

THE BRITISH ADAPTATION OF EDUCATION POLICY
FOR AFRICANS IN ZAMBIA 1925-1964
A PROBLEM IN SYNTHESIS

by

Sibeso Mukoboto, B.A.

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to examine and analyze how the British policy of "Adaptation of Education" was defined and applied to the Zambian situation in the period 1925 to 1964. In analyzing this period, the main focus is on the inability of this policy to bring about a proper synthesis between theory on paper and actual practice, and the problem of bringing about a proper synthesis between British and Zambian indigenous systems of education.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Some Definitions

Zambia has had many names; from 1890 to 1911, it was divided into two parts, the East and the West. These were known as North Eastern Rhodesia and North Western Rhodesia respectively. In 1911, the two territories joined to form Northern Rhodesia under the British South African Company until 1924. In 1924, the British Government took over and the territory became Northern Rhodesia Protectorate until 1953. From 1953 to 1963, it was part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In 1964, Northern Rhodesia became independent and took on the name of Zambia. In this paper, Zambia will be used to refer to this territory.

There was no defined educational policy in Zambia before 1925. The British South African Company left the missionaries to set up and run a few ungraded schools for the Africans in the territory. There was no budget for African education in this period and hardly one percent of the school going age group completed primary education. The British Government, which was the overall overseer of the territory, did not formulate any educational policy until after the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1922 to 1924 proposed the adaptation policy.

Adaptation in education has received different meanings from different groups of people.¹ To some people it has meant relating the educational system to what is familiar to the learner. To the Phelps-Stokes Movement, it implied the education for Africans that was similar to that of the black American in the southern part of the United States. The white settlers in Central Africa saw adaptation as a way of keeping an African in a low status position and in that way, emphasize their notion of his inferiority. The missionaries saw in adaptation a way of saving the African from his sins and ignorance.

Theories of Adaptation

The British adaptation of education policy for Africans in Zambia between 1925 and 1964 was trying to follow much of what the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East and Central Africa had suggested.² Adaptation was defined by one influential member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, Thomas Jesse Jones, as: "Training to meet the everyday needs of native life, to correct the present glaring deficiencies and to strengthen and develop the good points."³ Western education, then, was to be intelligently adapted to African conditions. But the main question was how to do it. One group of the Phelps-Stokes movement thought that the African should be educated for a life beyond the subsistence level of Africa then. This was to be achieved by giving a mass elementary education and at the same time creating an élite class

¹S. Kay and B. Nystrom, "Education and Colonialism in Africa," Comparative Education Review 15 (June 1971):240-59.

²L. J. Lewis, ed., Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

³Jesse Thomas Jones, "The Whiteman's Burden in Africa," Current History 23 (November 1925):218.

that would lead the fellow Africans and would be able to work with the white colonial masters. The second group emphasized the point that the African educational system must be conditioned by Africa's backwardness and its low standards of living and that the Africans should be trained to become manual workers, artisans and not sophisticated industrial, technical workers.

Thomas Jesse Jones also pointed out that school training was not sufficient for the Africans and that it was not a good measure for success. With this idea in mind, he propagated for African education that would go hand in hand with health and agriculture. The second most important feature he wanted to achieve in African education was that of territorial administration. The educated African was to help the top administration composed of colonial masters. In his third point, he emphasized an educational process that would embody military and police stations to establish "peace" and "order." Finally, he saw in public works the extension of roads, railways and other means of communication as helpful to the development of the African economy. He felt that this could be achieved by following the educational system for blacks in the Southern States of the United States of America:

The situation in our own south is sufficiently similar to support the belief that the Hampton-Tuskegee idea of training for country and village life holds as great promise for Africa as it has already held accomplishment for America . . . The controlling fact is that the acquisition of manual skills acts both as a stimulus and a discipline to the mind.⁴

⁴Ibid., p. 219.

Jones felt that there was no decency or safety in the African home. He also saw a lack of healthful recreation and amusements. This is reflected in his writing, where he says:

Birth, life and the preparation for death may be experienced around a fire in the centre of a leafy hut shared by all manner of relatives . . . under such pressure a simple arithmetic lesson offers the pulpit for preaching the gospel of privacy.⁵

On healthful recreation and amusements, he had this to say:

The drain upon both physical and moral stamina which is produced by the moonlight orgies of Africa is undermining the race which alone can unlock the tremendous resources of Africa for the benefit of the world, and which has definitely shown its latent strength and capacity for improvement.⁶

Jones also saw adaptation in some form of paternalism whereby the white masters were to guide the Africans. He did not understand the ways of life of the peoples of Africa. Most of the anthropologists who were writing on Africa then had never bothered to find out about the systems they were studying from another point of view. The reasons for the different rituals were not investigated. There was also a tendency to generalize from one group to another. The African customs were similar in general but the details of each group varied. In Zambian society, there is no group that would allow a husband or any man or child to witness the birth of a child. Privacy was observed so much that even the different initiation rites for the boys and girls were separated according to sex. The duties of the different sexes were outlined and comprehended from childhood to adulthood. The fact that there were houses with one room each does not mean that everybody was sleeping in the same one room. There were different

⁵Ibid., p. 219.

⁶Ibid., p. 220.

houses for the different age groups and sexes.

The plays and games that were performed in the evenings were some form of entertainment. They also helped in physical fitness and good health for people who relied on physical labor for their living. After a hard day's work, there was need for the different activities.

Most of Jones' and his friends' ideas were incorporated in the Phelps-Stokes movement. The Phelps-Stokes Commission that visited East and Central Africa in 1924 emphasized that the school's first approach should be to the individual and the elements of individual life in the school. Three topics were to be associated with individual development. These included the use of the environment, preparation for home life, and the use of leisure time. Adaptation in education was to be first to the individual and then to the African community as a whole.

For adaptation to the individual, the Phelps-Stokes Commission suggested an analysis of the language of instruction and conventional subjects of a western formal school. Also considered as vital features of the educational system to be introduced to Central Africa were character development and the Christian way of life. Education for the community was supposed to reflect genuine interest in rural life. They suggested the erecting of classrooms that would be added to "home type" classes. This philosophy of community approach was based on the pattern of such educational agencies as the general board, the Jeanes Slater funds and the United States Department of Agriculture. They believed this could be done in Africa since these groups' approach was

directed to the United States rural south. This implied that African education too was to emphasize rural education since the continent was mainly rural.

The texts and reports based on black Americans were to be used in the African educational situation. This was based on the belief that the two problems, of the black American, and the African's, were identical. Adaptation in Africa would also include the establishment of "Movable Schools."⁷ Another mode of development would be the farm-demonstration school based on the American model as originated by Dr. S. A. Knapp. The demonstration was to be established as follows:

The agent first locates the strategic points in his district, then makes enquiries in these places and finds out in each a man who is approachable, open to new ideas, who enjoys a certain standing among his fellows and whose land is accessible to a large number of neighbours. He talks to this man and persuades him to try the experiment of cultivating a patch of his land on new methods. This farmer is called a 'demonstrator'. The agent then visits him once a month and the demonstrator cultivates his plot under the agent's close direction. The surrounding farmers come to the field and meet the agent when he comes. Some give in their names as willing to experiment also and they are enrolled as 'cooperators'. They watch the experiment and when they see the increased yield under new methods they begin to think there must be something in it after all. The agent drives home the lessons by getting statistical returns of the yield and profits from farms run on the ordinary methods, compares them with the figures received from the demonstrator's plants, and sets out a statement which appeals to the most conservative.⁸

The idea was very well stated but certain factors had not been taken into consideration. There was the question of manpower, that is,

⁷For a detailed discussion of the movable school, see L. J. Lewis, Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 31-32.

⁸Ibid., p. 36.

people who would be qualified enough to work with the African. Money would also be needed to pay them. The study of the African soils and the most suitable crops had not been done so far. The demonstration schools were suggested without any research having been done to that effect. The proponents of this type of curriculum were doing so in good faith, in that they feared the academic type of education would produce an élite that would despise manual work. But they did not seem to understand how the African himself viewed education. As will be seen later in this paper, some well meant projects failed because of this lack of insight on the part of the planners.

As for urban education, the western curriculum was to be transplanted into the African urban centers. This was in partial fulfillment of their argument that said:

The school curriculum, at present [1924] based so largely upon tradition and the demands of special classes in large cities in Europe, should provide increasingly for the immediate needs of the urban groups in African towns. The possibilities of the African city should first of all be imparted to the African youth. Every subject in the curriculum should as far as possible help the youth to realize the responsibility of political and commercial centres of population to the interior tribes. They should further be led to understand that the ultimate success of their cities really depends upon the sound development of the interior areas. It should not be possible for a pupil to complete his education without a real appreciation of such urban problems as housing, municipal sanitation, recreation, vocational opportunities . . . Thus will the urban schools of Africa share the functions of the progressive urban schools of Europe and America.⁹

From the above quotation, one can see that their philosophy believed in training for a specific station in life. Education was to be appropriate to a particular group in society. Those born in towns were to pursue an education that would later bring them an income

⁹Ibid., p. 40.

suited for an urban life. These were to be the administrators who would work with the white masters in the running of the affairs of the territory. This also showed the bias the policy makers had as to the different types of education. They associated the academic type of education with the urban areas, Europe and America. The people who received the academic type of education were to be of a higher status. The rural child would continue with the unsophisticated agricultural life and would be destined to be a subsistence farmer for the rest of his life. This, in a way, is a "static" form of approach to education. The peasant was to receive a "peasant" type of education to continue living as a peasant; the urban dweller was to receive an academic type of education to continue ruling over the rural dweller.

The education to be introduced was also to aim at character development and religion. They considered the Christian religion to be an important factor in the development of character. The Commission questioned the African religions and their relation to the daily activities. This questioning of African religiosity was due to a misunderstanding of the African religions. The African encompassed religion in whatever he said and did. On the language of instruction, the Commission suggested that the policy of adaptation must encourage both a European and a native language, but with more emphasis on the European language because, they argued, this would be the language of the great physical and social sciences. The African languages were considered unsuitable due to the multiplicity of dialects spoken by the different small groups. The process of selecting a native language would be a difficult one. It was suggested that the less intelligent students would be taught in the native tongue in the lower primary

school and the more intelligent ones, those who go on to upper primary and secondary education, would learn the English language. This factor, as will be seen later, was to help in the creation of distinct classes: one group of English speakers with a high level of education and better jobs, and the other that just completed lower primary schools.

The education of women and children was also emphasized. The western type of approach to family affairs would also be followed. The Commission thought:

In the primitive [African] society the influence of the home has been limited in many ways. First of all the low position of women in tribal affairs has depreciated and in many instances degraded her--the most essential member of the home. Furthermore, many of the functions and responsibilities of the home in primitive society are assumed by the tribal organization. In the matronymic organization the responsibility for the children is more the right of the maternal uncles than that of the father. Even under the patronymic system the authority of the father is largely in the hands of the clan or tribal chief. The absence of proper housing arrangements has also even more than in crowded areas in the west drastically limited the possibility of developing family life. There has been no adequate provision for privacy required for the cultivation of family ties.¹⁰

This approach to African education indicates that adaptation was to copy the western culture. The home influence on the character development of a child in African society was not limited. It was there and was felt by every child since early African indigenous education was centered around the home. The African home influence would only be limited to the child who was to adopt a western type of education and culture. The woman in African traditional life was the center of activity in the indigenous education. The children, both boys and girls, learned from their mother before the age of six, when

¹⁰Ibid., p. 73.

they were divided according to sex. The condemnation of communal activities and responsibilities by the Commission shows that African culture was condemned before it was understood. The education to be introduced was to be individualistic in nature, which was a foreign element in African culture. African indigenous education trained and prepared children for communal living so there was no problem of adjusting, as they would have to, when another culture took over the reins. Family ties existed too. The extended family taught the children to be close to uncles and aunts who received the same status as fathers and mothers and cousins who were considered as brothers.

The Commission attacked the general organization of the home and believed that the African handicrafts were not good enough to be called crafts; the western way of making handicrafts was to be introduced to Africa. On this subject, they concluded:

The experience of civilized countries should be used as fully as possible in enriching the life of the native people in recreation . . . They should be taught the joy of a well organized home, however simple. They should be helped to see the beauty and inspiration of growing grain and the pleasure of handicraft and of domestic and agricultural work.¹¹

The Meaning of Adaptation as Defined in Zambia

The British adaptation policy in Zambia aimed at giving the Zambian western education but expected different results from those of Britain at that time. The policy implied the adaptation of a western type of education to Zambia. It was believed that this would stop the breaking down of African life. Adaptation rejected unscientific principles. It preached the keeping of what was best in Zambian indigenous

¹¹Ibid., p. 87.

education, that is, "rejuvenation of the old Zambian culture by adding a western culture with some Christian bias." In putting forward these ideals, the British were trying to have an education policy based on the Phelps-Stokes recommendations. This factor can be detected in their 1925 Memorandum:

Education should strengthen the feeling of responsibility to the tribal community and at the same time should strengthen will power; should make the conscience sensitive both to moral and intellectual truth; and should impart some power of discriminating between good and evil, between reality and superstition. Since contact with civilization and even education itself must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs, and in view of the all prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African. The greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects.¹²

The British policy of adaptation for Africans in Zambia and tropical Africa as a whole was to achieve two main aims. It was going to raise up leaders from among the people, and also introduce a general mass education. The British stated that the most important element of education was to be moral instruction and this was to be achieved through the Christian teachings. The Christian religion was to try and replace the Zambian religions.

The educational administrators in Zambia were to follow the British adaptation policy as defined on paper:

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupation and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it

¹² Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (London: Cmd. 2374. HMSO, 1925), p. 4.

may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service . . .

As a part of the general policy for the advancement of the people every department of Government concerned with their welfare or vocational teaching . . . must cooperate closely in the educational policy. The first task of the education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as of those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. As resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened to those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education.¹³

Like the Phelps-Stokes recommendations, the Advisory Committee recommended that the usual subjects of instruction must be adapted to the needs of Africans. Reading, writing, arithmetic and geography were to be taught in the elementary school and physical, social sciences, literature and mathematics in the upper primary school.

In suggesting vocational education, the British advocates of the policy of adaptation thought they were going to get rid of the undesirable qualities of self-conceit and insolence that came with a liberal education. This was formulated after their experience in India. Vocational education, like adaptation, had many meanings.¹⁴ To some British administrators in Africa, it meant the unskilled manual activity mainly in the agricultural sphere; secondly, it was interpreted as specific training in agricultural methods such as the use of manure and crop rotation. Lastly, it was conceived as industrial

¹³Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁴P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945 (Lusaka: NEDCOZ, 1970).

training in artisan trade. Some individuals, like A. G. Fraser, wanted to prevent Africans from competing with whites in politics. A. G. Fraser was interested in village education. Between 1912 and 1920, he was very much involved in the Tuskegee-Hampton projects for blacks in the United States. In 1920, he was asked by the Colonial Office to go and help set up a village Industrial School in India. In 1924, he was on the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East and Central Africa. Later on, in the 1930s, he worked at Achimota College and other African high schools of West Africa. Because of his experience, the British Government depended on him in formulating educational policies for the Africans. Another influential figure of the time was J. R. Orr. He had become involved in the education problem for Africans in 1912. He was working with the Church of Scotland Missions to East and Central Africa. He was also involved in the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East and Central Africa. After the adaptation of the British educational policy document of 1925, he was appointed director of education in Kenya. He and A. G. Fraser together appraised the adoption of a policy that would take into consideration African political status and this would be through an education adapted to the African psychology and to his economic needs. Orr, in substantiating his analysis, quoted Booker T. Washington for adaptation policy with emphasis on industrial training:

We have now our opportunity and I trust that all educational bodies . . . will unite in adopting an uniform political doctrine. The one man alone who has given serious consideration to the problem and has done more educational work on behalf of the Negro than any educational society is himself a Mulatto (I refer to Booker Washington) and he is holding his people back and attempting to divert their attention from politics to useful industry because

he realises the hopelessness of competition between black and white.¹⁵

Such propaganda was used for their continued stay in Africa. They advocated white settlement and preached that even the blacks wanted it that way. They emphasized that white settlement was a precondition to African educational development. The African would continue being ruled by the white and he was to receive the type of education that would train him just for that, subservience.

Adaptation was to be carried out successfully by the introduction of boarding schools. The voluntary bodies such as the missionaries of Zambia were to be allowed to continue functioning but the British Government was to reserve itself rights to direct the general administration of schools. These schools were going to be aided by the Government when there was need to. Missionary education implied that the schools were to set themselves the task of observing and studying the character and needs of the people who were to be educated. This shows that the British policy makers knew very little about the Zambian in his own familiar home environment and his way of thinking. The study of Zambian habits was supposed to be a precondition to the formulation of the educational policy and the instructional program. Time and money were spent at conferences which were connected with the formulation of the educational policy of adaptation for the Africans. There were good intentions in these conferences, but nothing had been done to study the ideas of the Zambians objectively. The Zambians were not

¹⁵Orr to Bishop Allegeyer, Copy to Arthur, 25 March 1912, unfiled Education bundle, P.C.E.A., quoted in K. J. King, Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race, Philanthropy and Education in Southern States of America and East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 106.

consulted either, despite the talk by some British educators to incorporate what was good in the Zambian culture.

Most aspects of the Zambian indigenous education and way of life had some significance as far as the Zambians were concerned. Even the infliction of pain into someone's body, on close examination, could be found to possess some "redeeming" features which were easily overlooked by the early British writers on Zambian culture. These features had a great influence in forming character, disciplining children and cultivating a sense of restraint.

The implementation of the adaptation policy could take place only if there were teachers who were trained to teach in the Zambian setting. Adaptation was defined to include the Jeanes School to help in training visiting teachers for the village schools. This idea was an American one found in the black American schools of the southern United States and was embedded in the Phelps-Stokes Movement. The Jeanes teacher was to help the Zambian village teacher to improve the standards of instruction in the village schools. The aim was to give new direction and impulse to education in regard to the home life of the people. The Jeanes teachers were to train Zambians for a Zambian way of life when they did not understand this very way of life.

In the Jeanes School movement was also seen a way of putting into practice the idea of adaptation to the community. Mass low level type of education was to be introduced by this scheme. One of the active participants in this movement, Dougall, had this to say about its significance:

Where nature study or biology, local geography or gardening or homecraft is introduced, it is true that education begins to assume

a more practical and related form. Yet even there, this involves more than the imparting of new knowledge to the teacher. It demands a new conception of education as an activity which bears on the life of the African at every turn, enabling him not only to read his Bible, write a letter, or speak a foreign language, but to understand and improve his environment, to take fresh interest in the varied life of his people, and to employ in his own home and garden the routine of intelligent and industrious habits which have become easy through constant exercise at school . . . It means that the school, big or small, must be concerned with the natural activities of social life, must be a community in itself, with its building, handwork, gardening and sanitation to arrange for, its firewood and water to get, its plans and decisions to make and to execute for the school itself and the villages it serves. When these things are done by the pupils and not for them, they do not only develop character through habitual attitudes of mutual help, bearing responsibility, using and obeying authority, but they keep in closest touch with the primary and elemental things in life such as food, clothing, shelter, family needs, village industry and recreation.¹⁶

Dougall was a member of the Free Church of Scotland that had missions in East and Central Africa. He also sat on the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East and Central Africa. Thereafter, he was recognized by the British as an expert on the subject of educational policy for Africans. His educational thought was based on the assumption that African indigenous educational elements were immoral and dangerous and to be avoided at all costs. The native schools in Zambia and elsewhere in Africa were to take into consideration the two aims of education, that is, the training of the individual interests and the training of the individual to be able to satisfy the community's needs and do so efficiently. The two aims are very difficult to reconcile. The African was to be taught individualism as an aspect of life in the first place. In Britain, after the students were inculcated with this idea of individualism and individual competition, they found it hard to

¹⁶James W. C. Dougall, "School Education and Native Life," *Africa* 3 (January 1930):52-53.

satisfy the community needs which were communal in nature. It seems these social problems that had emerged in Britain were forgotten when the policy of adaptation was being formulated.

The educational policy was to fall under the control of the British Government, but the implementation was to be carried out by the Zambian Territorial Government. The Territorial Government was to have an advisory board on which educational interests were to be represented. The educational policy in Zambia was further defined by G. Latham, who was appointed the first director of native education in the territory. Latham put forward the idea that indirect rule should be used in applying the educational policy. He argued that since indirect rule had been introduced to Africa, there had been tremendous social and cultural progress.

Latham appraised the British cultural elements and he attacked some writers who noted the value of the Zambian institutions. He argued that these should not be overemphasized simply because they were Zambian. At the same time, he noted that with indirect rule as an administrative policy, the Zambians would have greater opportunities of influencing Zambian education policy. There is a problem that Latham did not foresee in his conception of this policy. This was as to how much the Zambians were going to influence education that was alien to them. They would not be confident enough to comment on what was going on in a classroom when they did not know how to read and write. Both the parents and children were waiting to be taught how to read and write. So even if given the chance to formulate educational policies, they would not be able to. Even when it came to actual practice, the

older generation of Zambians was not consulted. The educational advisory board from 1925 to 1964 was dominated by the missionaries with a few government officials.

From the above discussion, one can conclude that the policy of adaptation of education was not given a clear definition by its proponents. And whatever deficiencies of the western as well as of the Zambian systems were not studied and analyzed. The good points that were supposed to be strengthened in this policy were defined mainly as western culture. The good points in Zambian culture were not defined. There were many laudable aims of education in the policy of adaptation, but the way it was to be implemented was not well defined, which brought problems later on.

CHAPTER II

THE IDEAS AND INFLUENCES BEHIND THE FORMULATION
OF THE BRITISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY
FOR AFRICANS IN ZAMBIA

Many ideas helped shape the British colonial educational policy in Zambia in the period 1925 to 1964. Some of the prevalent ideas in this period could be traced back to the eighteenth century.

Social Darwinism¹ was one of the ideas incorporated in the formulation of educational policy in Zambia. The evolutionary theory of Charles Darwin emphasized the close relationship between the organism and environment. He taught that different organisms are always competing for the different needs and wants of life. In this competition, the strongest survive. His thesis was first expounded in relation to biological studies, but later came to include social and economic competition between human beings. This latter application was popularized by the English writers Huxley and Froude who asserted that the "superior" people had according to "natural laws" a right to rule over the inferior groups and "inferior" races. This feature then was reflected in the "unequal" schools, attended by the different social and economic classes in England up to 1945. The same concept was reflected in the

¹James Seth, English Philosophers and Schools of Philosophy (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1912).

British educational policy towards Zambians. The educational policy of adaptation had racial connotations to it. This heightened racial exclusiveness on the part of the British had two effects on the educational practices for Africans in Zambia. The first one was that there was a delay in the establishment of Government high schools in Zambia. When western education was introduced it was of a lower caliber compared to the British one.

The adapted curriculum aimed at limiting the number of Africans who could enter secondary schools. This was one way of trying to avoid a restless political group of Africans. The British administrators in Zambia had the same ideas as their counterparts. They wanted to rule in "peace" and introduce education for:

1. The creation of a competent artisan class . . . 2. The diffusion among the masses of the people of education sufficient to enable them to understand the merest elements of the machinery of Government . . . 3. The creation of a small native administrative class.²

All these ideas led the British to adopt a theory of indirect rule on governing the native Zambian. This was a system of government used by the British in other parts of Africa. The Zambians were ruled through their chiefs and political institutions, who were in turn controlled by the British officials. The African chiefs were subordinated to and dependent upon British authority. By using their chiefs, the British knew that the Zambians would not rebel against them. This indirect rule was to be incorporated and defined in the adaptation policy as:

²James Currie, "The Educational Experiment in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1900-33," African Society Journal 33 (1934):364, quoted in P. Gifford and W. R. Louis, France and Britain in Africa (Princeton: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 687.

. . . the "bringing forth" of the latent possibilities in the individual, or in the community--the guiding of the evolution of a race to a higher plane of thought and action.³

The white administrators who were to introduce indirect rule in education were to try and avoid the Indian model. In India, the British had trained too many intellectuals who gave them "problems" because they became "politically minded." From this Indian experience, it was argued by the British that the inevitable results of intellectual education was the undermining of respect for authority.

The first schools to be concentrated on were to be the bush schools, then central schools which were supposedly suited for rural Zambia:

Elementary schooling in reading, writing and arithmetic would afford opportunities for a few of the more intelligent pupils to qualify for transfer to the central school of the province or district where they would carry their studies further [in upper primary education] and qualify for posts as teachers in their village school, or as interpreters or clerks in the local native court among their own people.⁴

It can be observed from the above quotations that the British were just aiming at a low type of education. They would get cheap labor to teach in the bush schools, interpreters and court messengers who would not be paid much money and this would save them from employing British citizens who demanded higher salaries.

The other ideas connected to the evolutionary theory are found in the writings of the early western anthropologists and explorers who wrote on Africa. They praised the European race and despised the African. They requested the missionaries in the west to go and civilize

³F. D. Lugard, "Education in Tropical Africa," The Edinburgh Review 242 (July 1925):1.

⁴Ibid., p. 5.

places like Zambia. In making this plea, they gave other Europeans the idea that an African was a savage and that western civilization and Christianity were supposed to be introduced. David Livingstone, after visiting the western, southern, and northeastern parts of Zambia, wrote in his Journal addressing the societies in Britain to bring the gospel to the heathens of this area. He also made recommendations about the suitability of western commerce in this area. He stated:

The promotion of commerce ought to be specially attended to, as this, more than anything else, demolishes that sense of isolation which heathenism engenders, and makes the tribes feel themselves mutually dependent on and mutually beneficial to each other . . . My observations on this subject make me extremely desirous to promote the preparation of the raw materials of European manufacture in Africa, for by that means we may . . . introduce the Negro family into the body corporate of nations, . . . success in this . . . would lead, in course of time, to a diffusion of the blessings of civilization.⁵

He also described the Bemba, one of the major groups in Zambia, as being very warlike and that they needed missionary work to stop this habit of theirs. He also emphasized more missionary work in the western part of the country among the Lozi.

In response to his appeal, the Paris Missionary Society sent F. Coillard to the Lozi area from Lesotho. His writings too added to the call for more Europeans, traders and administrators as well. He described the chiefs in the western part of Zambia as "cruel autocrats," and the Lewanika counter-revolution of 1885, restoring him to power, as "one of the bloodiest" he had ever seen. As per Coillard: "For years

⁵D. Livingstone, "Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa," p. 28, quoted in A. J. Wills, An Introduction to the History of Central Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 89-90.

[after his arrival] witchcraft investigations, trials by ordeal and summary executions were almost a daily occurrence.⁶ In 1892, Coillard was allowed to establish a mission station at Lwatile, a mound next to Lewanika's capital and of the site given him he had this to say:

The mound is the sorcerers' hillock, locally called Loatile. It is there that sorcerers are executed, being first poisoned, and then burnt alive . . . The brushwood and thorn bushes are the home of every imaginable venomous insect . . . under these thorns lie broken bows and assegai shafts, and human bones bleached by the sun and discoloured by damp.⁷

The Ila-Tonga of Southern Zambia were described as "a remote, exceptionally hostile group" by Arthur Baldwin of the Methodist Mission.⁸ According to the missionary records, then, the different Zambian groups were hostile or had autocratic rulers, warlike, and needed the Europeans to come and help stop these activities. Some of these missionaries were writing in good faith but lacked understanding of the different laws that governed the different Zambian groups. Coillard thought it bloodier to kill with an arrow than with a gun, as was happening in nineteenth century Europe. He also suffered from the "exaggerated" fear that the Africans were cannibals and were likely to eat any man. But the bow and arrow victims could not have scared him more than the numbers killed in Europe, where they used guns. The

⁶F. Coillard, On the Threshold of Central Africa, p. 478, quoted in A. J. Wills, An Introduction to the History of Central Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 107.

⁷Ibid.

⁸A. J. Wills, An Introduction to the History of Central Africa, p. 108.

different people who were killed were killed for a reason. It was Mattaa and his group who were killing Lewanika and his followers, or vice versa, since it was a struggle for power between these two groups. No one would condone killing, but the situation in Zambia was exaggerated by the missionaries.

Livingstone's appeal was readily accepted by Victorian Britain since at this time there was a revival in religious and economic expansion. The industrialists saw an economic opportunity to exploit the raw material of Africa for their own good. His call, then, attracted different groups of people with different ideas as to what was to be done to such an area.

The missionaries not only made a call to fellow Europeans to come and Christianize, but they were also filled with the nineteenth century ideas of the inferiority of a black man. These missionary ideas came to Zambia by way of South Africa, where, since the arrival of the Dutch in 1652, there had been racial conflicts. It is even implied that Livingstone had the same teachings going on in the southwestern part of Zambia in 1853. He is supposed to have written in one of his letters:

Jesus had not loved their forefathers [Makololo], hence their present degradation. He had loved the white man and given them all the wonderful things they now possess. And as I had come to teach them to pray to Jesus and to pray for them, their wants would soon all be supplied.⁹

Calvinist ideas also predominated in the Boers of South Africa and these had a great influence upon the whites coming to Zambia by way of the south. The British rulers too came through South Africa to

⁹ David G. Seaver, Livingstone: His Life and Letters (London: Lutherworth Press, 1957), p. 117, quoted in L. H. Gann, A History of Northern Rhodesia, Early Days to 1953 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964), p. 27.

Zambia. The Boers were Dutch farmers who had made up their mind: they were going to stay in South Africa and make it their home, and they did not want any threat, economic or otherwise, to disturb their stay there. In their teachings, they emphasized the idea of black inferiority. This they derived from the account of Noah's sons in Genesis, where Ham is seen as the father of the black race, "hewers of stone and drawers of water." This implied that the African, who was black, was to work and slave for the Boer who was white. These ideas prospered not only in the nineteenth century, but even more so in the first half of the twentieth century, when more and more whites came into contact with black Zambians. Even professors of the 1930s still despised the Zambian on these grounds. Professor Stanley Davenport Adshead, on touring Zambia, trying to find the right place for the territory's capital between 1930 and 1935, said this about Africans' and whites' possibility of living in one capital city:

The solution seems to be to keep them [blacks in Zambia] as slaves, to give them every encouragement when they are lazy and stupid and to see that they can satisfy bodily needs. It would be a mistake to treat them as if they were Europeans: It would be ridiculous to expect them to accept the responsibilities of the white man, and it would be foolish to offer them the bodily comforts which they have never known and which generations and generations of habit have made necessary to the white man.¹⁰

It was not only the white settler who penetrated through South Africa who had these ideas of the inferiority, stupidity and savage nature of the Zambian, but so did the intellectuals of the time. In fact, most of the British thought on this subject was propagated by the intellectuals. The intellectuals had come to certain conclusions about the blacks of the United States of America, and the British then

¹⁰S. D. Adhead's Diary, quoted in L. H. Gann, A History of Northern Rhodesia, Early Days to 1953, p. 259.

thought this could be transferred to Zambia without any modification, in a wholesale manner. This is reflected in the adoption of the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. Their belief in Zambian inferiority was also based on the psychological tests carried out in the United States of America on blacks and some Ugandan and Kenyan samples. These tests, based on western, middle class values, were used to judge African intelligence and it was believed that after the age of twelve or thirteen, the mental development of a Zambian, since he was black, stopped:

It is recognized that the African is not merely an intuitive being but a man with reasoning powers, whose defects are not so much racial as the result of adverse circumstances. The African child is exceptionally receptive until the age of puberty, when he frequently becomes incapable of further development and reverts to type. His mental and bodily resistance is inferior to that of the European . . . The African remains mentally a child for a long period, sometimes all his life, and it will therefore be necessary to modify our methods of teaching considerably . . . Since the African child cannot learn habits of cleanliness and order and notions of morals and religion in his own home, he should learn them at school.¹¹

Examining the educational thought that persisted in the colonial period in Zambia, one can see that three things are implied. The first one, as already mentioned, was that they thought that the experience of the black in the rural South of the United States would be directly relevant to the black Zambian. Secondly, the blacks in the United States and the ones in Zambia would not rule themselves, for a long period of time to come after the 1920s. The masters would always be whites who would be given an intellectual, secular type of curriculum

¹¹H. M. Dubois, "La Pédagogie appliquée à nos noirs d'Afrique," Africa 2 (October 1929):403-4. The article is in English; the translator's name is not given.

in education. The Zambian would be given an inferior type of "industrial" training, not the one that produces engineers, but that which produces artisans. Thirdly, by suggesting an elementary vocational training for Zambia, it was implied that Zambia would remain rural for a longer period of time to come. The vocational education concept to be applied to the Zambian situation was not based on a sincere desire to improve the Zambians' lot; it was based on all these different ideas of the inferiority and hopelessness of the Zambian. Zambian training was meant for repetitive work, which was to make the development of education in Zambia more or less static.

In Zambia, there were four major groups of Europeans whose ideas were very much felt when it came to the implementation of the adaptation policy. The most significant of them all were the missionaries. The establishment of western education was carried out by missionaries from the last decade of the nineteenth century to 1924. In 1924, there was only one school, Barotse National School, run by the British South African Company, handed over to the British Government in Zambia; the rest were mainly ungraded schools run by missionaries. The missionaries, on the other hand, had the main aim of "saving" the African and spreading Christianity. To be able to read the Bible and catechism books, the African had to be taught how to read. The African who learned how to read and write was to help in the translation of the Scriptures into the local languages.

The second most influential group in this period was the white settler on the Tonga plateau. These white residents had set up farms along the line of rail between Livingstone and Lusaka. They wanted laborers with the barest minimum of education who would understand

instructions in simple English. The third group was that of traders; their main interest in Zambia was not the social well being of the Zambians, but rather securing the country as a potential market for their goods. The fourth group was that of British administrators whose main aim was colonialism. British colonialism in Zambia was oriented more toward economic ends than social benefits.

The missionary curriculum in Zambia between 1925 and 1945 was composed mainly of reading, writing, and religious instruction. The content was not exactly the same, but one sees some similarities with the "humanitarian schools" curriculum for the poor in England. Such a curriculum in Zambia shows that the missionaries thought they could import part of the British elementary school system without any prior study of the culture and traditions of Africa. Secondly, it was the inferior type of British primary education that was given to the Zambian who went to school during the period 1925 to 1945. The Zambian was put on the same level as the working class people of Britain. He was not to be given the middle class education.

In Zambia, the government did not show much enthusiasm about the establishment and success of a western type of education. The various missionary groups from different societies that operated in Zambia had to depend on charity organizations for finances. These organizations could stop supporting these schools if they went bankrupt. The British in Zambia seemed to be following their economic laissez faire policy in education, as was happening at home. With the laissez faire policy, the British were not going to spend much money on the educational development of Zambia.

Latham, the first Director of Native Affairs and Education in 1925, stated the need for a common objective in education. He noted that there were various educational ideas that governed the educational policy and practical implementation of policy in Zambia, and he had this to say:

In view of the diversity of educational ideas and principles among the missions and the very different standards demanded by them, the Government has decided that the time has come to coordinate and supervise the education of the Native. The services of the Missions will continue to be utilised, but it is proposed to exercise some control over them and, by encouraging the societies to appoint trained educationists in a supervisory capacity, by giving financial grants in aid of salaries of certified teachers, by assisting in the establishment of technical and agricultural education. Progress may be slow, but it can be said that a new era is beginning as regards native education in the territory.¹²

This was said after the British Memorandum of 1925. It was realized that the Zambian's usefulness in the administrative machinery increased with some formal education.

But even with the growing interest in Zambian education, the British did not want responsibilities and extra expenses. The British administrators propagated indirect rule as suggested by Lord Lugard; that education was supposed to be administered to a large extent at the local level. They stressed the introduction of western education through the Zambian indigenous institutions. The educational policy of adaptation was interpreted by the planners of native education as one of differentiating. There were going to be two systems; one would be of mass education and the other (smaller) group would have secondary education.

¹²P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945 (Lusaka: NEDCOZ, 1970), p. 148.

As for missionaries, their insistence on placing religion before secular education was a reflection of what they had learned from other parts of Africa. In West Africa, they had experienced the restlessness of the educated African who felt he was not given enough after the amount of time spent in school. They had always found it easier to convert an "uneducated" African or one with the barest minimum of education than one with higher education and hence they came to Zambia with the slogan to "Christianize in order to civilize," not vice versa.

The missionaries in Zambia were also paving the way for the political administrators in Britain and South Africa. They wanted to build a Christian state that would be tied to the economic and cultural sphere of South Africa. This was part and parcel of the imperial dream of "Cape to Cairo." The creation of a Christian state would make it easier to maintain "law and order" as perceived by the missionaries.

The policy of adaptation not only reflected racial prejudice, but it also reflected the class structure and philosophy of social classes that existed in Britain at the time of the occupation of Zambia. Education in Britain up to 1945 had to be measured according to the needs of the middle class. This has continued, though to a lesser extent, up to the present time. To begin with, the old aristocracy and later the emergent middle class, wanted a "second class" type of education for the working class. Even with the Education Act of 1870, schooling was to be compulsory only in places where the school boards ruled by by-laws that it should be so.¹³ The working class children had to depend on missionaries and other humanitarians for their education.

¹³J. W. Adamson, English Education 1789 to 1902 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1930; reprinted, 1964).

The government aided boarding schools for the poor emphasized manual instruction, training the lower social class for manual work. In this way, the rich were able to perpetuate the class distinctions and hold on to their positions.

Secondary education in Britain at that time was limited to middle class children. Poor children were restricted to elementary school, where the methods of instruction emphasized rote learning; there was no intellectual thought involved. The intellectual subjects were left to the middle and upper class children who were to rule over the working class. Even the Church of England opposed any secondary education for the poor, arguing that public funds should be used to support an elementary education system and not a secondary one. Religious and moral instruction was emphasized for the poor who were going to work in the factories. Middle class values were taught in their schools. The educational system trained certain individuals for certain qualities. Middle class children were trained for leadership and creativity and the working class for subservience and for carrying out manual work.

The missionaries and administrators who came to Zambia had lived through a system where each class was trained for its particular station in life. The Zambians who did not have much material wealth to equate to that of the British middle class was to be given an education similar to that of the British working class child.

CHAPTER III

THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE ADAPTATION POLICY IN EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA

The Advisory Board on Education for Africans

In 1925, the Native Department, which was to be in charge of African educational affairs, was set up. G. Latham was appointed its first Director. He was to be assisted by one other European and one African clerk. This was to leave the missionaries dominating the Advisory body on the education of the native Zambian. The advisory committee's first task was to formulate and outline the "Native School Code." The Code outlined the policy as follows:

The general educational policy of the Government is that laid down in the Colonial Office White Paper No. Cmnd. 2374 entitled 'Education policy in British Tropical Africa.' This policy will be found to be in accord with the principles laid down in Dr. Jesse Jones' Report on Education in East Africa, a copy of which is indispensable to anyone engaged in the education of the natives in this and neighbouring territories . . . The code is designed for at least 150 school days with two hours secular teaching per diem.

It is hoped that every missionary society will endeavor to establish some really good out schools which will furnish a standard to be aimed at by all and in which this code or something similar can be applied. A thorough, competent and enthusiastic teacher is the first essential.¹

Latham and his co-planners on native education in Zambia still counted on the missionary societies to carry out the educational

¹ Lusaka, Zambia, National Archives, Native School Code, Native Education Circular No. 2 of 1925, file C2/1/1, quoted in P.D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945 (Lusaka: NEDCOZ, 1970), p. 151.

services to the masses of the people. Latham preached change and the overhauling of the whole system, but he was still leaving the missionaries to run the schools and the missionaries did not have enough resources. The headquarters was run by three men, Latham and two assistants. There was a lack of skilled men to run the educational system. There was also a general lack of local teachers. The bush schools that existed gave mainly a lower primary course and the schools needed teachers with post primary education.

Some explanatory notes that accompanied the School Code Circular stated that the most important aim of the school was character development. This was in line with the general British policy in East and Central Africa. Teachers were expected to teach by example. They were supposed to inculcate into the students the qualities of "truth and honesty, reverence and obedience, purity and self control, unselfishness, courtesy and perseverance."

Another aspect of training stressed in these notes was vocational education. This meant that the students were supposed to study field culture and care of animals. All schools were instructed to have at least a vegetable garden and every child up to age twelve was expected to cultivate an individual plot of at least four vegetables. Schools with older children were expected to grow maize, beans, and sweet potatoes. Another requirement was the planting of ten trees by a school each school year. The specified vocational education was merely a simple form of agriculture using very rudimentary methods. Any child in the Zambian society between the age of eight and twelve then could have cultivated a garden with more than four vegetables.

In 1929, a syllabus-timetable per week per school was designed.² Nine periods were given to the English language and translation, one to writing and only one period to the local languages. The high number of periods given to the English language and translation reflected the Government's desire for more interpreters and clerks. There was need for them for the efficient running of the system. It was difficult for the British administrators, who barely knew the local languages, to communicate with the chiefs and the local people. It was also difficult to teach the children who hardly had English in their homes. And if some individuals were drilled in the English language, they would be able to convince the members of their group as to the need for formal western education. It was also going to be cheaper to run the administrative machinery with more Zambians than British civil servants, who claimed more pay for the same amount of work. Apart from this, the formal education that was introduced was centered on reading and writing. There was very little educational literature available in the local languages. Only a few standardized books were translated into Lozi, Bemba, Nyanja and Tonga, but a truly indigenous literature never developed before 1964. With the absence of local books, the syllabus and readings had to resemble those of the humanitarian schools of Britain.

The whole concept of a formal western school was new to Zambia. The ideas in the reading books given to the Zambian children were also new. Examples of stories given were out of the Zambian context. They portrayed the London Bridge, the buses, and city life, which a Zambian child had never experienced.

²Ibid., p. 152.

The advisory board on education also recommended the establishment or continuation of boarding schools of mission stations. In this case, it was thought that the children under the direct control of the missionaries were to develop good character. This had been emphasized by Latham in his circulars to the schools. On the other hand, it shows how much the advisory board on education doubted the morality of the African home. It was only in a boarding school that the child was to learn "good" manners. There was also one aspect that was forgotten and that was adopting education to local needs. How could adaptation have taken place if the children were separated from their parents? What was actually happening was that western education and culture were to be taught in isolation since the children were removed from their homes.

In the urban areas, mainly in mining towns, running from Kabwe to the Copperbelt, the educational policy that was declared was of replacing the mission schools with Government and mining companies staff:

The mining companies should be asked to appoint at each mine [someone] who would be in charge of welfare and educational work. Educational work of a creative type for adults should be organized in the mine compounds.³

This implied that there were going to be two educational systems for Zambians. The missionaries were given a green light in the rural areas and the Government and mining companies were to handle urban education. But of course in practice, as we shall see later, even on the Copperbelt, the missionaries dominated until after 1952.

³Lusaka, Zambia, National Archives, Minutes of the advisory board on native education, October 1929, file sec/E/7, quoted in P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945, p. 164.

Educational Work by the Missionaries

There were seven major missionary groups that were actively involved in the education of the native Zambian from the time of the creation of the Native Department to the end of the colonial period.⁴ These missionaries were not only from Britain but from other parts of the world too. They included the Church of Christ from the United States, the Salvation Army (U.S.A.), the Capuchin Fathers (Irish and Italian), the Franciscan Fathers (mainly Irish). The Pilgrim Holiness Church and the United Missions in the Copperbelt were a combination of many societies from Scotland; the Dutch Reformed from Holland, the Baptists and Methodists from Holland, Switzerland and France. The United Society for Christian Literature incorporated most of the societies participating in the United Missions in the Copperbelt. These were not the only missionary groups in Zambia, but these are the ones that contributed a lot between 1925 and 1964. Despite the fact that most of these missionaries were not British, they showed some interest in the establishment of primary schools for their own reasons, as will be seen in the following discussion. There does not seem to have been major misunderstandings between the missionaries and the British Government based on the question of the country of origin. Instead, there was more conflict as to aims between the Christian missionaries on the one hand and the civil administrators on the other. The other more pronounced conflicts were between the different societies competing for areas in which to establish their Church.

The Church of Christ was very active in the Namwianga area. They established a central mission station in the area and provided

⁴P. D. Snelson devotes more than half of his book to these missionary endeavors.

teacher training facilities to provide teachers for the bush schools of the surrounding area. It had more unaided schools than aided. In this way, then, the Church lacked Government encouragement, and with its economic affairs based on charity abroad, could not do much. The Zambian Church members did not have sufficient funds to be able to run their own schools without any assistance. The people of the Southern Province of Zambia were then peasant farmers who lived on subsistence level. The upper primary schools could not be established since they required more labor and time. The Zambian in the area did not have enough time to spare since he had to work and feed his family using rudimentary methods of farming.

The Salvation Army, which came by way of South Africa and Rhodesia, established itself in the Southern Province of Zambia too. It became very active after 1927. It embarked on giving western education to both boys and girls. The earlier missionaries had given formal education only to boys, so this was quite revolutionary. They set up coeducational boarding schools. The aim of these boarding schools, like anywhere else, was to give the children a full western influence without interference from the immoral community and from the home. Half of their schools were aided by the Government. The most important coeducational school they established was Ibwe Munyama. By 1936, the Salvation Army conducted its first standard six examinations. The first batch was composed of boys; the girls trailed behind. After 1945, Ibwe Munyama was moved to Chikankata, and a church and clinic were added to the school, where they still stand today.

There were two major reasons for the delay in the establishment of upper primary schools for girls. Earlier missionaries gave

priority to boys to study since they were expected to be pastors, catechists and teachers in the mission schools. Later, the boys were also expected to be clerks and interpreters in the colonial administrative machinery. This attitude could also be attributed to the delay in the development of girls' education in Britain. The philosophy in Britain had been that of providing academic education for boys and leaving the females aside. The other factor of delay in the development of girls' education in Zambia can be found in the Zambian mother's attitude toward formal education. Most of these mothers valued their daughters in helping them with the traditional domestic chores, and their going into boarding schools meant a change in the whole family working structure. The girls in the Zambian indigenous society were learning mainly from their mothers, and it was felt that no other institution could take the place of training from mother to daughter. The Zambian male was left to do the most adventurous and dangerous activities in life and the female was left with the more stable forms of work. When formal education was introduced, the boys were left to try the missionary schools.

The Salvation Army introduced boarding fees in their schools. This factor did not attract the children of those people who could not make enough money. This was an extra imposition on top of the hut tax that was required of every able-bodied adult male. The concept of money also was new to the society in which the schools were established. There were very few sources of money in Zambia then. The school fees question together with the hut tax impositions made some men in the Southern Province of Zambia migrate to Rhodesia and South Africa to look for jobs that would pay them in money form.

The combining of the church, hospital and school at Chikankata was a common feature among missionary groups that came to Zambia. This was to help in the total westernization of Zambia; the whole western culture was implanted in this manner.

The Capuchin Fathers were late starters in the field of education in Zambia. They did not become active until after 1931. They concentrated in the western part of Zambia in the Lozi area and also the Northwestern Province. When they first came to Zambia, they had problems finding places where they could set up mission stations because many areas had been claimed by other denominations. The inter-denominational rivalries delayed the establishment of schools in some parts of Zambia. The delay in the establishment of schools meant a delay in the education of the masses of that particular area. The different missionary groups wanted to claim bigger areas to evangelize for their own denomination.

After 1945, they were aided by the Holy Cross Sisters who started giving primary education to the girls as well. Only two of their primary schools which numbered more than eighty were aided by the Government. By 1964, it was the largest educational agency in the Western Province of Zambia.

The Franciscans became very active after 1931. They worked on the Copperbelt and Northwestern Provinces. Their early educational work was the running of "prayer schools." But after 1931, they aimed at giving a full primary education. This could not be fully achieved due to the shortage of trained teachers and the lack of funds. They were assisted by the Dominican Sisters who set up Ibenga School. All their schools were Government aided. The upper primary schools were not

numerous, even in the Copperbelt area where there were many children of miners.

The Pilgrim Holiness Church was active in the Southern Province and their Code stated:

The conversion of sinners and the sanctification of believers, the Pilgrim Holiness Church aims at publishing the full Gospel to every nation in order to prepare souls for the pre-millenial coming of Christ.⁵

In their schools, there was no doubt as to what their aim was.

The United Missions in the Copperbelt embodied a number of participating societies. These included the London Missionary Society, the Livingstonian Mission (Church of Scotland), the Universities Mission to Central Africa, the Methodist Missionary Society, the South African Baptist Mission and the United Society for Christian Literature. More missionary societies were concentrated on the Copperbelt because of the increased population in the area. The different societies felt they would work better and do so effectively if they came under one organization. The United Missions in the Copperbelt was formed in 1936 after the 1935 Copperbelt strike.

In 1935, there was the black mine workers' strike and this was interpreted by the missionaries as reflecting the inadequate religious and moral education for Africans on the Copperbelt. Reverend Malcolm Moffat of Chitambo was on the Commission to investigate the riots. Representing the missionary view, he had this to say:

Very little attention was paid to the education or religious instruction of the natives in the Compounds. As our investigations proceed, we become more and more aware that this uncontrolled and growing emigration brought misery and poverty to hundreds and

⁵P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945, p. 183.

thousands of families and that the waste of life, happiness, health and wealth was colossal. Something must be done at once to remedy a state of affairs which, viewed from any standpoint, constitutes a flagrant breach of that ideal trusteeship of native races not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world. The Commission feels that the continuation of suitable religious instruction of natives who come to work at the mines and the instruction of young people who are growing up there is of great importance both from a moral and disciplinary point of view.⁶

The main issue at hand was not that the African on the Copperbelt was undisciplined because of lack of religious instruction. The main issue lay in the environment in which they were introduced and the attitude the whites had towards them. The white administration and the company officials wanted to keep the African rural. They wanted the African turned into a migratory worker who would be going back to the rural area after a specified number of months. On the Copperbelt, there was an increase in the number of African workers as more and more copper mines opened. But the whites were determined to avoid the advancement of the blacks which would threaten white supremacy. This fear led to the color bar system on the Copperbelt. The whites wanted to keep the towns white and tried to keep the Africans away from the urban areas by denying them the essential social services.

Jack Keller and Sir Hugh Williams opposed African education and general advancement in Northern Rhodesia. Hugh Williams, as Member for Gwanda constituency (in the Legislative Council) had this to say on the subject:

Who wants the native to buy a pair of black trousers to cover his black legs? His black legs are infinitely preferable as a worker

⁶ Lusaka, Zambia, Government Printer, Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Disturbances in the Copperbelt, 1935, quoted in P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945, p. 187.

and as an individual. The native will continue to be honest if you leave him with his beads and blankets . . . It is we who are battling out on the veld . . . If we could clear out every mission station in this country, and stop all this fostering of higher native education and development, we would much sooner become an asset to the Empire . . . We are simply committing suicide.⁷

But the African was not to be left out since he interacted with the white at work. Low wages were paid to Africans and it was claimed they were inefficient workers with a lower standard of education. With regard to secular education for the miners' children, the United Missions had suggested starting more schools in the area but Sir Alan Pim, of the Pim Report, said that they should provide only for a small portion of the country. This was an indication that the Government and mining companies were not interested in the social welfare of the African. There were over eight thousand children on the Copperbelt who had nothing to do. In most cases they were too young to get a job, or if they were older, could not get the job they wanted because of their low level of education. Due to idleness, some of them turned to mischief, especially when their parents were away at work for most of the day.

In the period just before the 1935 strike, there was also an economic slump. The mining companies and the Government decided to raise the African taxes on the Copperbelt. The Africans resented this; they complained about the lack of social services, low wages, the color bar, but the whites defended themselves, saying:

Their African pocket is a different one from ours, and the money they put into it still remains for almost the whole

⁷ Southern Rhodesia debates, 30 April, 1935, cols. 1446, 1448, quoted in Richard Gray, The Two Nations: Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 143.

population of this territory an unnecessary luxury, that is as far as living is concerned. They can live comfortably without any money at all--not at Nkana for instance but when they return to their homes--apart from their payment of revenue. If I am deprived of my salary I starve, but the native in similar circumstances can go home and live as happily as ever.⁸

But the African miner on the Copperbelt was living on almost subsistence level. In 1937, the average pay at Nkana for European workers was £506.00 per annum, while that of the African averaged at £10. 6s per annum for surface labour and £18. 18s. for underground labor.⁹

After the disturbances, the United Missions took its own initiative and increased the number of schools. By 1942, it had enrolled over six thousand children in its primary schools. But things did not go smoothly for the United Missions. There were serious differences of opinion as to the relative importance to be attached to evangelistic work, education, and welfare activities. Other problems faced by the United Missions included teaching staff; their teachers' conditions of service compared unfavorably to the Government teachers and miners. As a result, it could not expand; instead, in 1950, it began handing over its schools to the Government. The last one was handed over in 1952.

The United Society for Christian Literature, established in 1936, had its headquarters at Mindolo near Kitwe. This society was invited

⁸ The Provincial Commissioner, "Copperbelt Disturbances," 1935 evidence, quoted in Richard Gray, The Two Nations: Aspects of the Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, pp. 116-117.

⁹ For more figures and explanations on the earning power of Africans as compared to Europeans on the Copperbelt, see Richard Gray, The Two Nations, p. 117.

by the African Education Department to provide and distribute educational textbooks to the schools all over the country. The first books that were circulated were for religious purposes and moral training. There were hardly any books on vocational education. But, as already stated, the United Society for Christian Literature's major aim was not to provide secular books; it was convinced:

Print is the most powerful, as it is the most enduring, of the influences which play upon the human mind and spirit, and [the United Society for Christian Literature] is pledged to use this instrument in the effective service of the Church.¹⁰

The United Society for Christian Literature remained the major distributor of textbooks and other school equipment to African schools until 1966. The policy of adaptation in Zambia could not be put into practice with missionaries running the schools and putting the Church before secular education.

Education and the Economic Depression of the 1930s

In 1931, Latham, the first Director of African Education in Zambia, retired. Before his retirement, he had outlined a program for the development of African education. He specified the amount of money required for African education from 1931 to 1936. His plan could not be carried out due to administrative changes and the financial problems encountered during the economic depression of the 1930s. During this period, the copper revenue which was the main source of Government revenue went down, and the little revenue that was obtained from the copper was divided into three parts. One part went to the development of Britain, the second to Rhodesia, and the third to Zambia.

¹⁰P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945, p. 192.

The actual expenditure from 1931 to 1936 was in some years reduced to a third of the figure suggested by Latham, and the expenditure from 1932 to 1935 actually declined. For a comparison between projected and actual expenditure, see the revised table 1 below.

TABLE 1

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE IN ZAMBIA, 1931-1936
(Money Amounts in Pounds Sterling)

Latham's Plan		Actual Expenditure	
Year	Expenditure	Year	Expenditure
1931/32	32179	1931/32	29195
1932/33	40160	1932/33	27915
1933/34	48363	1933	25164
1934/35	61250	1934	22783
1935/36	71346	1935	27176
		1936	28359

SOURCE: P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945 (Lusaka: NEDCOZ, 1970), p. 195.

NOTE: The actual expenditure declined in the years 1931 to 1936. The 1936 actual expenditure was less than the 1931 actual expenditure.

With the reduction of the actual expenditure was the reduction of boarding grants for students in all the boarding schools. Tuition fees in both missionary and government schools had to be increased to subsidize the lost revenue. The increase in tuition fees led to a decline in numbers of students who continued into upper primary schools. Some of the few Africans who had become unemployed during the economic depression did not have enough money to pay for their

children's school fees.

The teachers' salaries were also cut. During the Depression, they were being paid less than what they were getting in 1929. The Government gave the missions an option to pay their teachers more if they so wished, but they were told they were not going to get any additional grants for teachers' salaries. The missionaries, who depended on money from abroad to run their schools, had no option but to cut their teachers' salaries since their sources had almost dried up with the economic depression. The teachers of this period were living on subsistence level and many teachers left the profession, which did not help in the development of education in Zambia.

TABLE 2

TEACHERS' SALARIES: 1929-1936
(Money Amounts in Pounds and Shillings Sterling)

Years of Service	Salary per Month	Salary per Year	Maximum Grant to be Paid by Government per Annum
1	15s.	£ 9.00	£ 6
2	17s.	£10.00	£ 7
3	20s.	£12.00	£ 8
4	22s.6d.	£13.10s	£ 9
5	25s.	£15.00	£10
6	25s.	£15.00	£10
7	27s.6d.	£16.10s	£11
8 or more	30s.	£18.00	£12

SOURCE: Native Education Circular no. 8 of 1937, dated March 9, 1937, quoted in P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945 (Lusaka: NEDCOZ, 1970), p. 197.

In 1935, a major statement on education policy of the African communities was issued by the advisory committee in the colonies.¹¹ The 1935 memorandum outlined the need for the school to interact with the local community. It emphasized the need to realize the connection between educational policy and economic policy. This realization must have stemmed from the experiences the British had during the Depression. Adult education was emphasized and the different territories were asked to look into the question of training teachers who would put this policy into practice. The memorandum suggested sociological research into African ideas and institutions. The memorandum's suggestion of adult education was to help in bridging the generation gap in Zambia whose conflicts were made worse by the two different approaches of the old and the young toward life. The young were introduced and later on became involved in the western cultural complex while their parents still held the Zambian traditions in high esteem. But due to the above mentioned economic and administrative problems in Zambia, the 1935 educational policy statement did not lead to action in the educational system for Africans.

Schools did not go out to the community, but instead more weekly boarding schools were set up after 1935. The weekly system was established due to the Government's failure to supply enough board for the Africans. Children brought their own food and all the necessities

¹¹The summary of the document by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities (London: HMSO, 1935) is reproduced by David G. Scanlon, Traditions of African Education (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1964), pp. 102-105.

from home. On Sunday afternoons, they would carry their provisions to school for the school week and on Friday afternoon, they would go back home to collect more provisions for the following week.

Another development of the 1930s was the central village school. This idea was started by the Church of Scotland educationists in the Northern Province of Zambia. The policy entailed the concentration of educational facilities, rather than their dispersion, as it was before. A number of small bush schools were closed and one large one opened in their place. School committees, composed of British administrators and parents, were appointed. They were charged with the responsibility of collecting school fees and providing the necessary items required by the school. The inclusion of the African parents implied that the parents were going to participate in and influence their children's education. But in practice, these parents who were not acquainted with the western system of education could not have much influence on the system. The concept and model of a western school were all alien to them.

Native Authority Schools

These were the schools run by the Government for the local people. The Government provided primary schools where they thought they were inadequate or where they thought denominational schools would bring more problems. The native schools were started in 1936. They catered for primary education; the Government did not show any interest in secondary education for the Zambians. The development was, in actual fact, discouraged by the local administrators. It seems they all feared "the spectre of the unemployed university graduate," as it had happened in India. This fear was stated by Tyndale-Biscoe, Director of Native

Education, in his 1937 speech:

There is the danger that the supply will eventually become greater than the demand, and unless great care is taken to train the pupils not to despise manual work or work among their own tribes, a discontented unemployed class may rise.¹²

Another factor that caused the delay in the development of secondary education was the general fear of the African taking over the reins of government or becoming a malcontented and restless group. This was going to be a problem in Zambia where the racial policies that prevailed then discriminated against the local Zambian. The Africans were going to get the education but were to be denied the opportunities that went hand in hand with their qualifications.

Another problem was that the higher the educational ladder, the higher the school fees an African child had to pay. The student would be refused to continue his secondary school education because of his inability to pay school fees. This meant that some intelligent children from poor homes were denied the chance to go to school.

Screening was another feature of the government schools of this period. There was wastage of pupils between one class and another. There were examinations after the lower primary school for one to continue into an upper primary school. There was even a tighter competition to enter a junior secondary school of the time.

After the Depression, most pupils were not interested in joining the teacher training schools to train as teachers. The standing committee explained this phenomenon by saying:

The unwillingness of the Missions' most intelligent pupils to train for a profession whose rewards are so meagre compared with

¹² Native Education Department Annual Report, 1937, quoted in P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945, p. 210.

those of others, and the disquietening tendency of qualified teachers, particularly those of the highest attainments, to leave the profession for better paid positions in Government service and elsewhere. . . 13

As to the Jeanes schools, there were difficulties too. There were bad working relationships between the Ministry of Education and that of Agriculture. African graduates were not trusted; they had to be supervised by Europeans whose numbers were insufficient. In place of the agricultural school, an elementary teachers' course was instituted at the Jeanes School with the object of training teachers for missions' elementary schools. Their pay was miserably low (see table 2). It was not until 1938 that the Government increased the pay of the Jeanes teachers.

In 1937, the De la Warr Commission was set up to look into the establishment of secondary education in Zambia. The aim was to create a small élite group. As a result of this Commission, the first junior secondary schools were established at Munali Training Centre with eleven students, and at Kufue with four, who were later absorbed into Munali in 1940. Munali remained the only secondary school up to 1946. Between 1946 and 1956, the policy of secondary education was hardly pursued.^{14,15}

¹³Lusaka, Zambia, National Archives, Minutes of the Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Advisory Board on Native Education, June 1936, quoted in P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945, p. 219.

¹⁴Trevor Coombe, "The origins of secondary education in Zambia," African Social Research 3 (June 1967):173-205; 4 (December 1967):283-315; 5 (June 1968):365-405.

¹⁵See also P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia. He emphasizes the point that after Latham's departure in 1931, there was hardly any major development in education for the Zambians.

After 1939, grants for education were to be drawn from the public revenue. The native authority schools also accepted children irrespective of their religious affiliations. This implied that at least children could attend school even if their parents were not converts. But the snag, as seen from this paper, was that the majority of the schools were run by the missionaries. This factor then did not help much in the development of the education of the masses.

While the Government did hardly anything for Africans in junior secondary education, all European children in the territory by 1945 were assured of school places up to form two and thereafter were assured of bursaries to South Africa or Britain for senior secondary education. On the other hand only one out of five African children completed standard two. Less than half that number completed standard four and one in a thousand could hope for a form one place.¹⁶ The segregation in the schools did not end there. The African classrooms were made of pole and dagga with no furniture and with the barest minimum of educational equipment. The European schools in the territory, on the other hand, were well built and were equipped with relatively modern teaching aids. Even the teachers were distributed accordingly. The teachers with less education and training were distributed over the African schools. The well-trained went to European schools. The conditions of service in the European system of the same territory were better than those of the African system. In 1950, the Government was spending forty pounds sterling per head on a European child and one pound, six shillings per head on an African child per year.

¹⁶ See P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945, a section on comparison between the African and European systems in Zambia between 1883-1945.

The segregation question raises the problem of motivation for learning and teaching. One could hardly expect favorable results in a dull, poorly built school without furniture. The teachers could not have done much in motivating the pupils either. Moreover, as already noted, the teachers were not well trained. The African child had at the same time to encounter the difficulties of just going to school, such as long journeys on foot in the mornings and fighting some parents' ideas which were against western schools. Since most children did not attend upper primary or secondary education they left school at an age when they could not find profitable employment. They were either too young to get a permanent job or their rudimentary education was not regarded as education by the employers who wanted people with higher certificates. Some African parents and their children who expected their children to gain a respectable job and a European language were disappointed. The medium of instruction in the lower primary school was the four local languages, Lozi, Bemba, Nyanja and Tonga. The lower primary schools' policy of starting with a mother tongue was based on a very sound educational principle. But in Zambia, where most of the children left school at this level, the result was that most of the people were deprived of acquiring English, which was and still is a major world and commercial language.

In 1944, another memorandum was issued by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies.¹⁷ The 1944 memorandum made more suggestions as regards educational policy in African societies. These were

¹⁷ Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Mass Education in African Society (London: HMSO, 1944), reproduced in David G. Scanlon, Traditions of African Education.

summarized as follows:

(1) The wide extension of schooling for children with the goal of universal school within a measurable time; (2) The spread of literacy among adults, together with a widespread development of literature and libraries without which there is little hope of making literacy permanent; (3) The planning of mass education of the community as a movement of the community itself; involving the active support of the local community from the start; (4) The effective co-ordination of welfare plans and mass education plans so that they form a comprehensive and balanced whole.¹⁸

In the 1944 memorandum, the British do not talk about adaptation in African education. This would imply that they had changed their definition of adaptation. In this memorandum, the African students were to receive a western form of education, full stop. The improvements stressed in the memorandum were similar to those stressed in the western world then and today. The local administrators too did not carry forward the policy of adaptation to African conditions as first defined. Vocational education was the least developed in the territory, despite the earlier talk of stressing it. The missionaries who had begun on these projects were not encouraged and did not have sufficient funds to run them.

Education and Politics in the Fifties and Sixties

The period from 1950 to 1963 saw more interaction between politics and education than before. From 1950 to 1953, the political problems were centered mainly on the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.¹⁹ African education was also entangled in the whole affair. The Africans in Zambia, who had been trained in mission schools,

¹⁸Ibid., p. 116.

¹⁹L. H. Gann, A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953.

joined together to oppose the establishment of the Federation. The missionaries lost most of the church members when it came to light that they had helped in shaping the white administrators' policies. In such a political crisis, the missionaries saw a need to re-establish their missionary work. The missionaries aimed at reconverting the restless Africans. Since they did not have enough funds, one way of reconverting the restless Africans was not by expanding the school systems but by cutting down on them, and concentrating instead on evangelical and pastoral work, leaving education to non-religious groups. The difficulty of getting money from abroad brought to light another idea. The missionaries were to turn to members of their respective churches in Zambia to finance their Church. In so doing, it was thought that the Africans would become more involved and would turn out to be faithful Christians. But the problem of a discontented group was not solved.

The Federal Constitution laid down the matters to be dealt with by different governments. The Federal Government was to be in charge of general economic, technical and financial matters; non-African education at all levels and higher education for all races. The Zambian Territorial Government was given the responsibility of dealing with all African affairs, including primary and secondary education. This division meant that the Zambian educational practices and policies were not affected by the Federation as such, since there was no higher education. The University College in Zambia was established in 1966, and the policy there was a continuation of the preFederal one. The 1953 Commission to British Tropical Africa recommendations did not take root in Zambia.

There was only a small percentage of the African population that went beyond primary education (see table 3). This level of education was inadequate if the Africans were to play an active part in the formulation and administration of educational policies.

TABLE 3

AFRICAN EDUCATION 1953-63: NUMBER OF PUPILS IN
UPPER PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CLASSES

Class	1953	1958	1960	1962
Standard 4	6,797	14,318	17,491	23,583
Standard 6	1,320	6,351	4,743	5,456
Form 2	155	450	558	843
Form 4	37	120	85	175

SOURCE: Adapted from P. E. Tindall, A History of Central Africa (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 306.

This period was still characterized by the supremacy of white interests. The legislative and executive councils were composed of whites who generally represented European views. This was so because the franchise was limited to British citizens only, and the Africans in Zambia did not qualify for this status. The African grievances of this period had to be voiced out in the welfare association or the African political party, the African National Congress (ANC). ANC's main question was that of representation on the legislative and executive councils. The welfare association's main question was that of economic advancement on the Copperbelt, and later political questions. The Africans of the period then were preoccupied by the two major questions of African economic and political advancement. The educational policy as

such was not a major issue. The major issue in education was that of increasing enrollment and eliminating racial segregation in schools.

From 1958 to 1963, the number of those completing junior secondary and senior secondary education slowly increased. At both levels, external examinations were introduced. The standards were equated to those of English schools. With the introduction of external examinations then the whole idea of adaptation to the Africans conditions was squashed; instead, it was adaptation of African education to European conditions. The Federal Government that was in charge of higher education established the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury (Rhodesia) in 1957. The location of the University in Salisbury had in itself racial connotations. This was where the most influential whites were. More places were kept for whites than blacks in the Federal University when there were more blacks than whites in the territories. The University was affiliated to London University and it conferred London degrees.

Although racial discrimination was condemned by the Federal Government, nothing was done to remove it. The Federal Government was far removed from the day to day activities of the people. The Federation's failure to implement the outlined objectives led to an insistence on the part of the educated African in Zambia for a separate territory.

The political activities of this period were also connected with the Copperbelt area. A large number of educated Africans working in the mines were not given their "appropriate" status, and the educated Zambians' realization that they were not given the best type of western education led to more restlessness. Nationalist consciousness in

Zambia was first observed among the Africans who had received missionary education (western formal education). These were the people who had come into contact with the white man's system; they had studied it and in the process discovered its weaknesses.

Lack of finances was used as an excuse for not developing secondary education in Zambia. On examining statistics, however,²⁰ it can be seen that Zambia was generating more revenue than the other territories in East and Central Africa in the fifties. But Zambia had only a thousand of its people with school certificates in 1964, the same as Kenya in 1957, Uganda in 1955 and Tanzania in 1960, and there were only a hundred university graduates. This implied that despite general British policy on education, the local administrators were really responsible for each territory's advancement. The financial question was not a very crucial matter in the Zambians' question of not having qualified manpower at independence. For general educational growth, see table 5.

²⁰ See table 4, revised from W. E. F. Ward, ed., African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa (Oxford: Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office, 1953), p. 131.

TABLE 4

EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN EAST AND
 CENTRAL AFRICA--1950
 (Money Amounts in Pounds Sterling)

Territory	Government's Revenue. Approx.	Spending on African Education Approx.	Percentage of Total
Malawi	3,000,000	200,000	6.6
Zambia	15,600,000	500,000	3.2
Mainland Tanzania	11,000,000	1,000,000	9.0
Uganda	10,603,142	609,359	5.0
Kenya	13,244,019	630,000	4.0

SOURCE: W. E. F. Ward, ed., African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa (Oxford: Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office, 1953), p. 131.

TABLE 5

GROWTH OF EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA
 1925 TO 1964 (ESTIMATES)

Year	African Population	Total Enrollment
1925	---	Less than 1% of total enrollment--only 5.1% in stds. 3 to 5
1935	---	
1945	1,500,000	100,000
1955	2,000,000	200,000
1963	3,000,000	300,000

SOURCE: L. G. Pine, ed., The International Yearbook and Statesmen's Who's Who (London: Burke's Peerage Ltd., 1953 to 1963).

NOTE: 1925 to 1953 figures adapted from Lord Hailey, An African Survey: A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara (London: Oxford University Press, 1938. Revised 1956). The estimates given in the different sources vary quite a lot. For example, in 1947 Hailey's total enrollment figure is 169,834 and in 1951 Pine quotes

the figure 153,712 as total enrollment. Some of the schools were ungraded and since the Government did not run all the schools, there one can only estimate. The African census was not carried out thoroughly until 1969.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF THE BRITISH POLICY OF
ADAPTATION IN ZAMBIA

The Advisory Committee on Colonial Education formulated the educational policies, but the application of these policies was left to the individual territories' administrators. This local autonomy existed up to secondary level.¹ Since Zambia did not have institutions of higher learning during this period, it did not receive any help from the London office. After 1950, it had contacts with London through the establishment of the Cambridge examination system.

Value Changes

As children and adults in Zambia began receiving the western type of education through the mission schools, their values began to change. Traditional Zambian activities were reduced to a lower status. This was due mainly to the missionaries who ran the schools and sought to destroy the "heathen" activities. African dances were discouraged by the missionaries and as a result they became less popular.

Evening activities changed: instead of riddles and traditional tales around the fire, there was in their place the Bible story and the catechism quizzes, the alphabet and singing of religious songs.

¹Margaret Read, "Education in Africa: Its Pattern and Role in Social Change," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 298 (March 1955):170-9.

The day, too, was radically changed. Instead of children learning under the guidance of their mothers and fathers, they trained under the formal western school. The change as to who instructed the child led to the shift in authority. The authority and respect that were given to a traditional instructor in traditional matters now went to the school teacher who taught the "magic" of reading and writing. In this way, the attitude of the young toward the old changed. There was not much they were going to get from them.

Most of those who went to school, at least on the surface, became Christian-oriented. They minimized the emphasis of the spiritual aspect in African culture, such as African shades, spirits and God. Christianity was the religion associated with academic education and therefore thought to be more prestigious. The missionaries contributed to the molding of the Zambian culture as a whole. Dressing and housing were modified. Mission-school educated Zambians provided the colonial administration with policemen, clerks and interpreters. They helped widen the horizon of the Zambians in that ideas were introduced from other parts of the world. The Zambian was no longer confined to his and neighboring society; he also learned about other peoples living far off. The introduction of the Christian religion and western education did help reduce some tribal wars in certain areas of the western part of Zambia, but increased them in the eastern part of Zambia among the Cewa and Ngoni.² The followers of one denomination became brothers, but at the same time the permanent rivals of another denominational group. For example, in western Zambia, the Capuchin Fathers' followers and the

²T. O. Ranger and I. N. Kimambo, eds., The Historical Study of African Religion (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

Paris Missionary Society followers never saw eye to eye.³

Western schools helped in the reduction of superstition, but did not wipe it out completely, even among the educated.⁴ The educated African lived in two worlds--he accepted the scientific concepts during the day and for examination purposes. At night, he resorted to traditional cults, and in a crisis, most of these educated Zambians resorted to the traditional cults. This resorting to traditional practices in severe crises is an indication that the Zambian was not wholly uprooted from his traditional life and at the same time was not fully involved in western culture.

The missionaries used education as an instrument to change the mentality and outlook of the Zambian. Though there was talk of encouraging what was good in African culture, actual practice was that of discouraging even the good in the traditional Zambian way of life and replacing them with new ideas and values from the west.

On the Copperbelt of Zambia, Epstein⁵ observed that in the running of the Africans' affairs in the compounds, the young educated Zambians challenged the elders who had not received the western type of education. The educated man also provided a bridge between Zambian tradition and western culture. Whenever there were grievances, it was they who

³See the section on the development of education by the Capuchin Fathers in P. D. Snelson, Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945.

⁴V. W. Turner, Schism and Continuity in African Society (Manchester: University Press, 1957). F. Musgrave in his article, "Education and the Culture Concept," Africa 23 (1953):110-26, makes the same observation on educated Ugandans.

⁵A. L. Epstein, "African Leadership on the Copperbelt," The Listener 56 (11 October 1956):540-41.

communicated with the white masters on behalf of all Zambians. He also notes that with increased urbanization and education on the Copperbelt, one would have expected more orientation in attitude toward the west. But this was not completely true. The African miners still associated themselves with their traditional groups, more so in 1957 than in the 1940s.

Change in the Philosophy of Education and the Curriculum

The whole philosophy of education was changed in Zambia from that of "living" to that of "preparation for a future life." In Zambian traditional education, learning took place everywhere, and in acquiring a certain piece of knowledge, a member of the group was learning what was useful and at the same time that prepared him for future obligations. With the new philosophy, the school was separate from the traditional way of life. The student was removed from his parents' home, put into a boarding school for a certain number of years, and trained in a certain field, after which he would get a job and do something useful for his society.

By changing the Zambians' philosophy of life, western education left the Zambian without any base and he could not contribute much to the new educational system with a new philosophy, ideas and way of life. The missionary educators, together with the colonial government, then, removed the African from cultural creativity. Instead, the African became a helpless spectator since the whole system was completely new to him. In this period, Zambian cultural development by Zambians almost stagnated. A whole new system was introduced which the Zambian

had to follow with an unquestioning mind, and the training given aimed at producing subservient people who would not be very curious. The education that was being given to Zambians was of a lower quality, as already seen in Chapter 3 of this paper.

The curriculum offered to the Zambian, and later the jobs, did not require him to solve major problems but rather to follow instructions. The vocational or industrial education that was taught was based largely on hand tools and geared to certain aspects of agriculture and industry, to produce semi-skilled workers. Literary higher education was discouraged in Zambia by the local administrators, and this factor led to a smaller number of educated Africans at independence. The few who received secondary education had to follow the English system, which emphasized classical subjects. Since Zambians were a subject people, they had to follow the Cambridge system to maintain contacts with Britain, and this is another reason as to why vocational education was second rated; it lacked the prestige of the traditional curricula based on the British model.

The Zambians too sensed this spirit of the prestige found in the traditional British curricula. So the problems in the development of the vocational schools came about as a result of the attitudes of the colonizers and the colonized. On the Zambian side, before the white man came, they were tilling the land for survival. As soon as they were colonized, they were expected to work for the white farmer or be miners on the Copperbelt, all of which entailed manual labor for very little pay. The white man who came, on the other hand, did not do any heavy manual work; he lived a comparatively comfortable life. With his skills

of reading and writing he enjoyed a job in the office or as supervisor in the mine and got more money than the man who actually dug out the copper deposits or turned out the soil. Since the Zambians had not travelled to see how the Europeans worked in their own countries, they got the impression that western education resulted in one sitting in an office or doing only light work for more pay. The dignity of labor was lost and the rewards of industrial training were not conceived anywhere in the system.

It was not only the way of life of the Europeans who came to Zambia that perpetuated the problem of the development of vocational education. Even the Africans educated in this period were given better wages for non-manual work.⁶ In the schools, gardening that was introduced was usually used as a form of punishment. If a schoolchild misbehaved in class, he would be asked to work in the school garden. The development of the trades in this period was restricted too. On top of all this, the African blacksmith could not compete with western technology. This factor must have discouraged some Africans from being more creative and inventive with the local copper and iron ores. They had instead to buy the finished products manufactured in Britain.

The Problem of Unity of Theory and Practice

The existence of many pressure groups in educational spheres must have complicated the practice. The missionaries emphasized religious education; the white settlers wanted "practical" education and the

⁶For a detailed discussion on the values associated with western education and the English language, see A. L. Epstein, "Linguistic Innovation and Culture on the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia," SWJA 15 (1959): 235-53.

Government administrators the education that would produce clerks and interpreters to implement the indirect rule policy. What was adapted to the Zambian was not Zambian but British educational models. The policy maker did not know or understand much about the Zambian peoples; he taught what he knew and that happened to be the concepts of western education.

The major problem in implementing what was on paper can be found in the lack of research material on Zambia. The facts of Zambian society were missing. There had been no research on the Zambians and how they would react to the form of adapted education.⁷ The little literature there was, was inferred from the other parts of Africa. The anthropologists, who were mainly missionaries who studied the Zambian societies, had their own preconceived ideas about how society and man should behave. These people came to Zambia as adults and had already absorbed the British values which they used to judge the Zambian situation.

The aims of education for Zambians during this period were reached by a group of people who did not live in Zambia. The educational policy documents did not give the details or directions on how to implement the policy. The local administrators were given freedom in this sphere. The actual organization and instruction in the schools were never examined by the British Colonial Office until 1953.⁸ The

⁷ The first mention of carrying out research was in the "1935 Memorandum" and research in Zambia did not follow immediately, since the recommendations were not adopted in Zambia.

⁸ W. E. F. Ward, ed., African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa.

western curriculum on its own was alien to the Zambian culture. In Britain, the curriculum in most cases elaborated on the accepted middle class norms. In Zambia, there had to be first a justification for the new norms, before the knowledge could be imparted to the child. Hence, a mere designing of an educational policy without insuring its practicability posed a problem.

British policy allowed for the teaching of four major Zambian languages, as already mentioned. These languages were taught only at the lower primary stage in a very rudimentary manner. Thereafter, English was emphasized. The teachers who taught in the upper primary and secondary schools of Zambia were mainly British and a few other Europeans supplied by the missionary societies. These people were just learning the Bantu languages spoken in Zambia, and could not put what was on paper into practice. The literature for a comprehensive teaching of these Zambian languages was also missing. The teachers had to use the literature that was at hand and this happened to be the English readers whose setting was England. The declared official language at places of work was English. English too was the language for acquisition of western technical concepts, and the Zambians had to learn this language. The emphasis on English in schools had a reason but this was contrary to the earlier definition of adaptation to Zambian conditions as written on paper.

This question of language has been recognized by many language specialists as:

. . . a fundamental aspect of the child to the life and culture of a particular group. A language cannot develop except in a group nor can a society function without a common language. The development of national pride and group solidarity would be impossible if

there were no common elements in the experiences of individuals. Language supplies common elements of thought by compelling individuals to go through mental processes which are alike. Language is not merely a vehicle for the transmission of ideas from mind to mind; it is a question; it is a compelling institution which forces men to become alike in their association of ideas. The learning of a word is a process of socializing the individual and of making his conscious world like that of others who use the same language.⁹

This is an analysis given by experts on language after a long period of study in different countries. The teaching of English to the children who went to school, then, separated them as a group from their parents who did not attend school. The younger generation developed ideas and concepts different from those of their parents. This change on the part of the younger generation was no easy a process. The Zambian child had to concentrate hard in order to understand what the new concepts were all about.

There were not enough facilities for the education of the adults in Zambia. A generation gap, as already seen, had developed, and adaptation was not going to take root when the children could not influence the adults who were not in tune with the schools' or their children's new aspirations. There could not be any comprehensive discussion on the issue with two diverging cultures which were not sympathetic to each other.

Finally, most of the educational work, as we have seen, was done by the missionaries. The British Government, then, expected the missionaries to put into practice their policy of adaptation on their behalf. Decentralization in education limited the effectiveness of the establishment of the educational system. The British administrators

⁹UNESCO, African Languages and English in Education (Paris: UNESCO Educational Studies and Documents, 1953), p. 26.

never seemed to have learned from the ineffective nature of a decentralized educational system at home. The British Government had passed so many recommendations through Commissions from 1884 to 1945. Many of the recommendations were not effected. They were put into effect only when the Government intervened directly, and this was all forgotten when they were in Zambia. There was also a loose relationship between educational and economic planning. As already shown, Zambia, which was generating more revenue, had fewer schools at Independence. The unrelatedness of the economy and education meant that the missionaries and Government schools in general could not embark on ambitious programs even if they wanted to. There was unbalanced development of schools within Zambia. The first type of imbalance was in terms of area. The line of rail and the Southern Province had more schools per population than the northwestern part of the country. The second form was unequal development in the education of the Europeans in the territory and the local Zambians. Segregation in education perpetuated social classes. The favored whites were trained for higher status jobs as compared to local Zambians who did not receive higher education. The adapted curriculum discriminated against the Zambian by slowing down his educational pace and diluting his curriculum content. Adaptation, then, was based on the political formula of the day. Despite the talk of partnership in the running of affairs, there was in actual fact a paternal relationship, with the British administrators running all the affairs in education.

CHAPTER V

THE PROBLEM OF SYNTHESIZING THE BRITISH AND
ZAMBIAN INDIGENOUS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

The educations offered in the territory were trying to implement two opposed theories. They aimed at westernizing the Zambian by making a complete, immediate break with the Zambian past. The other one aimed at a slow introduction of western ideas, hence a slow development out of the Zambian past.¹ These two brands combined in the education of Zambians. The missionary educators in the field of religion introduced Christianity and discouraged Zambian religions, which they called animism. In science, they discouraged liberal thought and favored instead gradual development in secular schools. The missionaries discouraged African religions because their presence was going to make the missionaries' teaching difficult. African religions had very deep roots; they were embedded in the way of life of the people. There was no differentiating between religion and way of life.² The missionaries could not understand this concept of religion. In the sciences, the missionaries

¹For a detailed analysis of the two opposing theories, see K. J. King, Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in Southern States of America and East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

²J. S. Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy (New York: Praeger, 1969).

had seen its development in the western world and had observed some of its "undesirable" results. Too much urbanization, materialism, and rationalism were going to eat away the kind of society the missionaries wanted. They thought that if the Zambians' rural situation were fused with Christianity, it would present a more desirable cultural alternative than the increasingly secular, urban and industrial European society.³

The other problem of synthesis is embedded in the differences between the bonds which hold the British (westerners) together and those which hold the different Zambian societies together.⁴ The British social stratification was already based on differentiation, due to great division of labor brought about by the agrarian and industrial revolutions. Hand in hand with the revolutions was the growth of specialization. In the process of specialization, they came to rely on others for the supply of other necessities such as food. So the British during this period were viewing the world as an interdependent sphere. Among the Zambian groups, on the other hand, there was interdependence within the community, but they did not have a general view of world interdependence in the economic sphere. What was happening in other communities did not concern the Zambian much, except when there was something like a planned attack on one group. This was so

³F. Musgrave in his article, "What Sort of Facts," discusses some observed European teachers who made parallels with European situations. He points out that most of them did not have the actual facts about Africa.

⁴A. W. Hoerule, "Native Conception of Education," Africa 4 (1931): 145-163. See also A. Moumouni, Education in Africa, trans. by P. Nautts Ott (New York: Praeger, 1968).

because the daily needs of the indigenous Zambian at that time were centered around his community. All his basic needs were provided for by the community.

All the different Zambian societies were based on kinship bonds which made it necessary for the members of the family to remain together. The extended family system was being practiced. The fathers' brothers were fathers; mothers' sisters, mothers, and their children were considered as brothers or sisters. In this way, the different members of the society were linked much more closely than a linear family system group would be. A great deal of time in Zambian societies was spent on teaching the child "who was who" and this helped in strengthening the feeling of mutual interest and respect. It is on this kinship that their cult was based. The ancestors played an important part in the lives of the living descendants. The religion of the indigenous Zambians was mediated by the dead ancestors or shades who spoke to the Small Gods who in turn communicated with God.⁵ This point was misunderstood by the early British; they thought the Zambians had no God. And yet every activity the Zambian performed was permeated with religious significance.

The Christian Mission Schools in Zambia attacked the initiation rites and the children attending their schools were discouraged from going through such rites. In these ceremonies was something socially valuable. These were forms of social rites and were not anti-social, as portrayed by the missionary educators. The social traditions of the clans were being handed over to the younger generation. No scientific

⁵T. O. Ranger and I. N. Kimambo, eds., The Historical Study of African Religion (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972). See especially the chapter by M. Mainga Bull on the Lozi religion.

school could replace the system wholesomely. The initiation schools gave the younger generation ideas about "physiological" changes that were taking place in the youths and the place the full sexual functions were to take in their future lives. This act was fundamentally right to them. The question of it being unscientific, as was charged by the British, was then supposed to be improved upon. But the whole condemnation was due to the misunderstanding of the Zambian culture.

The indigenous Zambian, by transmitting his social ideas, showed sound social sense which drove him to hand on this knowledge. Sexual life was regarded as being important since it was the "source" of children and a marriage without children was considered very unfortunate. As a result, everybody wished to have their sexual powers developed and society was helping by means of the initiation rites. The early western educators felt this increased immorality, but on the other hand, it was just the opposite. Songs sung at initiation ceremonies represented moral attitudes and obligations. For example, among the Bemba of Zambia, the "tortoise mime" women would sing: "The tortoise when it is at home puts its head into its shell."⁶ This would be a warning to the initiates that as young women they should not be stingy, they must share their food. They should not hide food in the corner of their houses, like the tortoise puts its head in the shell. Another song would go like this: "The child is crying, I did

⁶Audrey I. Richards, Chisungu: A Girls' Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia (New York: Grove Press, 1956), p. 207.

not see where it lay. The door is swinging."⁷ This teaches the girls that as young mothers they have to look after their babies. "The door is left swinging," meaning that the door is open and the baby is left alone because the mother has gone beer drinking, and these young women are discouraged from doing the same.

Not only was religion to be emphasized in the schools of Zambia but also the connection between religion and "morality." This was emphasized by the Phelps-Stokes recommendations and the 1925 British Memorandum on African Education. The British authors did not realize that there was a direct connection between religion and "morality" in Zambia. The young and the old were expected to offer sacrifices and libations to the ancestors when they were due, and it was a sign of disrespect if they did not do that to their God through the shades and spirits. Selfishness, quarrelling with kinsmen, brooding anger and showing disrespect to elders were considered "immoral" in the Zambian indigenous societies.

To encourage the young people to carry out these regulations, the taboos were formulated. The Lozi of Zambia said that if a wife commits adultery the husband might die, and if the wife is pregnant and the husband commits adultery, there would be complications at childbirth. Each taboo had a meaning behind it. The main concern in the above taboo was for the child and the pregnant mother. The different rules were based on feelings and were not scientifically proved but there were "moral" lessons in them. Monica Wilson's definition of immorality goes as follows:

⁷Ibid., p. 208.

What is immoral is failing to take proper precautions against injuring people or their property through contact with "dirt" or "infection" as defined in that society.⁸

Therefore, what the early western educators in Zambia considered immoral, such as carelessness in child care, was not immoral by Zambian standards. It would be immoral if, knowing the cure, the Zambian did not cure the children suffering from malaria.

Witchcraft was condemned by the missionaries. This, of course, saved quite a good number of men's lives. The Zambian societies, too, recognized the negative aspect of witchcraft as the misuse of mystical powers, but the mystical powers of witchcraft were thought to maintain moral order in an indirect way. If people behaved well, there was no need for them to fear witches.⁹

When western education was introduced, there was the introduction of moral lessons on neighborliness. The concept of a neighbor was not new to Zambia. When it came to putting the western concept of neighborliness into practice, it produced results contrary to Africans' traditions. It has been observed that the Africans who went to mission schools grew up with great disregard for kinship ties and instead pursued individualism.¹⁰ In Zambian society, one was regarded as being

⁸ Monica Wilson, Religion and the Transformation of Society: A Study in Social Change in Africa (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), p. 81.

⁹ Monica Wilson interviewed some individuals in Southern and East Africa; some said that "the banning of witchcraft had made kids more unruly because there was nothing to scare them with."

¹⁰ Monica Wilson, Religion and the Transformation of Society: A Study in Social Change in Africa. F. Musgrave, in "Education and the Culture Concept," Africa 23 (1953):110-26, points out that the mission-educated young men consumed more alcohol than the uneducated.

selfish if one ate alone and being selfish was being "immoral." But the early educators had their meals alone and preached universal brotherhood. With the influence of western education offered in the mission boarding schools, there was the slackening of economic help to kinsmen and a tendency for the linear family which operated on a more independent economic unit than the indigenous extended one.

It must be observed that during this period, the Zambian societies were on a lower level of technological know-how. Family and clan relationships and the ceremonies gave some deeper meaning to life than would have the linear family that functioned well in a highly industrialized society. It might have been said to be stifling by observers, but it was more comforting and enriching, whether in happiness or sorrow. Man, being a social being, needs some socialization and this was offered by way of the extended family system in Zambia. Another factor connected to the extended family was group participation. There was participation of the different members of the clan in the different group activities.

As stated in the first chapter of this paper, there were complaints about the Africans in general, that they were not able to use their leisure time constructively. Their leisure activities were attacked as being "immoral." The discouraging of the African activities by the early educators led to passiveness on the part of the African. Musgrove¹¹ complained that his schoolboys, who he used to see as young children, running around, playing African instruments, no longer did it at school unless on special request by the teacher. The student who came from a society with different values and pursuit for joy in the world had to

¹¹F. Musgrove, "Education and the Culture Concept," Africa 23 (1953):110-26.

take up another route in his search for happiness. Nobody can deny the significant improvement that western education has brought about in the material and economic spheres. But this could have been far more satisfying if it had also enriched the Zambian society or left it with its social values.

CHAPTER VI

SOME CONCLUSIONS

It is important to note that when one points out the weaknesses of the missionary and British education for Zambians in this period, one is not denying the contributions they made. It is only by understanding the weaknesses and strengths of the education provided for Zambians in the previous period that Zambians as an independent people may find better ways of formulating and, most important, of implementing their own national system of education.

The Zambian educational system still has many of the characteristics of the 1925 to 1964 period. Enrollment in schools has increased, but the curriculum and stress is still on the British traditional model. Zambian secondary school leavers still have to sit for Cambridge examinations. This will continue until 1980.¹ There is still great selectivity and wastage at grade seven, form three, and form five levels. Only twenty percent of those who sit for grade seven examinations continue on in form one; only fifty percent of this group, when in form three, go to form four; and only ten percent of the form five group find a place in the University.

¹Lusaka, Ministry of Education, "Education for Development: Draft Statement on Educational Reform," 1976.

As to educational policy, Zambia has a new draft of proposals and this was wholly accepted by the Government in August 1978.² The question remaining is now of implementing the new educational reforms.

The British in Zambia failed to implement the high sounding aims and objectives of education for Africans which they had formulated on paper. There seemed to have been a preoccupation on the part of the British with objectives but not with implementation. They were unable to bring about a proper synthesis between the western and the Zambian indigenous systems of education. Because of this failure, the Zambian who got some secondary education could not get along with the older generation that was completely immersed in the Zambian culture. He was divorced from his own society but at the same time, had not absorbed western culture completely.

The policy pursued in Zambia was that of gradualism in educational matters. Senior secondary education was not offered until the 1950s and there was no University College in Zambia at Independence. This was all done for political reasons. There was fear on the part of the administrators that the educated African would upset the administrative machinery. On this point, they were right, as already stated: the educated Africans were the ones who led political protests on the Copperbelt and were also against the Federation. Another factor for gradualism in education was connected to the racial attitudes of the whites in the territory at that time. They did not want to compete with blacks.

The British educators never helped create a Zambian national system of education. They were not very committed to Zambian education.

²Zambia Daily Mail (Lusaka) August 2, 1978, p. 4.

With European education in the same territory, the same Government took direct control. Voluntary bodies that lacked funds at times were left to run the Zambian educational system.³

The Zambians might not have been active in formulating the educational policy and in its implementation, but they accepted it for various reasons. Christianity, that went hand in hand with education, was regarded as a white man's religion and it conferred social prestige to become a Christian. Western education brought with it technical skills and material wealth more than anything else. There was also the excitement of the "magic" of the written word; the indoctrination the Zambian had received about the superiority of the British and many other individual reasons. But this acceptance of western education brought political problems for the British rulers at a later date. The educated Zambian began to feel he was not given enough. There was a cry for more secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. Finally, it was this educated group that led the struggle for independence and won it in 1964.

The dual policy in education based on race and the adapted curriculum were not practiced only in Zambia. A similar policy was pursued in South Africa, Rhodesia, Kenya, and to a lesser extent in Malawi because there were fewer white settlers there. Such an educational policy was in line with the British imperial dream of "Cape to Cairo" as

³For example, the United Missions in the Copperbelt gave up its schools between 1950 and 1953 due to lack of funds. The other mission schools were just surviving, according to W. E. F. Ward, African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa.

suggested by Cecil Rhodes. The whites were going to be the senior partners and the Africans were to remain junior partners in the economy as well as in education.

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