goromonzi (*Rhodesia Herald*, 25.12.65, 7). By 1966 these actions had taken on another dimension; a white couple was murdered at a farm near Hartley. The farmer, Johannes Hendrik Viljoen and his wife, it was reported, were killed by an "African terrorist gang" which left "pamphlets published in the name of the Zimbabwe African National Union" calling for "violent action against Europeans in Rhodesia" (*Rhodesia Herald*, 19.5.66, 1). The pamphlets left by Viljoen's killers had also been found on seven Africans killed in the Battle of Sinoia on 29 April 1966 (*Rhodesia Herald*, 19.5.66, 1).

The state's reaction was to step up security on the farms, and to try to get more settlers on the land. The minister of justice, Desmond Lardner-Burke, explained the logic of trying to put more settlers on the farms at the official opening of the Fort Victoria Agricultural Show in September 1971; "It (is) only when you have vacant farms that you are liable to suffer from squatter problems," he said. "This could lead to infiltration of terrorists or their supporters and could undermine the security of the country" (*Rhodesia Herald*, 18.9.71, 5). The government was, however, not able to stem the problem of farm murders. On 24 January 1973 a farmer's wife, Ida Kleynhans, was killed while the husband was seriously injured in a grenade attack at Ellan Vannin farm in Centenary. The incident was "the fourth attack on civilian targets in the north-east border area since Christmas and marked a swing of terrorist activity back to the Centenary area following a move east to the Mt Darwin area" (*Rhodesia Herald*, 26.1.73, 1)."

In March 1973 another farmer, Andries Hendrick Joubert, was killed in Wedza (*Rhodesia Herald*, 11.3.73, 1). Next was the killing of Louis Couve of Paridon farm, Mt Darwin, marking the eighth farm killing in 1973 (*Rhodesia Herald*, 9.6.73, 1). In December, 1974, an African was charged at the High Court in Salisbury for a grenade and rocket attack at a Sipolilo farm, to which he pleaded guilty (*Rhodesia Herald*, 4.12.73). This prosecution did not deter the attackers, as from 1975 the attacks increased (*Rhodesia Herald*, 26.6.75: 19.10.76; 30.9.76). The farm attacks brought insecurity on the farms, which was detrimental to productivity of the farms and construction of conservation works. The liberation war affected agricultural productivity. To start with, the Rhodesian army relied on compulsory conscription - military call-up; all men under the age of 50 had to go to the front. The call-up has been characterized by Tony Hawkins, an academic at the University of Rhodesia during UDI, as "relentless" and "devastating" (Minter and Schmidt, 1988). The call-up impacted on the morale of many people, as they had to leave their families and farms. According to John Graylin, "People got very

fed up with having to go into the army for longish periods very frequently often six weeks at a time, four to five times a year” (Minter and Schmidt, 1980. This impacted on productivity and conservation work on the farms.

The Endgame

In 1976 the colony’s immigration patterns changed, more people left the colony in comparison with those who came to settle in Rhodesia (Strack, 1978, 89). More than 7,000 people left the colony in that year (Losman, 1979,135-6). The exodus of white settlers has to be understood in the context of insecurity on the farms and what was happening in the agricultural and industrial sectors more generally. From 1951, the manufacturing sector had overtaken agriculture as the most important sector in the colony (Irvine, 1959, 309-17). Though the sector had managed to remain vibrant in the wake of sanctions, it began to experience the impact of the combination of sanctions and the armed liberation insurrection in the mid-1970s. The government made it mandatory for employers to pay salaries and wages of employees on call-up, giving the industrial sector a huge burden. Though the government later subsidized this, the burden was huge for the colony’s industrial sector (Minter and Schmidt, 1988, 234). Compulsory conscription also affected the settler agricultural sector, as farmers, too, were called up to fight on the front.

A combination of sanctions and the war forced the regime to agree to transfer of power. Some scholars have argued that it was not the war that yielded independence. Matthew Preston has argued that the war got to a stalemate, with no side winning, and this led to a situation where it became necessary for both sides to reach a settlement at the negotiating table (Preston, 2004). But had the war reached what William Zartman has called a “mutually hurting” stalemate (Zartman, 1983)? There are scholars who, however, argue that the Rhodesians were on the brink of losing the war in 1979. Faced with such a situation, they were left with very few options, hence their willingness to negotiate at the Lancaster House Conference. John Stedman has argued that the Rhodesians were facing a “desperate crisis” (Stedman, 1991). By 1979; they had lost the war, both against sanctions and against African liberation fighters. The Smith administration was forced to negotiate the Internal Settlement, under whose auspices elections were held in March 1979, ushering in a new government under the leadership of Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

Conclusion

The UDI period still needs more study, as there is little information on many aspects of the Rhodesian economy then, including conservation. Literature on

the UDI mostly focuses on the dynamics of sanctions, and how the Rhodesians managed to hold on for 14 years under the sanctions. This article argues that with the imposition of sanctions, white agriculture lost the momentum it had gathered from the 1940s. Economic sanctions and the war effectively ensured that the state and farmers' attention became fixated on survival in the short to medium term, and not so much on increased productivity.

The imposition of economic sanctions on the colony by the British government and the United Nations disrupted settler agriculture in a number of ways. The colony's tobacco industry lost access to the traditionally important United Kingdom market. Farmers' focus largely shifted to survival, resulting in very little new investment taking place in the agricultural sector. Most farmers' incomes dwindled and their future - especially after the beginning of the war - became uncertain. The pace of conservation work slowed. The liberation struggle complicated life for farmers by making the farms unsafe, as liberation fighters found white farmers to be easy targets. From the mid-1970s, as the war intensified, many white people began to leave the country. The majority of farmers who remained on the land were forced by the political and economic environment to tighten their belts, hoping that the situation in the country would improve so they could continue farming without the uncertainty wrought by a combination of sanctions and the war. As Glazier asserts figuratively, some farmers increasingly faced the unpleasant prospect of being reduced to a state where they would have to "(eat) mud pies and (dress in) Msasa leaves" for their daily sustenance.

Endnotes

¹The country has changed names a few times; Rhodesia in the early 1890s, Southern Rhodesia from 1898 to October 1964 when Northern Rhodesia gained independence and was renamed Zambia, Rhodesia from 1964 to May 1979, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia from 1 June 1979 to 12 December 1979 and Zimbabwe at the attainment of independence in April 1980.

References

Published Sources

- Bailey, M. 1979. *Oilgate: The Sanctions Scandal*. London, Hodder and Stoughton.
- Baldwin, D. A. 1985. *Economic Statecraft*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Bornstein, M. 1968. "Sanctions and Rewards in Support of Arms Control Agreements". *The American Economic Review*, 58, 2, 417-27.
- Clifton Morgan, T. and V. L. Schwebach. 1997. "Fools Suffer Gladly: The Use of

- International Sanctions in International Crises". *International Studies Quarterly*, 41, 27, 27-50.
- Coggins, R. 2006. "Wilson and Rhodesia: UDI and British Policy Towards Africa". *Contemporary British History*, 20, 3, 363-81.
- Cohen, A. 2009. "Voice and Vision – The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland's Public Relations Campaign in Britain: 1960-1963." *Historia*, 54, 2, 2009, 113-132.
- Cohen, A. 2011. "Lonrho and Oil Sanctions against Rhodesia in the 1960s." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37, 4, 715-30.
- Cross, E. G. 1981. "Economic Sanctions as a Tool of Policy against Rhodesia." *The World Economy*, 69-78.
- Daudi, M. S. and M. S. Dajani. 1983. *Economic Sanctions, Ideals and Experience*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Davidow, J. 1983. *Dealing with International Crisis: Lessons from Zimbabwe*. The Stanley Foundation.
- De Smith, S. A. 1966. "Southern Rhodesia Act 1965." *The Modern Law Review*, 29, 3, 01-6.
- Doxey, M. 1972. "International Sanctions: A framework for analysis with special reference to the UN and Southern Rhodesia." *International Organization*, 26, 3, 527-550.
- Doxey, M. 1980. *Economic Sanctions and International Enforcement*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Gann, L. H. 1972. "Rhodesia and the Prophets." *African Affairs*, 71, 283, pp. 125-43.
- Hodder-Williams, R. 1970. "White Attitudes and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence: A Case Study". *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, 8, 3, 241-264.
- Hughes, D. M. 2006. "Hydrology of Hope: Farm Dams, Conservation, and Whiteness in Zimbabwe." *American Ethnologist*, 33, 2, pp. 269 – 287.
- Irvine, A. G. 1959. *The Balance of Payments of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1945-1954*. London.
- Joyce, P. 1974. *Anatomy of a Rebel, Smith of Rhodesia: A Biography*. Salisbury, Graham Publishing.
- Klinghoffer, A. J. 1989. *Oiling the Wheels of Apartheid: Exposing South Africa's Secret Oil Trade*. Boulder, Lynne Rienner.
- Losman, D. L. 1979. *International Economic Sanctions: the case of Cuba, Israel and Rhodesia*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.
- Machingaidze, V. E. M. 1991. "Agrarian change from above: The Southern Rhodesia Native Land Husbandry Act and the African response." *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 24, 3, 557 – 588.
- Maravanyika, S. 2010. "A Failed neo-Britain: Demography and the Labour Question in colonial Zimbabwe, c. 1890 – 1948." *African Nebula*, 1, 1, 18 – 33.
- McKinnell, R. 1969. "Sanctions and the Rhodesian Economy." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 7, 4, pp. 559-81.

- Meredith, M. 1979. *The Past is Another Country: Rhodesia 1890-1979*. Norfolk, Andre Deutsch Publishers.
- Minter W. and Schmidt, E. 1988. "When Sanctions Worked: The Case of Rhodesia Reexamined." *African Affairs*, 87, 347, 207-37.
- Mothibe, T. H. 1996. "Zimbabwe: African Working Class Nationalism 1957-63." *Zambezia* 23, 2, 157-180.
- Myers, F. 2000. "Harold Macmillan's 'Winds of Change' Speech: A Case Study in the Rhetoric of Policy Change." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 3, 4, 555-575.
- Nyagumbo, M. 1980. *With the People*. Salisbury, Graham Publishing.
- Nyangoni, W. W. 1978. *African Nationalism in Zimbabwe*. Washington, D. C., University Press of America.
- Phimister, I. 1988. *The Economy and Social History of Zimbabwe 1890 – 1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*. New York, Longman.
- Preston, M. 2004. "Stalemate and the Termination of Civil War: Rhodesia Reassessed." *The Journal of Peace Research*, 41, 1, 65-83.
- Renwick, R. 1981. "Economic Sanctions." *Harvard Studies in International Affairs*, 45.
- Rosberg, C. G. 1956. "The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Problems of Democratic Government." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 306, 98-105.
- Rowe, D. M. 2004. *Manipulating the Market: Understanding Economic Sanctions, Institutional Change and the Political Unity of White Rhodesia*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
- Smith, B. 1985. "Britain and the Implementation of Oil Sanctions against Rhodesia." In S. Smith and M. Clarke (eds), *Foreign Policy Implementation*. London, George Allen and Unwin.
- Smith, I. D. 1997. *The Great Betrayal: The Memoirs of Africa's Most Controversial Leader*. London, Blake Books.
- Stedman, J. S. 1991. *Peacemaking in Civil War: International Mediation in Zimbabwe 1974-1980*. Boulder, Lynne Reiner.
- Strack, H. R. 1978. *Sanctions: the Case of Rhodesia*. Syracuse, Syracuse University Press.
- Zartman, W. I. 1983. "The Strategy of Preventive Diplomacy in Third World Conflicts". In A. George (ed), *Managing U.S.- Soviet Rivalry: Problems of Crisis Prevention*. Boulder, Westview, 341-363.

Internet Sources

- http://africanhistory.about.com/od/eraindependence/p/wind_of_change2.htm (downloaded on the 23rd of April, 2012).
- <http://africanhistory.about.com/library/timelines/blIndependenceTime.htm> (downloaded on 23 April 2012).

Mud Pies and Msasa [Tree] Leaves

Newspapers

The Rhodesia Herald, Thursday 11 November 1965.

The Rhodesia Herald, Monday 15 November 1965.

The Rhodesia Herald, Thursday 9 December 1965.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 10 December 1965.

The Rhodesia Herald, Saturday 25 December 1965.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 31 December 1965.

The Rhodesia Herald, Tuesday 4 January 1966.

The Rhodesia Herald, Thursday 27 January 1966.

The Rhodesia Herald, Tuesday 1 February 1966.

The Rhodesia Herald, Thursday 5 April 1966.

The Rhodesia Herald, Thursday 19 May 1966.

The Rhodesia Herald, Wednesday 25 May 1966.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 5 May 1967.

The Rhodesia Herald, Monday 18 March 1968.

The Rhodesia Herald, Saturday 23 March 1968.

The Rhodesia Herald, Thursday 28 March 1968.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 5 April 1968.

The Rhodesia Herald, Tuesday 17 December 1968.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 3 January 1969.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 25 July 1969.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 21 November 1969.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 23 January 1970.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 13 March 1970.

The Rhodesia Herald, Saturday 18 September 1971.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 26 January 1973.

The Rhodesia Herald, 11 March 1973.

The Rhodesia Herald, Friday 13 April 1973.

The Rhodesia Herald, Wednesday 18 July 1973.

The Rhodesia Herald, Tuesday 4 December 1973.

The Rhodesia Herald, Thursday 26 June 1975.

The Rhodesia Herald, 30 September 1976.

The Rhodesia Herald, Tuesday 19 October 1976

Religion's transformative role in African education: A Zambian perspective

Brendan P. Carmody

*Catholic Research and Catholic Development Centre. Institute of Education,
University College London*

Although religion forms part of the educational curriculum in much of sub-Saharan Africa, its nature and role tend to be greatly restricted. By way of taking the situation at the University of Zambia (UNZA) as a case study, it will be argued that the teaching of religion as more truly conceptualized, as well as a person-centred pedagogy, can make a distinctive contribution and realize some of its transformative potential. This may provide a more appropriate paradigm for much needed transformative education in the region.

Key Words: Africa, religion, transformation, education, religious studies, theology, Zambia

Introduction

In recent studies of education in sub-Saharan Africa, one finds evidence of increased access to schooling (Wohuter, 2014; Harber, 2013; Takyi-Amoaka, 2015). This is undoubtedly a positive outcome of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education For All (EFA) initiatives. It forms part of a long-standing paradigm for independent African countries of seeing the school as the road to upward social mobility and escape from poverty. What the studies also call to mind is how this form of schooling, despite attestations to the contrary, continues to be highly teacher-centred and narrowly academic, leaving little space for personal development and flourishing. In turn, this has negative consequences for the enhancement of democracy, peace, and social security, which are so much needed on the continent (Carmody, 2013, 245-263).

This is not to say that, for instance, humanities including religious education is generally excluded from the curriculum (*Guide to Higher Education*, 2013). The inclusion of religion, however, does not necessarily enhance personal development as one might expect. It often assumes a role which tends to be greatly restricted insofar as it is, mistakenly, treated somewhat academically like other subjects on the curriculum. As a result, it does not have a major impact on the overall orientation of the schooling systems and is rarely mentioned (Marshall

2010, 237-287). This may appear surprising since many of today's African schooling systems have relatively recent roots in faith-based institutions. What we find is that the preponderant educational paradigm with its modernization agenda has marginalized its study (McCowan & Unterhalter, 2015, 34-38; McGrath, 2010, 237-253; Walters, 1981, 94-106). For many Christian educators, where religion's conversion rate is phenomenal (Gifford, 2016, 85), this may not seem to be of major concern. Yet, in view of a widespread tendency of the educational systems to alienate from local roots and fail to address issues of personal well-being, it would seem to merit attention.

In the light of this ever growing tendency to concentrate upon preparing people for jobs, what follows is a study on how religion's educational role at the University of Zambia, though restricted by its location within such a paradigm, can become transformative thereby making a distinctive contribution. It will be argued that if religious education were to be more person-centred, it would provide a more satisfactory model not only for religious education but also for education more generally in sub-Saharan Africa.

Context

The University of Zambia opened in 1966, largely as a state university. Unlike other universities in Africa, it had no special arrangement with universities elsewhere but, as a new institution at this level, it clearly needed recognition within the academic world (Altbach & Kelly, 1978; Carmody, 2004, 171). This did not mean exclusion of religion. Various churches provided services on campus which eventually led to the formation of an inter-church chaplaincy centre in 1987. Moreover, from 1976, it offered courses for primary teacher college lecturers who, among other things, were intending to specialize in religion. Progressively, a need for religious education teachers in secondary school emerged and so, as a response to this situation, the university explored the possibility of including religion in its curriculum. It eventually concluded that a Religious Studies department could be set up, whose main role would be to educate senior level secondary teachers in religion. This was also seen to contribute a distinctive dimension to university education (Carmody, 2008, 25).

Subsequently, in 1985, courses on religion were offered which led, in 1990, to the formation of a programme to provide the study of religion as a minor part of a B.Ed. degree programme. What was offered was identified as Religious Studies, not Theology. This meant that the study of religion would be primarily academic and non-denominational, in part to avoid religious sectarianism as well as to make it educationally acceptable. It presumed methodological neutralism so that the study of religion would not unduly favour any group of students by

endorsing their particular position. Such detachment would not explicitly affirm that any particular religious claim was truer than any other. It could, perhaps, be seen to be a form of methodological agnosticism or secularism, which fails to develop a critical distance insofar as it is non-personal to evaluate the framework that pervades all subjects and so, in a negative sense, could be said to imprison humanity within the walls of rationalist dogmatism (Giddy 2011, 528).

Religion in Zambian Education

This mode of presenting religion in the curriculum is distinguished from theological study. A theological approach would mean that a neutral 'outsider' acceptance of different religious positions is complemented by an 'insider' critical assessment of different religious claims to truth (Lonergan, 1973, 267; Jacobsen & Jacobsen, 2012, 5).

Over the years, the Religious Studies programme evolved within this framework of not evaluating truth claims of different forms of religion, largely because it was feared that this would be unwise in a country where there had been much religious rivalry, as well as a major religious breakaway movement (Van Binsbergen, 1981, 266-316). Clearly, opting for Religious Studies proved to be a way forward, but it will be contended that it is severely restricted in terms of properly appreciating the nature of religion and its role, both in making a distinctive contribution to university education and to the life of the national community. It might also be highly suspect, educationally, if appreciative criticism is one of the major aims of education (Noddings, 1997, 250; Nord, 1995, 235-237).

Having religion as part of the curriculum is nonetheless a major achievement and has undoubtedly been valuable in the context of preparing many teachers of religion for secondary school. Moreover, it contributed towards the provision of a more comprehensive curriculum at the higher level, in the sense that it includes some form of religion, which helps avoid the accusation of malpractice, as education without religion is sometimes seen to be, for instance, in the United States and France (Noddings, 2005, 250; Reiss & White, 2013, 18). If education fails to deal with some of the basic questions that human beings ask, one wonders what education means.

In discussing religion as an area of study in the curriculum, it is noted that the nature of religion presented in Religious Studies at UNZA resembles what has been termed 'learning about' religion. For instance, courses at undergraduate and graduate levels speak in terms of 'knowledge of', 'understanding about', 'description of', with almost no reference to personal development. (Grimmitt, 1987, 141,166; Courses offered at UNZA). By this is meant achieving basic

religious literacy which provides information on the beliefs and practices of some of the major religions of the world. It is true that this may be more than factual, insofar as it has included some elements of phenomenology (Carmody, 2008, 28; Jackson, 1997, 7-29). Yet, the programme is primarily descriptive with few attempts to be evaluative (Carmody, 2008, 29-30). As a subject like any other, it shares the larger horizon of Zambian education with what might be called its third person stance (Riordan, 2013, 24; Hyde, 2013, 36-45; Taylor, 1989, 162).

In this respect, it has been alleged that much of Zambia's educational system has become textbook centred and oriented toward passing examinations (*Empowerment through education* 2004, para 41-42; *Education: A Catholic Perspective* 2009, para 4; Mudalitsa, 2016, 67). In acknowledging this, the Ministry of Education's policy document *Educating Our Future* (1996) set out to change schooling by making it more educational. Like its earlier document, *Focus on Learning* (1992), it called for pupils to become more critical, assertive, creative, and responsible (*Focus on Learning* 1992, 1; *Educating our Future* 1996, 29, 91). This double focus upon examinations on the one hand and personal formation on the other remains ambiguous (*The Zambia Education Curriculum Framework* 2012, x, 15, 17).

In speaking of the nature of Zambia's schooling today, it may be of value to look at the present situation in light of its historical evolution. In the aftermath of Independence in 1964, with a tiny literate population and a severely limited number of trained personnel, the new government pursued a policy of what has been termed modernization as the way to national development. This meant that education came to be seen primarily as an investment in human capital and adopted a heavily science-based curriculum (Carmody, 2016b, 63; Goma, 1999, 130-131). It led to the emergence of a fundamental disjunction between natural science and humanistic study. Although this way of proceeding educationally within a modernization framework of development was later questioned, it continues to provide what might be called the main paradigm of learning in Zambia, as elsewhere in Africa (Samoff, 2013, 55-87; Piper, 2007, 106-107; *Rethinking Education* 2015, 37).

Undoubtedly, this mode of educating over the past fifty or so years has greatly contributed to national development, seen largely in economic terms. Yet, its limitations in becoming ever more focused on 'academic' outcomes, has progressively distanced itself from local need including that of enhancing democracy (Mwalimu, 2014, 1091-1108; Goma, 1999, 130-131; Kasanda & Chinsebu, 2009, 263-292; Survey 2013). This has been described as a process of decontextualization where, in a sense, the learner is extracted from everyday life finding him/herself in a detached mode of reflection leaving him/her

somewhat isolated and unmoored (Serpell, 2007, 23-51; Bryk, 1988, 256). Such education has little connection with the concerns of learners' lives. Most learners, as Serpell puts it, originate from families where literacy in English is restricted so that ownership of the literate culture of school may be greatly limited, and so mastery of the technical forms of socialization may not equip them with a sense of being an insider to this world (Serpell, 2007, 28). An outcome of such desiccation is reflected thus:

Understanding little about their past, many Zambians have an uneasy sense of homelessness and rootlessness. Several seem unable to reconcile traditional values and approaches with the imperatives of urban living, though to a great extent their mode of responding to social, cultural and economic situations is dominated by a traditional outlook. Rapid urbanization has also hastened the demise of many customs and traditions. This is a loss which schools have done little to prevent. (Focus on Learning 1992, 32).

By identifying what seems to be a significant blemish in the educational system, namely, an absence of a personal dimension, one might ask what, if any, role the study of religion could assume in developing the kind of learning that would promote a sense of being rooted?

Presenting religion in a preponderantly academic and non-denominational generic way in the tradition of the European Enlightenment, as Religious Studies has tended to do, is of restricted value because of its impersonal nature. In part, this results from the limited educational framework linked to modernization theory in which it was introduced. Instead, religious education should engage learners, touch their lives, and encourage them to think for themselves about religious traditions and the role of religion in their own lives (Wright, 2007, 200).

Despite the university's original desire that religion should make a truly distinctive contribution, it did not seem to have this kind of humanitarian perspective clearly articulated. It was not explicitly concerned about enabling learners to make sense of their lives, which more recently has been seen as something which the study of religion might provide in terms of spirituality (Carmody, 2008, 30-31; Nash, 2005, 93-95, 98). At the outset, it did not envisage the study of religion's distinctiveness in such a way. Insofar as the study of religion at the university was envisaged to be a subject like any other, it was seen primarily to be a specific form of knowledge enveloped within the modernization framework (Smart, 1968, 90-106; Wright, 2004, 165-174). It failed to recognize that the study of religion has potential for a fundamentally distinct kind of learning that humanises lives and contributes to the common good where, among other things, religion is seen to be intrinsically personal, entailing an inevitable subjectivity informing a way of life (Lonergan, 1973, 115-124; Bellah, 1965, 73-87; Wright, 2005, 25-28).

What is Religion?

By considering the nature of religion and religious literacy more widely, in terms of a way of life rather than within the secularisation context in preparing for examinations, we need to keep in view that there are different kinds of literacy (*Education for All* 2004, 126-133; Jackson, 2016:14). We have functional literacy, where we learn the basics of a subject, which is often taken as paradigmatic in development programmes. It is largely informational and constitutes a crucial aspect of formal education. There is also critical literacy, which is often associated with impersonal critique. Moreover, we have the kind of literacy that is self-critical, leading to self-knowledge (Freire, 2012; Bailin & Siegel, 2003, 181-193; Noddings, 2016, 83-102).

In the study of religion at the University of Zambia, the form of religious literacy fits into that of basic information about religion edging towards impersonal critique but, for reasons already indicated, it avoids evaluation of personal truth claims (Mujdrlica, 2004, 102-103; Carmody, 2008, 29-30). Such abstract learning appears to characterise education not only at UNZA and in Zambia but more generally (Bryk, 1988, 278; Noddings, 2005, 49). Self-knowledge no longer features prominently because the literacy which science-based learning promotes in terms of scientific theory and critique of it, tends to marginalize, if not ignore, personal knowledge which becomes narrow and confessional to the point where the two forms of knowledge become almost incommensurable (Noddings, 2016, 137; McGrath, 2011, 44). Education supports the views of people such as Dawkins, Hawkins and Dennett who view science, as if reality can only be reduced to their limited speciality. Such an approach has serious consequences, among which is the fact that the study of religion, in the way in which we are proposing, is off the map (Buckley, 1987, 359; Gallagher, 2010, 65; Giddy, 2011, 528).

Yet, if religion is to be understood as a way of life rather than as a form of knowledge, self-critical literacy is required. In this regard, Michael Grimmitt speaks of 'learning from religion':

...when I speak of pupils learning from religion I am referring to what pupils learn from their studies of religion about themselves—about discerning ultimate questions and 'signals of transcendence' in their own experience and considering how they respond to them, about discerning core values and learning to interpret them, about recognizing the shaping influence of their own beliefs and values and making faith responses, about the possibility of their being able to discern a spiritual dimension in their own experience, about the need for them to take responsibility for their own decision-making, especially in matters of personal belief and conduct (Grimmitt, 1987, 225).

Thus, for instance, when learning about the Muslim call to prayer five times a day, a Catholic student can be challenged to be more mindful of God throughout his/her day, or of the value of duty from the Bhagavad-Gita when studying Hinduism (Warnick, 2012, 422). While religious education needs a 'learning about' framework, it also needs more. The learner needs to go deeper and, as it were, go behind the words so that, as Grimmitt notes, when learners read about ultimate questions:

...their taken for granted meaning can be problematized so that their attention is turned to what they know and what they don't know, on what they believe and what they don't believe, what they value and don't value. In that way such ultimate questions can be consciousness expanding causing them to reflect on why they see things as they do and encourage them to see their understanding against other ways of understanding (Grimmitt, 1987, 140).

The learner is thus encouraged to examine the conceptualization of his/her worldview, focusing upon the underlying reality of his/her self from which it is framed, that is to say, its source, namely the wonder he/she shares with humanity (Lonergan, 1973, 101; Carmody, 1988, 57-72). It forms part of the realm where we are alone with our mortality, seeking reason to believe that there truly is more to life than we ever imagined (Nash, 2005, 99). When "learning from religion" is operative, the emphasis is less upon absorbing the religious tradition passively, as perhaps characterised religious education in the past (Groome, 2014, 119). As then conceptualised theologically, the religious expression was largely normative, embedded in what Bernard Lonergan called classical culture where a historically conditioned moment was taken to be normative (Giddy, 2011, 530-531; Lonergan, 1973, 103; Gelpi, 1997, 58). This clearly had major implications for how forms of religion were seen to be valid or not (Hastings, 1994, 590; Hinfelaar, 2004, 80; McGrath, 2011, 44). Recent history of religious education in England and elsewhere illustrates how such cultural envelopment of religion remains a problem, making it difficult to move beyond confessionalism, or beyond what James Fowler would identify as the implicit, tacit, conventional awareness which characterises his stage three (Fowler, 1981, 151-173). Breaking away, becoming disembedded, entails risk and the loss of support that provided security. This also has serious implications for the teacher (Groome, 1981, 484-485; Jackson, 2016:14).

Epistemologically, "learning from religion" should enable the learner not simply to assimilate the tradition, but to interpret it and make it his/her own. In so doing, there is need to include both the authenticity of the learner, as well as the integrity of the tradition (Bonnett & Cuypers, 2003, 326-340; Barnes, 2014, 201). Achieving such understanding of religion, where the subject and

his/her tradition are properly acknowledged, demands the kind of approach which the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, advocated when he spoke of moving from education as “banking”, to when it is “problem-posing” (Freire, 2012, 71-86; Groome, 1981, 490). For him, the “problem-posing” approach focused heavily not only on the content of a tradition to be mastered but on how the learner related to his/her tradition. However, by over-emphasising the learner’s perspective he was aware of the danger of missing reality. As a result, he rightly acknowledged that true learning entails what he termed a historical aspect where the concerns of people’s lives are included (Freire, 1985, 298-306).

From the perspective of religious education, North American educator, Thomas Groome, translated Freire’s approach, stressing the need not only to make the student ready to interpret a religious tradition but at the same time to ensure that he/she should address that tradition objectively (Groome, 2006, 763-777). This entails moving beyond the objectivity of the “banking” tradition which, as we indicated, is strongly embedded in education historically. At the same time, it has to beware of being overly subjective. Rather, it entails something like what Hella and Wright, as well as Groome, had in mind when they noted the need to bring ‘learning about’ and ‘learning from’ together (Hella & Wright, 2009, 53-64; Grimmitt, 2010, 286). In brief, proper encounter with a religious tradition demands the kind of self-knowledge where subject and object are properly distinguished as well as a method which enables this to emerge.

Method for the study of religion

This subject-object relationship needs to be seen in our present-day context which is significantly influenced by different worldviews on knowledge. One emanates from natural science and, as already noted, tends to be paradigmatic in much contemporary education. This can lead to internal conflict, even apparent incommensurability, when insufficient attention is given to how this form of knowing relates to personal knowledge. What emerges is the kind of abstract, alien, decontextualised, uprootedness which the Zambian school is deemed not to address (*Focus on Learning* 1992, 32). Such learning could be said to fail to enhance the welfare of the person which ought to be pivotal to education (*Rethinking Education*, 36, 38).

This clash of horizon is partly evident in *Focus on Learning* and *Educating Our Future* and subsequent documents where on the one hand there is emphasis upon preparing for the world of work, while also noting the need for education to prepare people for life (*Focus on Learning* 1992, 1, 32; *Educating Our Future* 1996, 1-2). We find that the latest document speaks of education being guided by democratic principles and its concern to develop well-rounded complete persons,

while in the same breath it emphasises technical competence and enhancement of entrepreneurial skills (*Zambia Education Curriculum Framework* 2012, 1-3, 14, 17-19). With recognition of this duality in knowledge, there is an attempt to bring them together. We thus see different career paths being envisaged under one school roof. What is not clear is how the proposed integration is to take shape particularly if, for example, religion and local languages are assigned marginal locations especially at the senior level (*Zambia Education Curriculum Framework*, 40). It seems as if we are still within the modernisation horizon and its paradigmatic curriculum which, as we have noted, tends to exclude, or at least marginalise, what should be pivotal, such as in this instance traditional values and worldview to holistic education (Noddings, 2003, 87). As such, the rootlessness about which we spoke earlier appears destined to remain.

On a more general level, psychologically, this internal tension between knowledge as transmitted and as discovered is mapped by William Perry as he traces the intellectual development of college students (Perry, 1970). For Perry, the movement from feeling sure about one's knowledge to where the learner finds him/herself in a relativist position represents a kind of "in between" period, which engenders what he identifies as a shift from belief to faith. This entails a movement from the apparent security of external authority to questioning it and coming to assume personal responsibility for one's commitments and lifestyle (Perry, 1970, 86ff). It might be said that we are concerned with the solitariness of disconnection from one's immediate surroundings for a moment in order to reconnect more widely. It is where the person discovers for him/herself that it is up him/her to decide what to make of him/herself (Lonergan, 1988a, 223, 1988b, 243-244). This clearly is no easy task especially in a world where, faced with a huge range of choices, individuals can be overwhelmed, thus needing a framework to help them to critically assess options (Jacobsen & Jacobsen, 2012, 140). Sooner or later, as Wright sees it, our understanding of reality needs an ontological foundation when exploration ceases and we simply say this is how things are and this is the way we must live (Wright, 2004, 168; Groome, 2011, 9). Otherwise, we have the learner standing beside Sisyphus (Camus's embodiment of the human predicament in the myth of Sisyphus), gazing in dismay at the rock of reason. Turned on itself and rolled once more to the foot of the mountain, in wonder and terror, he sees Sisyphus' wry smile bespeaking his awareness that he must resume the quest for certainty of meaning, a labour that forever ends in the same defeat (Perry, 1984, 90).

Such repositioning of knowledge from "out there" to within oneself entails what Giddy calls dialectic, and resembles what Fowler terms dialogue (Giddy, 2011, 532; Fowler, 1981, 185). For Giddy, this means confronting in oneself the question of what constitutes true knowledge. Is knowledge of the real world arrived at through the senses alone, as in the case of natural science, or does

it also have a deeper basis in consciousness? Is it legitimate to withhold belief in anything that goes beyond the actual and observable? It might, for instance, be asked whether the cause of my friend's death is a virus or witchcraft, when the distinction between the phenomenon and metaphysics is confused? (Yamba, 1997, 200-223; Gifford, 2016, 105, 107-124, 153). Where knowledge is perceived to include such ambivalence, how does the learner know what is true? What mode of verification is needed?

In the case of natural science, it is a question of reflecting on the data of sense, moving through understanding of them with images and hypotheses, and eventually making a judgement on the hypothesis that most accords with reason (Giddy, 2011, 534-535). When it comes to data of consciousness, one cannot look at one's feelings, thoughts, or judgements as one would observe an object in the laboratory. There is need for another means of verifying knowledge of this kind. How is this to be done? Using the method of natural science as philosophers such as David Hume did seems, as intimated, mistaken insofar as data of sense and data of consciousness are fundamentally different, while the approach of rationalists such as Immanuel Kant similarly fails to recognize the nature of knowing (Lonergan, 1974a, 69-86). Recognizing the nature of knowledge, including the radical difference between its forms, entails thematising the contents of consciousness or, in Bellah's terms, second order thinking (Bellah, 2011, 275). The question, however, remains: how is this to be done?

For Giddy (2011, 531) speaking from a critical realist perspective, this is not so difficult. He claims that it means nothing more than starting with our self-awareness and moving towards self-knowledge, arriving at such through the process of:

(1) Experiencing one's experiencing, understanding, judging, and deciding, (2) understanding the unity and relations of one's experienced experiencing, understanding, judging, deciding, (3) affirming the reality of one's experienced and understood experiencing, understanding, judging, deciding, and (4) deciding to operate in accord with the norms immanent in the spontaneous relatedness of one's experienced, understood, affirmed, experiencing, understanding, judging, and deciding (Lonergan, 1973, 14-15).

Put somewhat differently, it is not unlike what takes place in psychotherapy when a feeling is identified and understood in different ways, and then judged in terms of which understanding makes greatest sense (Lonergan, 1974a, 269).

Although this process may not appear to be difficult, insofar as we are not dealing with some distant planet of which we have no direct experience, this is not the whole story. It demands that the subject focuses on his/her presence to self in thematising it. We are not concerned here with extra reading or listening

to lectures. It is somewhat like learning to drive a car—the emphasis is upon practice, not theory. We have to be highly conscious of the trap, as it were, of reading music criticism without having heard the music, or looking at a stained glass window from outside. In becoming aware of our experiences, we come to realize that they vary significantly. Looking at a tree is quite different from trying to find the answer to a crossword puzzle, which entails racking one’s brains and suddenly discovering the solution. In the process of self-discovery, we are engaged in understanding these and other diverse experiences. The concern is with what is going on within our consciousness when we do such. Though this may appear straightforward, such self-reflection is difficult, even described as “high daring” (Jaspers, 1953, 132). Making explicit what is already operative in one’s consciousness is not an easy matter.

As we attain some measure of self-knowledge in this way, which of course is pivotal to education (Noddings, 2006, 10), how does the learner know its truth or falsity? We all know how easy it is to be deluded. Determining truth or falsity follows a similar procedure to that used in natural science, insofar as both forms of knowledge rely on judgement on the basis of the most convincing reasons. Like knowledge of natural science, personal knowledge, too, is fallible. Despite this, we can lay claim to relatively secure knowledge of what is real (Wright, 2007, 8). This happens when the learner recognizes that, though whatever knowledge he/she holds is provisional, the process of arriving at such operative, implicit knowledge is not open to revision. By focusing on the process, one arrives at a normative position where he/she has a rooted epistemological foundation; this is because contradiction arises when one uses the process to deny it (Lonergan, 1957, ch.11: Lonergan, 1973, 19; Gelpi, 1994, 111-117). Method shifts from being something “out there” to being within one’s self. The locus of truth is within (Carmody, 2010, 46; Taylor, 1989, 130-132).

Such realization and its attendant capacity of self-affirmation emerges from acknowledging that one is undoubtedly a knower. This is of the highest significance when the learner approaches a decision about what worldview (religious or other) to adopt, which is of major import if one is educating for life (Reiss & White, 2013, 6,14). In teaching religion, options should be clearly identified as good education should do (White, 2009, 430). Though selection of such can give rise to the accusation of arbitrary restriction and indoctrination, presenting all options would almost surely be impossible (Reiss & White, 2013, 15). Choice of worldview, however, is located more deeply. It entails one’s fundamental option resembling a vertical rather than a horizontal exercise of freedom (Lonergan, 1973, 237, 267-269; Warnick, 2012, 411-426). Sen spoke of

it as substantive freedom, enhancing the person's capacity to live life in terms of what he/she has reason to value (Sen, 1999, 14-15, 36, 292-297).

Option at this more basic level, though fallible, does not exclude being presented with the kind of alternatives we have noted but presupposes a more fundamental choice of horizon (Allen, 2016, 451-460). With such rootedness, the learner should be enabled to discern rationally a religious or non-religious perspective, keeping in view the need to be temperamentally attuned (White, 2009, 431; Gallagher, 2010,21). What is pivotal is not the conceptualisation of religion, but the underlying process from which such articulation has been made. This is the task of theology, or its equivalent, which starts not from scripture or doctrines, but from the religious experience that is the source of such (Lonergan, 1973, 105-107; Grimmitt, 1987, 180-182; Cush, 1999, 144).

How does what has been described relate to Religious Studies as currently presented at UNZA? Insofar as Religious Studies assumes a phenomenological approach to religious experience, there is some concord but what is being proposed goes further. It entails not only accurate description of fundamental options, but evaluation of what is described in the light of the learner's own religious or non-religious perspective. In that sense it moves towards theology, or its equivalent, thereby creating a more dynamic and interactive relationship between Religious Studies and Religious Education.

Pedagogically, this means helping the learner to identify his/her religious or spiritual experience (Carmody, 2015, 506-513). It would, for instance, entail not only juxtaposing traditional African experience with other forms of religious expression, as is currently the case, but should also enable the learner to take a personally evaluative stance toward such experiences and so be able to choose his/her own religious or non-religious framework responsibly and freely. In doing this the teacher points the way towards, but refrains from, dictating a choice; he/she does not tell the student what to think, but to think (Brighouse, 2000, xx,1; Noddings, 2003, 88). The learner's choice ideally emerges not solely from a rationality of academic logic, which may be much too superficial, but also from the reasons of the heart (Lonergan, 1973, 115, 268).

We have been concerned to argue that in order to educate religiously, the Religious Studies department of UNZA needs to engage its students more existentially, so that the themes of their lives and what they already know from them are included. Doing this will require the development of a higher degree of religious literacy, normally the domain of theology, or its equivalent. It entails an extended focus upon method in the initial stage of any programme - perhaps a

course unto itself - but it should colour each religion course that is offered. This will demand special skill from the teacher who would have to be familiar with the kind of self-reflection which we have sketched.

The value of what is being proposed is that the student ought to gain the capacity to approach different forms of religion intelligently and responsibly. Moreover, at the institutional level, it would enable the Religious Studies department to evaluate not only Religious Studies programmes but those engaged with theology, or its equivalent.

Education for life

Extending this discussion, it could be argued that UNZA education more generally would be greatly enhanced by becoming more personal in the case of understanding education in religion. It has been noted how education in Zambia, of which UNZA is an integral part, tends to leave learners psychologically and culturally rootless, but gives little assistance on how to assume responsibility for the integration of their lives. This could be described as education from the neck up. Even though it has been indicated that this is not peculiar to Zambia, or to Africa, it is especially unsatisfactory here because it poorly equips learners to contribute to democracy, justice, and peace on a continent which has been so troubled by violation of rights, injustice, and war over the past fifty years (Waghid, 2014, 55, 66; Hyden, 2006, 18-19; Meredith, 2014, 596-624).

Conclusion

What has been argued here is that Religious Studies as currently delivered at the University of Zambia was introduced and has remained a subject like any other. This has had the advantages of acquiring a respectable academic status in the overall university curriculum, but it greatly limits its capacity to understand religion properly, or to make a distinctive educational contribution. It has been proposed that its study of religion needs to become more personally engaging, along the lines of theology. This calls for a new, reflexive pedagogical approach, focusing on the learner, whereby he/she becomes better aware of his/her interiority.

Moreover, it has also been indicated that such an approach to religious education could provide a model for other subjects to adopt and so move beyond their limited 'academic' perspective, opening the way to the greater possibility of personal integration by the student of what is learned. This should in turn lead

to the formation of a community - rather than an association - of students and scholars who are better enabled to communicate with each other and society (Carmody, 2015, 509). This would offer the kind of education that is holistic and help the institution to claim its character as a university. More generally, this should give greater promise for what we took to be a major reason for reviewing the role of religion in education, namely, the formation and maintenance of more meaningful democracy, resulting in peace which, in any context is valuable, but even more precious in contexts where such political stability and social justice remain fragile (Gifford, 2016, 154).

We have been concerned to point out by way of taking the example of the teaching of Religious Studies at the University of Zambia that, while having religion in the curriculum is indeed valuable, there is need to explore the nature of such religion along the lines outlined in this study if it is to be a source of self-transformation.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Professor Thomas Groome of Boston College who helped greatly with his suggestions on an earlier draft.

References

- Allen, J. 2016. "Bernard Lonergan's Critique of Knowing as Taking a Look". *Heythrop Journal* LVII, 3, 451-460.
- Altbach, P. & G. Kelly, 1978. *Education and Colonialism*. New York: Longman.
- Bailin, S. & H. Siegel. 2003. "Critical Thinking." In N. Blake et al. *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of Education*. Oxford: Blackwell, 181-193.
- Barnes, L.P. 2014. *Education, Religion and Diversity: developing a new mode of religious education*. London: Routledge.
- Bellah, R. 2011. *Religion in Human Evolution*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Harvard University Press.
- Bellah, R. 1965. "Religious Evolution." In W. Lessa & E. Vogt, *Reader in Comparative Religion: An anthropological approach*. New York: Harper & Row, 73-87.
- Bonnett, M. & S. Cuypers. 2003. Autonomy and Authenticity in Education. "In P. Blake et al, eds. *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of Education*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003, 326-340.
- Bryk, A.S. 1988. "Musings on the Moral Life of Schools." *American Journal of Education* 96, 256-290.
- Brighouse, H. 2000. *School Choice and Social Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buckley, M.J. 1987. *At the Origins of Modern Atheism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Carmody, B. 2016. "The Catholic School in Zambia, 1964 - 2014: Recovering its Mission." *Journal of Church and State* 58, 1, 57-79.
- Carmody, B. 2015. "Lonergan and Interreligious Education." *Religious Education* 110, 5, 500-516.
- Carmody, B. 2013. "Catholic Conversion and School in Africa Today." *Journal of Church & State* 55, 2, 245-263.
- Carmody, B. 2010. "Interreligious education and the question of truth." In K. Engrebretson et al, eds. *International Handbook of Interreligious Education*. London: Springer.
- Carmody, B. 2008 "The nature and role of religious studies at the University of Zambia: 1985-2005." *British Journal of Religious Education* 30, 1, 25-35.
- Carmody, B. 2004. *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*. Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers.
- Carmody, B. 2003. "Religious Education and Pluralism in Zambia." *Religious Education* 98, 2, 140-154.
- Carmody, D. L. 1988. "The Desire for Transcendence: religious conversion." In V. Gregson, ed. *The Desires of the Heart*. New York: Paulist Press, 57-72.
- Courses at undergraduate and graduate levels: See: School of Education, Religious Studies Department—course descriptions.
- Cush, D. 1999. "The relationship between Religious Studies, Religious Education and Theology: Big Brother, Little Sister and Clerical Uncle." *British Journal of Religious Education* 21, 3, 137-146.
- Education for All: The Quality Imperative*. 2004. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.
- Educating Our Future* 1996. Lusaka: Ministry of Education.
- Empowerment through Education: A Pastoral Letter from the Bishops of Zambia on Education*. 2004. Lusaka: Catholic Secretariat.
- Education: A Catholic Perspective: A Pastoral Letter from the Catholic Bishops of Zambia* 2009. Lusaka: Catholic Secretariat.
- Focus on Learning* 1992. Ministry of Education, Lusaka.
- Fowler, J. *Stages of Faith* 1981. San Francisco: Harper & Row.
- Freire, P. 2012. *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Freire, P. 1985. *The Politics of Education*. New York: Bergin & Garvey.
- Gallagher, M.P. 2010. *Faith Maps*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd.
- Gelpi, D. 1994. *The turn to experience in contemporary theology*. New York: Paulist Press.
- Gelpi, D. 1997. "Creating the Human: Theological Foundations for a Christian Humanistic Education." *Horizons* 24,1, 50-72.
- Giddy, P. 2011. "Why Theology Can and Should be Taught at Secular Universities: Lonergan on Intellectual Conversion." *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 45,3, 527-543.
- Gifford, P. 2016. *Christianity, Development and Modernity in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goma, L.H.K. 1999. "Role of the University in National Development." In M. J. Kelly, *The Origins and Development of Education in Zambia*. Lusaka: Image Publications, 130-131.

- Grimmitt, M. ed. 2010. *Religious Education and Social and Community Cohesion*. Great Wakering, Essex: McCrimmon Publishing Co.
- Grimmitt, M. 1987. *Religious Education and Human Development*. Great Wakering, Essex: McCrimmon Publishing Co.
- Groome, T. 2014. "Catholic education: from and for faith." *International Studies in Catholic Education* 6, 2, 113-127.
- Groome, T.H. 1981. "Conversion, Nurture and Educators." *Religious Education* 76, 5.
- Groome, T.H. 1991. *Sharing Faith*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Groome, T.H. 2006. "A Shared Praxis Approach to Religious Education." In M. de Souza et al, eds. *International Handbook of Moral, Religious and Spiritual Dimensions of Education*. Dordrecht: Springer, 763-777.
- Groome, T.H. 2011. *Will there be Faith*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Guide to Higher Education in Africa 2013*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Harber, C. ed. 2013. *Education in Southern Africa*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Harber, C. 2016. "Education and Political Development: Contradictions and tensions in relationships between education, democracy, peace and violence." In S. McGrath & Q. Gu, eds. *Routledge Handbook of International Education and Development*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 37-49.
- Hastings, A. 1994. *The Church in Africa: 1450-1950*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Hella, E. & A. Wright, 2009. "Learning 'about' and 'from' religion: phenomenology, the variation theory of learning and religion in education in Finland and the U.K." *British Journal of Religious Education* 31,1, 53-64.
- Hinfelaar, H. 2004. *History of the Catholic Church in Zambia: 1895-1995*. Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers.
- Hyde, B. 2013. "A Category Mistake: Why Contemporary Australian Religious Education in Catholic Schools may be doomed to failure." *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 34,1, 36-45.
- Hyden, G. 2006. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jackson, R. 2016. *Inclusive study of religions and world views in schools: Signposts from the Council of Europe*. Strasburg: Council of Europe.
- Jackson, R. 1997. *Religious Education: An Interpretive approach*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Jacobsen, D. & R. H. Jacobsen, 2012. *No Longer Visible: Religion in University Education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jaspers, K. 2011. *The Origin and Goal of History*. London: Routledge.
- Kasanda, C.D. & K.C. Chinsembu. 2009. "Challenges facing science in Higher Education and Research Institutions in Africa." In K.K. Menda & G.N. Muukja, eds. *The Challenge of Change in Africa's Higher Education in the 21st Century*. Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 263-292.
- Loneragan, B. 1973. *Method in Theology*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd.
- Loneragan, B. 1988a. "Existenz and Aggiornamento." In F. Crowe & R. Doran, *Collected Works of Bernard Lonergan Vol.4*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 222-232.
- Loneragan, B. 1988b. "Dimensions of Meaning," in Crowe & Doran, *Collected Works*, Vol.4.

- Loneragan, B. 1974a. "The Subject." In W. J. F. Ryan & B. Tyrrell, eds. *A Second Collection*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 69-86.
- Loneragan, B. (1974b) "Insight Revisited," in W.F.J. Ryan & B.J. Tyrrell, eds. *A Second Collection*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 263-278.
- Mac Mullen, I. 2007. *Faith Schools? Autonomy, Citizenship and Religious Education in the Liberal State*. Princeton: Princeton Publishers.
- Marshall, K. 2010. "Education for All: Where does religion come in?" *Comparative Education* 46,3, 273-287.
- McCowan, T.&E. Unterhalter, eds. 2015. *Education and International Development: An Introduction*. London: Bloomsbury.
- McGrath, A. 2011. *Why God won't go away* (London: SPCK).
- McGrath, S.W. 2010. "The role of education in development: an educationalist's response to some recent work in development economics." *Comparative Education* 46,2, 237-253
- Meredith, M. 2014. *The Fortunes of Africa: A 5000 Year History of Wealth, Greed, and Endeavour*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Moore, D.L. 2014. "Overcoming Religious Illiteracy: Expanding the boundaries of Religious Education." *Religious Education* 109,4, 379-389.
- Mudalitsa, J.Y. 2016. *RE is Great*. Ndola: Mission Press.
- Mujdrlica, J. 2004. "Towards a More Relevant Religious Education for Zambia." In B. Carmody, ed. *Religion and Education in Zambia*. Ndola: Mission Press, 2004, 98-107.
- Mwalimu, M. 2014. "Education and the Economy: achievements and shortfalls in Independent Zambia, 1964 - 2014." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40,5, 1091-1108.
- Nash, R.J. 2005. "A Letter to Secondary Teachers: Teaching about Religious Pluralism in the Public Schools." In N. Noddings. *Educating Citizens for Global Awareness*. New York: Columbia University Press, 93-106.
- Noddings, N. 2016. *Philosophy of Education*. Boulder CO: Westview Press.
- Noddings, N. 2005. *The Challenge to Care in Schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Noddings, N. 2006. *Critical Lessons: what our schools should teach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Noddings, N. 2003. *Happiness and Education*. Cambridge, MS: Cambridge University Press.
- Noddings, N. 1997. "Dialogue between Believers and Unbelievers." *Religious Education* 92,2, 245-253.
- Nord, W.A. 1995. *Religion & American Education*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press.
- Nzekwu, O. 1962. *Blade among the Boys*. London: Heinemann.
- Perry, W.J. 1970. *Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development In the College Years: A Scheme*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Perry, W. J. 1984. "Cognitive and Ethical Growth: The Making of Meaning." In A. W. Chikering. *The Modern American College*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Religion's transformative role in African education: A Zambian perspective

- Piper, B. 2007. "Editor's Review." *Harvard Educational Review* 77, 1, 106-107
- Reiss, M.J. & J. White, 2013. *An Aims-based Curriculum: The significance of human flourishing for schools*. London: Institute of Education Press.
- Rethinking Education: towards a global common good?* 2015. Paris: UNESCO.
- Riordan, P. 2013. "The Crisis of the University Today." *Milltown Studies* 72, 5-29.
- Samoff, J. 2013. "Institutionalizing International Influence." In R.A Arnove, C.A. Torres, S. Franz, *Comparative Education*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 55-87.
- Sen, A. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. Oxford University Press.
- Serpell, R. 2007. "Building Bridges between Orthodox Western Higher Educational Practices and an African Socio-cultural Context." *Comparative Education* 43,1, 23-51.
- Smart, N. 1968. *Secular Education & the Logic of Religion*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Survey of Religion teachers at various colleges of Education by the author (August 3, 2013) where 10 out of 13 lecturers explicitly felt that this was true in the area of religious education.
- Takyi-Amoaka, E.J. ed. 2015. *Education in West Africa*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Taylor, C. 1989. *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Van Binsbergen, W. 1981. *Religious Change in Zambia*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Waghid, Y. 2014. *African Philosophy of Education Reconsidered: On being Human*. Abingdon Oxon & New York: Routledge.
- Walters, P.B. 1981. "Educational Change and National Development." *Harvard Educational Review* 51, 2, 94-106.
- Warnick, B.R. 2012. "Rethinking Education for Autonomy in Pluralistic Societies." *Educational Theory* 62, 4, 411-426.
- White, J. 2009. "Education and a meaningful life." *Oxford Review of Education* 35,4, 423-435.
- Wolhuter, C. ed. 2014. *Education in East and Central Africa*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Wright, A. 2004. "The justification of compulsory religious education: a response to Professor White." *British Journal of Religious Education* 26,2, 165-174.
- Wright, A. 2007. *Critical Religious Education, multiculturalism and the pursuit of truth*. Cardiff: University of Wales.
- Wright, A. 2005. "On the intrinsic value of religious education." *British Journal of Religious Education* 27,1, 25-28;
- Yamba, C. 1997. "Cosmologies in Turmoil: Witchcraft and AIDS in Chiawa, Zambia." *Africa* 67, 2, 200-223.
- Zambia Education Curriculum Framework 2012*. Lusaka: Curriculum Development Centre.

Accounting for the shift towards 'Multifaith' Religious Education in Zambia, 1964 -2017

Nelly Mwale, Joseph C. Chita and Austin M. Cheyeka
University of Zambia

This article sheds light on the factors that contributed to the development of 'multifaith' Religious Education (RE) in Zambia after 1964. Our analysis makes a contribution to the discourse on inter-religious RE in Zambia by demonstrating how Zambia became a multifaith society, a context in which political statements and ideologies have influenced the framing of the aim, and selection of, the content of the subject. Research for this article consisted of interviews with Christian missionaries who shared with us their involvement in developing, teaching and evaluating standards of the teaching of RE. We also carried out an appraisal of literature related to the topic so as to complement our arguments.

Contrary to widely held perceptions which attribute RE to the missionaries' influence, this article argues that Christian missionaries, immigrants and local politics all had their own influence on the move to develop a 'multifaith' RE. Missionaries developed the kind of RE that responded to Zambia's religious context, local politics, the multiracial, multicultural and multifaith situation in the country, and invested their time, energy and money in the subject. These efforts to move towards 'multifaith' RE were challenged by internal and external forces. In the context of shifting political ideologies, the current nature and content of RE has been challenged to reflect a multifaith RE which mirrors the religious context of the country.

We argue that Zambian scholars of RE can learn a number of valuable lessons from the missionaries such as their hard work and passion to ensure that RE remains a curriculum subject with required books. As the next RE research agenda in Zambia, we propose researching on the subject in terms of its rationale and its educational basis.

Keywords: Religious Education (RE), Zambian Humanism, Christian Nation, Multifaith, Inter-religious, and Missionaries.

Introduction

Perhaps our introduction should be prefaced by Hulme's point that, "the continuation of British influence on African life is nowhere more apparent than in education" (1989: 104-105). This applies to RE, for developments in the subject in the United Kingdom have interested Zambians for some time, and there has been a continuous trickle of Zambians going to Britain to study this subject

(Katulushi, 1999). Consequently, Zambia has been receptive to pedagogical discourses emerging from England and Wales from the time Professor Ninian Smart set up the first department of Religious Studies in a British university in the mid-1960s, although his contribution to contemporary RE may be a matter of discussion (O'Grady, 2005; Barnes, 2001). But what is fundamental to note is the role that missionaries of British, Irish and American origin have played in the development of RE in Zambia.

In this article we acknowledge that Zambian RE is not wholly 'multifaith'. 'Multifaith' RE is referred to in terms of the efforts that have been made to include other religions in the RE content. RE in Zambia includes basic facts about Islam, Hinduism, and African Traditional Religion that are duly taught in schools, colleges, and universities. More, however, could be done to make the subject more inclusive of the minority religions in Zambia.

Although this study is part of the larger history of RE in Zambia which can be read elsewhere (Henze, 2004; Carmody, 2008; 2011; Chita, 2011), it nonetheless has a specific and distinctive contribution to make. It discusses the relationship between politics and religion in Zambia since independence to illustrate how ideologies, or political narratives of successive governments, have influenced the framing of the aim and the choice of the content of RE. It also considers the influence on RE of the presence of Hindus and Muslims in the country. This article further discusses the role of missionaries and their perceptions of that role in the development of RE. We commemorate their contribution.

The landmark years in the political history of Zambia of 1964-72; 1973-90; and 1991- 2017 provide a framework for the discussion, because of the educational reforms and policies that were promulgated during these regimes. Before discussing the development of RE, it is important to describe briefly the Zambian religious context from past to present.

Religious Context

By 1964 many Zambians had converted to Christianity and only a few to Islam. 'Convert', here means change of adherence from traditional religion to either Christianity or Islam. Research suggests that those who converted or continue to convert to Islam and Christianity have remained at the mixing stage – without necessarily breaking with the past of African traditional religion (Carmody, 1982 and Fisher, 1973). It is generally accepted that most, but not all, Christian missionaries rejected much of the African traditional way of life. They regarded Western education as a means of Christianisation. For most missionaries, especially Protestants, conversion required not only the acceptance of Christianity but most importantly the extirpation of existing traditional or

primal religions. Of the two tasks, however, the latter was the more difficult, and the anthropological work of Elizabeth Colson and Brendan Carmody's work on schooling and conversion in Zambia suggest that the elimination of traditional worldview was only partial.

Known in the colonial period as Religious Instruction (RI), RE was part of the Christianisation process through 'faith formation', a process of grounding a convert into a certain mission's doctrine (Masterton, 1987). Consequently, before 1964 a denominational era prevailed. In more recent terminology, exclusivism was the norm because each mission school taught its own doctrine (Carmody, 2011: 136).

Today Zambia is a pluralistic society in terms of religion. Consequently, there is need to provide an historical background to how Christianity, Islam and Hinduism, which are taught in schools, became established in Zambia.

Origins of Religious Pluralism in Zambia

By definition, pluralism is the condition of society in which numerous distinct ethnic, religious, or cultural groups coexist within one nation or civil polity (Skeie, 2002). The Bantu-speaking people who inhabit Zambia today came from the Cameroon-Nigeria area (Vansina, 1990) and for an unknown number of centuries they were sustained in their wanderings by various forms of faith in a powerful but remote spiritual being who was thought to be the creator of all things, and in the spirits of chiefs and ancestors (Hudson, 1999; Flynn, 1989).

The first missionary to attempt to establish a mission station in what is today Zambia was Frederick Stanley Arnot of the Plymouth Brethren who opened the first school in the country at Lealui, the capital of Lewanika's kingdom in Western Province. He arrived in 1882 but left for good in 1884 (Snelson, 1974). Into the north of the country, well documented by Bwalya Chuba (2013a and 2013b), came the Protestant missionaries of the London Missionary Society. They were followed by the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers, as they are better known) of the Catholic Church (Hinfelaar, 2005). Into the south of the country came the Catholic Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in 1905, and the Seventh Day Adventists. The history of the "Christian Missionary Factor" in the overall development of education in Zambia has been well documented by Snelson (1974); Henkel (1989); Ragsdale, (1986); and Carmody (1999).

The first non-indigenous religion to arrive in Zambia was not Christianity, but Islam. Muslims, Arab traders and their Swahili partners, first came to Zambia from the east coast of Africa in the 1840s (Phiri, 2008). Their concern was trade rather than converting locals to Islam (Haynes, 1996). Conversion of Zambians to Islam started when the Yao of Malawi entered Eastern Province. More conversions resulted from Indian Muslim immigrants coming directly to Zambia from India in 1905, entering from the south through Bulawayo in Zimbabwe to Livingstone and from the east via the ports of Beira and Mombasa

Accounting for the shift towards 'Multifaith' Religious Education in Zambia, 1964 -2017

to Fort Jameson or indirectly through Nyasaland (Haig, 2007). In the mid-1940s Northern Rhodesia's mining industry expanded, encouraging economic growth and attracting immigrants from all over the world, including India.

The majority of Indians entering Zambia were initially Hindus from the Gujarat region of northwest India. Once in Zambia, according to Phiri (2008: 72), Muslims and Hindus became polarised between Livingstone and Chipata, with Asian Muslims dominating the whole of the Eastern Province, but being a minority on the Copperbelt and along the railway line down to Mazabuka. Their Hindu counterparts dominated Southern Province and were the majority also in Lusaka, Kabwe, Kapiri Mposhi, and Solwezi, as well as the Copperbelt.

Fifteen years after independence, in 1979 there were over 11 000 Indians in Zambia and close to three quarters of them were Hindu (Phiri, 2000: 1). Today it is not clear how many Indians (Hindu and Muslim) there are in Zambia. From her research, Haig (2012) reckoned that there were fewer than 12 000 Indians permanently resident in the country, including 2 000 Hindus (less than 0.1% of the total population).

According to the *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Religious Practices* (2014), religious affiliation of the population (14,222,000) in Zambia looked as follows as at 2013:

Years	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Folk Religions	Other	Jews
2013	95.5%	0.5%	1.9%	0.1%	-	-	2%	-

A religious profile of the world by Pew Research Centre projected the future of world religions in Zambia from 2010 to 2020 as follows:

Years	Christians	Muslims	Unaffiliated	Hindus	Buddhists	Folk Religions	Other	Jews
	12,770,000	70,000	70,000	10,000	<10,000	40,000	120,000	<10,000
2010	97.6%	0.5%	0.5%	0.1%	<0.1%	0.3%	0.9%	<0.1%
2020	97.4%	0.6%	0.6%	0.1%	<0.1%	0.3%	0.9%	<0.1%

From the population of approximately 13 090 000 Zambian in 2010, Pew Research Centre reflected the religious distribution in Zambia with Christianity having the largest number of adherents. The projection for 2020 was based on 'the rapid changes driven by differences in fertility rates and the size of youth population... as well as by people switching faiths' (www.pewforum.org).

Although Judaism is not taught in RE, Zambia is home to a few Jews, who came to Zambia from a wide array of homelands. By the mid-1970s, only around 100 remained in Zambia. The majority had left because they did not wish to live under black majority rule and they had concerns about the education of their children (Macmillan and Shapiro, 1999).

Quite clearly imperialism and economic opportunities were two of the forces behind migrations of different peoples of different faiths into Zambia. In the next

section we show how respect for the religious integrity of different people in the country was supported by an outstanding relationship between church and state. As we shall demonstrate, RE profited from this good relationship in terms of its status in the school curriculum.

Christian Church-State relationship

From independence, the Christian church has collaborated with the state in the provision of education and health care and also in building a cultural identity based on the traditional Zambian way of life. The church-state relationship since 1964 has been an ecumenical one whereby, while there is separation of church and state, there is, nonetheless, cooperation between the two, where the state does not favour either one or another denomination, in contrast to the colonial days when Protestantism was dominant.

Kenneth Kaunda, from a Presbyterian Malawian missionary family and the first president of Zambia, took a liberal view of religion, premised on a philosophical position that while one's beliefs are non-negotiable, these may not have the absolute truth and for this reason there is something to learn from the religious beliefs of others (Hobson and Edwards, 1999). Religious liberalism in RE started as soon as the idea of 'One Zambia, One Nation' was introduced after independence. When Michael Grimmitt and Garth Read introduced the terms *learning from religion* and *learning about religion* in 1975 (Teece, 2010), Kaunda had already seen the value of religious education in the country, and during his presidency a multifaith curriculum flourished in a country that has had no clear-cut and distinct act or piece of legislation on RE.

Every missionary we communicated with acknowledged the role of 'One Zambia, One Nation' in assisting in the development of RE. Fr. Ben Henze, for one, described the motto as follows: "The atmosphere in the country just after independence was positive, encouraging, confident and ecumenical. The national motto – One Zambia, One Nation – really meant something at that time. A number of ecumenical enterprises were taking off during these times" (Henze, 2016: 42).

First Republic, 1964 to 1972

An aspect of the development of RE in Zambia which has not received adequate attention despite its huge importance, is the role of Kaunda's post-colonial agenda of building a unified nation, which included RE as one of its means. This period of 1964-72 is very important in the history of Zambian education for two reasons: the first is that there were fundamental changes in the country and secondly, there were fundamental changes in the global Catholic Missionaries' evangelisation agenda. The fusion of the two is well explained by Carmody (2016: 3) in the following statement:

Accounting for the shift towards 'Multifaith' Religious Education in Zambia, 1964 -2017

After Vatican II, which largely coincided with Zambian Independence in 1964, the Catholic Church adopted a more open approach to cooperation with the state as well as with other Christian and even non-Christian groups. This concurred with the new Zambian state's approach, which emphasised a non-denominational approach to schooling. The newly independent nation was preponderantly concerned to provide skilled labour for the development of its people. By highlighting development through modernisation, the Zambian Ministry of Education never excluded religion. Rather, it called for the kind of religion that would unite its emerging national community.

The politics of 1964-72 culminated into the declaration of the One Party Participatory Democracy. Upon attainment of political independence from British rule, Kaunda was faced with the task of building a new, unified nation. From 1964 the motto 'One Zambia, One Nation' was propagated. Kaunda was concerned to promote a unified approach to religion and RE. The trauma of the Lumpa church uprising in 1964 confirmed Kaunda's dislike of the way in which the churches had imported their divisions into Zambia (Kaunda, 1973). In 1965, he welcomed the formation of the United Church of Zambia, aided by Rev. Colin Morris, who had for a long time dreamt of a 'National Church' in Northern Rhodesia (Morris, 1964). Kaunda's position to promote a unified approach to RE was shared by the United Church of Zambia which acknowledged that the study of religion was important for the promotion of moral uprightness in the country. The UCZ stance was informed by its philosophy on education anchored on developing the mind, body, and spirit (Simuchimba, 2006).

In an effort to achieve social cohesion in the country, Kaunda blended the ideologies of secular humanism and European Christian humanism into a brand he termed Zambian Humanism (Bwalya, 1987:31). After the 1972 Education Reforms (which we will address later in the article), RE included Zambian Humanism to foster social and community cohesion. Kaunda took a strong interest in RE in schools and advised the curriculum developers in the following words:

Our educators must address themselves to the larger task of stimulating the individual's emotional, spiritual, and moral growth as well as his intellectual capacity... there should be a strong moral element in education. This is an important principle which should be maintained and where necessary reinforced (Kaunda, 1973: 28).

Did Kaunda's Humanism contribute to RE being characterised by a variety of religions? Carmody's opinion is that the influence came from both Humanism and from what was happening in the United Kingdom (UK). Kaunda was, of course, head of state and his voice was very powerful in the one party state, but it is worth pointing out that later, when he wanted to introduce Scientific Socialism, the church challenged him because among the concerns of the church was what would become of RE in Scientific Socialism (perceived by the church as atheism).

Kaunda abandoned the project. Developments in RE in Zambia in the early 1970s bore some resemblance to what was happening in the UK (B. Carmody, pers. comm., 15 June 2016). Fr. Henze and Fr. Edwin Flynn, who were involved in developing the Zambian syllabus, had thoroughly familiarised themselves with developments in the UK. Rev. Cecil King, referring to his involvement with the junior secondary school RE syllabus, pointed out that: “The social cohesion model certainly influenced us in our ecumenical feelings and our drawing on a variety of Zambian languages and traditions; ‘One Zambia, One Nation’ was very important to us” (C. King, pers. comm., 1 June 2016). Suffice to note that by the end of the first republic in 1972, three syllabi (Joint, Agreed or Ecumenical primary and junior secondary school RE syllabi) were in place alongside the two University of Cambridge School Certificate secondary school Bible Knowledge syllabi which had been adopted at independence in 1964, while meetings and discussions aimed at introducing an East African life/experience-centred senior secondary school RE syllabus (CLT) were ongoing from 1975.

Second Republic, 1973 to 1990

In 1974, the government initiated a countrywide debate on education reform with the aim of developing an educational system which would contribute to the realisation of the aims of the one party state. The objective was to give more value to equality and Zambianisation (O’Brien, 2006: 466). For Kaunda, One Party Participatory Democracy and equality went beyond politics to include religion. He believed that the religions represented in the country were equal. He wrote:

Zambia is a country of many religions – Christianity, Judaism, Animism, Hinduism and Islam, and others. I did not feel it was my place as President of the new Republic to adjudicate between them, to declare this religion or that, ‘official’ so far as the State is concerned. Each has the right to exist, and it is my desire that believers of all faiths should live together in harmony. We are, after all, human beings. We certainly cannot afford to add religious divisions to the tribal differences which threaten our national unity. Because I happen to be one of those odd people who feels equally at home in a cathedral, synagogue, temple or mosque, I recognise the power inherent in all the major faiths and urgently desire to see that power is harnessed for the welfare and good of humanity (Kaunda, 1973:28).

Consequently, the period between 1972 and the 1980s witnessed an adoption of interchurch cooperation in an ecumenical approach, first at the primary level

and later at the secondary and college levels (Carmody, 2004a: 78-80; Carmody, 2011: 136). Interchurch cooperation was indeed well illustrated very early in the 1970s when tutors in religion from six colleges of education (teachers' colleges then), Ms. Olive Wilks from Livingstone, Mr. Alan Freeburn from Charles Lwanga, Rev. Don Nicol from Malcolm Moffat, Mr. Roma Roy from Kitwe, Fr. Louis Somville from Kasama and Fr. Ben Henze met at Charles Lwanga College to exchange ideas. Organised by Fr. Tom O'Brien from Charles Lwanga, the meeting was not called to create a Common RE syllabus, but it quickly became the focus. It was agreed that the team (three Catholics and three Protestants) should work together and do things ecumenically (Henze, 2016: 106). The ecumenical cooperation resulted in the development of the 'Developing in Christ' syllabus for Junior Secondary Schools in the 1970s. This syllabus was a Zambianisation of the Gaba syllabus 'Developing in Christ'.² In the mid-seventies, the following three RE syllabi were taught in secondary schools in Zambia: 'Developing in Christ', 'Christian Living Today' and the 'Cambridge Bible Knowledge'. After the Educational Reforms of 1977 the three syllabi were modified and renamed the 204 syllabus for grades 8 and 9, and the 2044 and the 2046 syllabi for grades 10, 11 and 12 respectively.

Third Republic, 1991 to 2011

By the time of the Third Republic the educational value of RE and its legitimacy had been recognised and a 'multifaith' RE had been accepted. This period presented a challenge to RE. Regime change meant that the political ideologies of UNIP had no place in Chiluba's governance, which adopted a capitalist orientation and pro-Christian ideologies which translated into the declaration of the country as a Christian nation.

The new ideological discourse of capitalism and Christian nation threatened the nature of 'multifaith' RE. RE and other subjects were supposed to be informed by *Educating Our Future*, a policy document introduced in 1996 which was underpinned by the values of liberal democracy. It aimed to produce a learner capable of:

being animated by a personally held set of civic, moral and spiritual values; developing an analytical, innovative, creative and constructive mind; appreciating the relationship between scientific thought, action and technology on the one hand, and sustenance of the quality of life on the other; demonstrating free expression of one's own ideas and exercising tolerance for other people's views; cherishing and safeguarding individual liberties and human rights; appreciating Zambia's ethnic cultures, customs and traditions, and upholding national pride, sovereignty, peace, freedom and independence;

participating in the preservation of the ecosystems in one's immediate and distant environments; maintaining and observing discipline and hard work as the cornerstone of personal and national development (Educating Our Future, 1996: 9).

Educating Our Future was acclaimed as a progressive policy document informed by neo-liberal ideas. In particular, the following: being animated by a personally held set of civic, moral and spiritual values; demonstrating free expression of one's own ideas and exercising tolerance for other people's views; cherishing and safeguarding individual liberties and human rights; appreciating Zambia's ethnic cultures, customs and traditions, and upholding national pride, sovereignty, peace, freedom and independence in the document were deemed (for example by Simuchimba, 2012) as vital provisions for RE.

However, RE as a subject was threatened by calls from evangelical circles to revert back to Bible knowledge because they thought the existing RE lacked spiritual and moral values. In addition, there were moves by some teachers to introduce confessional methods of teaching, such as starting RE with sermons. These trends ignited the division of RE stakeholders, which resulted in failure to revise and produce a common syllabus for 2044 and 2046 as envisioned by the Ministry of Education in 1996 (Simuchimba, 2006). The failure to produce a common syllabus at senior secondary school level entailed the continuation of offering the two already existing RE syllabuses (2044 and 2046).

2011 to the present

By 2011 globalisation had moved to a new level. As the country was about to celebrate its 50th independence anniversary educational reforms that had taken off in 2009 were aligned to the new ruling party's manifesto and ideology as well as the attainment of Vision 2030. The school syllabi, including RE, were modelled on principles of outcomes-based education, which challenges teachers and learners to move beyond instrumental thinking - which prioritises narrow considerations focused on the technicist ends of education - to critical learning principles which seek to link education to real life experiences that give learners skills to access, criticize, analyse and practically apply knowledge that helps them gain life skills (Spady, 1998). In 2014, the following became the aim of Religious Education:

The aim of Spiritual and Moral Education is to foster development of personally held civic, moral and spiritual values. The learners are expected to attain a suitable level of competence in knowledge and understanding of spiritual, religious and moral values and the traditions within which they have developed (MoE, 1996). The appreciation of other religions should be drawn from the four main religious traditions in Zambia, (namely: Christianity, Hinduism, indigenous Zambian beliefs and Islam) (CDC, 2012: ii).

This aim totally ignores the dysfunctional and ambiguous aspects of religion. Michael Grimmitt questioned a purely descriptive phenomenological approach to the study of religion and argued for an approach that inspires critical and constructive engagement of religious faiths that prove to be stumbling blocks to societal and community integration and cooperation. The aforementioned should be preceded by religious engagement in ideological self criticism so as to foster trust, mutual respect and cooperation. Thus for Grimmitt:

A fundamental task which all societies face and which Religious Education can contribute to is to improve inter-religious communication and inter-cultural understanding so that better social and community cohesion is achieved. But this is not the same as promoting appreciation of diversity and respect for differences (Grimmitt, 2010: 18).

We have mentioned above that in 2011 new educational reforms were aligned to the new ruling party's manifesto and ideology as well as Vision 2030. [There were some revisions made to the existing syllabi and to their objectives which had to reflect the new outcome-based syllabi]. In the same year, Zambia had a new president, Michael Chilufya Sata, a staunch Catholic. Two days after his inauguration as fifth president of Zambia, on 25 September 2011, he attended midmorning mass at St. Ignatius Church in Rhodes Park, Lusaka, following his usual routine. During mass he made the promise that his government would abide by the biblical Ten Commandments, saying "It is very easy to learn from the commandments how we must behave and conduct ourselves in this society" (Cheyeka *et al*, 2014). At CDC, RE curriculum specialists took serious note of the "Rule by Biblical Principles" pronouncement and included it in the preface of the RE syllabi:

It is hoped that teachers will use this syllabus to inculcate in learners a deeper appreciation of other religions, deeper understanding of Christian values, and application of Biblical principles to everyday living. The moral aspect has to do with values and morals while the spiritual is provided for in living in harmony with self, with others, and with the supernatural (CDC, 2012: 1).

The introduction to the syllabi was an elaborate warning to teachers that the teaching of RE in schools is different from faith development or evangelism in churches. RE had a special role to play in nation building because it enables people to overcome the barriers of religious prejudice and to avoid bigotry and fanaticism (CDC, 2012). Carmody had perceptively suggested earlier that the Ministry of Education in Zambia needed to make it clear that from the Ministry's perspective, RE in the public school should not be partisan, nationalistic or an agent of Christian nurture or conversion (Carmody, 2011: 141).

It is hard to determine how much of the discourse on the imperative of RE truly becoming educational has influenced the CDC. The question is, has RE in

Zambia lived up to the tenets of being non-confessional, multifaith and respectful of non-religious ways of life? At the moment, the major problem is that the CDC is not moving any further towards more inclusive and more educational RE. We agree with Bro. George Poirier, that we need to review the goals, objectives, and the vision of RE (pers. comm., 7 June 2014) and with Fr. John Mudalitsa that there is a need for a new rationale for RE (Mudalitsa, 2016: 78).

In the remaining part of the article we will focus on the work of some Christian missionaries in developing multifaith RE in Zambia from the 1970s to the present. We have cited them above, but we dedicate a section to highlighting their profound influence on the development of RE in Zambia to illuminate how missionaries responded to the Ministry of Education's order that they come up with local RE syllabi in a context that favoured multifaith RE.

Individual missionaries' contributions towards a 'multifaith' RE ¹

We argue that a history of RE in Zambia has to show human beings, in that history, for RE in Zambia did not evolve without human actions. But a short article such as ours does not do justice to every missionary who took part in developing RE. We are content nonetheless with the data we gathered on leading events in the history of RE, of tendencies, and of the people that shaped them, and were probably shaped by them. We should also make a disclaimer from the outset that our focus in the current article is largely on the Catholic missionaries. Catholic missionaries went beyond the Catholic school in spiritual, moral and social formation of young people; something Fr. Joe Hayes described as part of missionary enthusiasm coming, not exactly from the love for religious education, but from commitment to evangelisation because missionaries' relationship with God was good news for them and they wanted to share that, and teaching in the classroom was one way (J. Hayes, pers. comm., 12 September 2016).

Beyond working in schools, a few missionaries served as RE Inspectors and curriculum specialists. Additionally, others played an important role in teacher education in colleges of education and the national University of Zambia, and more recently at the Catholic University from which Fr. Mujdricka and Fr. Henze retired.

So, how did the missionaries we are citing, individually and collectively, become pivotal in the development of RE in Zambia? Rev. King provided us with three dynamics or contributory factors which we use in our discussion of

missionary contribution to the development of inter-religious RE in Zambia, namely (1) consensus about RE among the teachers and lecturers expressed by the Zambia Association of Religious Education Teachers (ZARET), (2) resources for RE, and (3) dedicated, skilled people (C. King, pers. comm., 1 June 2016). We deal with each below:

Consensus about RE among the teachers and lecturers

Our starting point, before we come to deal with consensus, is the historical fact that the RE syllabi being used in Zambian schools and colleges today are products of the Educational Reforms of 1977, when Zambia saw a fundamental reform of the education system in conformity with *Zambian Humanism* (Mudalitsa, 2002: 24). The nomenclature 'RE' was replaced by 'Spiritual and Moral Education' to link well with *Zambian Humanism*. But what drew Christian missionaries to join the reform movement was the challenge from the Ministry of Education (MoE) that Zambian educators were to take the initiative and "produce new educational materials locally" (MoE, 1977: 35). Prior to the reforms, Catholic missionaries in the education sector had taken the initiative to use the Gaba RE syllabi of 'Developing in Christ' and 'Christian Living Today' – the former for primary education and the latter for secondary education. The syllabi followed the *Personal Development model*.

Contrary to the assertion of Simuchimba (cited by Mudalitsa, 2016: 67), that Zambian RE teachers, officials and scholars were, as they are today, divided over what RE ought to be, the developers of RE in the 1970s were mostly in agreement on the kind of RE they wanted in Zambia. Rev. King informed us that there was consensus about RE among teachers and lecturers in the 1970s; the aim of Spiritual and Moral Education was accepted, except by the evangelical teachers. The Evangelicals were not too much involved in primary and junior secondary RE, but became involved in work on RE curriculum after 1977, when Bible Knowledge was to be replaced by "Christian Living Today" at the senior level. Their involvement led to the development of the 2046 syllabus which was basically a Zambianisation of the old Cambridge Bible Knowledge (C. King, pers. comm., 1 June 2016). But creating a common syllabus for primary and junior secondary schools was a major achievement because there were different christian groups in the country, some of whom were long-term enemies.

The consensus about RE was expressed through ZARET, which was founded in 1974, in Southern Province, on the initiative of the Jesuit missionaries, and launched at national level in the same year. In 1976, Fr. Edwin Flynn, a Capuchin Franciscan who had come to Zambia in 1953, was elected secretary of the association. ZARET was the *rendezvous* for RE teachers, inspectors, curriculum specialists, lecturers, and those who cared about the spiritual and moral

development of the youth in the country. Fr. Hayes, a Jesuit from Ireland, during his 15 years at Canisius Secondary School worked through ZARET in giving workshops to teachers in Southern Province on the 2044 syllabus (J. Hayes, pers. comm., 12 September 2016).

What did ZARET achieve before it collapsed after the departure of the missionaries? A major achievement was the development of syllabi. Another achievement was the preparation of teachers' and pupils' books for Grades 8 and 9. These were the result of two previous ZARET publications – notes for people teaching 'Developing in Christ' which had been produced by teachers' workshops. These were developed because the teachers handbooks from Gaba were difficult for the teachers to understand, and thus to turn into lesson plans (C. King, pers. comm., 1 June 2016).

Syllabi and reading materials development

In 1969 the Chief Inspector for Religious Education wrote to the Catholic Bishops and the Christian Council asking them to cooperate in producing an ecumenical syllabus for RE. He offered a syllabus for Grade One, produced by Olive Wilks, as a suitable sample to begin with. The Christian Council and the Catholic Bishops accepted the commission. The ecumenical syllabus for RE came into existence as a result of cooperation between the Christian Council of Zambia, the country's Catholic bishops, the Teacher Training Colleges and the Ministry of Education (E. Flynn, pers. comm., 23 September 2016). Worth pointing out is that to church leaders, RE was meant to nurture the Christian faith among learners, but RE educationists had a different idea which prevailed (Henze, n.d.). Catholic missionaries sourced money to produce books for RE in the 1970s when other subjects were short of text books. The books were published by the Catholic-owned Mission Press and Teresianum Press in Lusaka and distributed by ZARET (C. King, pers. comm., 1 June 2016).

Fr. Mujdrica, a Jesuit priest, made a valuable contribution to RE curriculum development. He came to Zambia as an untrained teacher in 1975 and taught RE in a number of schools for almost 15 years. As a Jesuit scholastic he taught 'Developing in Christ' at Mukasa Minor Seminary for two years. After his ordination he taught RE in Grades 6 and 7 at Katondwe Primary School from 1982 and 1983. He then went to teach the subject at Mumbwa Secondary School from 1984 to 1994. After his RE studies at the University of Birmingham in 1995, he taught RE at Nkrumah Teacher Training College and later at the Zambia Catholic University up to 2016. While he was at Mumbwa Secondary School, Fr Mujdrica prepared handouts for Grade 10 and

11 classes which he showed to Fr. Tom McGivern, who was the RE Inspector at that time: McGivern edited these notes, wrote his own notes for Grade 12 and published the first 2046 pupils' book called Brief Outline of Syllabus 2046 (ZARET: 1988). The booklet inspired the people who wrote the current 2046 pupils' books. (J. Mujdrlica, pers. comm., 6 January 2016).

Another contribution towards materials' development came from an American, Bro. Robert Martineaul of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart, who taught RE and English Language at St. Francis Secondary School in Malole, Northern Province, and Matero Boys Secondary School in Lusaka. He was coopted by the RE inspectorate in Lusaka into the task force to formulate a simplified Gaba syllabus of Christian Living Today that would include more materials for other religious traditions in the country. He produced two pupils' text books for Grades 11 and 12 for syllabus 2044 that are still used today (G. Poirier, pers. comm., 7 June 2014).

Missionaries were at the centre of the development process of RE – fully represented on the committees responsible for curriculum development and reviews. Above all, they found time to write and publish RE materials. Pamphlets and booklets² written by Fr. Henze and RE pamphlets and booklets³ written by Fr. Mujdrlica have proven useful to students studying RE due to a dearth of literature on the subject in the country. Fr. Carmody's books⁴ on religion and education meant for colleges and universities have constituted required reading for students.

Between 1980 and 1990 some Evangelical teachers, unhappy with the less biblical syllabus, and guided by Ms. Masterton, came up with syllabus 2046 which essentially reasserted Bible Knowledge. Fr. McGivern made a contribution to this by providing teachers' notes that he had obtained from Fr. Mujdrlica and edited in a bid to develop reading materials for the syllabus. So, Zambia has remained with two syllabi at secondary school level; 2044 and 2046. Both have Christian religious focus. RE is 'multifaith' in as far as it attempts to offer basic facts about the four major religious faiths represented in Zambia. Beyond that it is yet to become 'multifaith' through the aim, content, and approaches that reflect Zambia's pluralistic society.

Teacher Education

Teachers were needed to teach RE in schools and colleges. Here we give examples of some missionaries who were involved in teacher education. Kwame Nkrumah

Teachers College played a pivotal role in graduating RE teachers to teach RE in secondary schools. Bro. George Poirier of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart opened the department of RE at the college. Arriving in Zambia in 1961 to teach at Charles Lwanga College of Education for primary school teachers, he moved to St. Francis Secondary School in Northern Province in 1967. In 1975 he moved to Kabwe and opened the RE department at Kwame Nkrumah Teachers College (later to be called Kwame Nkrumah College of Education and now Kwame Nkrumah University). Asked to tell us how he found himself at Kwame Nkrumah Teachers College, Bro. Poirier explained:

I went to Nkrumah at the invitation of the Senior Inspector of Religious Education in Lusaka who was a White Father (Missionary of Africa). He asked me to begin an RE department to facilitate the teaching of the RE syllabus which was a Kenyan adaptation. I taught at Nkrumah from 1975 to 1978 (G. Poirier, pers. comm., 7 June 2014)

Bro. Poirier advocated for Christian religious education which, according to Thomas Groome, aims to indicate fundamental differences in how people realize their “being” in relation to God, self, others, and the world (Groome, 1998: 11). In the RE syllabus of Nkrumah Teachers College, Bro. Poirier also taught values and values clarifications.

Bro. Jack Gonzales, a Marist Brother from Spain took over from Bro. Poirier. He made a huge contribution to the vitality of ZARET in Kabwe, organising workshops and ensuring that schools were well resourced with RE books. Since Bro. Poirier’s tenure, Kwame Nkrumah Teachers College employed the following missionaries to teach RE: Fr. John MacCauley (Jesuit), Rev. Cecil King (Anglican) and Fr. John Mujdrica (Jesuit). A local Marist Brother, Bro. Abdon Nkuwa also taught at the college (from 1982 to 1990) when Bro. Gonzales left the college. The point has been made that Catholic priests of Irish and British origins were abreast with what was happening in Great Britain in terms of trends and developments. Consequently, when Fr. Edwin Flynn O.F.M.Cap. opened what is now a department of Religious Studies at the University of Zambia (UNZA), to prepare teachers of RE at senior secondary school level, he began to teach religions using the World Religions paradigm (Carmody, 2008: 28) because, as Rev. King told us: “Edwin Flynn was influenced by Ninian Smart” (C. King pers. comm., 1 June 2016). Fr. Flynn’s involvement at the University of Zambia goes back in history to the 1970s when the University of Zambia was given the task of selecting teachers to be trained as lecturers in teacher training colleges. Professor Shanks, who was in charge of in-service teacher training for the teacher training colleges, asked Fr. Frank Carey, the national Inspector for RE, to identify someone who would be qualified for the post of lecturer in Religious

Studies. In 1976, Fr. Carey recommended Fr. Flynn to Prof. Shanks and he was subsequently appointed as a lecturer in the Department of In-Service Training at the University (E. Flynn, pers. comm., 23 September 2016).

At this time, the need for Religious Education teachers at the senior secondary level also emerged. As a response to this situation, the University Board of Studies set up a committee, in 1978, to make proposals about the provision of senior secondary level Religious Education teachers for the country. In 1980, this committee recommended the setting up of a Religious Studies department whose role would be primarily to educate senior level teachers of Religious Education and to generate research in religion, thereby contributing a distinctively religious dimension to university education. In 1985, Fr. Flynn was appointed to offer Religious Studies combined with Religious Education as a minor in the B.Ed. degree programme in the department of Language and Social Sciences Education (LSSE). Mindful of the directives that the University's advisory committee presented, Fr. Flynn designed a course of studies that was primarily academic (Carmody, 2008).

On 1 December 1989, Fr. Brendan Carmody, a Jesuit priest of Irish background, joined Fr. Flynn and forthwith set to deepen the scope of the Religious Studies degree programme. The framework set up by Fr. Carmody included purchase of books for a resource room, and establishing a fund for Zambians to study in the UK so as for them to come back to UNZA and sustain the Religious Studies programme. Fr. Carmody and Fr. Flynn extended and developed a comprehensive curriculum whereby Religious Studies and Religious Education could be offered at a minor and major level of the Bachelor of Arts with Education. In 2003, Fr. Carmody designed a Master's programme in Religious Studies (B. Carmody, pers. comm., 135 June 2016). He left Zambia thereafter.

Inspectorate and Curriculum Development Centre(CDC)

Some missionaries served as inspectors of schools, curriculum and resources developers at CDC. In the mid-1970s, Fr. Carey of the Missionaries of Africa, who had been Deputy Head teacher of Lwitikila Girls Secondary School, was appointed the first National Inspector for Religious Education at the Ministry of Education headquarters in Lusaka. When he stepped down after three years, Fr. Thomas McGivern, a Jesuit who had come to Zambia in 1953, took over and remained in the post until 1997, when Mr. Selisho Chanda replaced him. Mwale and Chita (2016) in a profile of Fr. McGivern referred to him as the "father of RE in Zambia" and as its "hero" (Kelly, 2017: 22).

Although Fr. McGivern had contact with RE in the classroom, he had never done any formal studies or refresher courses in the subject. But Tom was a good Jesuit who responded where there was need and so he worked hard to establish RE on a sound footing within the Ministry

of Education and raise it to a status comparable with that of other school subjects (Kelly, 2017: 22).

Mr. Austen Chibesakunda, a Science Inspector who worked with Fr. McGivern at the Inspectorate had the following to say about Fr. McGivern.

I joined the Inspectorate in 1984, and Fr. McGivern was already there. He had a fantastic way of developing RE in terms of curriculum content and readers for teachers and pupils. He worked with teachers in his office, at the Curriculum Development Centre, Examinations Council of Zambia, and at Kalemba hall at St. Ignatius parish. He visited schools and listened to the challenges teachers and pupils were facing. He also participated in the marking of RE examination scripts and took notes of the challenges of learners and teachers. He produced reading materials. He loved to write. I think he did not want RE to suffer the fate of Zambian Languages in this country. He inspired me to write a book on inspection which he reviewed and I am convinced that Vincent Marko Tembo, who was History Inspector, was inspired to write all those History books that he wrote by Fr. McGivern (A. Chibesakunda, pers. comm., 3 October 2016).

Arriving in Zambia in 1969, Rev. King of the Anglican Church taught RE at two secondary schools of the United Church of Zambia, Sefula and Njase. Then he worked as a Curriculum Development Officer for RE at CDC before moving to Nkrumah Teachers College as a lecturer (pers. comm., 1 June 2016). Rev. King was heavily involved with Grades 7, 8 and 9 to Zambianise the syllabus. When he left in the 1980s, Sr. Josie Clark moved in to help produce the revised primary course when it changed from Christian Religious Education to Religious Education (Henze, 2016). King was appointed to CDC as a specialist in RE and one of his tasks was to cooperate with Junior Secondary teachers in adapting the Catholic University of East Africa's Gaba courses, entitled "Developing in Christ", to the Zambian situation. He had a particular genius for producing texts that were clear, simple and unambiguous. He also helped in the production of University level course outlines (E. Flynn, pers. comm., 23 September 2016). Fr. Ben Henze was appointed RE adviser at Mukuyu House, the Ministry of Education Headquarters in Ndola, where he remained for twenty years when the posts of Inspector of RE, and RE adviser were abolished.

Dedication and hard work

Before the introduction of the degree programme at the University of Zambia, there were no Zambian teachers in the schools with a degree in Religious Studies,

Accounting for the shift towards 'Multifaith' Religious Education in Zambia, 1964 -2017

or Religious Education. Fr. Henze and Fr. Flynn strove hard to find resources to have Mr. Joseph Ngangula and Mr. Clement Mweemba obtain Bachelor of Arts with Honors in Religious Studies at the University of Zimbabwe. Mr. Clement Mweemba later went on to read for his Masters in Theology and Religious Studies at Leeds University with finances sourced by Fr. McGivern and Fr. Flynn. Mr. Ngangula spent the last years of his teaching career at Nkrumah College of Education. Mr. Mweemba became Headmaster of Chipembi Girls Secondary School when he returned from Leeds. Fr. Carmody strove hard to find a donor to send other Zambians overseas, to Birmingham and Leeds universities in the UK, so that there could be appropriately qualified staff for the new Religious Studies programme at the University of Zambia. Also, Fr. Henze had been encouraging teachers to further their studies, especially by correspondence, and had secured scholarships for some to study with West Hill College which was accredited to Birmingham University. Some teachers upgraded from certificate to diploma in RE and were promoted to be lecturers in colleges of education.

A Disappointing End to the Missionary Era

Since the 1990s, RE has been researched by undergraduates, post-graduates and established researchers, mostly only as far as historicising the subject is concerned, and within that, reviewing syllabi, analysing challenges and contentious issues and its status as part of the integrated subjects. Overall, students of RE have tended to be chroniclers of the subject, not venturing into researching how the subject is taught so as to generate new teaching techniques.

Currently, the nature and scope of RE has been determined by the established CDC. Some RE experts in institutions of higher learning have defended CDC even when it has failed dismally to respect the integrity of the subject, and even when it was presided over by a Home Economics teacher. Worse still, they have discounted the earlier partnership between the church and the state in developing RE, arguing that only CDC is mandated by law to draw up the RE curriculum.

Ultimately, RE had to fall in line with the general direction and challenges of education in the country as outlined and developed in statements and critiques of *Educating Our Future* (1996) and *Focus on Learning* (1992). Noteworthy is the 1996 policy document, *Educating Our Future*, which had begun to be implemented upon its approval by parliament. Thus, *Educating Our Future* and Fr. Mujdrica's review of the syllabi provided a golden opportunity for CDC to come up with a new Senior RE syllabus – a fusion of 2044 and 2046. In this regard, Mr. Chanda, Senior Inspector for RE, appointed a team of RE teachers from all provinces with the objective of merging the two syllabi to bring about

one Religious Education course for senior secondary. Fr. Henze, who had been appointed RE advisor to the inspectorate in 1983, was asked to be the facilitator for the exercise, not only because of his experience, we suspect, but also because he could mobilise funding for the exercise, which he did from an organisation in the Netherlands. Unfortunately, even after printing a number of 'Realisation' copies, the merger did not happen. According to Mudalitsa (2016: 67), the main reason was that lecturers in tertiary institutions, including those who were part of Ben Henze's team did not endorse 'Realisations'.

Lessons for Zambian RE Scholars

Overall, the driving force behind missionary work in relation to RE development was dedication and hard work by all the missionaries we have cited in this article. It is something local Zambians, lay and priests, can emulate and the point is driven home by Fr. Hayes in the following statement: "Local Zambians are no different from anybody else. They will be as alive and as enthusiastic as that which they invest their energies in ... If all their energies are invested in material living, just working for a salary, job satisfaction, marriage and parenting, then religion will merely be that which gets the left over energies..." (J. Hayes, pers. comm., 12 September 2016).

What can local RE scholars in Zambia learn from the missionaries and the missionary era? As Mujdrlica summarised it:

Missionaries had a great influence on RE in Zambia because they love RE and saw its great potential to enrich young Zambians. They worked together as friends. They had access to finances to make RE books available. But, above all, they had a very good rapport with the Ministry of Education. Some of them were even part of the Ministry itself (Mujdrlica, pers. comm., 11 January 2017).

Zambian scholars of RE have no finances and the missionary era is different from the current times. However, Zambian RE scholars can begin to engage CDC so as to provide direction for RE and to work together to enrich the subject. Above all, Zambian RE scholars should start researching and publishing on the subject (pedagogy, teaching and other areas). Associations of RE must be encouraged so that they can serve as avenues of research, dissemination and continuous professional development for teachers and lecturers alike.

Conclusion

Although the missionary era may have ended, one of its notable achievements in RE was the pioneering move towards establishing a 'multifaith' RE in the country in response to the political ideologies influencing the school curriculum. Hence,

in this article we have made an attempt to describe in detail the missionaries' role in the move towards a 'multifaith' RE in Zambia, influenced by the immigrants' presence, and most importantly the local political ideologies. We have demonstrated that today's Zambia has evolved from a conglomeration of a multitude of localised traditional societies to complex multicultural societies, which also include non-African civilisations. Zambia succeeded in creating RE syllabi that include the major faiths represented in the country, thanks to those Christian missionaries who, after being challenged by the Ministry of Education through the Inspector of Schools to come up with RE syllabi suitable for Zambia, selflessly worked towards establishing RE as a curriculum subject; writing books for teachers and pupils, and developing personnel to teach the subject. The RE syllabi developed in the 1970s mirrored the pluralistic nature of Zambian society through the incorporation of religious traditions and political ideologies. However, the achievements attained in the 1970s were not capitalised upon in subsequent endeavours to revise and improve on the subject because of political ideological shifts and lack of resources (committed personnel, money, and lack of influence from religious advocates at CDC). Faced with these challenges, scholars of RE can learn from the missionaries' hard work and passion to ensure that RE repositions its rationale and educational basis in an ever transforming pluralistic Zambian context.

In addition to the lack of missionary drive and investment in RE today, there is no ZARET and there are only recycled, 'copy and paste' RE syllabi and text books that do not make a religious experience central to the learners. Consequently, as Bro. Poirier lamented,

The RE of today has watered down the moral and spiritual components to please everybody ... I am not sure it has a holistic integral approach to the formation of personality for students. It seems very watered down and therefore may give information and nothing else (G. Poirier, pers. comm., 7 June 2014).

The initiatives from the 1970s by the missionaries we have cited were good and could have been used as a benchmark for further RE innovations as far as content and teaching strategies are concerned. We regret that the senior secondary school syllabus of 'Realisations' produced in the wake of the 1996 *Educating Our Future*, could not be adopted as the new RE syllabus to replace the 2046 and 2044 syllabi of the 1970s. In our view 'Realisations' had more interactive methodology and had material that promoted religious experience of the learners. As we have already pointed out many teachers and lecturers, including those who were members of the team that worked on the 'Realisations' syllabus were afraid of change.

End notes

¹ We could not track every missionary who took part in the development of RE in Zambia and some, such as Fr. Frank Carey, had passed away and his successor, Fr. Tom McGivern had returned home to Ireland after suffering a most senseless and horrendous assault by criminals in Lusaka. His memory had been adversely affected by injuries to the head. He later died on 14 January 2017.

² Gaba or Ggaba is a Catholic Institute which is now a university campus of the Catholic University of East Africa. It was established in 1967, in Uganda, after turning Gaba Seminary building into an Institute. The institute was moved to its current premises in Eldoret, Kenya, in 1976 due to instability in Uganda during Idi Amin's period of rule. From its creation, the institute created the following departments: Social Communications, Religious Education, and Publications. It is the department of Religious Education that developed the RE syllabuses that Zambia was using including the text books. Retrieved: amecea.org/development-of-amecea/

³ Readings for Religious Education Teachers (2000). Ndola: Mission Press; Creative Tension: Essays in Religious Education for the Twentieth Anniversary of Zambia Association of RE Teachers (1994). Ndola: Copperbelt RE Development Unit; Some Basics of Religious Education in Zambia (2007). Ndola: Mission Press; Education (2008). Ndola: Mission Press; Some Simple Teaching Techniques: Ndola: Mission Press.

⁴ Growing in Wisdom: a Basis for Education (2013). Ndola: John Yanko Mudalitsa; *Religious Education with a Difference*. Kabwe: Pastoral Care Department; *RE is Great!*. Ndola: John Yanko Mudalitsa; *Religious Education for Excellence*. Ndola: Mission Press; *Towards a Philosophy of Religious Education*. Kabwe: Nkrumah Teachers College;

⁵ Carmody, B. (1999). *Education in Zambia: Catholic Perspective*. Lusaka: Bookworld.

References

- Bwalya, R. 1987. "On Kaundaism." *Quest, International African Journal of Philosophy* 1 (1), 31- 38.
- Barnes, L. P. 2001. "What is wrong with the Phenomenological Approach to Religious Education?" *Religious Education*. 66, 445-461.
- Carmody, B. 2008. "The nature and role of religious studies at the University of Zambia: 1985-2005." *British Journal of Religious Education* 30(1), 25-35).
1999. *Education in Zambia: Catholic Perspectives*. Lusaka: Bookworld.
2004. *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*. Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers.
2011. "Multi-faith Religious Education in Zambia?" In I. Avest (Ed.), *Contrasting Colours: European and African Perspectives on Religious Education in a context of Diversity*: 134-149. Amsterdam: Gopher B.V.

Accounting for the shift towards 'Multifaith' Religious Education in Zambia, 1964 -2017

2013. "Pedagogy for Inter-Religious Education." *Hey!* LIV, 813-824.
2015. "African Conversion: Historical Overview." In B. Carmody (Ed.), *Religious Conversion: An African Perspective*. Lusaka: Gadsden Publishers.
2016. "Catholic Education in Zambia: Mission Integrity and Politics." *History of Education*, DIO: 10.1080/0046760X.2015.1130267, 1-18.
- Cheyeka, A. M. 2008. *Church, State and Political Ethics in a Post-Colonial State: The Case of Zambia*. Zomba: Kachere.
- Cheyeka, A. M. 2014. "Zambia." In T. Riggs (Ed). *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Religious Practices*, 556-566. Detroit: Gale.
- Chita, J. 2011. *The Role of Missionaries in the Curriculum Development of Religious Education in Zambia*. Lusaka: University of Zambia.
- Chuba, B. S. 2013a. (2nd Ed.). *Mbeleshi in a History of the London Missionary Society*. Ndola: Mission Press.
- 2013b. (2nd Ed.). *A History of Early Christian Missions and Church Unity in Zambia*. Ndola: Mission Press.
- Colson, E. 2006. *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century*. Lusaka: Bookworld.
- Flynn, E. 1989. "Notes on the History of Religious Education in Zambia." Unpublished Paper, University of Zambia.
- Grimmitt, M. 2010. "Living in an Era of Globalised and Politicised Religion: What is to be Religious Education's Response?" In M. Grimmitt (Ed.). *Religious Education and Social Community Cohesion*. Essex: McCrimmon Publishing Co. Ltd.
- Groome, H. T. 1998. *Sharing Faith: A Comprehensive Approach to Religious Education and Pastoral Ministry – The Way of Shared Praxis*. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers.
- Haig, J. 2012. "The paradox of Belonging: How Zambia's Hindu Minority has Adapted Towards and Away from the Nation." Paper presented at the Zambia Narratives of Nationhood Conference, 12 September 2012, Commonwealth Youth Centre, Lusaka.
2007. "From Kings Cross to Kew: Following the History of Zambia's Indian Community through British Imperial Archives." *History in Africa*, 34: 55-66. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/25483691?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents
- Haynes, J. 1996. *Religion and Politics in Africa*. London: Zed Books.
- Henze, B. n.d. "Towards a New Basis for Religious Education in Zambia." Unpublished manuscript.
- n.d. Rise and Fall of RE in Zambia. Unpublished manuscript.
2007. *Some Basics of RE in Zambia*. Ndola: Mission Press.

- Hinfelaar, H. 2004. *History of the Catholic Church in Zambia, 1895-1995*. Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers.
- Hinfelaar, M. & Udehlhoven, B. 2014. "The Changing Face of Zambia's Christianity and its Implications for the Public Sphere: A Case Study of Bauleni Township, Lusaka." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40(5), 1031-1045. Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2014.946228>.
- Hobson, P. & Edwards, J. 1999. *Religious Education in a Pluralist Society: The Key Philosophical Issues*. London: Woburn Press.
- Hudson, J. 1999. *A Time to Mourn*. Lusaka: Bookworld.
- Hulme, E. 1989. *Education and Cultural Diversity*. London: Longman.
- Katulushi, C. 1999. "Teaching Traditional African Religion and Gender Issues in Religious Education." *British Journal of Religious Education* 21 (2), 101-111.
- Kaunda, K. 1973. *Letters to my Children*. London: Longman.
- Kelly, M. J. 1999. *The Origins and Development of Education in Zambia: From Pre-Colonial Times to 1996*. Lusaka: Image Publishers.
2017. "Fr. Thomas McGivern 1927 - 2017." *Province News - The Jesuits in Zambia and Malawi*, 48(1), 20-23.
- Macmillan, H. & Shapiro, F. 1999. *Zion in Africa: The Jews of Zambia*. London: I. B. Tauris in association with The Council for Zambia Jewry.
- Mwale, N. & Chita, J. 2016. "Trailing a Missionary Teacher's Position and Contributions in Zambian Religious Education." *Religion and Education*. DOI:10.1080/15507394.2016.1271221.
- Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education. 2013. *Zambia Education Framework Curriculum Framework 2013*. Lusaka: Curriculum Development Centre.
- Morris, C. 1964. *Church and Challenge in a New Africa*. London: Epworth.
- Mudalitsa, J. Y. 2016. *You are Great! RE is Great!* Kitwe: John Yanko Mudalitsa.
2002. *Religious Education with a Difference: A personal view*. Kabwe: Pastoral Care Department, Nkrumah Teachers College.
- O'Brien, D. 2006. *The Struggle for Control of Education in Zambia: From the Colonial Period to the Present*. Lewiston . Queenstown . Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- O'Grady, K. 2005. "Professor Ninian Smart, Phenomenology and Religious Education." *British Journal of Religious Education* 27, 227- 237.
- Pew Research Center. Religion and Public Life "The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050." (<http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050/>).
- Phiri, B. J. 2000. *A History of Indians in Eastern Province of Zambia*. Lusaka: B. J. Phiri.

Accounting for the shift towards 'Multifaith' Religious Education in Zambia, 1964 -2017

- Phiri, F. J. 2008. *Muslim Associations and the Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*. Lusaka: Lemabani.
- Ragsdale, P.J. 1986. *Protestant Mission Education in Zambia, 1880-1954*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated Presses.
- Simuchimba, M. 2005. "Religion and Education in Zambia 1890-2000 and Beyond." Unpublished PhD Thesis: UNISA.
- Simuchimba, M. 2012. Teaching Religious Education According to Educating Our Future, The National Policy on Education, *Zambia Journal of Education*, 3(2): 19-25.
- Skeie, G. 2002. "The Concept of Plurality and its Meaning for religious education." *British Journal of Religious Education* 25, 47-59.
- Snelson, P. 1974. *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia* (Second Ed.). Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation.
- Spady, W. 1994. *Outcome-based education: Critical issues and answers*. Arlington, VA: American Association of School Administration.
- Teece, G. 2010. "Is it learning about and from religions, or religious education? And is it any wonder some teachers don't get it?" *British Journal of Religious Education*, 32:2: 93-103, DOI: 10.1080/01416200903537399.
- Vansina, J. 1990. *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa*. London: James Currey.

Exploring differences and finding connections in Archaeology and History practice and teaching in the Livingstone Museum and the University of Zambia, 1973 to 2016

Francis B. Musonda

*Department of Historical and Archaeological Studies,
University of Zambia*

This article looks at the way archaeology and history have been practised and taught at the Livingstone Museum, Zambia and the University of Zambia in relation to each other as closely allied disciplines between 1973 and 2016. It identifies some of the areas in which they have either collaborated well, or need to do so, and those that set them apart in their common aim to study the past. The paper has identified a number of grey areas that have tended to be inimical to the advancement of the two institutions in their quest to advance the study of Zambia's historical and prehistoric past. The paper is presented in a narrative form in which issues central to the development of archaeology are discussed and challenges highlighted. The paper has established that despite the close relationship that exists between archaeology and history and their practice in the Livingstone Museum and the University of Zambia, little has been done to ensure that the two disciplines benefit from collaboration.

Key words: archaeology, history, collaboration, stakeholders, career transformation.

Introduction

The introduction of prehistoric studies in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) took place at the turn of the twentieth century as part of the colonization of the territory by the British colonial bureaucracy and settler community (Fielden, 1905; Macrae, 1925; Musonda, 2012). The European concept of time as was being studied in prehistory was introduced in Northern Rhodesia as an important fundamental idea in the study of the country's past. As prehistoric studies began to be undertaken in the Victoria Falls area (Clark, 1952, 1964, 1975) this marked a momentum to assert the understanding of the antiquity of humankind, thus bringing into context the importance of cultural heritage protection. Perhaps it was from this perspective that the colonial government saw the need to preserve the country's cultural and natural heritage and ensure its protection.

Archaeology and History practice and teaching

Legislation known as the Bushman Relics Proclamation of 1912, was enacted to enforce heritage protection in the country. This was followed by the establishment of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum (now Livingstone Museum) in 1934 and the National Monuments Commission (now National Heritage Conservation Commission) in 1947 as part of the Museum (Mufuzi, 2010, 42). The two institutions were separated in 1948. These initiatives were followed by several positive steps taken by government to create awareness among the local communities of the importance of protecting archaeological resources. At that time, few indigenous peoples, if any, could contemplate instituting similar measures, other than what was allowed for under traditional conservation practices (Musonda, 1987a, 1994).

The establishment of the museum and the National Monuments Commission was in conformity with the broad colonial policy of protecting the country's heritage and providing a cultural avenue through which intellectual life and understanding of Zambia's past would begin and develop. It was through these initiatives that archaeology developed in Northern Rhodesia as a discipline that was solely concerned with the Stone Age period (Clark, 1950a, 1950b) until the late 1950s when the recent past began to receive some attention (Musonda, 2012). The study of the recent period was largely left to historians while the distant past remained the prime focus of archaeologists. However, excavations at Iron Age sites such as Isamu Pati (Fagan, 1967), and Ingombe Ilede (Fagan et al., 1969, 57-186) brought history closer to archaeology because of the nature of the material culture which suggested interaction between the prehistoric and historical past of the country (Fagan, 1968; Phillipson, 1975).

It was not until the early 1970s that indigenous Zambians began to participate actively in the study of their past. Like most Zambians at the time of independence, they entered their fields of study including those who ventured into the field of archaeology and museum career purely by accident. Some did so after turning down Zambian government secondary school teaching jobs in preference for museum jobs, while others started their careers in parastatal companies that were being set up by government. For this writer, it was on completion of a Bachelor of Science degree at the University of Zambia in February 1973 that the Livingstone Museum presented a career plan that was in line with the programme of study pursued at the University, which was to allow for specialization in geography within the museum context.

The hope of pursuing the museum career in geography was strengthened by the encouragement of the then Chairman of the National Museums Board, the late Mr. Edward Shamwana, and my former University of Zambia (UNZA) lecturer, Mr. John Giardino. As the museum worked on the logistics to establish

the proposed department, it became necessary to deploy me in a related museum department. It was agreed that I serve under the Department of Pre-History where Joseph Vogel was involved in excavations of Iron Age sites in the middle Zambezi valley. Two months later, an opportunity presented itself to participate in an archaeological excavation at Mumbwa Caves, where Karla Savage, a PhD student from the University of California, Berkeley, was conducting excavations. I worked at the site for three months from April 1973, before proceeding to the University of Ghana to study archaeology. It was while in Ghana that I became aware of connections between archaeology and geography, as well as mathematics. The use of statistics and cluster analysis in artifact analysis, and heavy reliance on concepts such as ecology, stratigraphy, environment and landscape in interpreting prehistoric societies made the study of archaeology more meaningful and acceptable.

A strong foundation in the natural sciences is advantageous to the study of archaeology in a broad range of areas in Stone Age and Iron Age studies. The Ghanaian training was interdisciplinary in character and allowed for acquisition of knowledge in such specialized areas as geology, biology, geography and paleontology. It was while in Ghana that it became clear that archaeology was essentially interdisciplinary, with a humanistic approach to the study of the past that is not dependent on mere fact finding. This is what distinguishes archaeology from other social sciences. The training mix of archaeology and museum work was complex. Museums are practical institutions undertaking activities that enhance research, exhibitions, collections, storage, conservation and much more, bringing together scholarly and professional domains (Alexander and Alexander, 2008).

My career move from Livingstone Museum to the University of Zambia was not unprecedented. Encouragement and direction came from the career paths of J. Desmond Clark, Brian M. Fagan, Joseph O. Vogel and Ray R. Inskip who had successful careers at the Livingstone Museum and went on to have successful teaching and research careers in universities in the U.S.A. and South Africa. Similarly, there were others such as David W. Phillipson, Robin Derricourt and John Robertson who had equally successful research careers in the National Monuments Commission of Zambia and were later professionally contributing to knowledge dissemination in universities in the United Kingdom, North America and Australia.

In 2005, a job opportunity arose in the University of Zambia with an offer of a teaching position in the Department of History. This was an ill-equipped department for teaching archeology. Despite that, I took up the position knowing that doing so would open a window for Zambians to a broader understanding

of archaeology. My conviction was that archaeology is not only a discipline for museums and heritage institutions where material culture could be exclusively gathered, but also for universities. This marked a career transformation from museum work to university teaching and, more importantly, to scholarly interaction with the discipline of history.

This paper discusses perspectives in which archaeologists and historians look at each other through examination of a variety of contexts which are essential in the understanding of disciplines that study the past, and how their stakeholders are affected. Further, it examines my transition from museum work to a university environment and addresses issues that are common in museums and university departments that share research activities and the teaching of archaeology with history. These are disciplines that many universities in sub-Saharan Africa consider to be sister disciplines. The paper is written from a somewhat rare vantage point in the Department of History (now Department of Historical and Archaeological Studies) at the University of Zambia, where for the past eleven years I have been teaching and conducting research in archaeology, assisting with tutorials, and teaching history courses that have archaeology components in an effort to build a relationship and bridge the gap between the two disciplines.

Reflections on Archaeology and History in the Livingstone Museum

During the colonial period, the practice of archaeology in Zambia was largely an expatriate endeavour (Musonda, 2012). This was in line with what was happening elsewhere on the African continent (Robertshaw, 1990; Clark, 1986). The discovery of archaeological materials in the Victoria Falls region, and other parts of the country, during the early twentieth century (Fielden, 1905) marked the beginning of the reconstruction of the country's past and concern with questions of historical process. The Livingstone Museum housed large quantities of archaeological materials which were essential in fostering ethnic and national identity. Reconstructions of the past as displayed in the Archaeology Gallery were fundamentally narrative in character and dealt largely with stone tool assemblages that were described in great detail as a way of interpreting past cultures and events.

Early archaeological reports reveal that little was done to explain patterns or regularities in the past that would have been useful in the understanding of spatial distribution of assemblages (Clark, 1952, 1964, 1975). Evidence of human occupation was presented in the accepted manner of compiling culture histories, through reconstruction of ways of life of ancient peoples,

and description and analysis of cultural processes (Willey and Phillips, 1958; Binford, 1968a). However, in the ensuing years, the discipline grew through research and encountered diversification in areas of study that ranged from stone tool technology, Iron Age traditions, iron technology, copper technology, Bantu studies and origins of agriculture. Results of these archaeological studies reflect the colonial policy of not only ensuring cultural heritage protection, but creating public awareness about its importance. This approach to the study of the past ensured that by 1964 when Zambia became independent, many parts of the country had been explored and the history of the people fairly well reconstructed.

However, there was no appreciable attention paid to bridging the gap between historical and archaeological studies, although history was accorded a place in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in 1961, with the employment of Gervase C.R. Clay, the first historian at the Museum who served as Director at the same time (Mufuzi, 2010, 67). Earlier, at the Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory held in Livingstone in 1955 (Clark (ed.), 1957), J. Desmond Clark, the then Director of the Museum had made a passionate plea to Congress participants to support his proposal to create a position for an Iron Age specialist to study Iron Age societies (Clark, 1990, 193; Musonda, 2012, 92) and Ray R. Inskeep became the first Iron Age specialist in the country in 1957. This trend of having both historian and archaeologist on the museum establishment continued after Independence. This was done to emphasize the importance of studying local history. Unfortunately, this move did little to bridge the gap between archaeology and history. The two disciplines continued to be independent entities. Archaeology continued to deal with issues of the ancient past, such as stone tool making, hunting and gathering activities, while history concentrated on traditional discourses such as colonial history and the struggle for political independence. There was no clear link created between the prehistoric and historical past. Focus in both disciplines was on the original goals which guided the inception of the Livingstone Museum as it increasingly became an important research centre. However, the post-independence period had its challenges when it came to the practice of history in the museum. The nationalist spirit at the time ensured that history endeavoured to improve the negative image of Zambian culture and its recent past that had been inculcated by the authorities in the colonial era. Thus, emphasis shifted to improving knowledge of indigenous people's culture which had been despised, .

The lack of a clear working link between archaeology and history continued unabated well into the twenty-first century. Even when indigenous Zambians became part of the cultural heritage establishment, there was no evidence to show that there were strong concerns to bridge the gap between historical and

archaeological studies; cross-fertilization of ideas was patchy. Museum displays under archaeology continued to be based on the traditional approach to the study of the past that largely describes what happened in prehistory, rather than explaining prehistory (Wenke, 1980, 5). However, following the employment of qualified people in archaeology, history and ethnography (Mufuzi, 2010), there was an increased establishment of a localized display base that began to expand on issues of the ancient and most recent past. This marked a paradigm shift from Eurocentric to Afrocentric museum displays.

Undoubtedly, archaeology and history shared a common purpose in studying the past (Dymond, 1974). Their differences in methodology and research techniques required the museum to develop innovative ways that would lead to equitable sharing of resources necessary to bridge the gap between them. It was essential that a sense of closeness and commonality be created in undertaking research and institutional direction that would heighten a sense of belonging together. Was it the case of management not being responsive to the similarities that existed between the two disciplines? Or was it simply a lack of understanding the differences between them that underlined the critical gap between history and archaeology in the Livingstone Museum and the lack of attempts to unify them?

Bridging the gap between history and archaeology in the museum practice could have easily found support from research conducted at archaeological sites such as Twickenham Road (now Chakeluka Iron Age site) (Phillipson, 1970; Musonda, 2013), Isamu Pati and Ingombe Ilede (Fagan et al., 1969) whose interpretations depended on aspects from both disciplines. These sites sought explanations that were essential in contextualising populations that were prehistoric and historical in their ethnic identities.

The failure to bridge the gap between the later prehistory and historical period of the Soli/Lenje ethnic group in the Lusaka area, as revealed by excavations at Chakeluka Iron Age site, led to contestation of archaeological interpretation of cultural materials from the site (Musonda, 2013). While archaeology attempted to articulate events of the last stages of the site occupation prior to the setting up of colonial structures (Derricourt, 1986, 60-70; Phillipson, 1970), historical studies were patchy and of little relevance to the solution of contentious issues generated by archaeological discoveries. The failure of historical studies (or is it historians?) to address and articulate concerns of local communities regarding accusations of archaeologists' tampering with ancient burial sites was a clear indication of the reality of a gap between archaeology and history.

But it is also important to note that during the colonial and postcolonial periods up to the 1980s, issues pertaining to concerns of local communities

in matters of archaeological investigations and interpretations were marginal to the interests of most scholars. Archaeologists of that period were overly concerned with the study of archaeological materials and were able to lay the foundation for rigorous scholarship in such historical studies as metallurgy, Bantu migrations and pottery manufacture. Though these studies played an important role in bringing prehistory to history, little was done to address local histories. The claim by the Soli/Lenje communities that the human skeletal materials found at Chakeluka in 1968 during excavations of the site was evidence of their ancestral burial ground may be a case in point. It was not made manifest to European scholars until much later when indigenous scholars began to seek local explanations to aspects of the history of the area.

Career Transformation

In the mid-1970s, at the peak of the Zambianisation programme in the cultural sector, Robin Derricourt of the National Monuments Commission of Zambia, proposed to the University of Zambia that it include archaeology in its teaching programmes. He argued that the Department of History, established in 1966 (Phiri, 2016), would benefit from the country's archaeological discoveries in the reconstruction of Zambia's past. He considered collaborative research between the university and the country's cultural institutions (museums and National Monuments Commission) as being of great benefit to students and the country as a whole (personal comm.) Building human capacity was considered essential in a society emerging from more than ninety years of colonization. He argued that it was only through such programmes that young people would be able to make innovative responses necessary in meeting the needs of their communities. Any such collaborative efforts would subsequently become an integral part of a broader understanding and appreciation of the country's heritage. The university accepted the proposal, in principle, but could not implement it due to logistical problems.

However, in 2005, as stated above, the University of Zambia created a two year contract for me to teach archaeology within the Department of History. This followed an earlier offer made in 1988 which was not taken up, due to problems of accommodation in Lusaka, and strong pleas from the National Museums Board for me to continue being part of its developmental agenda. When retirement came in April 2005, time was now ripe to teach archaeology in a department with a distinctive character and an important role to play in the process of developing secondary school history teaching in postcolonial Zambia. At the time the Department of History was established, the country

lacked appropriately-trained people to teach history in schools. The inclusion of archaeology in the programme, though thirty-nine years later, was a fulfillment of the institution's mandate to adequately train teachers and establish networks with schools throughout the country.

The shift from museum work after thirty-two years of museum service, which largely involved research in archaeology, mounting archaeological displays, conservation of museum objects and museum administration, to teaching and research in archaeology, was indeed a challenge to career progression. Museum work entailed not only undertaking archaeological excavations of Stone Age sites but also the preservation of the country's cultural heritage and bringing this heritage to the attention of the local and international audience through publications and museum displays. As a museum worker, it was always exciting to participate in the design of displays and reconstruction of the country's cultural and historical past, and to add value to the people's cultural diversity and identities that together make up Zambia. This had to be demonstrated by presenting a broad picture of the development of cultures of different ethnic groups. Through working in collaboration with institutions such as the International Council of Museums, museum collections and activities were preserved and developed (Musonda, 2012).

As public institutions, museums enjoyed a lot of support from government, including financing of programmes and formulation of public policies that enhanced their management. Developing and executing public policies relating to training, financing, museum sustainability, seeking museum partnerships with stakeholders such as foreign embassies, schools, universities and local communities was an important component of museum development, accessibility to the public and promotion of museum self-financing. This was enhanced by the use of the media to communicate museum activities and programmes with their audiences, and in some cases use of traditional dimensions of temporary exhibitions and educational activities. These created an appreciable impact on public information dissemination.

In 1991 there was transfer of political power from the United National Independence Party (UNIP) to the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). This had major repercussions on museum research activities, resulting from their subordination to the political domain because of the newly embraced democratic liberalisation. Their total dependence on state funding, as non-profit-making institutions, entailed subservience to political authorities. It was a situation that translated into unclear departmental budgets for support of research and continuity of other museum programmes.

Departmental Traditions

As a new member of staff in the University of Zambia's Department of History, the first thing that became evident was the social cohesion that existed among individual members. They shared the characteristic of having intense interest in the study of the historical past.

It is quite obvious and expected that a departmental tradition that emerged at the inception of the University of Zambia in the mid-1960s would change over time as successful professionals took on new perceptions. One such important tradition was the holding of departmental seminars. Paper presentations on emerging new knowledge were a great source of inspiration and hard work. However, there was always something frustrating about some paper presentations that reflected the culture-historical approach, as their reconstructions of the past were fundamentally narrative in character. While most traditional historians may have no problems with such an approach to historical reconstructions, archaeologists are quite reluctant to accept the proposition that historical reconstructions of the past should be narrative because of the nature of their data and their approach to gathering such data. History should not only be narrative, but interpretative and analytical, especially if historical sources are rigorously interrogated. But the source of the problem may be to do with the historians' orientation, when they were trained and whether such training stressed good historical writing practices.

Another tradition that was as old as the department itself was the practice of moderating examination papers. Swapping exam papers and being able to agree on appropriate grades was indeed strength in the teaching of history, as it worked to uphold high academic standards and ensured fairness in the manner examinations were conducted and grades awarded.

As stated earlier, the Department of History (now Department of Historical and Archaeological Studies) remained one of the oldest departments in the University of Zambia, having been established in 1966 within the School of Education (Phiri, 2016). However, in 1989 there was a university policy shift to move the department from the School of Education to the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. Twenty-seven years later, one clearly got the impression that apart from teaching history to students, mostly from the School of Education, the policy shift had not achieved its intended purpose. Though history teaching remained an important component of academic work, it appeared this went only as far as preparing students for teaching in schools. Over eighty per cent of those in the department were from the School of Education; students from the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, apart from those wishing to enter the School of Law, did not appear to be favorably inclined to history.

Archaeology and History practice and teaching

To ensure that all students had access to their course lectures, the department continued to conduct 'tutorials' in all history and archaeology courses. This was a clearly outlined method of teaching history which was mandatory and considered to be an important component of the history curriculum. Tutorial sessions were conducted at least once a week with numbers not exceeding fifteen students per session. The benefits were immeasurable.

The 1960s saw the emergence and recognition of the importance of African History. In 1960 the *Journal of African History* was launched. This was followed in 1966 by the *Cambridge History of Africa* volumes, coinciding with the opening of the University of Zambia. This led to an unprecedented increase in historical knowledge (McCracken, 1993, 243). During this period there was an expansion of pioneering work by newly appointed expatriate lecturers who previously had little or no experience of Africa. The acceptance of oral traditions in addition to written sources as a basis for studying African history was a huge bonus to history teaching in a new university (Musambachime pers. com.). The presence of expatriate history lecturers such as Professor Omer-Cooper ensured rapid development of the department and its rise to eminence (Phiri, pers.com).

The introduction of Bantu studies in the late 1960s (Summers, 1967, 1970) created an opportunity for historians and archaeologists to engage in debates on the origins and spread of Bantu-speaking peoples, though this was with varying degrees of success in the face of changes that were taking place in pottery typologies and linguistic classification (see for example Phillipson 1976, 1977). Scholars with interest in the study of preliterate societies used pottery assemblages, linguistics and oral traditions to explain these phenomena (Phillipson, 1976; Ehret and Posnansky (eds.), 1982; Oliver, 1966; Guthrie, 1962). Many of the reconstructions of Bantu expansion often relied on similarities of pottery assemblages and pottery sequence to trace movements of people who were identified linguistically and chronologically (Eggert, 2005, 301-326; Phillipson, 1976, 65-82). As archaeologists worked out sequence of pottery types evolving in some direction to explain the origins and expansion of Bantu-speakers, historians were introduced to all the details of pottery style, technology, decorative motifs and other attributes (Oliver, 1966, 361-376). Despite the conflicting theories of origin and migration there was growing understanding regarding the aims of history and archaeology. Archaeological discoveries and historical reconstructions of Bantu expansion have indeed been able to support each other. However, archaeologists and historians worked together only in as far as reconstructing movements of the Bantu-speakers was concerned.

From the early 1990s, the study of African history began to slow down, due to budget cuts and freezing of departmental staff establishments. The resource crisis affected attainment of potential strength in scholarship and was a grave problem to self-advancement. Networking with colleagues from western countries was adversely affected, brilliant colleagues with ambition to move on relocated to other universities, while others were forced into early retirement. Despite these challenges, teaching of history continued to maintain a significant presence in the University of Zambia, attracting large numbers of undergraduate students mainly from the School of Education and developing a strong research-oriented postgraduate programme.

Following his exposure to an American university educational system, B. J. Phiri presented a proposal to include public history in the history programme. Despite the acknowledgement that public history was a respectable and useful addition with academic value to the departmental syllabus, the proposal never reached the School Curriculum Committee. It appeared that colleagues in the department were content with the traditional subject matter that was being taught. Teaching and research interests continued to revolve around the political and social history of Zambia and neighboring countries, and contemporary issues, a situation that tended to denigrate the long precolonial history of the region. The department could have done well to revisit and focus its research on some of the old historical debates, such as the origins and dispersal of the Bantu-speaking peoples, origins of metallurgy and food production.

However, the introduction of archaeology in the history programme in 2005 added a new dimension to the interpretive context and organization of course outlines of some of the courses in history, such as “History of Zambia”, that rely on archaeology for explanatory paradigms and professional socialization. The “History of Zambia” course has many archaeological components in it that make it ideal for exploring connections between the two disciplines. The incorporation of archaeology enabled the department to reposition itself in response to expanded responsibilities and diversity of societal needs. There was greater need to look beyond the perception of history as simply a teaching subject in schools and begin to incorporate more issues in the discipline that would make it more relevant to the needs of the modern world.

Perhaps, it is less speculative to argue that participation in the teaching of “Introduction to the study of History” and the “History of Zambia” courses enhanced my understanding of historical concepts, theories and differing agendas in research and interpretation of data under the postcolonial system. The stabilisation of academic debates in history, surrounding the nature of colonial agendas of colonial and nationalist historians of Africa, may partly be credited

to the work of archaeologists (Volume 1 UNESCO). This has largely been in the context of agendas of colonial and postcolonial articulation and interpretations of historical events, ethnic contestations, knowledge construction and consensus-building. The use of archaeology in the interpretation of historical events has been a huge success especially on the basis of its defiance of the Eurocentric myth of an unchanging continent, without a history, which has been, and perhaps continues to be, the basis of teaching much of African history. These were the sentiments expressed in a series of lectures by Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper in the early 1960s (Trevor-Roper, 1963, 871). It was through such an approach to knowledge-building that archaeology had its strongest contacts with history.

Bridging the gap between history and archaeology

It may not be quite so clear to all students of history that there are benefits to be derived from a close interplay with archaeology, because of its theoretical approaches, methodology, techniques of data recovery, nature and body of archaeological data and archaeological points of view. Insistence on a scientific approach to the study of the past, and employment of scientific concepts in the investigation of the past (Binford, 1968b, 1972a, 78, 1972b; Hodder, 1982, 1992) could make historians weary and scared. The theoretical debates of the 1960s - 90s which introduced processual and post-processual approaches to archaeology contributed substantially to the internal development of archaeology in Zambia. Archaeological approaches to investigations of sites in the Middle Zambezi Valley by Joseph Vogel (Vogel, 1987, 159-170), Kalambo Falls by J. D. Clark (1974, 2001), Iron Age and Later Stone Age sites by David W. Phillipson (2005) and others (Musonda, 1987b) blended the old and new methods in the study of the past, a sign that archaeology in Zambia had come of age.

For archaeologists, use of theory helps to simplify the understanding of archaeological data and enriches archaeological development and subsequently reveals how archaeological investigation and interpretation could add a new dimension to the world understanding itself (Ucko, 1995, 24). In archaeological research, the use of hypothesis testing, generalization and inference has been a phenomenon that is shared by all sciences, in the same way archaeology shares concepts with other disciplines including history in the social and cultural sphere.

What may not be very clear to archaeologists is whether historians consider the aspect of evolution of culture from Early Iron Age to Later Iron Age as representing technological improvement among Bantu speakers in the same way archaeologists explain it, as part of a sequence of pottery types achieving some functional efficiency in pottery making. Archaeologists associate Later Iron Age

pottery as representing gradual improvement from Early Iron Age pottery. This is largely reflected in refinement of rims, decorative motifs, and body structure. If there would be any difference in the interpretation of evolution of pottery assemblages between historians and archaeologists, this is a possible area where the two disciplines would need to collaborate.

This difference in the interpretation of pottery is likely to arise because field investigations do not always support the concept that there is always some form of relationship between evolving pottery and stratigraphic succession. An archaeological site, such as Chakeluka, with a complex stratigraphy is unlikely to show any relationship between the two. Excavations at Chakeluka site (Musonda, 2013, 52-62) revealed lack of support for interpretations that tend to suggest that typological sequence always represents an improvement in cultural tradition and perhaps advancement of a community. The presence of rubbish pits, collapsed huts, and hut floors having been dug through earlier occupation levels, hearths and other features that were possibly as a result of intermittent clearing and cleaning during occupation could be a departure from the norm. The opposite may have been quite true that there was degeneration of the pottery tradition an aspect that may defy common sense in historical reconstruction.

In archaeology, it is common to present an undisturbed sequence of horizontal strata with the lowest layer representing the oldest and the topmost one as being the youngest (Fagan, 1983). A more desirable explanation in understanding the rules of stratigraphy was therefore needed at Chakeluka site. The provision of practical training to students was an essential aspect in understanding how stratigraphy in an archaeological trench is established and the order of layers determined prior to historical reconstruction.

When the archaeology programme began in 2005, the aim was to balance the need for diversity of subject matter with limits on available staff and resources, how to be able to interest students in the study of archaeology without compromising the policy of history teaching in the department and practices in the University, and how best to deliver to the expectations of the student while forging new partnerships with the wider community. We worked to find commonalities among the subject matter in history and archaeology that could improve the study and understanding of the past and how the concerns of these professions would best be dealt with in a spirit of learning from each other. This approach to course design benefitted largely from training received from the University of California (Berkeley) which emphasised the thematic issues that blend with historical studies. From the outset, this proved worthwhile for teaching archaeology in the Department of History.

Archaeology in the USA during the 1970s and 1980s, when I was a student there, was taught as part of Anthropology, a discipline that spans virtually all the fields of knowledge in the Social Sciences, Humanities, Natural Sciences and Biological Sciences. The exposure to disciplines that embrace knowledge of all aspects of human behaviour enhanced understanding of essential aspects of scientific methods necessary in interpreting prehistoric peoples' way of life. Pursuing some of these aspects of study under the umbrella of anthropology created no discernible boundaries between certain topics, but instead allowed the study of the past to range freely over other areas of knowledge.

In the teaching of history, there is unjustifiable emphasis on written sources, particularly archival sources, something of a cliché that history deals only with interpretations of historical facts, whereas other sources, such as archaeology, deal with the facts themselves. This tends to underplay the contributions that sources such as interviews (oral history), oral traditions, linguistics and anthropology make towards historical reconstructions. How then can a discipline be wholly dependent on written records characterized by biases but still provide us with a correct reality of past events? However, the trend is shifting toward using other sources of data such as environmental, archaeological and anthropological to elucidate historical phenomena.

How then, can we mitigate against this misrepresentation of what history is? This can be done by highlighting its sources of data, their strengths and weaknesses (Musonda, 1986, 391-412) and covering all branches of history in research and teaching. The problem that has arisen in recent years is that some aspects of history such as social, political and colonial history have come to attract more researchers at the expense of others. Most researchers in the department made social, colonial, and political history their stomping ground, whereas environmental history continued to be neglected. We were yet to see history produce highly creative and insightful studies that would have any real impact on historical archaeology and the way historians viewed pre-colonial and the colonial past. This blending of the study of the historical past and archaeology would have ensured all histories of the precolonial past were not marginalised and weakened in the country's historical writing (Connah, 2004, 2007; Langworthy, 1972). In the process, some form of appreciation would have been created among students studying archaeology and history that the two disciplines indeed complement each other, and that both offer valuable data to the understanding of the past. It was here that the sense of preference for a historical discipline, with a better data system that tended to pervade both archaeology and history, was watered down and allowed to overlap with only the timescale to divide them.

It would be naïve for anyone to harbour any sense of superiority of one discipline over the other on the basis of some of the differences that exist between them. Although this may not be entirely unexpected, colleagues in the Department of Anthropology at Berkley in the late 1970s and early 1980s often denounced history as having little relevance to the study of Africa's distant past. There may have been some validity in this criticism considering that the major area of study in archaeology was the origins of humankind several millions of years ago. But to view historians as purveyors of highly subjective data was perhaps misconceived. There is even no truth in the assertion that most historians are theoretically less informed, something that finds support in their preference for conceptual framework, while their archaeology colleagues struggle with problems of theoretical framework.

To narrow the gap of suspicion between archaeologists and historians, there is need for collaborative research that would contribute to obtaining appropriate historical and archaeological interpretation for a comprehensive and stimulating past. Such an undertaking would not only contribute to improved academic standards, but would ensure improved communication and writing skills among students. In order to broaden and seek career insights and direction, the archaeology programme was set out to establish networking activities with cultural institutions that would benefit students. Each academic calendar included visits to museums, and field trips to archaeological sites, that provide data necessary to bridge the gap between history and archaeology. The Mumbwa Caves, Ingombe Ilede, Kalambo Falls, and Nachikufu Caves are such sites that have helped popularize the study of history.

Outings to archaeological sites always provoked intense excitement among students and offered unparalleled challenges and opportunities as much as they provided them with extraordinary learning experiences. Most importantly, they often revealed the essential value of field trips in supplementing classroom work. The inclusion of history students on these field trips revealed important connections between archaeology and history and enhanced the sharing of knowledge between the two disciplines. Cross-fertilization of knowledge was essential to fulfilling the diverse needs of students from different academic backgrounds. Undoubtedly, this provided them with academic direction in the study of the past.

The Ingombe Ilede site was particularly outstanding in sensitizing students to the interpretive interdependence of archaeology and history. The site has yielded spectacular Iron Age artifacts including gold beads, iron ornaments, and an assortment of foreign objects that provide evidence of external trade in Zambia prior to the coming of colonialism. The quality and quantity of

archaeological research that has continued at the site since it was first excavated in the late 1950s is very impressive.

An interesting aspect that emerged from linkages created between archaeology and history in the department was the increasing awareness of issues that are of great significance to the study of the past, particularly the recent past. History students learnt to become responsive to such themes and concepts as radiocarbon dating, cultural diffusion, origins of humans, hunter-gatherer behaviour, origins of food production, metallurgy, Bantu origins, typology, taphonomy, stratigraphy, artifact classification, and stone toolmaking. Some of these themes and concepts were not only less well understood in history, but often presented learning challenges to students.

There were more challenging connections that introduced students to case studies as part of assignments, instead of limiting them to the traditional approach of essay writing with its attendant problems of copy and paste and plagiarism. The 'garbage project' in archaeology started in Tucson, Arizona, USA, by Rathje (Rathje, 1984; Rathje and Murphy, 1992) was one of the greatest challenges to the teaching of archaeology. Students were guided to undertake the study of garbage heaps around the university campus and surrounding areas as part of taphonomic studies initiated by Rathje. Students with a major in history found the study very stimulating. Its implications on how archaeologists interpret their material culture, what material traces survive after disposal, and how archaeological sites are created were far reaching in the study of the past.

Undoubtedly, the exposure of history students to new approaches to the study of the past enabled them to begin making new advances in the interpretation of historical material. They were able to visualise the past and began to deal with many complex issues in understanding societies of the recent past. As is well known to archaeologists, the recent past embraces the ethnographic present and this aspect of archaeology is of great interest to historians. The archaeology of Chakeluka Iron Age site discussed above, embraces the ethnographic present and provides an excellent example of a heritage site that could be managed sustainably. Through an innovative programme mooted by the National Heritage Conservation Commission in the early 1990s which aimed to promote sustainable heritage development, the country's cultural and historical heritage was now better known and understood by students through site visits. The creation of *in situ* conservation and protection practices were some of the measures undertaken to help bridge the gap between university and cultural institutions in their endeavour to train students about their past.

Visits to heritage sites were particularly significant in providing students with an opportunity to learn the importance of establishing good working

relations with living communities that could have a stake and historical connection to the past. Such approaches to the study of the past would help avoid future confrontations with stakeholders as was the case at Chakeluka Iron Age Site (Musonda, 2013, 57-58).

Challenges

As noted above, Dymond (1974) emphasised that one of the major differences between archaeology and history lies in the methodology and techniques by which the past is studied. In 2009, the Department of History introduced its archaeology students to how archaeological data is gathered in a practical way. At the core of the difference is the nature of evidence archaeology deals with, the physical remains of the past that are recovered by means of systematic archaeological excavations (Renfrew and Bahn, 2012, 49). It was the re-excavation of Chakeluka Iron Age Site (Musonda, 2013) that exposed both archaeology and history students to techniques and methods of excavation, archaeological finds, stratigraphy, site occupation, chronology, interpretation of material culture and historical reconstruction of the past. In a discreet way, students were introduced to archaeological methodologies that are used in solving some of the problems in prehistory and the order in which historical events took place. Appreciation of the relevance of archaeology to historical reconstruction was achieved when it became clear that this archaeological site was ideal for cross-checking colonial documents relating to the establishment of the town of Lusaka, because of its unique position between prehistoric and historical periods (Williams, 1986).

Between 2008 and 2012 the University of Zambia perceived its mission in new ways through the development of a strategic plan. Research, teaching, public service and knowledge dissemination to its stakeholders began to undergo experimentation with new approaches and methodologies that correspond to the modern view of the world. The Department of History was part of this organizational change in which interests of stakeholders and students in disciplines of archaeology and history were carefully evaluated. This resulted in new courses being designed as instruments of capacity building and transforming attitudes towards a better appreciation of the programmes. One of the changes introduced was student online registration. This technological transformation had disastrous consequences on the numbers of students studying history and archaeology during the first year of its implementation. There was a sharp drop in student numbers in history and archaeology courses. This was especially so in elective courses where numbers dropped in favor of courses and programmes deemed more attractive to students in the School of Education.

The new student registration system failed to provide sufficient information on courses, course combinations and course prerequisites for academic programmes. It did not even encourage consultations between students and lecturers so as to minimize over-registration in preferred courses and under-registration in others. Student scepticism about the relevance of history and archaeology to their academic interests exacerbated the problem. Student numbers in the “Introduction to Archaeology Course” dropped from slightly over 80 to below 25. Such a situation could not allow development of an archaeology programme as rapidly as envisaged in the strategic plan. Four courses that were offered at undergraduate level, together with the two offered at postgraduate level, could not attract more than 50 students, a situation that was inimical to the programme development.

Despite the online registration challenges, archaeology and history continued to appeal to students dedicated to the study of the past. It became clear that there was greater need than ever before to transform student perception of how the past should be studied. Changing the name of the department to deal with historical and archaeological studies was considered a better option as it would respond creatively to the growth and change in market needs as demands on knowledge continued to shift. Name change was expected to create good prospects for a scholarly convergence of history and archaeology and a real possibility for a bridge between them. Those who specialise in digging for their data in the ground could now be united with those who dig for their records in the archives and both began to see the value of each other’s work.

Diversification of courses in both archaeology and history was not only encouraged but became a pertinent trend and a positive response to changes taking place in universities globally. Efforts were also made during the same period to explore linkages with cultural institutions that would benefit from the teaching of Cultural Resource Management as part of archaeology. Although this could not be implemented immediately, the move was considered a positive way to create a university curriculum that would address different educational, ethnic and economic backgrounds of students entering the department. Undoubtedly, such an approach to university learning would respond effectively to societal needs and enhance the study of the past, and subsequently contribute to increasing student enrolment in the department.

An unlikely interconnecting phenomenon between history and archaeology came in the location of books in archaeology and history in the main library. The library holds a large number of books in many specialised disciplines, works of literature and government documents. Despite the late introduction of archaeology in the university’s programmes, there was a small collection of

archaeology books, most of which were published before the 1980s. They were strategically located next to the history books. The collection, though valuable to general archaeological knowledge, proved to be of little relevance to the archaeology courses designed in 2005. As teaching of archaeology progressed, it was discovered that there was great need to provide more relevant reading materials to students. As a way of militating against the serious shortfall and heightening student interest in the subject, attempts were made to ensure that they had access to relevant and up-to-date reading materials in sufficient quantities. As a temporary solution, several personal materials were placed in the 'Short Loan Section' of the library which allows for two-hour and overnight borrowing.

As expected, the placement of relevant reading materials at the student disposal provided access and helped stimulate interest in archaeology. Unfortunately, the enthusiasm created was to the detriment of the books which suffered mutilation and other forms of damage. A few of them were torn, while others had passages underlined in red ink. This was a blatant disregard for the conditions given for the release of the reading materials. As a result of this destruction and disregard for a private collection, they were withdrawn from the library, an action that was not well received by most students.

However, on the basis of positive student reaction to the introduction of archaeology teaching, there was a corresponding positive response to seek alternative sources of reading materials. The students, who mostly come from the School of Education, showed greater appreciation for the incorporation of archaeology in history teaching as the move facilitated production of local human resource in the education sector that would be more knowledgeable and responsive to modern demands.

Conclusion

Despite the large number of archaeological sites investigated and the contributions made by archaeologists working in Zambia to the study of the country's prehistoric past since the turn of the twentieth century, the bulk of what we know today has been narrated by historians. Even though Livingstone Museum has built a strong tradition of archaeological work in the country, it is historical narratives that provide us with the bulk of our knowledge of the past. But even though archaeology and history have been operating in our museums since the colonial period, they have done so as separate entities. It was not until 2005 when archaeology was introduced in the University of Zambia's Department of History that it was acknowledged that there was indeed need to have the two

Archaeology and History practice and teaching

disciplines integrated. The transition from museological practice to university teaching had the good fortune to create the necessary exposure to archaeological field work, archaeological and historical materials as well as training students in both archaeology and history at all levels. Designing archaeology storylines for museum displays, and the interpretive side of history, tended to dominate museum work and was but a weak link to the study of history. Museum exhibits were characterised by a narrative approach which created an interdisciplinary bridge between archaeology and history. These linkages emphasized the importance of interaction between historians and archaeologists in meaningful and creative ways. Both needed to create data that would in turn be of greater use to the other.

However, despite the country's good fortune of enacting a Heritage Act at the turn of the twentieth century, to enhance heritage protection, public awareness was not fully realised. Few people acknowledged the importance of this effort. The devastation caused to archaeological and historical sites and few premiums placed on dissemination of public knowledge of the rich cultural heritage, is a case in point. Equally frustrating to the purveyors of cultural knowledge was lack of concerted effort by successive governments to promote the teaching of archaeology in schools as a premium to raise public awareness and create linkages with history.

There are numerous advantages if archaeology is embraced by historians. Archaeology has continued to provide a broad background to related disciplines such as history, which draw significantly on archaeological data. Archaeological materials need history to provide chronological order and historical context, especially for recent archaeological material. Similarly, history would also rely on archaeology to enhance the sense of the physical world of antiquity, expand the corpus of material and through the use of written components deepen our understanding of the past (Dyson, 2009, 59).

Undoubtedly, the teaching of archaeology, side by side with history and its attendant field trips to archaeological sites like Ingombe Ilede, Mumbwa Caves, Nachikufu Caves, and Kalambo Falls facilitated the production of local human resource in the education sector that is both knowledgeable and responsive to societal needs. Since its introduction in the university programme, more than 500 Zambian graduates have undergone professional training in archaeology and the majority of these are prospective teachers in secondary schools.

The process of teaching archaeology to history teachers has been necessary because a significant portion of Grade 8 and Grade 9 Social Studies syllabus in Zambian schools consists of archaeology, which continues to be part of national and pan-African histories in the upper grades. Since archaeological discoveries were made in Eastern and South Africa by Louis and Mary Leakey (Leakey,

1965) Raymond Dart (Dart, 1925) and others, historical reconstructions in sub-Saharan Africa have largely benefited from archaeology as a source of data particularly for the early period. Recent prehistoric periods have continued to depend on written records, linguistic evidence and oral traditions for historical reconstruction.

This paper has highlighted numerous advantages that accrue to practitioners of history and archaeology when the two disciplines embrace each other. The differences, though real, can be overcome once archaeologists and historians work together and find connections in their study of the past that can be enhanced and welcomed in their ranks. Both disciplines have flaws in their methods of study which can quickly be rectified and minimised to lessen the divide between them. As argued here, the archaeology curriculum initiated in the University of Zambia in 2005 was founded on strong connections with history. Presently, it stands at a crossroads where it is capable of expanding, if the environment continues to be favorable, and also to shrink if efforts are not taken to train more archaeologists to continue with its teaching and research.

References

- Alexander, E.P. and M. Alexander. 2008. *Museums in Motion. An Introduction to the History and Function of Museums*. Second Edition New York: Altamira Press.
- Binford, L.R. 1968a. "Archaeological Perspectives." In S.R. Binford, and L.R. Binford, *New Perspectives in Archaeology*, (ed.) Chicago: Aldine. 5-32.
- Binford, L.R. 1968b. "Archaeological Theory and Method." In S.R. Binford and L.R. Binford. *New Perspectives in Archaeology*, (ed.) Chicago: Aldine. 1-3.
- Binford, L.R. 1972a. *An Archaeological Perspective*. New York: Seminar Press.
- Binford, L.R. 1972b. "Contemporary Model building: Paradigms and the current state of Paleolithic research." In D.L. Clarke. *Models in Archaeology*, (ed.) London: Methuen. 19-166.
- Clark, J.D. 1950. *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*. Cape Town: South African Archaeological Society.
- Clark, J.D. 1952. "Prehistoric Man at the Falls." In J.D. Clark (ed.) *The Victoria Falls Illustrated*. Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics: Northern Rhodesia.
- Clark, J.D. (ed.) 1957. *Third Pan-African Congress on Pre-History. Livingstone 1955*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Clark, J.D. 1964. "Stone Age Man at the Falls". In B.M. Fagan (ed.) *A Handbook to the Victoria Falls, The Batoka Gorge and Part of the Upper Zambezi River* (second edition), 55-64.

Archaeology and History practice and teaching

- Clark, J.D. 1974. *The Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site, Vol. II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, J.D. 2001. *The Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site, Vol. III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, J.D. 1975. "Stone Age Man at the Victoria Falls." In D.W. Phillipson (ed) *Mosi-oa-Tunya: A handbook to the Victoria Falls Region*. London: Longman Group Ltd, 28-47.
- Clark, J.D. 1986. "Archaeological retrospect". *Antiquity* 60, 179 – 188.
- Clark, J.D. 1990. "A Personal Memoir." In P. Robertshaw (ed.) *A History of African Archaeology*. Oxford: James Currey, 189-204.
- Connah, G. 2004. *Forgotten Africa. An Introduction to its Archaeology*. London: Routledge.
- Connah, G. 2007. "Historical Archaeology in Africa: An Appropriate Concept?" *African Archaeological Review* 24, 35-40.
- Dart, R.A. 1925. "Australopithecus Africanus: The man-ape of South Africa." *Nature* 115, 195-100.
- Derricourt, R.M. 1986. "Prehistoric Settlement in the Lusaka Region". In G.J. Williams (ed.) *Lusaka and its Environs*. Lusaka: Zambia Geographical Association. 60-70.
- Dymond, D.P. 1974. *Archaeology and History: A Plea for Reconciliation*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Dyson, S.L. 2009. "Archaeology and Ancient History". In A. Erskine (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient History*. Malden, M.A: Blackwell Publishing, 59-66.
- Eggert, M. 2005. "The Bantu problem in African Archaeology". In A. Stahl (ed.) *African Archaeology*. Malden, M.A.: Blackwell Publishing, 301-326.
- Ehret, C. and M. Posnansky (eds.) 1982. *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fagan, B.M. 1967. *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Kalomo and Kangila) Vol.1*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Fagan, B.M. 1968. *A Short History of Zambia*, Second edition. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Fagan, B.M. 1983. "Introduction: Archaeology Interprets Prehistory". In B.M. Fagan (ed.) *Prehistoric Times. Scientific American*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company.
- Fagan, B.M., D.W. Phillipson and S.G.H. Daniels. 1969. *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga). Vol . II* London: Chatto and Windus, 57-186.
- Fielden, H. W. 1905. "The Stone Age of the Zambezi Valley and its relation in time". *Nature*, 73 -77.
- Guthrie, M. 1962. "Some developments in the Prehistory of the Bantu languages". *Journal of African History* 3, 273 – 282.

- Hodder, I. 1982. "The Present Past." *An Introduction to Anthropology for Archaeologists*. Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Books Ltd.
- Hodder, I. 1992. *Theory and Practice in Archaeology*. London: Routledge.
- Hodder, I. (ed.) 2001. *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Langworthy, H.W. 1972. *Zambia Before 1980. Aspects of Pre-Colonial History*. Longman Group Ltd: London.
- Leakey, L.S.B. 1965. *Olduvai Gorge 1951 – 1961 Vol. 1 A Preliminary Report on the Geology and Fauna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macrae, F.B. 1926. "The Stone Age in Northern Rhodesia". *Native Affairs Department Annual Report*, 4, 67 – 68.
- McCracken, J 1993. "African history in British Universities: Past, Present and Future". *African Affairs*, 92, 239 – 253.
- Mufuzi, F. 2010. "The Livingstone Museum and its contribution to Zambian History, 1934 – 2006." Unpublished PhD Thesis, Lusaka: University of Zambia (UNZA).
- Mufuzi, F. 2011. "Establishment of the Livingstone Museum and its role in colonial Zambia". *Historia*: 26-41.
- Mufuzi, F. 2012. "The Livingstone Museum and its role in postcolonial Zambia, 1964-2006". *Historical*, 57, 127-140.
- Musonda, F.B. 1986. "Use of Oral traditions in African Archaeology: its usefulness and limitations". In *Oral Traditions in Southern Africa – Vol. III*. edited by S.P.C. Moyo et al. Lusaka: Institute for African Studies, UNZA (University of Zambia), 391 – 412.
- Musonda, F.B. 1987a. "Traditional Wildlife and Soil Conservation practices in Zambia and their role in development". *Black Lechwe* 9, 13 – 20.
- Musonda, F.B. 1987b. "The significance of pottery in Zambian Later Stone Age contexts". *African Archaeological Review* 5, 147-158.
- Musonda, F.B. 1994. "Learning from History". In *The state of the environment in Southern Africa*. Research and Documentation Centre (SPCD), Harare, 21 – 38.
- Musonda, F.B. 2011. "In pursuit of the past: A consideration of Emergent Issues in African Archaeology in the last fifty years". In *Casting the Net Wide. Papers in Honour of Glynn Isaac and his Approach to Human Origins Research*, edited by J. Sept and D. Pilbeam. Oxford: Oxford Books.
- Musonda, F.B. 2012. "100 years of Archaeological Research in Zambia: Changing Historical Perspectives". *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 67 (195), 88 – 100.
- Musonda, F.B. 2013. "Ethnicity and ethical issues in Archaeological Interpretation: The case of Chakeluka Iron Age Site, Lusaka, Zambia". *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 68 (197), 52-62.
- Oliver, R. 1966. "The problem of the Bantu expansion". *African History*, 7, 361-76.

Archaeology and History practice and teaching

- Phillipson, D.W. 1970. "Excavations at Twickenham Road, Lusaka". *Azania* 5, 77-118.
- Phillipson, D.W. 1975. "The Iron Age in Zambia". *The Historical Association of Zambia* 5, Neczam: Lusaka.
- Phillipson, D.W. 1976. "Archaeology and Bantu Linguistics". *World Archaeology*, Vol. 8. No.1: 65 – 82.
- Phillipson, D.W. 1977. "The Spread of Bantu Languages". *Scientific American* 236, 106 – 114.
- Phillipson, D.W. 2005. *African Archaeology*. Third Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phiri, B.J. 2016. *The History of the University of Zambia, 1966 – 2016*. Lusaka: University of Zambia (UNZA).
- Rathje, W.L. 1984. "The Garbage decade". *American Behavioral Scientist* 28 (4): 9 - 29.
- Rathje, W.L. 2001. "Integrated Archaeology: A Garbage Paradigm". In Buchli, V. and G. Lucas (eds.) *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*. London: Routledge.
- Rathje, W.L. and C. Murphy. 1992. *Rubbish! The Archaeology of Garbage*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Renfrew, C. and P. Bahn. 2012. *Archaeology. Theories, Methods and Practice*. 6th Edition. New York: Thames & Hudson.
- Robertshaw, P. 1990. *A History of African Archaeology*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Summers, R. 1967. "Iron Age Industries of Southern Africa, with notes on their chronology, terminology and economic status". In W.W. Bishop and J.D. Clark (eds.) *Background to evolution in Africa*. Chicago, 687-700.
- Summers, R. 1970. "Forty years progress in Iron Age studies in Rhodesia". *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 25, 95 - 103.
- Trevor-Roper, H. 1963. "The Rise of Christian Europe". *The Listener*, November 28.
- Ucko, P.J. 1995. "Introduction: Archaeological interpretation in a World Context". In Ucko, P.J. (ed.) *Theory in Archaeology. A World Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- Vogel, J.O. 1987. "Iron Age Farmers in Southwest Zambia: Some Aspects of Spatial Organization". *The African Archaeological Review* 5, 159-170.
- Wenke, R.J. 1980. *Patterns in Prehistory. Mankind's First Three Million Years*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wiley, G.R. and P. Phillips 1958. *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Williams, G.J.W. 1986. "The early years of the township." In: Williams, G.J.W. (ed.) *Lusaka and its Environs. A Geographical Study of a Planned Capital City in Tropical Africa*. Lusaka: Zambia Geographical Association.

Book Reviews

Jessica Achberger

Michigan State University, East Lansing

Nyerere: The Early Years. By Thomas Molony. (London: James Currey, 2014), 284 pp.

Molony writes in his introduction, speaking of alternative biographies of Nyerere, that ‘minor details are not so important’ (4). Yet it is Molony’s attention to detail and sensitivity to his topic that makes his biography of the early years of Nyerere’s life so compelling. These two parallel themes of precision and attention to not just what a biography is, but what it should be, run throughout the volume. A note on the nomenclature preceding the introduction shows an attention to linguistic detail and complexity that is mirrored in the historical precision of the work, which details Nyerere’s life from his birth in 1922 in Tanganyika Territory to his graduation from Edinburgh in 1952. A focus on these years makes Molony’s biography unique in relation to other similar works, and he argues that this concentration on early life allows us to see Nyerere’s ‘later politics in a new light’ (1).

The remaining chapters are presented chronologically, the first of which discusses the ‘physical and mental’ geography of Nyerere’s ancestral home, Butiama, and his people, the Zanaki (11). Though Nyerere does not feature largely in this first chapter, it provides a foundation for the chapters that follow, and an important basis for debunking the widely-held belief that Zanaki was the foundation for Nyerere’s *ujamaa*. Chapter two examines the early years of Nyerere’s life, including his upbringing in what Molony terms “an apparently egalitarian society”, the effects of which can be later applied to Nyerere’s philosophies and policies as a political leader (37). Kambarage, as Nyerere was named, was greatly influenced by his educational opportunities, which were centered in the Catholic Church, into which Kambarage was baptised, in 1943, as Julius. The importance of this trajectory and the ways in which it influenced a young Nyerere are developed throughout the chapters, with some postulation, but none which seems entirely contrived or conflated.

Molony then moves on to explore the important setting of Makerere College, which Nyerere attended from 1943 to 1945. Makerere was an exciting place to be during the post-War period – designed to be the primary institution for higher education in eastern Africa, it was also, as Molony points out, intended to

prevent students from being exposed to subversive ideas at foreign universities. This, Molony argues, “Makerere failed to do” for its students, including Nyerere (65). It is in this chapter that we can begin to see direct influences of Nyerere’s experiences on his future political life, which in some ways began in Makerere and certainly continued when he returned to Tabora to teach, actively participating in the local African Association. In the chapter, ‘Return to Tabora’, Molony explores Nyerere’s young adult life as a new teacher and activist, and while this period of Nyerere’s life may not be entirely unique for biographical inquiry, some of Molony’s sources are, including an interview with Magori Watiha, his child bride, as well as textual analysis of one of Nyerere’s early writings on women’s freedom. It also describes the development of his relationship to his wife, Maria Waningu, and their engagement.

The biography then follows Nyerere to the United Kingdom, in three chapters that explore his time in Scotland, at the University of Edinburgh, as well as his time in London. Molony again takes time to explain the landscape, detailing race relations in the United Kingdom and influences of communism, particularly for students from Africa. Molony relies on letters from Nyerere to fellow students, academic faculty at the University of Edinburgh, missionaries, and colonial officials. It also considers the courses that Nyerere took and their content, paying close attention to what Nyerere read and the reflections of his professors. It is clear that Nyerere’s position as a “mature student”, as well as a foreign one in a course with many Europeans, and concerned with the financial difficulties of his family back home, influenced his approach towards learning. Nyerere’s approach towards politics and his relationships with fellow Tanganyikans in the United Kingdom are the subject of chapter six. Nyerere’s political activities in Edinburgh centered on protesting the formation of the Central African Federation, but more Molony argues, as a writer/philosopher, rather than a political radical. Molony focuses on the influence of Fabianism and other European philosophers on Nyerere’s political activities, which included co-authoring with John Keto, whom Molony interviewed, ‘The Race Problem in East Africa’, in *The Student* magazine.

Molony continues to develop his argument of the importance of understanding Nyerere’s philosophical development in chapter seven, which focuses on the historical and anthropological training Nyerere received and its relation to the development of *ujamaa* as an ideology. Through the annotated books of Nyerere, another unique and uniquely used, source, Molony makes a case for Nyerere’s study of traditional African society, as well as peasant studies of China, as the basis for *ujamaa*, rather than his family background and upbringing. The writer/philosopher Nyerere became increasingly political after his move to London, in

the final chronological chapter of Molony's narrative. Increasing associations with African nationalists inspired Nyerere to resign from teaching and enter politics full-time. Here Molony continues to privilege correspondence, this time Nyerere's correspondence with Catholic priests in Rome, and also considers the Colonial Office file that began to be developed on Nyerere at this time.

In Molony's concluding chapter he argues, "The new evidence provided here has offered much-needed depth to the sparsely-informed and predominantly uncritical account of Julius Nyerere's life" (199). However, perhaps more important than its critical nature, Molony's biography allows the development of Nyerere in space and time. As he argues, "Many portrayals of Nyerere were made in retrospect, shaped by the knowledge of what he became" (200). Therefore, while Molony's *Nyerere* is an interesting and historically rich read, that is not, I believe, the most important contribution of the book. Molony's consideration of the scope and purpose of biographies, which frames his introduction, is an insightful and valuable essay in its own right. A discussion of other biographies of Nyerere leads Molony to ask both 'what should a biography be?' as well as 'what should it not be?' He argues that such a work should not be hagiographic, nor the opposite, and it must consider time and place, as well as person. He also asks the important question of who is qualified to write a biography? Molony, as a Lecturer in African Studies from Nyerere's own alma mater of Edinburgh has a unique connection, as well as a strong sense of sensitivity and nuance to the subject. And *Nyerere* stands as what a biography can, and should be.

Jessica Achberger
Michigan State University

ZAMBIA SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

CALL FOR PAPERS

The *Zambia Social Science Journal* is an interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal published by the Southern African Institute for Policy and Research. The primary objective is to publish scholarly work in the social sciences and development. Serving as a forum for argument, debate, review, reflection, and discussion, the Journal is informed by the results of relevant and rigorous research. Articles are welcome from scholars and researchers at all career stages from within and outside Africa. Articles from any field within the social sciences relevant to Africa may be submitted.

The published papers are anonymously peer reviewed by at least three reviewers. Final acceptance or rejection of submitted papers rests with the Editorial Board. The Editorial Board reserves the right to refuse any material for publication. The Journal is published bi-annually, with editions coming out in May and November.