DEDICATED TO
MY LATE FATHER

The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence

by
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formerly Minister of Education
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Revised Edition

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Preface

Six years ago, a friend of mine, Tanner Malinki, requested me to write an article on the development of education in Zambia after independence. I had just ceased then to be Minister of Education. My positive response to his request resulted in the publication of this book at the end of 1968.

Four years after the publication of the first edition, it has become necessary to revise some parts of it. In fact, apart from the first four chapters, practically all the remaining chapters have been revised. Some chapters have been revised extensively in order not only to up-date statistical information but also to provide an adequate descriptive account of recent educational policies and assess their long-term implications. An attempt has been made, where appropriate, to analyze the principal current criticisms of the education system.

I wish to thank educators who have discussed with me some of the problems of educational developments in Zambia which I have described in this book. In particular, I am obliged to the following: Mr. A. J. Adamson, the Acting Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education and Culture; Dr. Ross Ford, the Director of Technical Education and Vocational Training; and the Vice Chancellor of the University of Zambia, Professor Lameck Goma, for providing some of the material relevant to the subjects dealt with in this book. Thanks are due especially to Dr. Trevor Coombe, Director of Planning in the Ministry of Education and Culture, whose penetrating reports on problems of educational expansion in Zambia were an invaluable source of information.

However, I should emphasise that I would not wish to implicate those whose names I have mentioned as responsible for controversial views. These my personal views are entirely my own responsibility. Finally, let me record my thanks to my publishers for making useful suggestions to me and for their encouragement.

J. M. Mwanakatwe.

January 1973

never make good citizens. The consequences of this require no elaboration.

Thirdly, Zambia is a member of the unfolding international community. We and our children have a contribution to make in the establishment of a decent world order. This is not an easy task, for there are some cruel realities which must be faced. However, given political goodwill, education is a good vehicle of communication and for the creation of a spirit of co-operation among nations. Insofar as co-operation implies individual participation in some co-operative activity, the human factor will have a high priority in our development programmes. We have to increase the capacity of Zambians to understand in scope and depth their problems and other international issues which directly or indirectly influence their destiny.

Fourthly, as a developing nation, it has increasingly become clearer that the responsibility for bridging the gap between the rich and the poor will weigh more heavily on the latter. It is, therefore, the developing nations who, in these unfortunate circumstances, must organize and employ their resources in order to modernize and industrialize at a pace fast enough to bring them nearer to the developed regions and hence narrow the socio-economic gap. This calls for greater emphasis on scientific and technical education.

Finally, I must refer to the special position of Zambia in relation to Southern Africa. Our geographical location imposes special responsibilities, namely, to demonstrate in practical terms the fallacies and futility of apartheid and allied doctrines. Our educational system must therefore enable society in Zambia to grow and uphold the principles of freedom and justice; it must help create a spirit of brotherhood among people of all colours, races and creeds, making non-racialism a successful way of life while guaranteeing peace, stability and prosperity. Any nation would be proud of such a record which must of necessity now be maintained and improved upon.

I hesitate to comment on what the author has so ably described. The Honourable J. M. Mwanakatwe, M.P., has had tremendous experience in this field—both as former Minister of Education and as an outstanding educationalist. This background qualifies him to make this presentation. On the other hand, I have on many occasions criticized the pathetic record of the colonial government

in the educational field. Indeed, I have not hesitated to condemn this record as criminal when compared with the performance elsewhere in British colonial Africa. I am glad that for the first time readers will be able to study the history of education in Zambia. It has been an uphill battle and for some time it will continue to be, although, no doubt, we are making progress.

The need is therefore urgent, for we cannot continue to rely on the goodwill of expatriate personnel. The period after independence is one of developmental emergency and requires a careful utilization of every available human resource.

To this end, the Zambian Government has had to widen the scope of educational programmes in fulfilment of the election promises and also in accordance with the principles of UNIP. Most of the education today is free. We aim at universal free education. We are expanding our secondary school education and paying greater attention to the requirements of university education in order to produce qualified personnel and, therefore, help establish sound administrative cadres for upper and middle grades in Government, commerce and industry. Agricultural extension schemes require technicians; so do fields like communications, power and public works. In fulfilling our obligations there is no substitute to good education which in turn is based on a sound school system.

We cannot afford to be complacent. Since we are planning for the future let us train our leaders, teachers and managers properly; let alone our mothers. This is a guarantee for peace in unity, development and prosperity. This is the surest way of perpetuating our humanism and the values of our society from which our forefathers derived stability.

The Growth of Education in Zambia is a success story. The book is welcome as the first attempt to explain how far we have come and to map out how far we still have to go on the dusty and tedious road before reaching our destination. The present generation of leaders in Zambia may not reach it; but it is our inescapable obligation to pave the way for those coming after us, to make it infinitely easier for them to continue from where we must inevitably leave.

I am confident that this book will be an invaluable guide in understanding Zambia's struggle to build a good industrial base and defence against the erosion of human values while accommodating scientific and technological changes.

State House, Lusaka. *27 July 1968*

I

Traditional Education

In common with inhabitants of other parts of Africa, the people living in what is today called Zambia had evolved their own system of education long before Europeans penetrated the interior of the continent. Indeed, the security and well-being of any tribal community depended upon the efficacy of the training given to its members from infancy to adulthood. Traditional education was essentially practical training which was designed to enable the individual member to play a useful role in society. It is true that the skills of reading, writing and mathematical computations as we know them today were not part of traditional education; nonetheless the role of traditional education was vital and, in fact, indispensable for the smooth integration of growing children into society. Therefore, to the extent that traditional instruction made a contribution to the preparation of boys and girls for living in society, it was in every sense true education.

This education obviously varied from tribe to tribe, both in content and the methods used, as these were dictated largely by the nature of the environment. For example, in a predominantly pastoral community much of the training of the boys centred around herding cattle. On the other hand, among the lakeshore or island-dwellers fishing provided the boys with the opportunity of developing such skills as making nets, fish-traps and canoes. In both situations, the growing child was required to serve his community and appreciate the interdependence of its members. He was periodically exposed to risks and dangers which tested his courage and endurance, his honesty and sense of responsibility. However divergent the content and methods of traditional education among tribes, training had one common aim; it was meant to preserve the cultural heritage of the tribe and with it the clan, the family and the individual. In this context, traditional education sought to adapt the young generation to their physical environment so that they could use it fruitfully for their own benefit and the benefit of the whole community.

In tribal society the education of children was an important function which was shared by parents and their neighbours; in fact all reasonable persons of any age-group assumed some responsibility for training children in specific skills or in promoting their understanding of the laws and customs of the tribe. However, parents were generally responsible, in collaboration with their own grown-up children and close relatives, for educating their offspring, more especially during the early years of its infancy. Naturally, in the early stages, the young child's education was centred on learning the language of its parents and identifying objects in common use in the household. Until the age of three years, the child's world was a restricted one in which his associates were his own mother, his nurse and siblings, if any. All members of the family, however, made a combined effort to play with the child, to teach it to speak correctly and to say the right names for things; they helped the child to distinguish between older people for whom terms of respect were applicable and younger persons whom the child could call by their first names. The correct position of sitting among elders was emphasized according to the sex of the child, as with rules of hygiene which boys and girls were required to observe. In this early training of infants much emphasis was placed upon obedience and respect for elders, general good manners and usefulness in the household. Elizabeth Colson describes this early training among the Plateau Tonga as follows:

> Long before a baby has begun to talk, older people, including other children, are busy identifying objects for it, warning it of danger, instructing it in proper behaviour. If a baby is given a gift, its nurse sees that it takes it with both hands, while instructing it verbally to receive a gift in the proper fashion. When a baby receives a titbit, older people beg a portion to teach it to share with others. Later, it is encouraged to stand and walk, and as soon as it can take a few steps it will be handed an article to be given to someone a few steps away. Success meets with demonstrative thanks and petting. It is encouraged to talk and new words are repeated for its benefit.[1]

From the age of six or seven years, the education of children generally took a wider scope in which their own parents no longer played the dominant role. For boys the household environment was no longer exciting and they longed almost daily for adventures in the bush, in the gardens, along the river-side and wherever they could freely indulge in their puerile pursuits without the admonition

of their elders. By raiding the gardens of their parents, they learnt the discretion of taking no more crops than necessary from the reserves of their own parents; they learnt to cook vegetables, potatoes, groundnuts or to roast meat as their elders would require them to do during a hunting expedition. From the age of six to twelve or fourteen, they became useful members of the society by herding cattle, collecting honey or through bringing to the home from time to time a catch of fish or a basketful of wild fruit. Their wanderings through the bush enabled them to learn the river systems, the hills and forests, the type of flora and fauna characteristic of their physical environment. Apart from their own excursions, boys were often required to accompany their elders on organized expeditions, for example hunting and fishing expeditions, when the skills they had acquired, their courage and ability for physical endurance, were subjected to severe tests. During such organized expeditions any gaps in the boys' knowledge of the customs, the laws and tribal institutions were filled in. This important knowledge was imparted to the young generation by elders through proverbs, legends and anecdotes which were told with considerable care and repetition. In this manner an attempt was made to inform the boys about their past and their cultural heritage, with considerable emphasis being placed on stimulating pride in the cultural institutions upon which the community depended for its survival.

One aspect of boys' education which was stressed as they approached adulthood related to sexual conduct. A boy was not encouraged to undertake amorous adventures, in case he got a girl pregnant out of wedlock, which inevitably brought shame and sorrow to his parents and the ridicule of his friends.

Among certain tribes in Africa, more formal instruction in sexual conduct was given to boys during their initiation, a period when they were secluded from normal life in society and subjected to severe tests of courage and physical endurance before they were allowed to enter the ranks of adults. Margret Read, writing on 'Growing Up among the Ngoni of Nyasaland', has observed:

> The study of adolescence as a recognized stage of individual development in non-western societies has been influenced by three main factors: the attention paid to physical changes at puberty and their subsequent implications for marriage and sexual life; the social recognition by the society of the significance of this change; and the rituals which marked the transition. Initiation rites, as a form of *rites de passage*, occur in many

> societies immediately after puberty. The majority of these initiation rites takes the form of a 'school', involving a period of seclusion in some remote locality away from normal social life, varying degrees of physical endurance tests, instruction in traditional hygiene and sex life and in correct behaviour to senior people, with an intense emphasis on submission to authority.
> In sociological and psychological terms the aims of the ritual in initiation schools were to strengthen the individual at a time of crisis in his life, to sanction his new status in society after a period of exclusion and instruction, and to assert the authority of society over the individual through the solemnity and rigour of the ritual.[3]

In African traditional society, the girls who reached the age of six or seven began to widen the circle of playmates and no longer depend solely upon their mothers and her relatives for their education and training. But unlike boys, the girls spent most of their time within the precincts of their villages until much later in their girlhood when they ventured into the bush in the company of their friends of the same age-group. In the village they continued to help their mothers in discharging their domestic responsibilities. To a greater extent than boys, they received a more systematic and thorough training appropriate for each stage of their physical development. As the girl grew towards adulthood, she gradually learnt the skills required for a successful housewifery in later life. Thus, quite early in life she learnt to sweep her mother's hut, to wash the clay-pots and calabashes with care, to draw water from the river or to pound or grind maize or millet into a fine powder. She accompanied her mother or aunt to the gardens for the day's work, or she took responsibility to cook relish at home while her mother was away. As she approached maturity, she assumed the more exacting tasks such as collecting firewood or mudding the walls and the floors of the hut and verandah in which her parents were living. In the performance of almost any task, the young girl was constantly under the eye of an experienced woman or older girl who ensured that the task was promptly and adequately accomplished. Insolence or laziness on the part of a young girl was roundly condemned.

Among most tribes the culmination of education and training given to a girl came when she reached the puberty stage. Immediately she was secluded for a period of time, and, according to Elizabeth Colson, sometimes for as long as three to four months among the plateau Tonga.[3] The place of seclusion, at any rate for the initiate herself, could be regarded as a school in which the final instructions

were given concerning her responsibilities in adulthood—responsibilities which had direct relevance to her marital life in future. She was thus instructed about her obligations to her future husband and his relatives, for whom she was required to provide food regularly; lessons were given to her concerning child care; the virtues and upright conduct which she was required to uphold were extolled; above all she was instructed about her responsibilities to the whole community and the absolute importance of accepting the authority of her husband. The following is Elizabeth Colson's description of the teaching given to a Tonga girl during seclusion:

> Sometimes older women, usually from the village itself, come in on an evening and give the girl advice on how to conduct herself in the future. If she has been impertinent to the woman who secludes her, or if as a child she has been impudent to the older people, the women beat her and twist the flesh of her arms while they tell her, "Now you are grown, we want you to stop using obscenity and abusing people. From now on you must be courteous and leave the ways you knew as a child." They also tell her that as a married woman she must work hard, that it is necessary for her to keep her house swept, her husband fed, and her field in order. They lecture her that it is right to work in the field and to grow food—"to hoe is good, but to go with the basket begging for food is very bad".
> They tell her that when she is married she must respect her mother-in-law, and that furthermore she must see to it that her husband respects her own parents and their siblings.[4]

One of the tragic consequences of the impact of Western culture and civilization upon African traditional life has been its corrosive effect. Today much of what was good and useful in African traditional life has disappeared, and consequently many African people have been thrown into a state of semi-confusion. They live, as it were, in two different worlds at the same time. The emphasis which traditional education placed upon proficiency of the individual in the practical skills, hut-building, net-making, blacksmithing, pottery or even doctoring, was intended to illustrate the interdependence of individual members of the community. Above all the growing child's traditional education stressed at every stage the importance of strict adherence to the accepted moral code.

Undoubtedly, with the introduction in Africa of Western ideas of a money economy, ideas which have had such an enormous influence over the last one hundred years, traditional life and institutions could not have remained unaffected. On the other hand,

Because of this agreement, the British South Africa Company gradually spread its sphere of influence over the rest of the country and provided the effective administration of Zambia in two parts, North-Western Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia, until 1911 when the two sections were amalgamated and then administered as the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia. The Company relinquished its authority to administer Northern Rhodesia in April 1924, when the territory was reorganized as the Northern Rhodesia Protectorate under the Colonial Office.

Early Christian missionary enterprise, therefore, both in the field of evangelization and school establishment, developed during the period of the Company's authority for the administration of the territory. Frederick Stanley Arnot was the first Christian missionary who entered the territory in 1882 to establish a permanent missionary station from which the Gospel could spread. He lived in Lealui among the Lozi people for whom he established a school between 1883 and 1884 at which he found 'that it was hopelessly difficult to obtain or to retain pupils, and when a few would come to his school, it was only with supreme effort that Arnot could interest them'.[2] This school was from the beginning overwhelmed by vicissitudes, which eventually led to its closure until 1887 when it was reopened by Francois Coillard, a passionate and dedicated missionary of Huguenot descent, who arrived in Lealui in January 1885. By 1886 the Paris Missionary Society had established two mission stations, the first at Sesheke in 1885 and the second in 1886 at Sefula. He opened a school at Sefula, one of the oldest schools in the territory, for the education mainly of the children of the Lozi royal family.[3] Through patient work, devoted service and an indomitable spirit, he was able to overcome the early difficulties and suspicions of the local people who subsequently trusted him greatly.

Of Coillard's multifarious duties and interests among the people he had chosen to serve, Rotberg has said:

> Patiently Coillard attempted to introduce Western ideas and morality into Lozi life. In the school at Sefula he taught children of the royal family and principal chiefs. He became a doctor to the people of Barotseland. He preached against witchcraft and sorcery, and urged the ruling hierarchy to end indiscriminate manslaughter. He also encouraged Lewanika to rear cattle productively, to grow wheat and to eat bananas, previously regarded as "medicine" rather than as food.[4]

During the period 1882 to 1905 there was intense missionary activity which led to the establishment of several mission stations throughout Zambia. In their desire to establish new mission stations from which missionaries could launch campaigns for the evangelization of the indigenous peoople, unscrupulous methods were sometimes used to obtain the favours and support of local chiefs, resulting in bitter rivalry and even hostility in certain instances. In this period, the London Missionary Society was already active on the scene, and in 1887 had established a mission station at Kwambo which was later abandoned. In 1890, this Society founded a mission station at Kawimbe and then four years later opened another at Kambole. Gradually, the London Missionary Society spread its influence over the area south of Lake Tanganyika, reaching as far to the south-west as Mporokoso and Mbereshi where mission stations were opened in 1900. Though the Jesuits had visited Lealui in 1881, the Catholic missionaries were unable to establish their own mission stations in Barotseland until much later in the twentieth century. White Fathers, though, had established the Mambwe Mission to the north as long ago as 1891, followed by other mission stations at Chilubula and Chilonga in 1899, at Chilubi island in 1903 and at Kambwiri in the Luangwa valley in 1904. The Society of Jesus established Chikuni Mission in 1905, the year when Reverend David Kaunda established the Lubwa Mission station for the United Free Church of Scotland. In 1897, the first mission station of the Christian Missions in Many Lands was opened at Johnston Falls on the Luapula River. In 1898, the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, which had been operating in Nyasaland, established itself in the East Luangwa area. Then, in 1909, the Primitive Methodists opened Kasenga Mission and another station at Kafue in 1916.

In 1911 the Universities Mission opened stations at Msoro and Mapanza, while the Wesleyan Methodists established the Chipembi Mission station in the following year.

EVANGELIZATION AND WESTERN EDUCATION

No doubt the basic motive which prompted early missionaries to establish mission stations in Zambia was evangelization of the indigenous people, their conversion to the Christian faith and reclamation of their lives. The provision, then, of schools and educational facilities by missionaries was fortuitous or, at best,

by a deliberate selective policy certain good customs could have been preserved by encouragement in the early days of exclusive missionary effort in the sphere of education and training in Africa. Commenting on the relevance of African traditional education to the present day school system, Professor E. B. Castle has stated:

> With all its serious blemishes we have to recognize that African education was a real education which seems to have achieved its limited objectives. It was intrinsically conservative, as it was intended to be, for it constituted both the armour and the defensive weapon of a static society in which conformity was the prime virtue. But it would be foolish and dangerous to regard it as quite irrelevant to the needs of the present, to be cast off as an ill-fitting garment of paganism. We cannot dismiss achievements of the past in this way, partly because the past has a way of asserting its values in the present and also because there were elements of real value in customary education. Its most obvious characteristic was its capacity to prepare children for living in community. Emphasis was placed on good manners, obedience to elders, hospitality to friends, co-operation in common tasks, on practical skills in preparation for duties of adult life, on learning in close contact with nature, on self-restraint and endurance of hardship, on pride of membership in the group. There was a very close relationship and a sense of reciprocal obligation between elders and children.[5]

Few early missionaries who started schools at the turn of the nineteenth century in various parts of Africa held a broad view of education. To them only skills of writing and reading, which they knew, constituted education. Therefore, they did not only disdain African traditional education but they also discouraged its practice except in a very few instances. Their opportunity to develop a complete and wholesome educational system, incorporating the best that was practised in traditional training, was missed at least for a period of time. The next chapter describes the effort of early missionaries in the establishment of schools in Zambia.

[1] E. Colson, *Marriage and Family among the Plateau Tonga* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 259.
[2] M. Read, *Children and their Fathers: Growing Up among the Ngoni of Nyasaland* (London, Methuen and Company, 1959), pp. 106–7.
[3] E. Colson, op. cit., p. 283.
[4] ibid., p. 285.
[5] E. B. Castle, *Growing up in East Africa* (London, Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 44.

II

Early Educational Establishments 1883-1924

ARRIVAL OF EUROPEANS AND MISSIONARIES

The first known penetration of a European into the interior of Zambia was by a Portuguese, Manoel Pereira, who started in 1796 from the Portuguese settlement at Tate on the banks of the Zambezi River. He was followed two years later in July 1798, by Dr. de Lacerda, the Portuguese Governor of Sena, who eventually reached Kazembe in the Luapula valley. However, rapid European settlements and widespread missionary activities in Zambia at the end of the nineteenth century came in the wake of the explorations of David Livingstone, the illustrious Scottish missionary doctor, who died at Chitambo, south of Lake Bangweulu, on 1 May 1873.

Shortly afterwards, motivated by mercenary and imperialist interests, Cecil John Rhodes sent emissaries to the Paramount Chief Lewanika of the Lozi people in order to extend the British South African Company's sphere of activities and influence beyond the Zambezi River. Eventually, in 1890, Paramount Chief Lewanika and his *Kuta*, encouraged by the missionary, Francois Coillard, agreed to sign an elaborate treaty which Frank Elliot Lochner had brought from Cecil Rhodes. A direct result of the Treaty was that the Lozi were assured of 'protection' and the Company undertook to provide an annual subsidy for the welfare of the Paramount Chief and his people. Rotberg has stated that although the treaty was never ratified by the British Government, nonetheless in subsequent Anglo-Lozi agreements of 1900 and 1909, its provisions were largely incorporated.[1] The significance of the treaty signed in 1890 was considerable in the furtherance of the British South African Company's interests. In return, the Company obtained exclusive rights to exploit the mineral resources of Barotseland, which were construed subsequently, perhaps erroneously, to include exclusive rights in the exploitation of minerals in the rich Copperbelt area.

merely complementary to their much desired objective of increasing the numbers of their Christian followers. With very few notable exceptions, little was done by the early missionaries to stress the importance of education for its own sake. Recruitment of pupils to the early schools established at mission stations was quite difficult but the task of sustaining the interest of the pupils who were eventually enrolled was even more difficult. The school environment was neither inspiring nor sufficiently organized to provide truly worthwhile and interesting occupations for the pupils. Instruction in village schools was given under the open sky, or within a grass shelter, or under the shade of a tree, except at some schools where mud-and-pole classrooms were provided. The missionary teacher or his ill-educated and ill-qualified local assistant taught students the letters of the alphabet to prepare them for reading and writing; he also taught them how to count; some time might also be spent by the pupils learning simple trade skills or elementary principles of hygiene. The attitude of pupils to learning left much to be desired because they generally adopted a too utilitarian function of education. Whatever the motives of Christian missionaries in providing education, Rotberg has stated that 'the pupils themselves instead sought the specialized knowledge that would enable them more readily to come to terms with the impact of British government and the western way of life. They believed that the ability to read, write and count would open countless doors of opportunity and reward.'[5] However, the central purpose of practically all early educational endeavours of the missionaries was to enable students to read the scriptures for themselves so that they could become more ardent Christian converts. Rotberg quotes this passage from a letter by the Secretary of the London Missionary Society to a younger missionary who arrived in the then Northern Rhodesia in 1900:

> It is most important that the converts should learn to read in order that they may attain to a fuller knowledge of the Scriptures, when the Scriptures can be provided for them, but I think it is even more important that they should learn to live self-respecting, progressive Christian lives. The mission that turns out good carpenters and black-smiths does more among such people as you have . . . than that which turns out good readers and writers.[6]

In a report on the activities of the White Fathers at the beginning of the twentieth century, Father Guilleme described the 'Objects' of their mission stations as the 'end for which the Mission works is: to teach the natives in the knowledge of Christian doctrine and morality, to instruct the more intelligent among the children and the young people to serve, when time requires, as assistants, to teach them all to work in the fields, and to train the more possible of them as carpenters, masons, sawyers, etc. according to the wants of the country.' 'So in every station we have the Christian doctrine teaching for all, old and young people, about 20 minutes a day.'[7]

In the early days of educational development in Zambia, there were very few, in fact hardly any, local teachers who were capable of giving effective instruction in the three R's and Bible knowledge. Therefore, whereas education was effective at mission stations in the village schools the level of education was generally ineffective and completely unsatisfactory. Before 1928 there were few, if any, properly qualified indigenous teachers because opportunities for obtaining a reasonably satisfactory academic education to the level of Standard IV or V had been severely limited hitherto. Also teachers' pay was poor and conditions of service unsatisfactory. School equipment in the form of chalk, desks and other educational requirements was either in short supply or unavailable. Absenteeism in village schools was the order of the day which led some missionaries to consider incentives for pupils in the form of part-time employment for very little pay. The poor quality of the village school teachers was recognized by missionaries who wished to improve the level of educational work. Improvement was difficult to achieve without the necessary funds and support from the administration of the British South Africa Company. Had the missionaries from the different churches achieved a reasonable measure of co-operation among themselves, it should have been possible perhaps to establish one or two central properly staffed and equipped teacher training institutions, to work out a common syllabus and some pattern of uniform examinations for pupils, even without any support from the Company's administration.

However, in the historical context, the absence of co-operation among various missionary societies in Zambia at the beginning of the twentieth century is understandable. Intense competition was rife among missionaries to secure their own areas of influence for the propagation of the Gospel. For example, in what is today

called the Northern Province of Zambia, a bitter conflict raged for several years between the London Missionary Society and the White Fathers who were alleged to have encroached on the 'preserves' of the London Missionary Society. On 23 November 1905, the Acting Secretary of the London Missionary Society, W. Freshwater, addressed a letter to the Civil Commissioner at Abercorn in which he claimed that 'the White Fathers had entered into Kalimina's village, only two days from Mporokoso, and also that they are opening schools in almost every village beyond the Saisi.'[8] On behalf of the Committee of the London Missionary Society, Mr. Freshwater was asked 'to draw your attention [the Civil Commissioner's] to this breach of the agreement with regard to the spheres of work, the terms of which were arranged at a conference held at Kawimbe with the Administrator on 25 June 1901 and which were subsequently signed by His Honour at Fort Jameson on 25 July of the same year'.[9] On the other hand, on 9 September 1905, Bishop Dupont wrote a letter to Mr. Cordrington in which he complained that a 'Missionary of the Livingstonia Mission Kondowe is at present travelling among the Wemba about Mwalule on the Chambezi in order to prepare an establishment.' 'Your word made me ever believing that you had reserved this country for ourselves.'[10]

In spite of the early difficulties and problems of educational development, a fairly widespread education system had been established in Zambia by 1924 when the British Government assumed direct responsibility for the administration of the Protectorate. Of the estimated number of 200,000 African children for whom educational provision was required at the end of 1923, only about 50,000 were in any kind of school. Only 600 out of that 50,000 were in non-mission schools.[11] It follows that but for the early missionary effort in establishing some sort of educational institutions, very few men and women would have received instruction in schools before 1924. Indeed, outstanding educational work was being carried out at a few leading institutions during this period, notably at Sefula, Kafue, Mbereshi, Chipembi and at the Barotse National School. The educational work done at Chikuni Mission under the guidance of the Society of Jesus was eminently suited to the conditions of that time—the education was practical both for boys and girls. Missions received practically no financial support from the Administration of the British South Africa

Company. It was only during the 1924-25 financial year when the Colonial Government made provision for an estimated expenditure of about £9,300,[12] practically all of which was ear-marked for expenditure on European education. Missionary effort in education during the first quarter of the twentieth century and the extent of their success were summed up in a Report dated November 1924, by the Acting Inspector of Schools in what was then called Northern Rhodesia.

> On the whole, it cannot be denied that the natives of Northern Rhodesia are generally uneducated, and though it must be admitted that the average village school is at present of little or no value from the educational point of view, it may be confidently asserted that the missionaries of this territory have already laid on and in the vicinity of their stations foundations on which given the necessary organization, direction and financial assistance, a sound system of native education might rapidly be raised.[13]

THE BAROTSE NATIONAL SCHOOL

One of the oldest schools in Zambia which was the first to receive non-mission financial support for its operation is the Barotse National School, established in March 1907, as a result of the agreement between the British South Africa Company and Paramount Chief Lewanika. It was decided that 10 per cent of the tax which was collected from the Africans living in Barotseland should be set aside for the provision of educational services for the Lozi people. When the school was opened the enrolment was small—seven pupils. But gradually the number of pupils accepted in the school increased, more especially after it was decided not to impose any age limits on pupils while accepting even married pupils for whom huts had to be built on the campus. By 1924 approximately 600 pupils had enrolled at the Barotse National School and its seven out-schools in Barotseland. The total cost of the schools was approximately £5,000. From the beginning the standard of educational work at the Barotse National School was high in comparison with schools elsewhere in the country. But for a long time after the school's establishment, the headmaster's initiative and freedom of action were restricted by constant interference by the Resident Magistrate at Mongu. Periodically, selected students from the school were withdrawn from the classrooms and engaged for very little pay on public works, such as construction of Government offices, residences, and so forth. Those who stayed

in school spent four hours per day in lessons which included the three R's, geography, hygiene, singing, agriculture, manual training in carpentry, building, tailoring and typewriting.[14]

The British South Africa Company did not provide direct financial assistance even to the Barotse National School, yet the Company's administration on the other hand made financial provision for the education of European children both in what was called Northern Rhodesia at the time and in schools in Southern Rhodesia. G. C. Latham, the Acting Inspector of Schools, stated in the Report on European Education in Northern Rhodesia for the year ended 31 March 1921, that £300 per annum had been set aside by the Administration to enable children of settlers to enter secondary schools in Southern Rhodesia and to pay the boarding fees. Further funds were also provided by the Administration, totalling £450, in addition to the sum of £250 donated by the Beit Trustees, 'for the boarding grants to children at the boarding schools in Northern Rhodesia'.[15] Public expenditure on education had risen to £6,955, as previously indicated, by the year which ended on 31 March 1923, the year before the administration of the territory was taken over by the Colonial Government. In that year, it was estimated that there were about 600 European children of school age, nearly half of whom were enrolled in European schools in the territory.[16] It is obvious that of the two parallel school systems, one providing educational facilities exclusively for European children and the other for the benefit of African children, the European school system was the more privileged system, with superior facilities and staffed by well qualified teachers. From the beginning of educational development in Zambia, the conception of integrate; schools enrolling children of any race was never seriously considered so that racially 'segregated' schools gradually became the norm. After 1924, however, a systematic and properly organized pattern of African education began to emerge in Zambia.

[2] L. R. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1965), f.n., p. 25.
[3] ibid., p. 15.
[4] ibid., p. 22.
[5] ibid.
[6] ibid., p. 109.
[7] ibid., pp. 45-6.
[8] From papers in the National Archives of Zambia.
[9] ibid.
[10] ibid.
[11] ibid.

[12] *Education in Africa: A Study of East, Central and South Africa* by the second African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in co-operation with the International Education Board. Report by Jesse Jones, PhD. (London, Edinburgh House Press, 1924), p. 260. (Hereafter referred to as the Phelps-Stokes Report).
[13] £1 sterling is equivalent to 2 Kwacha today.
[14] Phelps-Stokes Report.
[15] M. C. Mortimer, 'History of the Barotse National School' in *Northern Rhodesia Journal* (Lusaka, Government Printer, 1956).
[16] Report on European Education in Northern Rhodesia for the year ended 31 March 1923.
[17] F. A. J. van Rensburg, unpublished thesis on 'The Development and Administration of European Education in Northern Rhodesia' (Lusaka, National Archives of Zambia), p. 20.

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[illegible] Report on the Development and Administration of European Education in Northern Rhodesia (Lusaka: National Archives, 1960), p. 10.

III

Education before Independence 1925-63

THE PHELPS-STOKES REPORT

In 1924, for the first time in the history of Northern Rhodesia, a high-powered team of educators made a comprehensive assessment and evaluation of educational opportunities for Africans. They deliberated with government officials and met members of the General Missionary Conference, representing a total of fifteen Protestant and Catholic Societies, before making recommendations for effective development of African education. In their Report, the Phelps-Stokes Commission urged increased Government expenditure on education in the form of grants-in-aid to the Missions and predicted that such an investment in colonial development would eventually 'be reflected in better health, increased productivity and a more contented people'.[1] They urged the Government to provide financial aid to central mission schools in the first instance, which were to be selected on a geographical basis; it was then urged to provide financial aid to support European missionaries who were required to supervise the educational work of their Missions; and, finally, the Government was urged to allocate sufficient funds for employment of 'Native visiting teachers of satisfactory qualifications to encourage and improve village schools'.[2]

The major recommendations by the Commission were intended to promote a rationalized, co-ordinated and effective system of education mainly under the supervision of missionaries. On the need to train teachers, the Commission recognized the inevitable role of missionary societies engaged in educational work. Thus, they urged each mission society to establish a central training institution where properly qualified staff could give the necessary

[1] Phelps-Stokes, op. cit., p. 265.
[2] Phelps-Stokes, ibid.

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THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The early days of educational development in Northern Rhodesia were difficult. Latham inherited in 1925 an inadequate and inefficient school system which had an appalling standard of academic work. It was his task to build a sound and efficient system of education for Africans in tune with the principles which the Phelps-Stokes Commission had extolled. Throughout the period of his Directorship and for several years after he had retired in 1931, there was a chronic shortage of staff, an unfortunate situation which restricted the Native Education Department's capacity to accelerate supervisory functions. By 1943, however, it had become possible to appoint one full-time officer to each of the territory's seven provinces as a Superintendent of Native Education.[4] Otherwise the administrative staff of the Department's headquarters was always 'at full stretch merely keeping up with current administrative duties'.[5] Consequently, in framing in 1926 the policy for African education, Latham accepted that mission schools were destined to play a vital role in providing the facilities required. He recognized the urgent need to improve the efficiency of primary schools which he described thus in his Annual Report on Native Education for 1931:

> Primary education in the lower stages is provided by a large number of schools and sub-schools organized by missionary societies. Most of the sub-schools are staffed by Evangelists who, besides giving religious instruction, teach what they know of the three Rs, and a little English, to irregularly attended classes of pupils of both sexes and all ages. The Department's policy is to allow these sub-schools, provided they are conducted without prejudice to good Government, but to encourage missions to concentrate on the improvement of "Schools", which are defined in the Schools Ordinance as, "a class for the teaching or instruction of natives, whether held in a building or not, conducted for not less than one hundred and twenty days a year, and in which instruction is based on a code approved by the Director of Native Education and the Advisory Board of Native Education". Such Schools are divided into village and station schools. The former seldom go beyond Standard I or even Sub-Standard B. The latter more frequently go to Standard II and in rare cases to Standard IV.[6]

For several years after 1925, the number of 'sub-schools', sometimes called 'village schools' exceeded by far the number of proper schools which were recognized by the Government and eligible for grants-in-aid. For example, in 1930 there were 345 schools or controlled institutions with a total enrolment of 19,942 pupils.

In that year, the number of 'sub-schools' was 1,126 with an enrolment of 58,790 pupils. The total number of pupils who were enrolled in all types of schools was 110,368 out of an estimated total population of 1,300,000. The percentage of pupils in schools of all types to the total population was estimated in 1930 to be six per cent. Only 1.5 per cent out of 6 per cent of pupils were in controlled schools.[7]

The Government spent £15,300 from the colonial reserve for 'Native Education' out of a total expenditure in the territory of £695,000. This expenditure on 'Native Education' represented 2.2 per cent approximately of total expenditure and was equivalent to an expenditure of just over two-pence-half-penny per head of the African population. This pathetic situation was emphasized in the Director's Annual Report for 1931 which revealed that there were only 281 certificated teachers who qualified for grants-in-aid out of a teaching force of some 2,500 teachers employed in 2,171 'schools' and 'sub-schools' controlled by missions. The rest were uncertificated teachers in charge of 'bush schools' who were in reality catechists or evangelists with hardly any teacher training. Without any doubt, this early education system was wasteful in human effort and in financial resources. In 1935, more than 70,353 pupils were enrolled in some 1,606 ungraded schools whereas only 22,701 pupils were on the registers of Government and Aided schools. Nearly two-thirds of pupils enrolled in 'bush schools' in 1935 were reported to be in the Eastern Province of the territory.

Determined to improve the quality of educational instruction, Latham resolved to commit the meagre funds made available for African education towards the improvement of facilities for training teachers in the territory. In the peculiar circumstances of Northern Rhodesia at that time, the missionaries were inevitably chosen as his agents for the transformation of the whole education system, in which instruction would be given by properly trained and certificated teachers. In future all schools aspiring to obtain grants-in-aid would have to provide instruction in the subjects approved by the Department in the official curriculum. He urged missionary societies to prevent the multiplication of 'bush schools' so that their efforts could be channelled into schemes for training their teachers efficiently. He adopted a pragmatic approach in persuading missionaries to accept his ideas. He knew that missionaries required Government subsidies to run their established education institutions. So he recorded in his Annual Report for 1926 that 'equipment grants

for one or two superior village schools have been given to some Societies under certain conditions and it is to be hoped that these will serve as a standard to be aimed at for other village schools.' The Department's desire to encourage efficient instruction was reflected in two notable administrative decisions: where qualified teachers were appointed to supervise teacher training, the Department was to give the necessary grants to mission societies and the Government undertook to pay two-thirds of the salaries of certificated teachers employed in mission schools.

The response of missionary societies to the Department's appeal for increased and efficient teacher training schemes was widespread and encouraging. By the end of 1931, the year when Latham retired from the service, eight mission Normal Schools were training male teachers in addition to offering facilities for Standards III and IV to other pupils 'from which suitable youths will be selected for the Normal course'. In the same year, preparations were made for training female teachers at Mbereshi Mission Station of the London Missionary Society, using a grant of £250 per annum from the Carnegie Corporation supplemented by a similar amount from the territorial Government. In the years after 1931, the efficiency of elementary school teachers was steadily improved until 1951 when a more positive and radical approach to teacher training was adopted for the territory on the lines recommended in the Binn's Report.[8] Indeed, as early as 1934, the Director recorded that the 'village school remains the basis of the whole educational structure and upon it the strength and durability of the edifice depend.' 'Year by year its standard of efficiency is being raised by better trained teachers and more adequate supervision, yet of necessity the educational progress of a backward people must be slow'.[9]

Credible efforts were made by the Colonial Government to improve the efficiency of primary schools which, at the time of Zambia's attainment of independence in 1964, compared quite satisfactorily with progress in this field in neighbouring African countries. On the other hand, the effort to increase rapidly school opportunities for the African children before 1964 was negligible. In the period 1924 to 1938 the record of new school buildings built wholly or partly with Government funds is scandalous. This accounts for the proportionately small number of African children who were able to enrol in schools and obtain a reasonable standard of education which at least guaranteed permanent literacy for

scholars. For example, in 1926, no buildings for educational work were built by the Government, except for a carpenters' workshop which was under construction at the Barotse National School. A small number of buildings for school purposes were erected by missionary societies, in some cases with Government assistance. In 1936, the total number of African pupils enrolled in all types of schools, graded and ungraded, was 110,048 which was slightly below enrolment in 1930. The number of pupils in 1946 on the rolls of recognized African primary schools which were either aided or maintained, was 135,167. In 1963 the record figure of 342, 105 primary pupils was reached, which nonetheless represented only 62 per cent of the boys and 45 per cent of the girls who should have been in primary schools.[10] Owing mainly to a shortage of buildings the primary school system was pathetically wasteful in Northern Rhodesia. Just before independence, six years of primary education were available and compulsory in a number of designated urban areas; after the sixth year at least 50 per cent proceeded to complete the full two-year upper primary course. A further selection of the pupils finishing the sixth year of primary schooling in the rural areas was made so that a smaller proportion of rural primary children than those enrolled in urban schools was able to complete the full eight-year course up to Standard VI. Estimates available in 1963 of Africans educated in Northern Rhodesia reveal that 86,900 males and 23,300 females, a total of 110,200, had passed Standard IV. A total of 32,400 (28,200 males and 4,200 females) were in possession of Standard VI certificates.[11] This sombre picture of inadequate facilities for African education in Northern Rhodesia before independence is aptly described in the Report of the U.N./E.C.A./F.A.O. Economic Survey Mission as follows:

> Yet the real weakness of this education is not at the lower primary level but above. Until two or three years ago, the educational pyramid tapered to the point of disappearance more sharply than in most other African territories. In the last three years, the increase has come later than in many countries elsewhere in Africa. Even the 1963 School system implied that of every 100 Africans who start primary school, 82 would reach the fourth year, 42 the sixth and 21 would complete their full primary course. Of this 21, only six would find a place in secondary school, of them only three would enter a senior secondary form and only two would end up with a school certificate.[12]

The question might be asked just why so little was done by the

Colonial Office administration to provide adequate educational facilities for Africans in Northern Rhodesia, which had a much higher average income after the Second World War than many African dependent countries? Firstly, it is obvious that education planners during the colonial era were usually too complacent, too ready to be satisfied with the minimum expansion of facilities for the education of the Africans, partly because the Government was reluctant to invest substantial funds in the development of human resources and also because it regarded the education offered to the African to be a favour and not a birthright. Except for the vigorous attempt to improve the efficiency of the school system, official planners did not actively promote its rapid expansion and development until only a few years before independence. They seldom appreciated the need and importance of giving to the African education for its own sake. Even though basically the approach was right considering the necessity to develop skills and agricultural enterprise among Africans, the colonial planners failed to strike the right balance between facilities required for primary and secondary education on one hand and vocational training on the other. In any event, it was not intended that Africans whould take up white-collar jobs in direct competition with Europeans. In his Annual Report for 1930, Latham declared the Government's policy as 'to help Missions with grants to do the bulk of the elementary school work and the training of teachers, to share with selected Missions, as it becomes necessary and possible, the higher education and vocational training of natives.' 'Elementary schools will be established and maintained by Government in some townships. The larger mines will establish schools in their native compounds.'[13] So rigid was the application of this policy that in 1930 only three schools (Barotse National School and the Jeanes and Agricultural Schools at Mazabuka) were under the direct control of the Government. In the same Report, Latham declared:

> With a regular supply of Standard IV candidates available for vocational training the problem will be to make sure, so far as is possible, that no more pupils are trained in each line than can be readily absorbed in the country. The demand for teachers, it may be expected, will be limited only by the funds available for paying them. The number of clerical posts on the other hand will be strictly limited, once the first demand has been supplied, and it is important that natives should be guarded against thinking that, because the first hundred properly trained clerks may be absorbed as soon as they are available, there will always be a similar demand.[14]

Seven years later, this policy was restated by a later Director of Native Education in the following words:

> There are indications, however, from the greatly increasing numbers in the Lower Middle Schools, that the number of candidates from the Upper Middle Schools will rapidly increase and that within four years the requirements of the Government can be adequately met. There is, however, 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 tribe, a discontented unemployed class may arise.[15]

In the early days, educational planners apparently gave no thought to the possibility of creating a discontented uneducated class of Africans which would be more ruthless in its methods of distrupting a society than the unemployed but educated class.

NON-AFRICAN EDUCATION

In contrast to the restricted, inadequately financed system of education for Africans in Northern Rhodesia, European education was more efficiently organized and more adequately provided with funds during the Colonial Government's control of the territory. Rigid separation of the races in education was enforced. There were separate schools for Africans, separate schools for Asians and Coloured, and segregated schools for Europeans. All these schools formed water-tight racial compartment of education. With very few exceptions, European schools were generally superior to schools built for other races in terms of staff qualifications, school buildings, equipment and facilities for sport and the welfare of pupils.

The first school for European children in Northern Rhodesia was opened in 1912 by the Administration of the British South Africa Company. Fifty years later and only two years before Northern Rhodesia attained the status of independence, the European education system had expanded and improved considerably. In terms of the European Education Ordinance which came into force on 1 April 1942, free and compulsory education was made available to every European child living within three miles of a Government school; European scholars were assured of free education from primary to the end of the secondary course; and the ratio of staff to the number of pupils was generous and

conducive to effective instruction.[16] Previously in 1941, a Schools' Medical Officer was appointed to inspect the health facilities of European students and, in 1946, a Government dental surgeon was appointed whose duty was the inspection and free treatment of all European school children.[17] The two-shift system was never extended to European schools in Northern Rhodesia. It was enforced in the lower primary schools in the African school system because of the severe shortage of classrooms.

On the other hand only a few Asian and Coloured schools were as good as the average European primary school even though from 1941 they were all controlled by the same Department.[18] But practically all schools for Coloured and Asian children were much superior to the type of school provided for Africans in both the urban and rural areas.

There are at least three reasons why the Colonial Government gave such scant attention to education for Africans when so much was being done for the education of European children. Firstly, the Government was concerned to attract and encourage Europeans to settle permanently in Northern Rhodesia. The provision of adequate and satisfactory facilities for the education of European children was an indispensable condition for placating settlers and other non-Africans to remain in the territory. Their experience, knowledge and skills were required to develop the country. Secondly, the Government was in league, perhaps unwittingly, with settlers to prevent the growth of a poor white community in Northern Rhodesia. To overcome this problem, a reasonable standard of education was made available to the white youth as an insurance for preferential treatment in job allocation. Thirdly, from the earliest days of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia, the voice of elected members of the Legislative Council representing interests of Europeans was highly effective. On the other hand, there were no African members of the Legislative Council until shortly after the Second World War. Meanwhile, white Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council representing European interests used every conceivable opportunity to press officials to accept measures for improving European education in the territory. The apathy of Unofficials towards African education was conspicuous by their reluctance to raise in debate issues in Annual Reports on African education which were tabled in the Council from time to time. However, the Unofficial Members sometimes took an interest in

African education even though the motives were not always altruistic. After all the two services—African Education and European Education—were complementary: both made demands on the Treasury so that a generous allocation of funds to one service had inevitably a direct or indirect effect on the overall development of the other.

The influence of settlers on educational policy-making in Northern Rhodesia has been described thus by Trevor Coombe:

> The impression which the leaders of settler opinion created upon those responsible for African education policy was bound to be confused. It is significant that no cuts were made in the African education budget at the instance of elected members; that on the contrary some cuts may not have been made in the African education budget because of their intervention; and that for 1935 the most influential members of the Legislative Council had became outspoken supporters of African education. But their support was given on terms. There was unquestionably a strong if not unstated element of *quid pro quo:* concern for African education went hand in hand with concern for European education, and the requirements of European education entailed a severe limitation upon the money available for the education of Africans.
> Secondly, advanced education for Africans was regarded by some whites with hostility, by others with suspicion, and by few (if any) with enthusiasm. Thirdly, any form of education which was likely to prepare Africans to compete with local Europeans for employment raised an outcry; this invariably threw the Government on to the defensive and reinforced their cautious attitude towards the educational advancement of Africans.[19]

After the Second World War, the voice of the African was often heard in the Legislative Council on issues which related to African Education. But the influence of the few African members of the Legislative Council was negligible. In these circumstances, rapid educational advance for Africans was virtually impossible until majority rule became a reality in Northern Rhodesia.

POST-PRIMARY EDUCATION

Latham was the first officer of the Colonial Government who perceived the need to provide post-primary education for Africans in Northern Rhodesia. Accordingly, in 1928, he proposed a scheme for the establishment of new Government 'upper middle schools' which would offer a complete eight-year primary course. He did not favour provision of secondary schools which were not linked directly to existing primary schools. He thought that the conventional

type of secondary schools would become necessary at a much later period in the territory's development when they might start at Standard VII. His idea of post-primary education necessary for Africans was the type that included in Standards VII and VIII not only other subjects of the curriculum, by which he probably meant languages, mathematics, science, history, geography, among others, but also vocational training 'with a view to producing clerks, telegraphists and interpreters'.[20] Unfortunately, no effort was made to implement Latham's scheme for nearly a decade after its conception. Practical adoption of the scheme would have extended the African education system by making it possible for students to proceed to the ninth and tenth years of schooling. It was left to the missionaries, therefore, to fill the gap by providing post-primary academic instruction in their own schools.

The first such attempt was made in 1935 when a Standard VII class was founded at Kafue Institute under the control of the Primitive Methodists. Lacking financial support from the Government, the Kafue scheme was short-lived. Three years later, the first junior secondary class in the territory was opened at Lubwa Mission in the Chinsali District with the approval of the Government. Nine pupils were enrolled in Form I.[21] However, when the Government opened its own junior secondary school at Munali with eleven pupils in September 1939, it was decided to abandon the Lubwa scheme for secondary education. But in the same year another attempt was made to reintroduce secondary education at Kafue where 'a class of four (Form I) was also started at the expense of the Methodist Mission'.[22] Munali Secondary School expanded but slowly in the early days of its life. Yet in the early fifties, mainly through the effort and devotion of Clifford Little, the School's Principal from 1947 to 1955, Munali had become a household name. Its reputation in Northern Rhodesia and in many African countries was famous because it became the alma mater of the nation's distinguished scholars.

There were no officially recognized secondary schools in Northern Rhodesia during the year 1936-37. In the school year 1946-47 the enrolment of secondary students was 143; in 1951-52 the number of students in secondary schools increased four-fold to 405 and to 1,198 in 1956-57. A considerable increase in the number of secondary places for African students occurred in the years before independence: the enrolment of students in secondary

terms of contribution to the overall development of the territory, was established by the Northern Rhodesia Government in February 1934, in Lusaka. The first Principal of this institution (known at first as the Central Trade School) was Frederick Hodgson, who had previously served as an Industrial Instructor at the Jeanes School at Mazabuka. The School was founded for the specific purpose of training African craftsmen and it achieved over the years, due to the able leadership of the Principal, an exceptionally high standard of craftsmanship by the majority of students who completed the three-year course. Apprentices who showed exceptional ability were selected for a further period of training which enabled them to qualify as instructors or foremen. Students who qualified as instructors were able to obtain employment as teachers of practical subjects—carpentry, building, and leather-work—in upper primary schools, junior secondary and junior trade schools and in teacher-training institutions. At first students who passed the Standard IV examination, which was taken after six years of primary education, were accepted for the three-year industrial training course. Later, the minimum entry qualification was set at Standard VI. The basis aim of the course was to produce well-trained and educated craftsmen to meet the need for skilful and adaptable workers who were broadly educated in the technology of their crafts and receptive to new ideas.

At the end of 1957, the Hodgson Technical College (previously known as the Central Trade School) continued to be the leading institution for technical training which was confined mainly to building trades. But over the years the range of courses offered at this college was broadened to include, in addition to carpentry and building which formed the core of industrial training, plumbing, motor-mechanics, painting and sign-writing, electrical wiring and tailoring. During the period of 1957 to 1958, 404 students were enrolled for various trades; 133 and 137 of these students were taking brickwork and carpentry respectively. Students selected after 1957 to train in the main fields of technical education, carpentry, brickwork or motor-mechanics, were generally required to possess at least the Form II certificate. In 1957, eleven junior secondary trade schools controlled by missions were in operation. Ten others were completely maintained and controlled by Local Education Authorities on behalf of the Government and they offered three-year post-Standard VI courses, mainly in

brickwork and carpentry. It was estimated that when they were fully developed, the total capacity of these twenty-one institutions would be 1,320 with the total output potential of 440 qualified students per annum.

Teacher training was also an important form of post-primary education for Africans, especially before secondary education was firmly established in Northern Rhodesia in 1939.

Shortly after Latham's appointment as Director of Native Education in 1925, attention was focussed on the problem of training teachers. Through his contacts with missionaries as Acting Inspector of European Schools, Latham had come to appreciate the main weakness of the African school system. He knew that the poor calibre and inefficiency of teachers, more especially in 'village schools', made the education they offered almost ineffective and useless. The ideal African teacher, in Latham's opinion, required all-round qualifications which he analysed thus:

> The teacher must not only know the subjects which he has to teach but he must be imbued with knowledge of teaching methods. . . . Four years in a boarding school under the required character forming influences after he has already mastered the mechanical business of reading and writing in the vernacular is the minimum of training required for turning out a teacher in any way worthy of the name and little enough can be expected of this. It will, however, be a great advance on what prevails at present.[32]

In 1926, only two teacher training institutions were able to fulfil these requirements, namely Kafue Training Institute (Primitive Methodist Mission) and Sefula (Paris Mission Society). In due course, other mission societies also started teacher training courses under the supervision of trained educationists whose salaries were partly paid out of a Government grant. Latham's success in persuading mission societies to accept the need for proper training of teachers was an outstanding achievement. In the prevailing circumstances, he appreciated that the missions were destined to play a major role in any Departmental scheme for training teachers and improving their efficiency. He, therefore, declared that 'what is required is that each of the larger societies should establish a Normal School (a term used at that time to mean a teacher training institution) in charge of a trained educationist at one of its stations with a practising school attached'. As stated already, the Govern-

ment joined the teacher training field with the establishment of the Jeanes School at Mazabuka in 1930.

Over the years steady progress was made in the training of teachers. In 1939, the minimum qualification for an elementary school teacher was Standard IV plus two years' professional training. However, the majority of recruits into the teacher-training institutions were required to possess the Standard VI Certificate, awarded to successful candidates in the School Leaving Examination taken after the full primary course. There were thirteen training schools in the territory in 1939 but the output from these schools was insufficient for the requirements of the teaching service. Nearly all the teacher-training institutions had single streams some of which were under-enrolled. By 1949, the annual output of teachers from teacher-training institutions had increased to about 170 male teachers. In fact, in 1949, 173 men and 33 women obtained their provisional teachers' certificates (T.4), qualifying them to teach in lower primary schools. The training of junior teachers whose qualification was no more than Standard IV continued in 1949. 225 men and 42 women completed the junior teachers' course (T.5) in 1949. Facilities for teacher-training continued to improve steadily, especially after the adoption by Government of certain recommendations in the Binn's Report, which led to the centralization of teacher-training activities in the territory.[25] In the year before independence, there were three main categories of student-teachers. Firstly, there were men and women who were training as teachers after completing the Higher School Certificate course in one or two subjects or those in possession of a good pass in the Ordinary School Certificate Examination. This category of students were earmarked to teach in junior secondary schools. Secondly, other students with an average pass in the Cambridge School Certificate Examination or its equivalent took a two-year teacher training course which prepared them for service in upper primary schools (T.2). Thirdly, students who completed successfully a two-year junior secondary course qualified for the two-year teachers' course. T.3 teachers, as this category of teachers were called, were recruited mainly to teach in middle and, sometimes, upper primary schools. At 30 September 1963, there were 6,754 teachers in all types of schools for which the Ministry of African Education was administratively or financially responsible. The majority of these teachers were employed in primary schools.

INFLUENCE OF MISSIONARIES

Without any doubt, the educational scene in Northern Rhodesia was dominated by the missions almost up to the date of independence in 1964. The vast majority of primary schools and a proportionately large number of secondary schools were under mission control in 1963. The voice of representatives of voluntary agencies on the African Education Advisory Board carried considerable weight, partly because of their unique experience of African educational problems and because of their appreciable contribution in terms of finance and personnel to the education system.

Nonetheless, long before independence the picture was beginning to emerge showing an imminent diminished role of missions in the development of education in succeeding years. The inevitable advent of a popular Government was bound to accelerate the demand for better and increased facilities for education. The expansion of educational services would be costly in money, buildings, equipment and personnel, far beyond the capacity of missions to undertake on the basis of even a mere one-quarter contribution towards all capital projects. So it may be anticipated that in the years that lie ahead the influence of missions, at least in the field of education, will diminish gradually in direct proportion to the overall number of schools and institutions which will remain under their control. Obviously, it is clear that in future the voluntary agencies will need to rethink and discover new ways in which they can continue to contribute to the development of wider aspects of education.

As in many other African countries, the Africans in Zambia know and accept willingly that but for the pioneer efforts of missionaries education would have been late in coming and very slow in its dispersion to every remote part of the country. By learning the three R's in mission schools, in addition to religious instruction, our forefathers were at least introduced to the 'tools' of progress.

[1] Phelps-Stokes Report, p. 265.
[2] ibid.
[3] F. A. J. van Rensburg, op. cit., p. 21.
[4] Annual Report on Native Education for 1943, p. 1.
[5] T. Coombe, 'The Origins of Secondary Education in Zambia', African Social Research No. 3, 1967 (Lusaka, Institute, of Social Research, University of Zambia), p. 199.
[6] Annual Report on Native Education for 1931, p. 11.
[7] Annual Report on Native Education for 1930, p. 24.

[8] *African Education: A Study of Education Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa.*
[9] Annual Report on Native Education for 1934, p. 9.
[10] UNESCO Planning Mission, *Education in Northern Rhodesia* (Lusaka, Government Printer, 1964).
[11] *Report of the U.N./E.C.A./F.A.O. Economic Survey Mission on the Economic Development of Zambia* (Ndola, Falcon Press, 1964), p. 92.
[12] ibid., p. 101.
[13] Annual Report on Native Education for 1930, p. 7.
[14] ibid., p. 17.
[15] Annual Report on Native Education for 1937, p. 11.
[16] A. J. Saich, 'The European Education Department and the Development of Education in Northern Rhodesia' (Lusaka, National Archives of Zambia), pp. 12–13.
[17] F. A. J. van Rensburg, op. cit., p. 122.
[18] A. J. Saich, op. cit., p. 12.
[19] T. Coombe, op. cit., p. 199.
[20] ibid., p. 173.
[21] Annual Report for Native Education for 1938, p. 19.
[22] Annual Report for Native Education for 1939, p. 12.
[23] Annual Report on Native Education for 1926, p. 3.
[24] ibid.
[25] Report of the East and Central Africa Study Group contained in pp. 58–141 of a volume called *African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa* (Produced on behalf of the Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office by Oxford University Press in 1953).

IV

1964: The Problem

The first truly popular Government in Northern Rhodesia was formed in January 1964, when Dr. Kenneth Kaunda was appointed Prime Minister, after a landslide victory of his United National Independence Party in the general elections. One of the main planks upon which UNIP had appealed to the electorate for support was accelerated expansion of educational facilities at all levels in Northern Rhodesia which was to become known, a few months afterwards when independence status was achieved, as the Republic of Zambia. So the new Government was confronted with the challenge of translating promises to the electorate into deeds.

Everywhere in Africa, the advent of a popular African government has always excited high hopes for rapid material advancement of the people in the shortest possible time. Often the people's legitimate hopes have been unrelated to the realities of the African situation—inadequate financial resources for provision of the much needed social services like schools, hospitals and clinics; a very limited supply of skilled and educated manpower to promote rapid economic development, even if the necessary funds are available from domestic or external sources; and, in many cases, on the eve of independence, well-prepared national development plans do not exist. Nonetheless, these problems and difficulties rarely restrain the people's great expectations. To the ordinary man or woman the problem of devising realistic development plans which are related to the overall needs of the nation; the difficulty of raising the necessary funds; hardly assume any significance at all. In the context of the people's demand for increased and better educational facilities in Zambia, the Government's performance was expected to surpass the effort of previous colonial governments. Therefore, as far as the masses were concerned, it was their Government's business to resolve quickly its problems and difficulties of drawing up plans for development, to find the money which was required, to build the teachers' houses and classrooms and to train the additional teachers for the service.

states on the threshold of independence. Guy Hunter describes the attitude in general of African governments to the problem of settling their manpower requirements as follows:

> It may well be true that the most vital task facing African governments is to make some new and large provision for the great numbers of young people, who, in the next few years, will complete primary education by about the age of fourteen and will find no place in the existing secondary school programme. They are potentially the biggest source of social, and indeed, political unrest. But not only is this problem largely outside the scope of this study; it is not in itself the issue to which African Governments are likely as yet to give the highest priority. For their main preoccupation is to find and train enough Africans to replace expatriates in the public service, and at least to take a hand in the private sector, and to direct and administer their programmes of economic development. Above all, therefore, it is the output from secondary shools which matters; for it is those with secondary education who can go on to become university graduates or receive technical or sub-professional training in a wide range of public and economic services.[2]

Apart from the problem of shortage of trained manpower, the inadequate education system of Zambia posed a number of serious social problems. While in 1961 and 1962 it was thought that the Government was providing sufficient primary school places to allow about 90 per cent of the African children to receive a minimum of four years' education, which was considered to be the minimum necessary for permanent literacy, the 1963 census of population revealed that the African population was very much greater than had been thought. It was the first comprehensive and real census of population in the country. It revealed, in particular, that the younger age-groups were much larger. For example, children born in 1956 who numbered just over 100,000, began their formal education in January 1964. In the same year, the number of places available was only 72,000. Therefore, only about 70 per cent of the children who reached the school-going age were able to find a place. Though some modest expansion of the school facilities was made, it could not match the rapid increase in the number of school children demanding places. According to the 1963 population census, the number of children coming forward in 1966 for enrolment in schools was expected to reach the figure of 125,000 and about 140,000 in 1968. So that, merely to maintain the enrolment each year of only 72 per cent of pupils coming forward, it was necessary to provide an additional 26,000 places in 1968 over those available in 1964.

To provide the children with a minimum of four years' education it was necessary to allow for the provision of more than 100,000 new places, and an additional 1,300 teachers on the basis of each teacher taking two classes a day. The starting age in the predominantly African schools was eight years for the majority of children, which was considered to be high. The four years of education which was available to at least 50 per cent of children who enrolled in lower primary schools was not considered long enough, so that it was desirable to make the provision for an increasing number of primary children to complete at least a full primary course. In this way, there was a chance that serious neglect of the country's human resources might be avoided.

The problem in 1964 was further complicated by the uneven distribution of educational facilities throughout the country. In that year, there were nearly two thousand lower primary schools scattered over the country, and they provided four years of education. In rural areas, after the fourth year, there was a form of selection which enabled about half of the pupils to go on to the fifth and sixth years of education. However, in the urban areas, mainly due to political and sociological reasons, the Colonial Government had provided for a number of years sufficient facilities to enable every child who started in the first year to reach the sixth year of education. Furthermore, though it has been stated earlier that only 70 per cent of children were receiving any education at all in the first year in lower primary schools, this percentage was not evenly spread throughout the country. In the urban areas provision was nearly 100 per cent. This difference in educational opportunities in turn created other problems. For example, it encouraged young people to migrate from rural to urban areas where children were often compelled to live with distant relatives who failed to exercise proper control over them. After the sixth year, half the children were selected to complete the seventh and eighth years of education. The education system of 1964 resulted in a pyramid tapering rapidly towards the top, so that a very small proportion of children accepted for the first year of the lower primary course had any chance of completing the full primary course, especially in the rural areas.

All forms of education became the responsibility of the Zambian Government at the beginning of 1964, following the dissolution of the unpopular Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In anticipation of the reversion of responsibility for the Education of

non-African children (European, Asian and Coloured) to the territorial Government, the policy of racial integration in schools was adopted in 1963. The integrated school system had never been tried before in Zambia. Its introduction, therefore, in 1964 though unquestionably desirable on political and social grounds brought a host of problems and difficulties.

As described in the previous chapter, African schools had been pathetically neglected by the Colonial Government in the past. These schools were therefore generally inferior to schools provided for the children of Europeans, Asians and Coloureds. It was decided in 1964 to continue providing free education in the former African schools, which became known as non-fee-paying schools. These schools had by far the largest number of places, scattered in all parts of the country and provided the bulk of education for the African children. On the other hand, the former non-African schools, which were then known as fee-paying schools, provided only a comparatively small number of places mainly along the line of rail in the large and small townships. In Lusaka there were only 2,076 pupils in racially integrated fee-paying schools in 1964. But in the same year in the non-fee-paying schools within the boundaries of the Lusaka Municipal area, there were over 13,950 pupils. It was therefore decided that parents who sent their children to the former non-African schools were under an obligation to make a small contribution to their operation. The pupils who went to fee-paying schools, whatever their race, were considered to be the privileged few whose schooling opportunities at all levels were better than those generally provided for in the non-fee-paying schools.

It was the invidious task of the Administration to devise a reasonable level of tuition fees, as they were called, to be paid by parents who chose to send their children to fee-paying-schools. Fees had to be fixed at a level sufficiently high to make a significant contribution to the cost of certain superior services provided in fee-paying-schools. At the same time, the level of these fees had to be reasonable so that practically any African parent in paid employment could afford them if he decided to send his child to a fee-paying school. There was greater danger if a mistake was made and the fees were found to be too high, as that would have frustrated the central purpose of fostering rapid racial integration in schools.

There was also the problem of technical education. At the beginning of 1964, there were several trade schools scattered all over the country. These trade schools were in general poorly equipped and inadequately staffed with trained instructors. The building and construction industry continued to show indifference concerning absorption of graduates from trade schools into employment. Few opportunities were provided by the industry for on-the-job training of artisans. Regrettably, too, nearly all these schools were seriously under-enrolled. Technical education itself had been neglected in the past, although a high standard of advanced training was available in carpentry, brickwork and motor-mechanics at the Hodgson Technical College. But even at this leading institution, which prepared candidates for the examinations of the City and Guilds of London Institute at the Craft, Advanced Craft and Technician levels, there was a large number of unfilled places in 1964 as in previous years. More satisfactory work was done in 1964 at the Northern Technical College in Ndola, but courses were offered mainly for apprentices engaged in Craft and Technician training. Therefore, the fifth main problem facing the education system in 1964 was the provision of facilities for craftsmen, technicians and also technologists, in a wide variety of skills. It was accepted that technologists, that is, persons who possess technical skill at the graduate level or equivalent, were to be trained for a number of years at institutions outside the country until the University of Zambia was established and facilities were provided for technological education. The Government and industry were expected to collaborate in order to accelerate the training of craftsmen and technicians who were in great demand throughout the country. It was necessary to correct the uninformed and prejudiced attitude of youths towards manual labour—more and more capable young men leaving primary and secondary institutions in the years before independence were being attracted by white-collar jobs. Finally, syllabuses for technical training required to be revised in order to meet the needs of a relatively young country which was, however, on the threshold of an unprecedented rate of development.

It was not possible to make major reforms in 1964 before considering with care certain minor issues and finding appropriate solutions. The immediate expansion of secondary schools was imperative, but it was equally important to revise procedures for recruitment

of foreign teachers for secondary schools and other post-primary institutions. The heavy dependence upon expatriate teachers in secondary schools inevitably increased the cost of education. This was an unavoidable situation because the number of local Africans qualified to teach in secondary schools was pathetically small. Even the few local African graduates with a satisfactory measure of experience to run secondary schools were becoming attracted by senior administrative positions following the declaration of the policy of Zambianization. Indeed, the problem was more serious because the content of the primary school curriculum was largely foreign with very little in it that was relevant to the African child's immediate environment. Many textbooks, too, were unsuitable. This situation applied to secondary schools, and it was considered the more serious at that level because senior secondary classes were geared to meet the requirements of external examinations. Facilities for adult education were not only inadequate but also unevenly distributed in the country. The problems of double session teaching, girls' education, the poor standard of a large number of rural primary buildings, classrooms and teachers' houses—all added to the grave difficulties which confronted the new administration at the beginning of 1964. Above all new classrooms and staff houses were required to be built as quickly as possible. The output of teachers from teachers' colleges was to be increased *pari passu*. So was a reappraisal of the traditional methods of training teachers necessary.

In the succeeding chapters, an account is given of the methods used, some conventional and others unconventional, to overcome what appeared to be overwhelming difficulties in the face of a real 'crisis of expectation' generated by the people. Expedients and crash programmes were inevitable in the years after 1964. Yet, parodoxically, there was a dogged determination by the Government to match rapid expansion of education with a conspicuous improvement in the quality of education offered to pupils.

[1] Extract from an address to the Zambia Association for National Affairs (24 July 1964) on 'Educational Needs in Zambia Today' by A. Heron.
[2] G. Hunter, *Education for a Developing Region* (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963), p. 57.

V

Primary Schools

When Zambia gained self-government in January 1964, exactly eighteen months remained to complete the colonial Four Year Capital Development Plan (1961-65). Therefore, the first responsibility of the new UNIP Government was to implement the final phase of the existing 1961-65 Development Plan under which K4,800,000 (one Kwacha being equivalent to U.S. $1.4) was allocated to the Ministry of African Education out of a total estimated capital expenditure of K63,266,000 available for all projects. The Ministry of Education had allocated only K1,960,980 for primary education.[1] This allocation, considered against the background of the 'crisis of expectation' at the beginning of 1964, was undoubtedly insufficient. The new Government had, therefore, no choice except to respond quickly to the popular demands for more primary school facilities by finding positive measures of satisfying legitimate expectations. In any event, as described in previous chapters, there were also very serious manpower difficulties which required immediate attention.

Time, therefore, was not on the side of the new Government which was obliged politically to demonstrate, in the early stages of its administration, enthusiasm and competence to promote progress and the well-being of the nation. The 'critics of expectation' had to be met positively by the 'delivery of goods' to the people.

DEVELOPMENT

THE EMERGENCY DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Therefore, the Emergency Development Plan was devised within a few weeks of the new Government's assumption of office in January 1964, to supplement the existing 1961-65 Development Plan. An additional sum of K20,000,000 was allocated for capital expenditure from March to December 1964. K2,232,000 was made available for expenditure on education. The allocation to education was required

to accelerate the expansion of secondary education. Part of the amount was required to increase facilities in primary schools in order to enable more pupils to proceed beyond the selection points at Grades IV (previously Standards) and V in rural areas, and some funds were also required to increase the number of primary schools in urban areas. Under the Emergency Development Plan, K426,000 was allocated for the expansion of rural primary education, while K200,000 was made available for the provision of additional places for children enrolled in urban primary schools in the Copperbelt and Central Provinces.

On the basis of the traditional method of school construction, the total sum of K426,000 allocated to primary education could not provide a significant number of new classrooms and teachers' houses for rural primary schools. Yet the Government was determined to increase facilities for education substantially and as quickly as possible. It was resolved, therefore, to execute the rural primary programme under the Emergency Development Plan by inviting rural dwellers to participate in the self-help schemes of building houses for teachers and classrooms wherever new schools were established. These schools were approved only in those areas where the local communities showed their willingness to make bricks, to clear the sites and to put up the buildings using voluntary labour. Government's contribution under this plan was restricted to providing some materials which were unobtainable locally, such as cement, galvanized iron sheets, steel window frames and door frames as well as supplying school furniture when the buildings were satisfactorily completed. Although by conventional methods (by which more funds for the construction of classrooms and teachers' houses were absorbed in labour costs) the amount allocated to rural primary education would have provided facilities for only some 60 to 80 new lower, middle and upper primary streams, through self-help schemes it was possible to plan for 50 lower primary, 100 middle primary and 50 upper primary additional streams by January 1965.

In the event, it was strong political support which enabled men, women and children to offer voluntary labour and to clear the sites for the new schools, to make and burn bricks, to build the classrooms and teachers' houses. Under the supervision of Government artisans, and using materials supplied by the Ministry of Education, school accommodation was made available by the end of 1964

for at least 180 new rural primary streams. The willingness with which local communities made their voluntary contribution to the education effort constituted an act of faith by the rural dwellers in the leadership of their Government. As quite a large part of the programme was completed in 1964 or early in 1965, an extra 20,000 places were provided in rural schools. The support which the self-help schemes for rural primary schools received from rural dwellers was due largely to the effective campaign by UNIP in the pre-independence period calling on the nation to work hard after independence. Everywhere in the country, the gospel of hard work and self-reliance was drummed up by UNIP politicians, who constantly reminded the nation that it could not survive on political slogans after independence.

K200,000 was allocated to urban primary education under the Emergency Development Plan in 1964. In urban areas it was very difficult to organise parents of school children, who were most of them in daily employment, to help in building new classrooms and ancillary buildings. Moreover, the standard of school buildings in urban areas was governed by Local Government building by-laws and regulations. Nonetheless, the Government decided that it was necessary to ask the town-dwellers to make their own contribution to the education effort under the Emergency Development Plan. Town-dwellers, for whose benefit new classrooms and teachers' houses were to be provided by the Government, were asked to raise funds for purchasing school furniture, estimated at about K29,064 and K3,400 for the Copperbelt and Central Provinces respectively.

By a carefully designed public relations campaign, the Copperbelt Province was completely successful in raising funds for furniture from parents of school children. A day was set aside when all school children in the Copperbelt non-fee-paying schools were asked to contribute forty Ngwee each towards the Provincial Furniture Fund. The day was called *Ubushiku bwa Kwafwana*—the day for helping each other. In the Central Province the response to the appeal as satisfactory, although the effort suffered to a certain extent because the public relations campaign in this Province was not as vigorously pursued as in the Copperbelt Province. By the combined effort of the Government and the people in the urban areas, 144 additional classrooms plus ancillary buildings were provided to the urban primary system at the end of 1964.

THE TRANSITIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The Emergency Development Plan (the E.D.P.) was launched in January 1964, to supplement the provisions in the 1961-65 colonial Plan due for completion on 30 June 1965, before the introduction of a much larger and longer National Development Plan. In the time available, the Government found the task of framing its long-term and ambitious plan almost impossible. Therefore, the Transitional Development Plan was to cover the period 1 January 1965 to 30 June 1966. In other words, for a period of eighteen months during which the schemes under the T.D.P. were being implemented, the Government hopefully expected to assess the country's long-term needs and evaluate in detail all the implications of major policy decisions. The framing of the first National Development Plan was a major exercise which required adequate time and careful attention.

K70,000,000 was allocated for capital development during the eighteen-month Transitional Development Plan. The Ministry of Education was allocated K13,422,000 for expenditure during the T.D.P., with a further allocation of a post-Plan amount of K15,160,000 for capital expenditure on commitments arising out of the implications of the education programme.[2] When the funds for education service were known, the Ministry of Education carried out a full-scale review of existing policy for primary education. The country's needs were assessed in the light of the facilities for primary schooling available in rural and urban areas at the end of 1964. Statistics relating to growth of population were considered, and the long term implications of the expansion of the primary system were considered against the background of the country's economic growth and its needs in other sectors. The fact was recognised that any realistic education plan inevitably covered several years of development. For example, provision of more places for children in the first year of schooling has consequential effects, as more places (and thus additional classrooms and ancillary facilities) have to be provided in the second, third and subsequent years of the children's schooling. Therefore, the development proposals which were considered covered the period of the Transitional Development Plan and beyond to 1970, with projections to 1975 and 1980. When the Government eventually accepted the education programmes for the Transitional Development Plan, the broad guide-lines of educational expansion for the period of the First National Development Plan (1966-70) were by implication approved.

The Government's primary education policy, approved as part of the Transitional Development Plan, was to move forward towards a system of universal primary education by increasing as rapidly as possible all the necessary facilities. It was estimated that during the eighteen-month period of the Transitional Development Plan, from 1 January 1965 to 30 June 1966, an extra 417 Grade I classes, 430 Grade V and 447 Grade VII classes were required in order to move significantly towards a system of universal primary education.[3] The broad objectives of the proposals under the Transitional Development Plan and the projected educational development programmes to 1970 are described as follows in the Annual Report of the Ministry of Education for 1964:

> It is Government policy to move forward towards a system of primary education: to reduce the present 8-year primary course to one of seven years; and to improve, wherever possible, the present quality of the education provided. Accordingly, it has been decided to reduce the primary course to seven years in the non-fee-paying schools in the school year beginning January, 1966, and to plan for all the 7 year old children, estimated to be some 160,000 to be able to enter school in 1970. The change will coincide with the doubling of the secondary school in-take at a point of time when there is a double output from the primary schools. The new primary course, therefore, will consist of two sections, a Lower Primary course of four years and an Upper Primary course of three years. Thus, in future, there will be one selection point in the non-fee-paying primary system instead of the two existing selection points after the fourth and sixth years—and provision will be made for 75 per cent of the pupils completing the Lower Primary course to complete the Upper Primary course. In this way, instead of the existing system, whereby only one pupil out of about six who enters school is able to complete the full primary course, all children will be able to enter school in 1970 and three out of every four will complete the full course. The overall effects of these proposals is that, whereas 10,991 pupils completed the full primary course in 1964, in 1970, there will be some 59,560 completing the full course, and in 1976, when the 1970 bulge has moved up the schools, a total of 120,000 will complete the full course. The primary school programme under the Transitional Development Plan, therefore, has been framed to start the implementation of this policy.[4]

The size of the primary school building programme under the Transitional Development Plan, which was necessary to effect the new Government policy, was tremendous and represented the most ambitious ever attempted in the country. It demonstrated beyond doubt the Government's determination to make good the

omissions of past governments. It resolved to give education top priority in the initial development plans. More than a thousand new classrooms, more than a thousand new houses for teachers were required within a period of not more than two years! Most of the new primary school buildings were to be built in rural areas, some in the remotest parts of the country which were almost inaccessible by motor-transport. Was it really possible to implement such an ambitious programme? Considering the size of the Programme, were the dead-lines set by educational planners for opening new schools realistic? The answers to these questions constitute the most exciting success story that any country is proud to recount in the field of educational endeavour.

The Government decided again to involve the people in the implementation of the primary education programme under the Transitional Development Plan. Through the Party machinery, men and women, peasant farmers and businessmen living in rural areas were implored to participate in the construction of new classrooms on a self-help basis. The size of the primary school programme was enormous and it was obviously impossible to complete it with the limited funds which were available. But, at the same time, its very size revealed the need for greater contribution of the Government in the implementation of the programme than the contribution which it had provided under the Emergency Development Plan. Whereas under the Emergency Development Plan, the Government merely supplied the materials, leaving the actual construction of teachers' houses and classrooms to rural dwellers on a self-help basis, under the Transitional Development Plan the Government undertook to build all teachers' houses. Most of the houses for teachers were built by local Zambian contractors or building co-operatives. The Ministry of Education built some of the staff houses. It had established its own building teams in every province which were primarily responsible for erecting the especially pre-fabricated steel frames of classrooms and roofing them with corrugated iron sheets. The M.R.D. steel frames provided a permanent solid classroom structure which took only three or four days to construct. The contribution of the rural communities to the primary school programme under the Transitional Development Plan was therefore restricted to clearing sites for new schools, making bricks and filling in the steel frames.

This programme generated considerable activity throughout the

country. Again, as under the Emergency Development Plan, the challenge of the Transitional Development Plan was met squarely by the rural communities who demonstrated their readiness to support their Government's progressive schemes. Despite some problems of transportation of steel frames and building materials, considerable progress was made in achieving targets by the end of 1965. The successful implementation of the programme was achieved because of sustained hard work by Ministry of Education officials, co-operation received from all ranks of the supporters of the United National Independence Party and from other private citizens who identified themselves with the Government's worthy cause.

The result of this tremendous joint effort of the people and the Government was the completion of several hundred classrooms and about 1,000 teachers' houses in 1965.[5] At the end of 1966, a further 1,848 new or replacement classrooms were built and the Ministry building teams and co-operatives erected 1,555 primary school teachers' houses in rural provinces.[6] Quite naturally, the degree of success of self-help projects was not the same in all rural provinces. The greatest success of the rural scheme was achieved in the Southern Province and to a very large extent in the Central and Eastern Provinces. In other provinces, though the success of the scheme was notable, a number of new classes provided for under the Plan were opened in 1966 or 1967 in temporary accommodation. The completion of these classrooms and staff houses was continued in subsequent years as carry-overs.

In the urban areas, where conventional methods of building classrooms were adopted, local communities were again asked to contribute funds for purchasing school furniture in the form of desks, chairs, teachers' tables and cupboards for new schools. The response of urban communities was very satisfactory, especially in the Copperbelt Province. Although a small number of teachers' houses and classrooms in the urban areas were built by either building co-operatives or the Government's Public Works Department, Zambia's two giant mining groups—Roan Selection Trust and Zambia Anglo American—played the most important role in the building programme. But for their effort the targets would not have been met according to the schedule in the Copperbelt towns. The school building programme under the Transitional Development Plan also included a large programme of replacement of dilapidated classrooms and teachers' houses in rural areas.

There have always been a large number of very poor old school buildings especially in rural areas; continued use of such buildings is a hazard and leads to inefficient teaching in the schools. Unfortunately, only a small proportion of dilapidated teachers' houses and classrooms were rebuilt under the Transitional Development Plan by the Ministry of Education building teams because funds allocated to this project were too inadequate in relation to the size of the problem.

To the extent that the massive programme for primary school expansion was successful, providing the impressive figure of more than 120,000 new places in primary schools, the nation has justification in looking back on 1965 and 1966 as the revolutionary years of Zambia's educational advancement.

THE FIRST NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The Transitional Development Plan was followed by the First National Development Plan (the F.N.D.P.) to cover the period from 1 July 1966 to 30 June 1970. The F.N.D.P. provided for the capital investment of nearly K360,000,000 over the period of four years, part of which was to be Government investment and another part investment by the private sector. Considered against the background of previous development plans of the Colonial Government, the F.N.D.P. was by any standards a truly ambitious Plan which was designed to achieve the following objectives:

(a) To increase the *per capita* output in monetary terms from about K120 in 1964 to approximately K200 in 1970.

(b) To increase the opportunities for employment during the Plan from 300,000 jobs to at least 400,000 jobs in 1970.

(c) To diversify the economy of Zambia by increasing production in non-industrial sectors, especially in agriculture.

(d) To increase opportunities for education and training at various levels so as to minimise the nation's dependence on foreign countries for skilled manpower.

The capital expenditure on education during the F.N.D.P. was estimated at nearly K80,000,000 and it was to be spent on the expansion of primary and secondary education, teacher training, technical education, bursaries, the University of Zambia and on projects such as educational broadcasting and the Library Service designed to improve the efficiency of educational instruction. Under the F.N.D.P. the educational objectives approved by the

Government for the T.D.P. were continued with only two major modifications. The Government in 1966 decided to provide facilities in urban areas to enable in future *all* children in Grade IV in urban primary schools to continue education to Grade V, although the policy of 75 per cent progression from Grade IV to Grade V was to be maintained for children who enrolled in rural primary schools during the Plan period 1966 to 1970. The reasons for the preferential treatment of urban primary school children were both political and sociological. The continuation of fee-paying primary schools in which all children of expatriates were enrolled, including an increasing number of local children, provided certain advantages, not least the privilege to continue with education from Grade I to Grade VII without the school children sitting any selection examination at an intermediary point in the course. In 1965 this problem became a live political issue, especially in the Copperbelt area, along the line of rail from Livingstone to Ndola and beyond to Chililabombwe.

To political demagogues the issue represented a classic example of the Government's inability to provide equal opportunities to the children of all races in the sphere of education. Therefore, pandering to the demands of the vociferous urban dwellers, the Government decided in 1966 to allow all children to proceed from Grade I to Grade VII automatically, without sitting a selection examination at the end of Grade IV, whether they were enrolled in fee-paying or in non-fee-paying schools. However, it should be stressed that parents in urban areas were faced with a more serious sociological problem when their children dropped out of the school system at the end of the fourth year of their primary schooling. The rate of juvenile deliquency has always been high in the urban areas, especially in the Copperbelt Province. The Colonial Administration had acknowledged the gravity of the problem by introducing in 1943 compulsory education in Kabwe (Broken Hill) and certain Copperbelt towns. By 1948, compulsory education was in force in all Copperbelt and line of rail towns except in Lusaka and Mazabuka.[7] However, in 1957, the application of regulations to enforce a limited form of compulsory education in certain urban areas was temporarily suspended 'owing to the shortage of staff and buildings and the heavy cost'.[8] Compulsory attendance regulations were promulgated in 1970 and they apply to the pupils who enrol in urban primary schools.

In framing education policy under the T.D.P., 160,000 was the estimated population of seven-year-olds in 1970. Therefore, the number of classrooms and teachers' houses required for practically every child to find a place in a lower primary school was based on the estimated population of 160,000 seven-year-old children in 1970. However, in the light of lower and more accurate projections, the primary school programme under the F.N.D.P. was approved on the assumption that 136,000 and not 160,000 was to be the population of seven-year-old children in 1970. Accordingly, the number of new Grade I classes required for 1970 in conformity with the approved primary education policy was calculated on the basis of the reduced population of seven year-olds in 1970, and the assumption (worked out from historical data enrolments) that Grade I enrolment per class would be 38.

Otherwise, the basic objectives for primary education were unchanged. They were restated under the F.N.D.P. as follows in paragraph 45 of the Ministry of Education Annual Report for 1966:[19]

> The Government's primary education policy is to move further towards a system of universal primary education by increasing facilities so that—
>
> (a) all seven-year-old children can enter Grade I in 1970, or as soon thereafter as possible;
>
> (b) in urban areas all children at present in school and children entering school in 1966 and subsequent years can complete a full primary course;
>
> (c) in rural areas about 75 per cent of Grade IV pupils can proceed to Grade V;
>
> (d) about one-third of all Grade VII primary school leavers can enter Form I.

The size of the primary education programme under the F.N.D.P. was enormous and it was accepted by educational planners that it could not be implemented smoothly by rural communities in self-help schemes, even if the schemes involved merely clearing sites for new schools, making bricks and filling in walls in the steel frames of classrooms. Under the F.N.D.P., therefore, conventional techniques were used in building most of the classrooms and teachers' houses. The construction of primary schools in rural areas provided the much needed opportunities for gainful employment by rural dwellers. On the basis of national requirements for primary school

facilities, as assessed in July 1967, a total of 1,390 new Grade I and Grade V openings were planned for the 1968 to 1971 academic years. K10,030,000 was allocated for the execution of the primary school building programme under the F.N.D.P., including the cost of carry-overs of T.D.P. projects. Building co-operatives, the Ministry's building teams and building units of the Works Department participated in the building programme of primary schools.

To what extent did Zambia succeed in moving towards the goal of universal primary education at the end of the F.N.D.P. in December 1970? It is apparent at the end of the Plan period an achievement of only 58 per cent of the target for Grade I was made. Performance under the F.N.D.P. for primary school expansion is illustrated by the table below (enrolment figures are for former non-fee-paying schools and Aided schools only in terms of meeting the Plan targets):

F.N.D.P. Performance: Non-fee-paying Primary School Enrolments

	1966	1970		Plan Implementation
	(a)	(b)	(c)	$\frac{(4)-(2)}{(3)-(2)}$ %
Grade	Actual	Plan	Acual	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Grade I	100,234	140,000	123,271	58
Total Primary	454,868	699,941	674,032	89

Notes

(a) Enrolment figures from Table 1 for non-fee-paying primary schools, 1966-70, on page 56 of the First National Development Plan.

(b) Enrolment figures for non-fee-paying Government and Aided primary schools from Ministry of Education Digest for 1970.

Nearly 90 per cent of the target for the total primary school enrolment was achieved. This was a very satisfactory performance. There are, however, two aspects of primary school enrolment which are not satisfactorily portrayed by figures in the Table. Firstly, the Census figures for 1969 revealed that there were in that year between 112,000 to 119,000 children aged seven years. Total enrolment of children in *all* types of schools in 1969 numbered 127,163. In fact, in 1968 the Ministry of Education had estimated that there

were sufficient Grade I places in various types of primary schools. Evidently, as Trevor Coombe has stated, it is likely that the F.N.D.P. enrolments for Grade I were 'inflated', in order 'to allow for the admission of some over-age children'.[10] No reliable statistics are available in Zambia, anyway, upon which realistic estimates of child population can be made. The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory.

In terms of global figures for primary school enrolment, rapid strides have been made since independence towards the goal of free compulsory primary education. Unfortunately, the advances towards this goal have been more rapid in the urban areas. In the rural areas, due mainly to the slow execution of primary school programmes, the percentage of enrolment of seven-year-olds in Grade I is lower than in urban areas. In some rural districts, it was not possible to achieve the target of 75 per cent progression of pupils from Grade IV to Grade V. In the urban areas, the policy under the F.N.D.P. was to provide places in Grade V for all children who completed Grade IV. This target was nearly achieved in the Copperbelt and Lusaka regions during the years 1966 to 1970. After 1969, there was a noticeable drop in the progression rate from lower primary to upper primary schools in the rural areas. For example, only 107 new Grade V classes were opened in 1970. Eighty per cent of these openings were in the Copperbelt, Kabwe, Lusaka and Southern regions in terms of educational opportunities. The Table below shows that the 75 per cent progression rate was not achieved in rural areas and it reveals wide disparities in educational facilities:

Region	1969 Grade IV	1970 Grade V	%
Copperbelt	18,517	18,453	99.6
Eastern	11,533	6,678	57.9
Kabwe	7,816	5,931	75.9
Luapula	8,957	5,422	60.5
Lusaka	6,857	6,668	97.2
Northern	14,575	8,978	61.6
North-Western	4,338	3,210	73.9
Southern	15,347	10,646	69.4
Western	10,095	7,300	72.3
	98,035	73,286	74.7

THE SECOND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

In the Second National Development Plan, it is explicitly stated that the goal of universal primary education is more difficult to achieve than planners had expected when the four-year First National Development Plan was launched in 1966. It has become quite apparent that the financial outlays required to achieve universal primary education are beyond what can be provided during the 1972 to 1976 Plan period, having regard to increasing demands for additional funds to maintain a reasonable momentum of development in other educational sectors. The new Plan, nevertheless, provides for a reasonable expansion of primary schools 'to enable a far higher proportion of children to complete the full seven-year primary course'.[11] The main objectives for the expansion of primary education under the S.N.D.P. are:

(a) to provide sufficient new lower primary streams to keep pace with population growth;
(b) to provide sufficient new upper primary streams to achieve a national progression rate of 80 per cent from Grade IV to Grade V by 1976.

It has been estimated that the population of seven-year-old children will increase by 20,000 between 1972 and 1977. In absolute terms, therefore, some 100 new Grade I classes should be provided every year throughout the Plan period, provided the average number of pupils in Grade I classes is maintained at 40. Past experience has shown that failure to achieve Plan targets is due to the wrong siting of new Grade I openings, the shifting of populations in rural areas and migration problems—all of which necessitate the exercise of greatest care before siting new schols.

Under the S.N.D.P. a larger number of new Grade V streams will be provided in the rural areas in order to improve the progression rate of pupils from Grade IV to Grade V. To achieve a national progression rate of about 80 per cent from Grade IV to Grade V, it is estimated that about 180 new upper primary streams will be required every year during the Plan period, from 1972 to 1976. The accomplishment of this programme will increase the enrolment of pupils in Government and Aided primary schools by about 21 per cent over a period of six years from 1971 to 1976. The total number of Grade I to Grade VII classes will increase from 18,730 in 1971 to 22,942 at the end of 1976.

The estimated cost of the primary sector of education will be K24,219,400 on the following basis:

Programme	Estimated Cost
Development	15,773,600
Replacements	3,155,800
Practical rooms	2,500,000
Carry-overs	900,000
Services	900,000
Emergency repairs	630,000
Building transport	360,000
Total	24,219,400

QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Critics of educational development in independent African states always point out that rapid expansion of primary education is followed inevitably by a deterioration in the quality of education. This criticism is valid if educational development is regarded merely as building new schools and increasing enrolments. For effective learning and instruction, school buildings should be adequate and functional. More important still, however, the teachers should be properly trained and qualified; suitable text-books and teaching aids ought to be provided; and, above all, the educational instruction must be relevant to the needs of pupils.

In Zambia, since independence, the authorities concerned have recognised the need for qualitative improvement at all levels of the educational system. Intensive research and experiments have been initiated into such fields as curriculum development, new courses, optimum utilisation of school classrooms and laboratories so that waste is minimised without impairing educational efficiency, length of school terms and the teaching day. Much work remains to be done in these fields, but the benefits of the research and innovation which have been obtained are remarkable. We shall describe in some detail in Chapter X on the School System improvements in educational instruction as a result of research.

In spite of the advances that have been made to improve the quality of education at the primary level, formidable obstacles still lie ahead. In most primary schools in both rural and urban

areas, lower primary school teachers are required to teach two classes each day. The double-session system, as it is called, imposes a very heavy strain on teachers who are obliged to take charge of about eighty pupils per day. There are problems of making two sets of preparations for pupils' tuition, marking two sets of pupils' written work and giving individual attention to so many pupils.

This double-session system is unavoidable because additional classrooms and teachers would be required if it were abolished. For example, in 1971 it was estimated that there were over 10,000 lower primary classes operating under the double-session system. The abolition of this system in that year would have meant providing at least 5,000 additional classrooms and 5,000 teachers. This was not possible because funds were not adequate even for providing additional lower primary school places to enable eligible children to get into school, while so many were not able to proceed beyond Grade IV. This system will, therefore, persist throughout the Plan period 1972 to 1976.

The efficiency and morale of teachers in primary schools in remote rural areas reach a low ebb where classrooms and teachers' houses are dilapidated. In spite of the vigorous effort made by the Government since independence to replace poor classrooms and teachers' houses, the backlog is still alarming and beyond the available resources for an immediate attack. The allocation of K3,155,800 for this programme during the S.N.D.P. is hardly adequate to make a satisfactory impact. Every year classrooms and teachers' houses, previously not condemned, are falling apart. This is a problem which can best be tackled at the local level if the early post-independence spirit of self-help can be revived.

Nevertheless, the foundation has been well and truly laid for further expansion and development of the primary education to which every child in the land is entitled. A beginning—an encouraging beginning—has been made. More work, and much harder work, remains to be done in the years ahead!

[1] Triennial Survey (1958 to 1960 inclusive) of the Ministry of African Education, p. 17.
[2] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Zambia) for 1964, paragraph 47.
[3] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Zambia) for 1965, paragraph 12.
[4] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Zambia) for 1964, paragraph 49.
[5] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Zambia) for 1965, paragraph 12.
[6] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Zambia), for 1966, paragraph 53.
[7] African Education, Triennial Survey (1955–1957), paragraph 14.
[8] African Education, Triennial Survey (1955–1957), paragraph 34.

[9] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Zambia), for 1966, paragraph 45.
[10] T. Coombe, 'Planning Paper No. 3: The Proposal for Universal Ten-Year Schooling', November 1970.
[11] Republic of Zambia, Second National Development Plan (Lusaka, 1971), p.127.

VI

Secondary Schools

We discussed in Chapter IV how Zambia entered the period of independence with the least national manpower of probably all emerging African states. At the time of independence, there were practically no engineers or dentists, no veterinary surgeons or architects either in the Civil Service or private practice who were known to be indigenous. In 1964, there were, however, a small number of local graduates in law, medicine, agriculture and in general science, arts and economics. The largest proportion of the scarce educated local manpower were graduate teachers employed by the Government and missions in secondary and teacher-training institutions. Also, as stated previously, the number of local men and women with full School Certificate qualifications was barely a thousand, and only about six times as many Zambians held the modest Form II qualification in 1964. No wonder that the majority of secondary school teachers and administrators in pre-independence Zambia were expatriates. Apart from the endemic prejudice of colonial administrators and their allies against offering key positions in Government service or industry to suitably qualified Zambians, the absence of a large pool of educated manpower tended to discourage serious efforts to Zambianize posts held by expatriates.

Because Zambia seriously lacked educated and trained manpower at the time of independence in 1964, in planning Zambia's post-independence education system, emphasis was placed on secondary education despite the political pressure for complete universal primary education. It was acknowledged that, in the long term, economic progress was the most important pre-condition for the social well being and political stability of the country. And, of course, it is the products of secondary schools who are destined to play the dominant, if not crucial, role in expanding the nation's economy. It is the agricultural extension workers, the surveyors, the technicians, the teachers, the nurses, the book-keepers, the accountants, the journalists—all of them products of secondary schools—who are required to work alongside their highly trained

professional colleagues (doctors, engineers, agronomists) to promote the all round economic and social advancement of the nation.

Therefore, at independence the need to expand education was urgent. The basic objective of all educational programmes after independence was to lay the foundation for the provision after 1970 of some of the much needed trained manpower in all fields of technical and economic activity.

DEVELOPMENT

THE E.D.P., T.D.P. AND F.N.D.P.

Since 1964, education has been given a high priority in all development programmes. Expenditure on education, both recurrent and capital, has increased to unprecedented levels in an effort to make up for the neglect of the colonial era. Thus, under the Emergency Development Plan launched in March 1964 for a period of nine months, K1,486,000 was allocated to secondary education out of the total amount of K2,232,000 for the whole education programme. A bold decision was made to provide in the course of 1964 all the necessary facilities, classrooms, laboratories, dining halls, teachers' houses and other ancillary services, to enable 16 new junior secondary and 7 senior secondary streams to be opened in January 1965. The new junior secondary schools were spread over the vast rural areas where facilities for secondary education did not exist. However, the planning stage of this preliminary ambitious secondary school programme was time-consuming. New sites for some of the schools had to be selected; lay-out plans had to be prepared; plans of school buildings had to be redrawn to conform with the new educational policies adopted by the new Government. In the event, little was done by the end of 1964 towards the physical execution of most new projects, especially in the rural areas. Notwithstanding the delay in the construction of the new secondary schools, all the new streams opened in January 1965, some of them in temporary premises.

In 1964, fundamental changes were made in the policies of the Government on the development, administration and efficiency of the school system. It was decided, for example, that in future development programmes a fair balance was to be maintained between urban and rural areas in respect of opportunities for secondary education. Recognising the country's desperate need

for high-level manpower and that steady development of the economy required a massive output from the schools of local young men and women with the 'O' level qualification, or at least a Form II certificate, it was also decided to increase enrolment of pupils in senior secondary schools from 30 to 35 pupils per class in junior secondary schools. Finally, in order to cut down costs both to parents and to Government, heads of boarding secondary schools were to be allowed after 1964 to admit some pupils as day schoolars wherever possible.

Apart from implementing the secondary school projects, in the course of 1964 the Ministry of Education's efforts were also directed towards the formulation of the more comprehensive programme for secondary school expansion. Under the eighteen-month Transitional Development Plan from 1 January 1965 to 30 June 1966, the Ministry of Education was allocated K13,542,000 for expenditure during the Plan period. In addition, a further amount of K15,160,000 was approved provisionally as a post-Plan commitment for projects arising out of the implications of the Ministry's education programme. The Government's financial limit for all the projects under the T.D.P. was K70,000,000 of which initially K13,542,000, nearly 20 per cent of the total allocation for development over a period of eighteen months, was to be spent on education.[1] The development proposals accepted by the Government for secondary education under the T.D.P., from January 1965 to June 1966, were part of the overall educational programme up to 1970.

At the end of 1964, all the uncompleted projects under the Emergency Development Plan became part of the Transitional Development Plan. Similarly, it was expected that construction of new secondary schools begun during the period of the Transitional Development Plan would continue after the larger four-year First National Development Plan was launched for the period 1 July 1966 to 30 June 1970. Therefore, the detailed programme for secondary development under the T.D.P. was formulated after careful examination of school population projection tables, assessment of teaching staff requirements and the evaluation of the capacity of the country's building industry. In the light of these considerations, the Government's main educational objectives under both the T.D.P. and the F.N.D.P. were set as follows:

(a) that one-third of the local primary school output proceed to Form I;

(b) that two-thirds of all Form II output should proceed to senior secondary;
(c) that the curriculum at the senior secondary level should be diversified to some extent without prejudicing the academic progress of pupils with the potential for graduate studies or higher professional courses;
(d) that selection for higher education in the University of Zambia and for other appropriate courses should be at the 'O' level or its equivalent;
(e) that the efficiency of secondary schools should be improved through the use of better equipment and the increased supply of qualified teachers.

These basic aims of the Government for secondary education were redefined and amplified when the four-year First National Development Plan was launched in the middle of 1966. Under the F.N.D.P., Government's primary aim was to complete the many secondary schools begun under the T.D.P. and to expand others to the accepted standard size of 840 students. Second, the Government accepted the need to continue the programme of secondary school expansion by providing a further 45 new Form I classes for two-thirds of all secondary school entrants to complete the full course. Third, the F.N.D.P. laid great emphasis on the need to relate secondary education requirements of the country by diversifying the secondary school syllabus into technical and commercial fields, and giving a new place to agriculture by encouraging the formation of Young Farmers' Clubs in every school and introducing agricultural science as an 'O' level subject. Fourth, during the period of the F.N.D.P., the teaching of science and mathematics was to be strengthened so that capable students leaving senior secondary schools would be thoroughly prepared to pursue further advanced science and professional courses, especially in medicine and engineering, at the University of Zambia or other appropriate institutions. Fifth, Government policy was to continue to move towards the full integration of the fee-paying and the non-fee-paying Government schools so that a unified system of secondary schooling could be achieved by 1969. Finally, the Government resolved to extend deliberately, during the period of the Plan, the system whereby a certain proportion of primary students from each province would receive their secondary education in other provinces of Zambia in order to strengthen national unity.

The enormous size of the Government's secondary education programme under the combined E.D.P. and T.D.P. is illustrated more easily by the actual number of new schools which were under construction in 1965. During the year, contracts to the value of K19,861,408 were awarded to private firms for the building of 18 dual secondary schools and 3 single secondary schools which were also to be boarding institutions. Six day secondary schools were to be built at Chililabombwe, Chamboli, Chifubu, Kalulushi and Mpatamatu in the urban areas of the Copperbelt Province. One day secondary school was planned for the capital city, Lusaka, although separate premises were subsequently provided for boys and girls in the Matero township. The 18 dual secondary schools were allocated to provinces as follows:

North-Western	:	Mwinilunga, Zambezi
Western	:	Kalabo, Mankoya, Senanga, Sesheke
Southern	:	Kalomo, Namwala
Eastern	:	Chadiza, Lundazi, Petuake
Northern	:	Luwingu, Mbala, Mporokoso
Luapula	:	Nchelenge, Samfya
Central	:	Mkushi, Mumbwa.

Single boarding secondary schools were to be built at Mbereshi (girls) and Mwense (boys) in the Luapula Province and one at Lubwa for boys in the Northern Province. The ultimate capacity at each single secondary school was 420 pupils and 840 pupils for each dual secondary school.

Provision was also made under the T.D.P. for extensions to be made to existing secondary schools, expecially those selected to provide additional Form III classes to implement Government's new policy for two-thirds of all secondary school entrants to complete the full course. Grants-in-aid for extension work were approved up to 75 per cent of the total cost incurred by mission proprietors of secondary schools at Kasempa in the North-Western Province and at Rusangu in the Southern Province.

One distinguishing feature of the new secondary schools was the establishment after 1965 of large secondary schools, each consisting of either three junior and two senior secondary streams with a total enrolment of 420 or, in the case of dual schools, six junior secondary and four senior secondary streams with a total of 840 pupils. This pattern of secondary schools was intended to make it possible for two out of every three pupils who completed the two-year junior

secondary course to proceed to the three-year senior secondary course. The second aim of introducing larger secondary schools was to provide a greater variety of the curriculum to suit individual abilities. The third advantage was that larger secondary schools would have correspondingly larger staff, which would permit a happier and more original social life, especially among expatriate teachers whose isolation can sometimes effect their teaching performance.

Most of the new dual secondary schools were sited in rural areas, mainly at bomas and sub-bomas. It was anticipated that after each dual secondary school had enrolled the full range of classes from Form I to Form V, the total population of students, teachers, ancillary staff and their families would be about 1,000. It was envisaged that these schools and surrounding rural farming communities would to some extent be interdependent. On the one hand, the new schools were expected to provide convenient markets for the vegetables, meat, milk, fish, fruit and maize meal produced by local farmers. Thus, at their very door-steps, new markets were to be established capable of absorbing large quantities of foodstuffs on reasonable commercial terms. On the other hand, the presence of erudite men and women in rural outposts serving as teachers was expected to stimulate and advance social life generally.

EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES (1966-1970)

With the generous allocation of funds by Government for the expansion of secondary education under both the E.D.P. and T.D.P., by the end of 1968 there was a considerable increase in the total enrolments of pupils at all levels. Success in increasing secondary school places was due in part to the vigorous, enthusiastic and meticulous supervision of all contractors. This supervision was carried out by the staff of the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education and the officials in the Buildings Branch of the Public Works Department. Without this close supervision, most of the new single and dual secondary schools designed under the E.D.P. and T.D.P. would not have been completed on time, more so as building material were in short supply following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Southern Rhodesia in 1965. In spite of the tight time-table and other difficulties, most of the additional classroom and dormitory accommodation was provided at the end of 1968. Consequently, it was possible to achieve the

target of providing 120 new Form I streams in January 1966 and a further 120 new Form I streams in January 1967. This rapid expansion of secondary school facilities was accompanied by the strengthening of the unit in the Zambia High Commission Office in London which was responsible for recruiting secondary school teachers in Europe and North America.

However, it was not possible in subsequent years to meet the Plan targets under the F.N.D.P. The failure was due, among other factors, to the tardy consideration by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) of the application submitted by the Government in 1965 for a capital loan to finance certain sectors of educational development in Zambia, including the project for secondary schools. Although this application was first discussed with officials of the World Bank in 1965, it was only in February 1968 that the Bank authorised a UNESCO preparation mission to visit Zambia and assist Government to prepare the loan. application. The mission came to Zambia eighteen months after a UNESCO Project Identification Mission had reported favourably on the application. Then in April of 1968 the World Bank's appraisal mission visited Zambia for detailed discussions of the educational policy and the curriculum for those schools included in the project for which a capital loan was required from the World Bank. In 1968 and 1969, the World Bank experts commuted frequently between Washington and Lusaka. During this period, local civil servants too commuted regularly between Lusaka and Washington, at great cost to the Government in time and money, to carry on the negotiations until the agreement was signed in April 1969.

With very few exceptions, independent African countries which are always in a hurry to improve social and economic conditions find it difficult to reconcile their own and the World Bank's attitude to the scope and pace of development. In the case of Zambia and the World Bank, there was clearly a conflict of interests between the borrower and the lender of the money required for the construction of new secondary schools and for extensions to existing ones. Since Zambia attained independence in October 1964, faced with the serious problem of a severely attenuated supply of educated manpower, the Government's concern to maintain the momentum of secondary school development was understandable. To the World Bank authorities, however, the need to hurry this project was not appreciated. So it took nearly four years for the whole

process of project evaluation and assessment to be completed and the capital loan approved.

The effect of the deceleration in the rate of secondary school expansion during 1968 to 1970 was a severe limitation of places available in Form I from 1969 onward for Grade VII school leavers. At the beginning of 1969 it became quite apparent that Government's objectives under the F.N.D.P. for about one-third of the total primary school output to proceed to Form I was no longer tenable. By 1970 the Plan targets at other levels of secondary education had not been achieved, although the enrolments of pupils had increased considerably in 1970 over those of 1966. We find that 64,659 school candidates sat the secondary Selection Examination in 1969 and only 15,175 or about 23 per cent of the pupils were offered places in Form I in January 1970. In 1970, 67,222 pupils were enrolled in Grade I. Only 15,735 pupils or about 21 per cent who sat the Secondary Selection Examination were offered places in Form 1 at the beginning of 1971. The Table below gives the figures for anticipated and also actual enrolments of pupils in Government and Aided secondary schools only during the period of the First National Development Plan (1966-70):

	1966	1968		1970	
Forms	Actual	Plan	Actual	Plan	Actual
I	8,250	14,000	12,395	17,150	14,686
III	2,049	5,460	6,896	9,310	8,360
V	847	1,870	2,145	4,990	5,303
Total All Forms (I, II, III, V and IV)	16,843	36,360	42,388	54,580	50,785

In evaluating the success of the development programmes for secondary education from 1966 to 1970, it is important to consider also the qualitative achievements as distinct from the quantitative aspects thereof. In the final analysis, the real value of any education system must depend upon the products of that system. When the F.N.D.P. was formulated, the Ministry of Education was mindful of this important long-term view of the benefits expected from investment in education. Therefore, during the Plan period, the Ministry sought to achieve these additional objectives, namely

'curriculum at the senior secondary level should be diversified to some extent' and that 'the quality and efficiency of the secondary schools should be improved through better equipment, increased supply of teachers, etc.'[2]

Measures have been taken to introduce a widely diversified curriculum both in junior and secondary schools. The new syllabuses for junior secondary have also been revised to enable pupils in selected subjects to learn the content which is relevant to their needs and environment.

In every junior secondary school, there are three streams: the General, Commerce and Agricultural Science streams. Every pupil is required to take a practical subject in addition to the core subjects of the curriculum: English, mathematics, geography, civics, general science, religious knowledge, a Zambian language or French. A wide range of practical subjects is offered, including woodwork, technical drawing, engineering practice, typing, commerce, principles of accounts, shorthand and typing, needlework and cookery/housecraft. A large number of pupils in both junior and senior secondary schools, especially in rural areas, are also offered agricultural science as a practical subject which they may sit at the Junior Secondary School Leaving Examinations after Form III or the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations after Form V. Where the right type of leadership has been provided, pupils have taken up agricultural science enthusiastically and with considerable success. The records of Namwala and Solwezi Secondary Schools, among many others, have been outstanding with their flourishing school gardens. As part of practical training in agricultural science, the pupils grow maize and vegetables; they keep poultry and rear pigs; and they undertake a variety of other agricultural pursuits depending upon the climatic conditions and soil types of the area in which their school is located.

One of the most serious and difficult problems facing leaders of emergent African countries concerns the large-scale migration of labour, including educated young men and women, from the rural areas to the towns. There are many reasons for this apparently irreversible trend of migration from rural to urban areas, but two of them are clearly dominant: first, life in rural areas in many parts of Africa is dull, uninviting and lacking in excitement compared with life in the towns and cities; second, as agriculture is largely primitive and large-scale industrial activity almost non-existent, opportunities

for gainful occupation are available to a very small percentage of the rural population. In short, it is mainly the poverty of rural areas which compels able-bodied people, desperately needed to develop and modernise rural areas, to drift to the bright lights of African towns and cities in search of employment. Except for a few fortunate migrants, most of them do not realise their hopes of obtaining jobs in towns and cities; they end up by merely swelling the ranks of hordes of other unemployed people.

The author believes that most African countries have now reached the cross-roads in the struggle to maintain a reasonable balance between opportunities for improved living standards in the rural and urban areas. In Zambia, an effort was made during the F.N.D.P. not only to favour investment wherever possible in rural areas, but to provide at the same time a clear regional programme for each of the eight provinces. Yet the drift of men and women from the rural areas to the towns assumed even more alarming proportions during this period. Although more capital for development was injected into the rural areas, obviously this was not enough. A point frequently forgotten is that imaginative planning in education is vital to avoid syllabuses, especially for secondary schools, being oriented towards careers in towns. Most secondary schools in African countries, including Zambia, have in the past 'geared education towards literary attainments by scholars to the complete neglect of training in technical skills and practical subjects. That type of education has tended to perpetuate among secondary school graduates an irrational prejudice against manual and technical occupations. The system has tended, in fact, to condition scholars to value and respect 'white-collar' jobs at the expense of those occupations universally acknowledged as contributing more to economic and social progress in the developing countries.

It is in this wider context that the realism of the new curricula and syllabuses for the junior and senior secondary courses should be considered. To the author they provide the best chance of changing the attitudes of education young men and women from contempt of all forms of manual occupations to a genuine appreciation of, [illegible]nce for, 'the dignity of labour'.

[illegible]ate supply of qualified teachers, mostly graduates [illegible]o secondary schools, has been maintained since [illegible]n spite of the phenomenal increase in the number [illegible]of the teachers in secondary schools are expatriates

recruited mainly from the United Kingdom and various English-speaking countries in Africa and overseas. In 1970 alone, more than 541 expatriate teachers were engaged on contract to serve as teachers in Zambia. In addition, in the same year, 68 expatriate teachers were engaged from the U.S.S.R., Denmark and Norway through special arrangements. The quality of the staff recruited has remained consistently high although the enlarged secondary school system has caused a sharp decline in the ratio of teachers with more than five years' teaching experience to the number of new recruits in the profession. However, it is a credit to the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Education and the new recruits that so many of them have taken advantage of available opportunities to equip themselves as effective teachers. Seminars and workshops are organised regularly in the teaching of specialised subjects like mathematics, Science, French and English as a foreign language.

The Inspectorate is also closely concerned with the question of the supply of text books and other items of equipment to the schools. The Government has continued to make generous grants to proprietors of secondary schools for text books and equipment required for teaching practical subjects like woodwork, typing, homecraft or metalwork. With the introduction of practical subjects in more secondary schools, funds available for school equipment will gradually decrease. However, new secondary schools built under the World Bank Education programme are supplied *ab initio* with the equipment for teaching practical subjects.

THE WORLD BANK EDUCATION PROJECT (SECONDARY SCHOOLS)

The total loan agreement for the whole Education Project from the World Bank was computed at K12,491,000 for the period 1973 to 1976 inclusive. The Government undertook to provide K18,738,000 for the capital projects, giving a total of K31,229,000. It will be observed, therefore, that the World Bank's contribution to the whole Education Project for four years will be approximately 40 per cent of the total cost. The allocation was considered adequate for construction, consultants' fees, furniture and school equipment.

The secondary school sector of the I.B.R.D. Education Project is estimated to cost K30,055,000 over a period of four years from 1973 to 1976. Capital development involves:

(a) site improvements
(b) school equipment

(c) extensions to 56 existing schools
(d) opening of 6 new day secondary schools in various provinces
(e) opening of 3 new boarding secondary schools.

The Government will independently provide funds for at least four secondary schools, some already under construction in 1971 and 1972, which failed to attract support from the World Bank experts during negotiations for the loan. The interest rate paid on World Bank loans is too high, imposing a heavy debt-burden on borrowers, although the repayment periods for such loans are generally more reasonable. Even so, while loans secured from the World Bank may be regarded as soft by present international standards, there are sometimes too many conditions attached which tend to nullify the benefits of the loans.

For example, in the World Bank Education Project loan for Zambia, all contracts worth K100,000 or more must be awarded after tenders have been called in the international market. The object of this condition is to ensure that the best possible and cheapest means of building the schools or institutions and equipping them are made available. This type of tender is, however, time-consuming and it could easily delay the completion of the project well beyond 1976, a target two years later than the original completion period that was negotiated in 1969. Tenders called internationally are sometimes justified for big and complex buildings too difficult for even the best local contractors to handle, but when the World Bank insists on calling for tenders internationally for the supply of school furniture, including waste-paper baskets, the advantages to the recipient nation become really dubious.

Zambia was criticised by both the World Bank staff and UNESCO experts who visited in 1966, in that the accommodation provided in secondary schools since independence is too lavish in comparison with facilities provided in other developing countries. They have established that the capital cost per pupil-place is very high. Accepting these criticisms, the Government has allowed the following main changes to be made when new secondary schools are built during the 1971-74 period:

(a) Classes will not necessarily have a classroom as their base; therefore the number of classrooms in a school will be less than the number of classes.
(b) The above means that while some pupils will occupy classrooms, others will occupy laboratories, arts and crafts rooms, domestic science rooms, etc. At all times, therefore, there will be maximum use of available teaching accommodation of all types.
(c) Double-bunking will be used in the dormitories of junior secondary forms.
(d) Two sittings will be held in dining halls whenever necessary.

The implementation of the World Bank project for secondary schools will introduce very strict economy in utilization of facilities provided in secondary schools. The economies in planning are intended to provide increased enrolment in schools at a reasonable cost. On the other hand, especially in the existing schools which will be extended with the World Bank capital loan, these changes will cause considerable organizational difficulties in the initial stages. It will be difficult, for example, to revise time-tables in order to provide for double shifts in dining halls. Again, when a class has a classroom as its base, the learning process is made easier because part of the room can be used for special projects, exhibitions or design work. Nevertheless, the organisational problems of the new system will not be insuperable; rather they will pose a challenge to the initiative and resourcefulness of heads of secondary schools. The very real problems which will confront administrators of project secondary schools with their staff and pupils were vividly described in Planning Paper No. 3 of 1970 by Trevor Coombe of the Ministry of Education as follows:

> 76. The schools, especially the large schools with ultimate enrolment over 1,000, will in any case be operating under a difficult and (at first) unaccustomed regime, with massive movements of pupils from room to room between classes. There is little doubt that the presence of unhoused forms at any time during the school day will cause some disruption and place aditional burdens on Heads and staff, who will moreover be required on duty six days a week. The consequences for school discipline and staff morale are predictable.
> 77. So long as the target enrolments are fixed, the only remedy for this undesirable, unwanted, and (it appears) unintentional state of affairs is to provide additional teaching accommodation in Project schools well before they reach full enrolment. This would be wholly at Government's expense.[8]

THE MANPOWER NEEDS

In 1969, the Government published the second Report on Manpower Requirements of Zambia. In Chapter III of the Report the question was posed: 'How large should secondary school enrolment be to

meet the manpower needs of the industrial economy?'[4] It was estimated that, allowing for 2 per cent wastage among Zambian workers and the need to replace non-Zambian workers, about 321,000 jobs should be available by 1980 as follows:

Educational Requirements	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
Less than Form III	185,700	163,200	22,500
Form III	79,300	60,200	19,100
Form V	56,000	43,600	12,400
Total	321,000	267,000	54,000

Quite apart, therefore, from the need to pursue the secondary school programmes vigorously under the Second National Development Plan (1 January 1972 to 31 December 1976) in order to improve opportunities for secondary education for Grade VII school leavers, success is vital to minimise manpower problems in the late 1970s. If success will be achieved in opening 40 new classes for Form I from 1971 to 1975 and 45 new Form I classes from 1976 to 1980, it is likely that the needs for local high-level manpower to sustain the growing economy will be met during the decade. The size of the problem may be observed from the following projections of occupational requirements in 1970 and 1980 for professional and technical workers only: (see table on page 73)[5]

CONCLUSION

At the risk of repeating ourselves, we ought to conclude with the point made earlier in this chapter—that it is the products of secondary schools (of whom some proceeded to university) who are destined to play the dominant role in the nation-building effort. This fact underlines the weight of responsibility placed on the staff of the internationally experienced firm of architects, engineers and economists appointed to supervise the implementation of the World Bank Education Project in Zambia. The firm, NORCONSULT, will need much encouragement and support. Its mandate is important and, in fact, crucial for economic and social progress.

Zambia's impressive record of secondary school expansion was achieved during the period 1964 to 1968. For example, 13,853 pupils were enrolled in secondary schools at various levels in 1964. In 1968, the total secondary school enrolment was 42,388, an increase of more than 300 per cent in a period of only four years.

Occupation	*1964*	*1979*	*1980*
Accountants	650	1,400	3,000
Engineers	1,080	1,900	3,800
Architects & quantity surveyors	130	300	500
Chemists	110	220	410
Agronomists	250	420	760
Other natural scientists	90	240	600
Teachers (secondary & above)	1,070	3,300	6,200
Teachers (primary)	7,390	12,200	17,700
Physicians and surgeons	275	420	750
Dentists	20	30	70
Medical assistants	840	1,000	2,100
Pharmacists	100	140	190
Veterinarians	70	180	300
Nurses (professional)	740	1,060	2,150
Nurses (practical)	780	1,200	2,920
Health Technicians	330	400	650
Lawyers and judges	160	440	640
Economists, statisticians, actuaries	35	90	150
Technicians (other than health)	1,550	5,250	9,040
All other professional and technical	1,860	3,810	6,070
Total	17,530	34,000	58,000

When the four-year F.N.D.P. was launched in 1966, it was anticipated that the programme of secondary school expansion would be 'a long sustained pull towards self-sufficiency in manpower'.[6] This objective was unfortunately not achieved during the period 1968 to 1972. In a policy statement, Wesley Nyirenda, Minister of Eduation and Culture, told the National Assembly that secondary school expansion had been almost static from 1968 to 1972. Five reasons were given for the failure to expand secondary schools in this period. The Minister's reference to secondary school expansion in the policy statement was linked to the problem of primary school leavers at the Grade VII level. He declared:

> The Hon. Members for Mbabala (Mr. Nyanga) and Sesheke (Mr. Kakoma) have complained in the House about the Form I selection this year which resulted in too few Grade VII candidates being admitted to secondary no schools. They have pleaded for more Form I places. Their complaint is

understandable. The following figures compare Form I enrolments in the last four years with Grade VII enrolments in the immediately preceding years [We have included enrolment figures from 1972 to 1974 to widen the comparison.]

	Grade VII	Form I	Difference
1968/69	59,242	15,721	43,521
1969/70	64,659	15,175	49,484
1970/71	67,222	15,753	51,469
1971/72	73,081	15,545	57,536
1972/73	80,506	17,570	62,936
1973/74	85,130	19,762	65,368

The most striking aspect of the figures above is that the Form I enrolment has remained static for four years. There are several reasons for it; one—the delay in mounting the World Bank Project; two—budget restrictions on the First National Development Plan schools towards the end of the last Plan; three—planning delays due to staff shortage in the Buildings Branch; and four—gross over-enrolment in Form I in 1969, especially the Copperbelt. The 1969 cohort clogged the system to such an extent that many schools which had over-enrolled had to cut back in subsequent years. Finally, the move to a three-year junior secondary system has required more space during the transitional period, reducing the scope for expansion in Form I.[7]

Educationists have debated since independence the possibility of introducing universal primary education in Zambia before 1980. This desirable goal is well in sight in spite of the many obstacles to be overcome. The urgent need to provide for universal full primary education should not, however, obscure the more urgent need to increase places in secondary schools for Grade VII school leavers. Every effort should be made to expand secondary schools during the Second National Development Plan in order to achieve an enrolment target of 20,000 in Form I by 1976.[8]

[1] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Zambia) for 1964, paragraph 47.
[2] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Zambia) for 1966, paragraph 46.
[3] T. Coombe, 'Planning Paper No. 3', paragraphs 76 and 77.
[4] Republic of Zambia, Zambian Manpower (Lusaka: Development Division, 1969), p. 25.
[5] ibid.
[6] *First National Development Plan, 1966–1970* (Lusaka, Government Printer, 1966), p. 57.
[7] Parliamentary Debates (Zambia): 9 February 1972, 622–3.
[8] ibid., 623.

VII

Grade Seven School Leavers

Considerable progress has been made in increasing the number of secondary schools in Zambia since independence, thereby increasing places required by pupils at various levels of the education system. Nonetheless, no significant advance towards universal secondary education has been made. Even in the foreseeable future, there can be no realistic optimism that the situation will arise when every child who completes the primary course will easily find a place in Form I.

There are several reasons for this gloomy prospect. First, there has been a slackening in the development programme during the last two years of the F.N.D.P. The growth of secondary education was dramatic from 1964 to the end of 1968. Thereafter Form I enrolment, as Wesley Nyirenda, Minister of Education and Culture, announced in the National Assembly in February 1972, remained 'static' mainly because of the 'delay in mounting the World Bank Project'[1] for secondary school expansion. Second, Zambia's child population growth since independence has been higher than in most countries in the world. The annual rate of growth for the African population was 2.6 from 1963 to 1969. From 1971 to 1976, the African population is expected to grow at about 2.8 per cent annually. It will be a real struggle by the Government to provide additional secondary school places merely to cope with demand due to increase in population. Third, the expansion of primary education has not been neglected. More children are now leaving primary schools with the Grade VII certificate than in previous years. Parental interest in the education of their children is considerable, and their children's thirst for education is insatiable, factors which have increased popular demand for more and better education. Fourth, secondary school places cost more money to provide than primary school places; they also cost more money to maintain. With rising costs for buildings, only a forlorn hope remains that the Government will succeed in providing adequate places in Form I for about 24 per cent of Grade VII school leavers each year during the Second National Development Plan.

The rather sombre picture of the limited opportunities for secondary education in Zambia is not unique. In many African countries, the situation is more serious, reflecting a very disproportionate number of primary school leavers who are able to find a place in Form I in secondary schools. In a Ministerial statement in the National Assembly, Arthur Wina, then Minister of Education, sought to clarify the Government policy for Form I selection and therefore allay the anxieties of parents whose children had not been successful. He revealed that approximately 41,000 Grade VII school leavers had applied for admission to secondary schools in January 1968. There were places in Form I for only 14,000, which was a 35 per cent progression rate. Concerning secondary schooling opportunities in other African countries, he said:

> We are having to put into our secondary schools this year 35 per cent of primary school leavers .In Uganda, they can only afford 10 per cent, in Tanzania they have only got 13 per cent and I gather in Kenya and Rhodesia the percentage is 20, so that in comparison with other countries, Zambia is now in a position to claim than we put more of our population of primary school leavers into secondary schools that any other country on the continent of Africa.[5]

THE ADDIS ABABA TARGETS

Zambia's success in providing places in Form I for primary school leavers should be considered against the background of UNESCO's Conference in Addis Ababa on educational development for African countries in the period 1971 to 1972. The targets of the Conference were expressed as percentages of the appropriate age groups in the first level of education (equivalent to the primary level in Zambia) and the second level of education (equivalent to the secondary level in Zambia) as follows:

	1965–66	*1970–71*	*1980–81*
Primary level	51	71	100
Secondary level	9	15	23

The Conference made both short-term and long-term recommendations for progress towards attainment of targets. The short-term recommendations were:

(a) an annual increase at the primary level of an additional 5 per cent of the beginning school-age groups;
(b) an increase of secondary level education from the present 3 per cent of the age group to 9 per cent;
(c) special attention to the training of teachers.

The long-term recommendations were:

(a) primary education shall be universal, compulsory and free;
(b) education at the secondary level shall be provided for 30 per cent of the children who complete secondary education;
(c) higher education shall be provided mostly in Africa itself, for 20 per cent of those who complete secondary education.

Comparison of Zambia's progress towards the Addis Ababa targets is difficult because certain assumptions on which these targets are based differ. For example, in the Final Report of the Conference at Addis Ababa it was accepted that what was desirable was a six-year primary course followed by a six-year secondary level course. In Zambia, the duration of the primary course in seven years, followed by a five-year secondary course. Officially, school children in Zambia enrol in Grade I at the age of seven years, but it was assumed at the Addis Ababa Conference that entry to the first year of primary schooling was to be at the age of six years. Furthermore, comparison is difficult because there are in each grade in Zambian schools a number of under-age and over-age children.

Nevertheless, the trend in Zambia towards attainment of the educational goals for African countries set at the Addis Ababa Conference is encouraging, at any rate as far as the expansion of primary education is concerned. In terms of the UNESCO methodology, 67 per cent of the relevant age-groups were enrolled in a six-year primary course in 1965 compared with UNESCO's target of 51 per cent. In 1967, approximately 82.5 per cent were enrolled in a six-year primary course although the UNESCO target for 1970-71 is only 71 per cent. Although the percentage had declined at the time of the 1969 population census, nonetheless it remained much above the UNESCO target for 1970-71. In 1970, primary enrolment as a percentage of 7-14 age group was 76.8.[6]

The examination of mere enrolment figures in primary and secondary schools is a clearer indicator of the progress made in Zambia towards the UNESCO educational targets. At the beginning of the F.N.D.P. in 1966, the total primary school enrolment was 473,432. In 1970, at the end of the F.N.D.P., the enrolment rose to a record figure of 694,670, an increase of about 32 per cent. The average annual increase of available primary school places during this period was about 8 per cent. As regards enrolment in secondary schools, the number rose from 23,799 in 1966 to 52,472 in 1970,

reflecting an increase of 120 per cent. Over the four-year period of the F.N.D.P., the average annual increase was about 30 per cent. As we shall explain in subsequent chapters, special attention has been given to training teachers and improving the quality of schools. To meet the higher education needs of qualified post-secondary school students, a local university—the University of Zambia—was established in 1966.

In the Final Report of the Addis Ababa Conference of 1961, member states of UNESCO were urged, with the help of the E.C.A., to raise the percentage of their national income ear-marked for financing education from the level of 3 per cent in 1961 to 4 per cent by 1965 and 6 per cent by 1980. In Zambia in the period 1966-67, approximately 6.9 per cent of the gross domestic product was spent on education. This exceeded UNESCO's target of 6 per cent by 1980.[4] In 1968, public expenditure on education was 6.1 per cent of G.N.P. and the figure for 1971 was 5.6 per cent. Zambia was one of the highest public expenditures on education in relation to G.N.P. in Africa and it is well ahead of the UNESCO target for 1980.

SELECTION FOR FORM I

The hard facts of the nation's success in expanding secondary schooling facilities do not provide comfort to parents whose children fail to find a place in Form I after completing Grade VII. Parents are naturally concerned that their own children should obtain more education than they themselves have had. Owing to the ideas which gained credence in the colonial era, success in life in terms of social status and personal affluence is equated to the attainment of high eduational standards. Of course, to a certain extent, this notion is correct. Unfortunately, it is not often appreciated that there are other important factors which contribute substantially to a man's ability to make a success of his ventures. Though education is certainly an asset, without determination and will power, without character and initiative, a man's chances to advance in life will be limited. History has many examples of men who have attained great heights as statesmen or financiers through initiative and perserverance, though initially handicapped by little education. There are always, of course, other considerations, apart from parental ambitions to advance the fortunes of their children by proper education, which concern parents when their children fail to obtain the coveted places in Form I.

The average age of the Grade VII school leaver is 14 years. There are many social problems especially in the urban areas, which face parents whose children drop out of the school system after the primary course. It is undesirable to expose children of tender ages to the harsh realities of the world. Few boys and girls leaving school after Grade VII can hope to obtain gainful employment; instead these children merely swell the ranks of the unemployed people. Some may find vacancies in vocational institutions where training is provided in specified skills while others may enrol for Form I as evening class pupils if they are lucky, because places in evening classes are very few and the demand is great. As the number of students with Form III junior secondary qualifications grows, the plight of the Grade VII school leaver will become more desperate. In future, preference will undoubtedly be given to students with the Form III certificate when selections are made to fill vacancies in institutions for technical education or vocational training. The author believes that little benefit is derived by young lads who enrol in evening classes after failing to obtain a place in Form I on a competitive basis.

As previously stated, the problem of the primary school leavers is not unique to Zambia. It is probably more serious in some countries in Africa than in Zambia. Professor Castle has stated in *Growing Up in East Africa* that the problem of the school leavers in primary schools should be considered with the problem of wastage, so that the magnitude of the problem is properly appreciated. After analysing the different fields in which primary school leavers were absorbed in Kenya after the Kenya Preliminary Examination held in December 1964, Professor Castle has stated that the official number of unoccupied school leavers in 1965 was probably optimistic. He has stated that out of the 103,400 pupils who entered for the K.P.E. (primary school leaving examination in Kenya), '. . . for over 67,000 school leavers in 1965 there is no prospect of further education or wage-earning employment. Other estimates, for example that of the working party on *The Training and Employment of Primary School Leavers (1964)*, place the member in this category much higher at 90,000; and the number of those entering wage-earning employment much lower at 6,000.' He continues: 'But this is not the whole story. The above rough estimates refer only to those who have completed their primary education. To these must be added those who fell by the way before completing

A ten-year course of education for all children is a Utopia in the present economic situation of Zambia. The resources required to implement such a massive programme of school expansion at various levels are beyond what the country can afford. The provision of a ten-year education course for all would not *per se* settle the agonising plight of boys and girls unable to proceed beyond that level. Trevor Coombe examined in 1970 the implications of the Proposal for Universal Ten-Year Schooling and concluded:

> The Ghanaian experience confirms the contention that universal ten-year schooling would not solve the problem of unemployed school leavers. It also indicates the consequences of a programme of expansion which far exceeds the professional and financial resources available to cope with it. Admittedly, the experience of another country cannot be a definitive guide to policy-making in one's own. But in this case it surely confirms in terms of stark actuality what must be inferred from the analysis of our educational development programme, and the implications of the alternative projections of a universal ten-year system.
>
> The close of the First National Development Plan has enabled us to review our performance in undertaking an enormous programme of educational expansion. We have come a long way, but we have not met our goals. We do not have the physical and financial capacity to meet our building targets in the primary sector, and the secondary expansion programme is suffering some acute strains. The output of primary school teachers falls short of our requirements. We have barely made a beginning in training Zambian teachers for our secondary schools, and we have slipped behind even the tenuous goals we had established in this field.[8]

The cost of improving and expanding the secondary school system in order to provide places in Form I for a great number of Grade VII school leavers is prohibitive. Political leaders, educational planners and parents must accept the provision of a limited form of secondary education of good quality as the best which Zambia can afford. Any scheme to expand facilities for secondary schooling beyond the S.N.D.P. targets would impose a heavy burden on the financial resources of the nation. Attention is often focussed on the problems of the Grade VII school leaver, oblivious of the plight of Grade IV school leavers in rural areas, merely because urban parents are vociferous in demanding better education facilities for their children. The policy for primary education is that, as far as possible, in urban areas all children who enter Grade I should complete the full primary course, and that a sufficient number of new upper primary schools should be provided to achieve a national progression rate of 80 per cent from Grade

IV to Grade V by 1976. If more funds were available for the education effort, they might be more profitably spent in providing more facilities for education beyond the Grade IV point in rural areas. It is unlikely that children who leave school after completing Grade IV remain permanently literate, but unfortunately selection at Grade IV in rural areas will be inevitable during the S.N.D.P. period. It is, therefore, important that approved rural school development programmes should be implemented effectively so that the imbalance of schooling opportunities between urban and rural children does not become greater.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

Apart from Tanzania and Guinea, probably no other countries in Africa have formulated new education policies taking into consideration the fact that a very large proportion of primary school graduates cannot hope to enter secondary schools. In an articulate policy statement called 'Education for Self-Reliance', President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has stressed that the basic aim of primary education in his country should be to prepare young men and women leaving schools for a living on the land. He has urged that the educational system should be designed to serve the majority of primary school leavers who will not enter secondary schools. Tanzania's education system is being re-oriented to help primary school leavers to earn their living on the land through agricultural work.

This viewpoint is understandable. Few primary school leavers in Tanzania can be expected to become wage-earners as civil servants or workers in industrial enterprises. But there can be no limit to the number of school leavers who can be absorbed in crop-growing activities on the land. Consequently, he has rejected the concept of 'education for education's sake' as extravagant in what he calls a 'poor', though quite clearly a very rapidly developing socialist state. He has advocated the provision of 'general education for the masses'. Thus, he has declared:

> The implication of this is that the education given in our primary schools must be a complete education in itself. It must not continue to be simply a preparation for secondary school. Instead of the primary schools being geared to the competitive examination which will select the few who go on to secondary school, they must be a preparation for the life which the majority of the children will lead. Similarly, secondary schools must not

> be simply a selection process for the university, teachers' colleges, and so on. They must prepare people for life and service in the villages and rural areas of this country. For in Tanzania the only justification for secondary education is that it is needed by the few for service to the many. The teacher in a seven-year primary school system needs an education which goes beyond seven years; the extension officer who will help a population with a seven-years' education will need a lot more himself. Other essential services need higher education—for example, doctors and engineers need long and careful training. But publicly provided 'education for education's sake' must be general education for the masses. Further education for a selected few must be general education for service to many. There can be no justification for taxing the many to give education to only a few.

He has concluded thus:

> Most important of all is that we should change the things we demand of our schools. We should not determine the type of things children are taught in primary schools by the things a doctor, engineer, teacher, economist, or administrator ought to know. Most of our pupils will never be any of these things. We should determine the type of things taught in primary schools by the things which a boy or girl ought to know—that is the skills he ought to acquire and the values he ought to cherish if he, or she, is to live happily and well in a socialist and predominantly rural society, and contribute to the improvement of life there. Our sights must be on the majority; it is they we must be aiming at in determining the curriculum and syllabus.[9]

Every African country should reassess its priorities for educational development in the light of experience gained since the Addis Ababa Conference in 1961. The problems of the primary school leaver were not fully appreciated at the time of the Conference. Although on page 21 of the Final Report of the Conference participants are recorded to have agreed to recommend to Member States 'that practical education be given a practical bias', the details of the type and form of practical education for primary schools were not spelt out. The long-term implications of expanding primary education were recognised, but an assessment of realistic practical guidelines for orientating the primary curriculum towards an agricultural bias was overlooked. Instead, the viewpoint prevailed that the 'school leaver expects a higher standard of living than his farmer father, a better house, pure water and easier access to medical and public services.' 'He is willing to drive a tractor or lathe, but can hardly be expected to respect the back-breaking energies with meagre output yields, which are forced upon his father through lack of modern equipment. . . . So, when the primary schools turn out large numbers

who are expected to accommodate themselves to a three-acres-and-a-hoe civilization, what can be expected but frustration and exasperation?'[10] Fortunately, a number of African countries have revised their programmes, in some cases with the help of UNESCO, to place more emphasis upon the teaching of agriculture in primary schools.

The fact is recognised in Zambia that employment opportunities will hardly ever keep pace with the rapid increase in population of school leavers at both the primary and secondary levels of the education system. For example, during the period of the S.N.D.P. an average of 20,000 jobs a year are expected to become available, mainly in the organised sector of the economy. Even the total of 100,000 paid jobs over the Plan period may be optimistic. It follows that the majority of the school leavers, like most inhabitants, must expect to make a living and lead contented lives by committing themselves to agricultural pursuits. Syllabuses have been revised and curricula reformed in order to meet this objective. The diversification of the curricula, with emphasis on agricultural education at both the primary and secondary schools, has increased the areas of co-operation between the Ministries of Education and Agriculture. More tours of farm units are now made frequently by students studying agricultural science in schools.

Apart from revising syllabuses and changing curricula to provide primary and secondary courses with an agricultural bias, authorities in Zambia should continue to preach the 'back to the land' policy not only to the hordes of unemployed able-bodied men but also to school children and their teachers in urban areas. For, even after following a primary course which is agriculturally oriented, most pupils completing Grade VII will not stay on the land. They will prefer to drift from the rural areas to the towns and cities in search of opportunities for further education or employment, preferably white-collar, thus following in the footsteps of their ancestors. The truth is that it will take a long time before the parents and their children accept the fact that the mass of Zambia's population will spend their lives on the land. Habits and customs die hard in Africa as in other parts of the world. Though traditionally African societies were essentially agricultural or pastoral, or both, one of the disastrous influences of colonialism and industrialisation in many parts of Africa was the gradual disintegration of rural life. As able-bodied men in their thousands migrated to industrial areas, the countryside

was left desolate. Proper land use and large-scale prodution of crops were impossible to achieve with the help of old men and the women-folk only. The idea developed that only towns provided an exciting, comfortable life.

Obviously the perpetuation of this attitude must breed frustration, disappointment and despair. Ultimately, such an attitude will lead to serious social disorder and political upheaval.

Why, the question may be asked, is the Grade VII school leaver tempted to drift to towns from rural areas? Many reasons can be given for the never-ending flight of rural school children to the urban areas. The towns, in Zambia at any rate, are more inviting, more exciting; whereas life in villages is dull and uneventful. Basically, however, the rural youth drift to towns because they offer the best opportunities in developing countries for wage-earning opportunities. Therefore, mere reform of the curricula which provide rural skills and basic agriculture is not *per se* the answer to the problem. Recent studies of the phenomenon of rural-urban drift of school leavers have shown the fallacy that inappropriate (i.e. academic) curricula give the impulse to rural exodus. C. Arnold Anderson and Philip Foster have recently asserted in an essay on the 'Outlook for Education in Middle Africa'[11] that the exodus problem will be resolved when 'adequate rural incentives'[12] are provided. They maintain that evidence is insufficient to validate the popular view that school lessons affect vocational attitudes and dispositions. On the other hand, there is evidence that once the balance of opportunities starts 'tilting from urban to rural areas'[13] rural out-flow of school leavers shows a marked decline even where a rural curriculum does not. The African youth are as shrewd to perceive where new economic opportunities arise as those in other parts of the world.

The author considers that some of the measures set out below might provide a systematic approach to the problem of primary school leavers and help in changing the attitudes of educated people in Zambia towards land and agriculture.

(a) The problem of Grade VII school leavers is a difficult one. It is not possible to find an easy solution to it. First, however, the Government should formulate a definite policy of secondary education which will give the public a clear picture of the limited facilities that can be provided in secondary schools for Grade VII school leavers. The Government has no doubt a good and respectable

record of achievement in the expansion of secondary education since independence. Nevertheless, the public is not adequately and properly informed about the strain on financial and manpower resources arising from this expansion. Parents cannot be blamed for criticising the Government vehemently when some of their children fail to qualify for Form I. The problem of primary school leavers is not the responsibility of the Ministry of Education only but of all Government departments and institutions under its control. A well organised public relations campaign on the implications of the Grade VII school leavers should be mounted as part of the overall strategy of the Government to educate the masses and maintain social and political stability.

In this regard, there is need for the Government to restate overall policies on education considered both in the short term and the long term, possibly looking as far ahead as 1980. Priorities should be determined with the greatest possible care so that areas where emphasis should be placed in education are clearly established. For example, what priority should formal primary and secondary education have over other forms of education—trade, technical, university, teacher-training, adult, correspondence courses, library services, etc.? In short, where can scarce resources be best utilized for the overall advantage of the nation? When financial resources are scarce, some programmes should be restricted or phased out and others given increased support. The standards adopted for school buildings may need to be reviewed, but only in the light of a well-established policy of educational priorities.

(b) The role of voluntary agencies in the field of education has declined markedly during the last ten years. These agencies should be reactivated to provide new opportunities for school leavers. Not only the religious organisations, but service organisations like Rotary Clubs, Lion's Clubs, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., etc. ought to be involved in formulating new schemes in urban and rural areas for providing some form of 'further training' for primary school leavers. This has begun already on a small scale. More encouragement should be given to these organisations to establish centres where youth can learn useful skills.

(c) Under the Education Act of 1966 and the Regulations made thereunder, private schools may be established with the express consent and approval by the Minister of Education. The establishment of private schools should be encouraged to enable more

children to find places in Form I. Indeed some private schools might be established primarily to provide educational opportunities for boys and girls who do not qualify for Form I after taking the severely competitive examination. Parents of such children would no doubt be willing to pay reasonable tuition fees. As the problem of Grade VII school leavers is so serious, bold and imaginative policies are required. If this kind of reform finds popular support, implementation is not difficult as the Minister for Education has the power of exercising the necessary control and supervision of private schools.

(d) Under the National Service Act, Grade VII school leavers will be eligible for service. This will give some of them an opportunity of learning new skills like carpentry, building, plumbing and, of course, agriculture. The National Service holds the greatest promise for implementing effectively Government's 'back to the land' policy. Parents must support the Government and give every encouragement to their children drafted as servicemen during a prescribed period.

(e) Preference should be given to Grade VII school leavers who apply for places in Form I evening classes. Most of the adults can study satisfactorily for the junior secondary (Form III) examination by correspondence. Correspondence studies are hazardous for 15-year-olds who require daily supervision to really make progress.

(f) Finally, the greatest hope for a permanent solution to the problem of primary school leavers is rapid industrialization and the accelerated rural development of the organised and traditional sectors of the economy respectively. Only when a transformation of the rural areas has been achieved with increased employment opportunities can we ever hope to contain the energies and talents of the vast majority not only of primary school leavers but also the boys and girls who will leave secondary schools at various levels in large numbers in the seventies and eighties.

[1] Parliamentary Debates (Zambia): 9 February 1972, 623.
[2] Parliamentary Debates (Zambia): 23 January, 1968, 3.
[3] Republic of Zambia, Second National Development Plan (1972–76), p. 170.
[4] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Zambia) for 1966, paragraph 38.
[5] E. B. Castle, op. cit. p., 74.
[6] L. G. Cowan, J. O'Connel and G. Scanlon (editors), *Education and Nation-Building in Africa* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger), p. 188.
[7] Republic of Zambia, Report on First National Education Conference (Lusaka, Ministry of Education, 1970).
[8] T. Coombe, Planning Paper No. 3, paragraphs 140–41.
[9] J. K. Nyerere, *Education for Self-Reliance*, (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1967), pp. 15–16.
[10] UNESCO Conference of African States, Final Report (1961), p. 11.
[11] Frederick S. Arkhurst, *Africa in the Seventies and Eighties: Issues in Development* (New York, Praeger, 1970).
[12] ibid., p. 333.
[13] ibid.

VIII

Technical and Vocational Education

> With a regular supply of Standard IV candidates available for vocational training, the problem will be to make sure, so far as is possible, that no more pupils are trained in each line than can readily be absorbed in the country.[1]

Throughout the colonial period, Africans in Zambia (Northern Rhodesia before independence) were denied their proper share of the wealth of their country. The wage structures were based on discrimination, with Europeans receiving sometimes fifteen or twenty times more than their African counterparts with comparable qualifications doing the same job. Another area in which discriminatory practices were rigorously enforced, as we have stated in Chapter III, was education. The expenditure of public funds on education for Africans was strictly controlled. To the colonial administrators, an educated African was a threat to the privileged position of the white man. It was, therefore, a colonial strategy to limit educational opportunities for Africans in order to sustain the myth of the white man's superiority.

Accordingly, not only did the colonial administrators restrict the growth of primary education but they also limited opportunities for technical and vocational training for Africans. They related the provision of facilities for training Africans in technical and vocational courses to available job opportunities at that time. This is the reason for the almost total lack of adequate facilities for training Africans in technology, crafts and other practical skills when Zambia attained independence in 1964. In fact, even when the Ministry of African Education had enlightened leadership at the official level before independence, the industrial colour bar which then prevailed made it practically impossible to organise a satisfactory system of technical and vocational education. It was in 1969, only five years before independence, that the law was changed to allow an African to be apprenticed.

Often the criticism is heard that the African pupils despise manual occupations, that they prefer clerical jobs and resist any persuasion

to settle on the land as agriculturists. The truth is that historically the African pupils have always been denied opportunities for obtaining technical skills. Even when some of them succeeded in obtaining these skills, discouragement from the poorly educated whites in industry hindered their further advancement and dampened the enthusiasm of others. The country's considerable reliance on expatriate skills eight years after independence is, therefore, not surprising. Before independence, there were trade schools where carpentry and brickwork skills were taught at Lukashya in the Northern Province, Kitwe on the Copperbelt, Mongu in Western Province, Chipata in Eastern Province, and at Livingstone and Kabwe in Southern and Central Provinces respectively. This effort was supplemented by a small number of poorly organised and badly equipped trade schools under the control of missionaries. The output from all these schools was small and even students who obtained satisfactory passes in trade tests were not respected much by employers in industry.

One institution had been established by the time of independence which provided sound training in basic crafts—carpentry, brickwork, plumbing, motor mechanics and electricity—to the advanced level of City and Guilds Certificate of the Institute of London. That institution was Hodgson Technical College in Lusaka. Unfortunately, the range of courses offered at Hodgson Technical College was limited. Courses were not provided in other key industrial skills like mining, telecommunication, architecture, surveying, electronics and instrumentation. From 1959 Africans were permitted by law to be apprenticed in industry. At independence, therefore, Zambia inherited from Britain the apprenticeship system as one other form of training for technical skills and vocational occupations. This system was not successful because most of the masters were expatriates who were generally indifferent to the interests of their apprentices. Some measures of success was achieved, however, in the mining industry, which used extensively the facilities provided at the Northern Technical College in Ndola.

However, during the period before independence, owing to uncertainty about the future of the Federation, there was a recession in the building industry. Consequently, there was a decreased demand for newly qualified bricklayers and carpenters, a situation which seriously affected the desire of boys from primary and secondary schools to take up technical training in institutions

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throughout the country. Although at the beginning of 1961 there were 789 students in training in trade schools, at the end of 1963 there were only 203 students taking trade school courses. Even taking into account that there was no intake of students in July 1963 because of the change in the school year, the intake was nonetheless greatly diminished in the trade schools just before independence in October 1964. It is also necessary to observe that these institutions were seriously under-enrolled and accommodation was largely wasted.[2] This unfortunate state of under-enrolment in trade schools including the Hodgson Technical College—which offered much more advanced trade training courses at post-primary level in building and engineering crafts—was repeated at the beginning of the 1964 school year.

In 1963, there were 13 trade schools, eight controlled by the Government and five by voluntary agencies. All the trade schools continued in 1964, but a careful review of their role and contribution to overall national development was made. It was accepted that for some time there would be vacancies in these trade schools and therefore a serious waste of the much-needed accommodation in view of national manpower difficulties. In most of the trade schools, anyhow, instruction of pupils was not really up to the required standard and the workshops were inadequately equipped with a variety of tools to make the training of students more exciting and interesting. New proposals were formulated designed to give trade training a 'new look' making it effective concerning the requirements of the building industry—a most important consideration. Consequently, after consultation with the Ministry of Labour and the industry, the Ministry of Education made plans to introduce in 1965 a new type of training for learners in selected trades. On paper the Ministry of Education planned to offer trainees (a) a probationary three months' training with a sponsoring industrial firm; (b) a one-year full-time trade training course after the induction period, the year's course to be taken at a recognised trade school; and (c) a further year of training with the sponsoring firm, with the option for selected students to return to their trade school for advanced studies in their chosen craft.

The most important reform introduced in 1965 was the reduction of the number of trade schools from thirteen to three only, in the vain hope that these few would be fully enrolled, that they would be more adequately equipped with tools and machines and that the best technical teachers would be concentrated to teach in these three institutions, thus offering a more useful and more apealing course of training to the students in a wider variety of trades than was previously offered in the thirteen trade schools. On geographical grounds the three trade schools chosen to continue under the new scheme were Lukashya in the Northern Province, Mukobeko in the Central Province and Livingstone in the Southern Province. Between these three trade schools, courses were to be offered in brickwork, carpentry, electrical wiring and motor vehicle maintenance. In 1965, a decision was made to add new courses as soon as new workshops and other buildings were provided. Additional courses included plumbing, sheet metal work, painting and spraying, wood machining and cabinet making.

Unfortunately, the expectations of educational planners were not entirely fulfilled by the end of 1966, two years after the introduction of the three-year 'on-the-job' training programme in collaboration with the building industry. The number of pupils coming forward to take the trade courses was still small in relation to the full capacity in the schools and the demands of the industry itself. But 1966 figures of enrolment were a significant improvement over the 1965 figures. The building industry was rather lukewarm in persuading its members to pursue vigorously the sponsorship of students which the industry had supported enthusiastically. At the same time there was a great boom in the building industry shortly after independence, so that even where an industry had sponsored a student for trade training there was reluctance to release the trainee for a third year of training at school. Building firms were pressured for artisans and to them even the sponsorship of a student for a year's training at school after he had worked for three months seemed a luxury. The demand for bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers and electrical wiremen was considerable in 1966 and 1967.

Thus the public naturally focussed attention on existing trade schools and asked whether they were capable of meeting the country's needs. There was an outcry that the Ministry of Education had been short-sighted in closing all but three trade schools functioning in 1964, without regard to the fact that they were under-enrolled previously and that even in 1966, the three trade schools were not full. But in subsequent years the mistakes of the administration have become obvious—obvious in the sense that all along no vigor-

ous efforts had been made to publicise in primary and secondary schools the opportunities which existed in trade schools and the rewards available to properly trained persons. The new policy for technical education and vocational training adopted in 1965 was not sufficiently revolutionary to prepare the qualified school leavers for intensive training in technology and technical skills in a wide range of fields.

From the Annual Report of the Ministry of Education for 1966, it is, however, recognised that the situation of trade training had improved over the two-year period 1965 to 1966 inclusive. Progress in trade training is recorded in the 1966 Annual Report thus:

> The revised system of vocational training which was introduced in 1965 provides for a three-year course, the middle year of which is spent in 'on-the-job' training. In 1966, enrolment in Trade Schools at Livingstone, Mukobeko and Lukashya increased by 50 per cent compared with the 1965 figures. Of the 291 boys enrolled, 158 were sponsored by firms in the construction industry. The commercial course at Lukashya was discontinued but a tailoring and cutting course was instituted at Livingstone and plumbing and painting courses began at Mukobeko. These had to be temporarily accommodated in Lusaka pending completion of extensions to the buildings at Mukobeko. The new workshops at Mukobeko will enable a wood-machinist course to begin in 1967.[9]

In 1964, the Hodgson Technical College continued to function as the leading technical institution in the country for advanced trade training in the building and engineering crafts. In that year, there were seven courses leading to the Craft Certificate, two to the Advanced Craft Certificate and one to the Technician Certificate of the City and Guilds of London Institute. Unfortunately, like the other trade institutions, Hodgson suffered serious under-enrolment of pupils because of the recession in the building industry a few year before the demise of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. However, more than any other technical or trade institution, Hodgson's name was tarnished badly before independence because of the vindictive mass expulsion of students from the College during the 1959-60 wave of unrest in African schools and colleges. The unrest was closely related to the nationalist movement for freedom and independence in the territory. Thus, in 1964, Hodgson Technical College was under-enrolled and there was a serious waste of accommodation and the elaborate expensive equipment which had been built up over the years.

In the review of trade institutions undertaken in 1964, the future of Hodgson Technical College was considered. To ensure that in future the institution's accommodation and other facilities were used to the maximum, it was decided to convert the College into a secondary technical school. Indeed, though a technical secondary school was an urgent necessity in the education system of the country, a complete change was necessary to restore Hodgson's damaged image. The Government approved the proposal to name it after the father of the first President of the Republic of Zambia—it was to be known as the David Kaunda Secondary Technical school at the end of 1964. A secondary technical school is one in which scientific and technical processes of a large dominant industry are made use of as a medium for secondary education of a broad character. This type of secondary education involves, in addition to classroom and laboratory education, a considerable amount of workshop training. So the David Kaunda Secondary Technical School became in 1965 a specialised institution to which the cream of primary school leavers, who demonstrated in the special selection examination capacity to follow engineering training, were admitted. The curriculum at David Kaunda includes English, physics, chemistry, mathematics, woodwork, metalwork and engineering drawing. Pupils who complete the full five-year course successfully will have received the basic education essential for technological training in engineering and applied science at the University of Zambia.

Of all the reforms of 1964 in the field of trade and technical education, the changes at Hodgson have been the most successful. The David Kaunda is one of the most popular institutions and it has exhibited remarkably good discipline and stability in the wake of some reports of indiscipline in secondary schools after independence. Under the First National Development Plan, another secondary technical school was established in Livingstone. The World Bank has provided funds for extensions to the Hillcrest Secondary Technical School in order to increase the enrolment of students and provide adequate laboratory facilities and workshop space.

FIRST NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

(A) TRADE SCHOOLS

A positive response was made to the great demand of the construction industry for fully-trained operatives, and also for operatives in

the mechanical and engineering trades, by providing under the F.N.D.P. the establishment of new trade schools in every province. This policy decision meant that five new trade schools would open by 1970, and politically it was a popular decision because it meant giving equal opportunities to pupils in every province. The Plan made provision for expansion of facilities at existing trade schools. The pattern of training envisaged for trade schools under the F.N.D.P. was in conformity with the scheme of sponsorship of students by industry which became effective in 1965. But the sponsorship scheme was subsequently overtaken by the recommendations in the Saunders Report of 1967, which Report is discussed later in this chapter.

(B) TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The Northern Technical College, simply known as NORTEC, is the leading institution for training local students at the craft and technician level. The courses offered at the College in 1966 included mechanical, electrical and automobile engineering and steel fabrication at the craft and technical levels. In applied science, the following courses were offered: chemical and metallurgical technician's work, survey (both surface and underground), applied physics and related subjects such as electronics and telecommunications. There were approximately 500 apprentices and technical assistants on block release courses in engineering and applied science.

Under the F.N.D.P., funds were provided for expansion of facilities at this vital Zambian technical institution. The Plan included expansion at the Ndola site to provide more facilities for craft and technician training as more Zambian trainees entered the mining industry. The minimum standard for entry to courses offered at NORTEC in 1968 was Form II and students enrolled for full-time courses or pursued their training on block release. With the increase in the output of students with Form II qualifications and the startling shortages in manpower requirements revealed in the Government's Manpower Report, the Heads of the Mechanical Engineering and Electrical Engineering Departments submitted to the Ministry of Education a revised plan for accelerated expansion of the College. The suggested programme included four classrooms and two drawing offices required by the end of 1967 plus an additional hostel, five classrooms, and an electrical engineering block containing

five laboratories by the end of 1968. At the end of 1970, to meet the manpower needs of the country, new laboratories were designed for construction to enable students to study heat engines and hydraulics. Included were two electrical workshops and additional laboratories for chemistry, mechanics and biology.

In 1968, the following courses were offered at the Ndola Centre of NORTEC:

Course	No. of Students
(i) *Craft Electricians*	
51 A*	25
51B	16
51 C	23
(ii) *Radio and Television Servicing*	
48	7
(iii) *Electrical Technicians*	
51 I	26
51 II	47
(iv) *Telecommunication*	
49	27
49 I	32
49 II	12
(v) *Mechanical Courses*	
196	students spread over a wide range of mechanical courses.
51	students spread over three types of advanced courses in fabrication steelworks.

*51A was the lowest course.

Under the F.N.D.P. a plan was approved for expansion of the Evelyn Hone College of Applied Arts and Commerce in Lusaka. The plan included provision of new teaching accommodations intended to increase the College's capacity in further and technical education to an institution giving courses at technician level in the fields of applied science, construction and light engineering. The plan was intended to meet the demands of both Government and industry in the region of Lusaka and the southern part of the country. At the time the plan was approved, it was anticipated that about 1,000 full-time students would be enrolled at this College by 1970 with, consequently, an increasing annual output in the various professional and technical fields.

(C) TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The University of Zambia established a School of Engineering to produce the professional engineers whom the nation so desperately need. For example, there were 277 civil engineers in Zambia in 1965. Of these 168 were degree level, 86 diploma level, 20 'O' level and 3 less than Form II level. These requirements for high-level technical manpower had nearly doubled six years after independence. It will be very difficult for this gap to be filled in the near future with qualified Zambians, but its width underlines the urgent need to accelerate, so far as practicable, the development of the new School of Mines in the University to supplement output from the School of Engineering. These two schools will then be the pinnacle, together with the Zambia Institute of Technology in Kitwe, of training of the skilled and professional workmen required in a rapidly expanding and sophisticated industry.

THE SAUNDERS REPORT

A year after the First National Development Plan was launched, the programme for expansion of technical education had made virtually no progress. The building of five new trade schools at selected provincial centres had not started; no significant progress had been made towards the construction of the new premises for the School of Technician Training in Building and Engineering; and building activities had not commenced at the new secondary technical school in Livingstone. Meanwhile, the demands of the country for skilled operatives, craftsmen and sub-professional personnel in various kinds of industries was growing.

Presidential concern over the development of technical education was noted when the appointment of Mr. W. A. B. Saunders, a Canadian Technical Educationist, was announced—he was appointed as 'personal adviser' to the President for a period of two months from 1 October 1967. Saunders was asked to make a review of the whole field of technical education, to examine policies and plans for its development, to advise on the setting up of a programme for co-ordinating the scattered training facilities and, finally, to make recommendations to the President for the planning and implementation of short- and long-term programmes for technical education.

At the end of November, the Saunders Report was submitted to the President—a brief, clearly written and practical document. The main recommendations in the Report were:

(a) All sub-professional training of a technological or vocational nature and the institute conducting the training should be removed from its present Ministry and become the responsibility of a new training authority. The exception would be 'on-the-job' experience for highly specialised equipment and processes.
(b) The training authority would be under the authority of a Minister of State for Technical Education.
(c) The Minister would in fact have a minor Ministry under his authority.
(d) The Minister of State would report directly to the President or perhaps to the Vice-President, whichever the President decided to be the most appropriate.
(e) There should be a Director of Technical and Vocational Training (probably on contract) appointed as soon as possible.
(f) There should be four advisers on contract to give advice on:
(i) Technical Programmes.
(ii) Business Programmes.
(iii) Health Programmes.
(iv) Trade and Operator Programmes.
(g) There should be three Commissions appointed—
(i) One for technical, business and health training.
(ii) One for craft training.
(iii) One for trade and operator training.
The Commissions to be responsible to the Minister of State through the Director, and replace the present Boards of Governors for Evelyn Hone College and NORTEC.
(h) There is an urgent need to build one more high level technical institute. This institute would look after and centralise such courses as drafting, surveying, metallurgy, civil and building technology, mining and geology, etc. Land should be obtained and plans developed immediately.
(i) The Evelyn Hone College should be extended to include health programmes and tourism, in addition to the revaluation of its present courses. It should transfer its mechanical, electrical and electronic courses to NORTEC and its proposed building and civil engineering courses to the new Institute.
(j) NORTEC in Ndola should continue to expand its present courses, but move its automotive course to a craft school.
(k) Sponsorship should not be encouraged except perhaps at the craft level.
(l) All courses to be two years in length with the exception of craft courses and this should be decided later.
(m) The old Trade Schools are not satisfying many needs. These should become schools with three kinds of courses:
(i) Basic trade courses.
(ii) Pre-vocational trade courses.
(iii) Service industry courses and vehicle operating courses.
(n) In the not too distant future five new Trade Schools should be built if the new approach produces results.
(o) There must be continuity of development or this plan will fail.[4]

There are two other important subjects covered in the Saunders Report which should be discussed. The first is that the Government should endeavour to change the attitude of educated Zambians towards trade training in carpentry, brickwork and other trades. Saunders stated in the first chapter of his Report that 'historically the man in the street has been given the impression that sitting behind a desk and wearing a white collar is a sign of status.' This is true of most young countries in Africa and elsewhere. Therefore, Saunders recommended that 'a properly developed information campaign should be organised at once so that this information will reach the general public.' It is true, owing to our colonial heritage which engendered prejudice against manual jobs, that properly mounted campaigns to popularize trades and technical training will be needed for many years to sustain development in this field. Isolated political outbursts urging the youth of the nation to take up the challenge will not yield any appreciable results.

The second subject concerns the need to provide training facilities for local persons to qualify as teachers at trade and craft schools. Under the S.N.D.P., provision has been made for construction of a college for training teachers to serve in technical and trade institutions. The implementation of this project is urgent in order to minimise dependence on foreign sources for the supply of teachers of technical subjects in secondary schools and technical, trades and vocational institutions.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

One of the most important recommendations in the Saunders Report concerned the urgent need to appoint a Minister of State to assume responsibility for technical education and vocational training. A collateral recommendation related to the need to establish an independent commission to conduct all 'sub-professional training of a technological or vocational nature'. In 1969, the Government begun to implement some of the recommendations in the Saunders Report. At the beginning of that year, Valentine Musakanya was designated as the first Minister of State for Technical and Vocational Training, responsible to the President. Consequently, responsibility for sub-professional training of a technological or vocational nature was removed from the Ministry of Education and vested in the new Minister of State for Technical Education and Vocational Training.

The visit of Saunders to review the organisation of technical and vocational training in Zambia was sponsored by the Canadian Agency for International Development (CIDA) as part of their technical assistance. In the Report submitted to President Kaunda, Saunders identified various fields in which Canadian Government aid to Zambia for re-organisation of technical education could be provided. Dr. Ross Ford eventually arrived in Zambia in 1969 to take up the post of Director of Technical Education and Vocational Training. Dr. Ford's responsibility was to advise on the development of the technical education programme (including the planning and organisation of the Zambia Institute of Technology at Kitwe) and on the vocational training schemes to be implemented as well as to identify the programme of assistance that could be considered by CIDA.

An agreement was signed by the two governments whereby CIDA agreed to assist in the development of programmes for technical and vocational training by providing up to 40 technical education advisers and instructors over a period of five years with the possibility of extensions after 1975. For the period 1969 to 1975, Canadian assistance to technical and vocational education in Zambia through CIDA was estimated as follows:

(a) *Experts:* a total of 1,081 man/months of teacher and adviser services at an estimated cost of $2,107,800 (Canadian).
(b) *Equipment:* a total of $90,000 consisting of equipment for the Curriculum Development Unit of the Commission.
(c) *Architectural Services:* A total of $500,000 towards payment for the services of architectural consultants engaged for the design of the Zambia Institute of Technology.
(d) *Fellowships:* $100,000 to meet the cost of training selected Zambians in Canada within the framework of a regular training programme.
(e) *Miscellaneous Contingency*: a total of $50,000 for purchasing training aids, reference books and other miscellaneous services following recommendations from the Canadian Team Leader.

In terms of the provisions of the Technical Education and Vocational Training Act of 1970, technical education and vocational training became with effect from January 1971 the responsibility of a statutory board named the 'Commission for Technical Education

and Vocational Training'. All the expansion that has been made in the field of technical education and vocational training on the basis of the recommendations in the Saunders Report was directed and supervised by the statutory board. However, the creation of a statutory board to implement the educational and training policies of the Government in the sphere of technical education was a transitional measure. But even in the short period of its existence, it became apparent that Government control and co-ordination through the Ministry of Education was difficult to achieve. In fact, conflicts occurred frequently between officials in the Ministry attempting to implement Government policies and the staff of the Commission for Technical Education and Vocational Training under the direction of the independent statutory board.

A decision was made at the end of 1972 to convert the Commission from a parastatal body into a full Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture. To this end, new legislation was enacted at the end of 1972—the Technical Education and Vocational Training Act of 1972. It provides for the repeal of the Technical Education and Vocational Training Act of 1970 by which the independent Commission to organize, administer and superintend technical education was established. The new law defines more explicitly the functions of the Minister in Section 3 and confers on him in Section 4 wide powers 'to do all such acts and to carry on all such activities as may be requisite, advantageous or convenient for him to do . . . .' It also provides for the establishment of a National Council for Technical Education and Vocational Training to advise the Minister periodically on matters concerning technical education and vocational training. The post of Director of Technical Education and Vocational Training was re-established in the new Act, although the holder of the post must submit to the authority of his Ministry's Permanent Secretary like any other Head of Department.

DEVELOPMENT 1970-76

The basic concept of the programme of technical education and vocational training was radically changed from 1969 to 1972. The system of apprenticeship based on sponsorship was discarded as inappropriate for Zambia. Instead, a new pattern of education and training was evolved, providing a comprehensive and integrated national programme in technology below professional level in technical skills and crafts. The objective of the programme is to develop the abilities and potential of the individual, to train Zambians to meet the requirements of industry for skilled manpower and to provide positive assistance in the process of Zambianization. For development of the new institutions to meet this objective, priorities were established as follows:

(a) the craft or trades programme leading to full occupational competence as a craftsman or this equivalent in other occupations;
(b) an industrial technician programme; and
(c) an engineering technology programme.

FULL TRADES OR CRAFT TRAINING

The majority of craftsmen required to work in various industries and in other areas will be trained in the trade training institutes. Some courses for craftsmen will be provided at NORTEC. Two phases were devised for training craftsmen. It was decided to initially upgrade existing trade schools at Livingstone, Lusaka, Kabwe, Mansa and Lukashya by building new shops, laboratories, hostels and staff houses. The standard of training was raised with the provision of modern equipment in shops, and the institutes became attractive with the provision of decent hostels. New accommodation of comparable standard was provided at Mansa and Choma. The total enrolment in trade training institutes in 1971 was 1,362; in 1972 the figure rose to 2,060 students. The total enrolment will reach 4,230 in 1975 when each trade training institute has developed to its maximum capacity.

During the S.N.D.P., four new trade training institutes will be constructed at Chipata, Mongu, Solwezi and Chingola to provide a total of 1,800 places when the building programme is completed. Places will be available in the old and new trade training institutes for at least 6,000 students by the end of 1976.

The minimum entry qualifications to these institutes will be Form III in future, although candidates with the Form II certificate will continue to be accepted for some time. Generally, for acceptance to courses in the institutes, candidates will be required to complete satisfactorily pre-trade training programmes of three or six months' duration, covering basic skills and technical knowledge of materials used in industries and of the common skills and processes. The programme includes courses in electricity, trowel trades, automotive repair, heavy equipment repair (diesel), plumbing and others. The

duration of the course is two years, and the successful candidates are awarded the full Craftsman or Tradesman Certificate after a period of one or more years of practical work and experience on the job.

TECHNICIANS

The training of technicians is an important part of the total programme for the new policy of technical education and vocational training. Students who have obtained the full Craft Certificate may undertake technician training over a period of 18 months. The duration of the course after direct entry is three years and it provides for more extensive training in the practical applications and work of engineering fields. Courses for technician training are offered in all the major fields of engineering, health, science, business commerce, music, printing and applied arts. The entrance qualification is completion of secondary education with passes in mathematics and science. Successful candidates will be awarded the Certificate of Technology.

The full range of courses for technicians will be provided at NORTEC in Ndola, at Z.I.T. in Kitwe and at the Evelyn Hone College of Applied Arts and Commerce. In 1972, the total number of students taking technical courses in these institutions was more than 1,500. In 1976, the number will increase to at least 4,000 students.

TRAINING TECHNOLOGISTS

The programmes of advanced technological studies are concentrated at the Zambia Institute of Technology in Kitwe and to a lesser extent at NORTEC. Z.I.T. will be developed eventually as one of the most advanced institutions in Africa for training technologists below the professional level. The splendour and functional adequacy of the buildings, workshops and laboratories and other ancillaries together with the modern advanced equipment in workshops and laboratories will give Z.I.T. eminence among institutions of its kind in Africa or indeed anywhere in the world. The policy of the Government is to ensure that only the best qualified lecturers in various subjects are appointed to the various posts which will become vacant with the Institute's exapnsion year by year.

The programme of technological studies covers three years in the engineering fields of electricity, electronics, mechanical, civil or buildings, chemical, mining, architecture and instrumentation. In 1972, the number of students taking courses at Z.I.T. was 410. It is expected that by 1976 there will be at least 1,400 students enrolled for various technological courses. The technologist provides an essential support service for professionals or engineers. He is also capable of undertaking supervisory responsibilities and applying technological principles in the design and construction of engineering projects. Accordingly, the entrance requirements for technological courses are high. Successful candidates must produce evidence of passing the Form V examinations in mathematics and science. Students who complete the course and pass the prescribed examinations will be awarded the Diploma of Technology or the Diploma of Applied Arts.

BUSINESS AND COMMERCE

At the Evelyn Hone College of Applied Arts and Commerce, typing, shorthand, secretarial practice, accounting, business studies and business management are offered in the Business and Commerce programmes. Some of these courses are also offered in Kitwe and at adult education centres in Luanshya and Ndola under the Ministry of Education and Culture.

CONCLUSION

A technical revolution has undoubtedly occurred in Zambia since the publication of the Saunders Report in 1968. Tremendous progress has been made to widen the scope of instruction in technical education and vocational training given in institutions. Students in recent years have enrolled in greater numbers than before in a wide range of subjects, including electrical, electronics, telecommunications and instrumentation; mining, chemical, applied and computer science; architectural, building, civil and surveying; and indeed many others at both the technician and technological levels. Modern buildings, laboratories and workshops have been constructed at very great cost to the Government.

Against the background of the sad neglect of technical education and vocational training for Africans, these recent advances are justified in spite of the great cost to the nation. In the long term, the investment will pay handsome dividends. A critical shortage of qualified engineers and technicians hit the country after independence with the departure of many expatriates. Obviously, on both political

and economic grounds, the continued reliance on imported skills for the mining industry and other industries is unacceptable. The expatriates with advanced technical skills are not only rare birds on the international market, but they are expensive in spite of the unreliability of their short-term services. The correct priorities have, therefore, been adopted under the guidance of the Canadians who have designed the course studies at the Curriculum Development Unit for Technical Education and Vocational Training. Two new technical teacher training institutions will be fully developed by 1976, enrolling a total number of at least 650 students. The work in these colleges will supplement the effort in technological institutes and the Schools of Mines and Engineering in the University of Zambia to reduce the present heavy dependence on expatriate skills for the development of the country.

A concomitant of the independence of Zambia is the urgent need to promote the modernization of the state. But the process of modernization is dependent on the availability of widespread technical competence among the inhabitants. In the education sector itself, the bulk of available funds should be allocated for technical education and vocational training; otherwise the less developed countries can never hope to approach the prosperity of industrial nations during the present century. It has been correctly postulated that 'the patterns of education and training must take cognisance of the incredible technological advances that have been made in our age.'

The acceptance of this emphasis in Zambia can be observed from figures for Government expenditure on education from 1966 to 1972.

In 1968, capital and recurrent expenditure on technical education was K841,000 and K845,000 respectively out of a total budget of K12,848,000 on capital and K33,280,000 on recurrent expenditure for education. Only 6.55 per cent of the total allocation for education was spent on capital costs and 2.54 per cent on recurrent expenditure of technical education. On the other hand, in 1971 about 40.82 per cent of the funds allocated to the Ministry of Education and Culture for capital expenditure was spent on technical education projects. The recurrent costs for technical education absorbed 10.50 per cent of the total allocation for the recurrent expenditure in the education portfolio. In the year 1971, the Ministry of Education and Culture was allocated K18,431,000 and K53,651,000 for capital and recurrent expenditure respectively. Technical

education and vocational training should continue in the years ahead to receive preferential treatment in the allocation of scarce resources to various competing sectors within the education portfolio itself.

[1] Annual Report on Native Education for 1930, p. 17.
[2] Triennial Survey of the Ministry of African Education (1961 to 1963), p. 45.
[3] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education for 1966 (Zambia), p. 36.
[4] Recommendations in the Report (Unpublished) by W. A. B. Saunders on 'An Examination of Technical and Vocational Training in the Republic of Zambia'. Presented to the President in Lusaka in November, 1968.

IX

Teachers and Teacher Training

Since independence, there has been an unprecedented expansion of primary education in Zambia. Several hundred new primary classes have been opened each year at the Grade I and Grade V levels in every part of the country. This large expansion in primary education has increased, consequently, the demand for properly trained teachers. The expansion of secondary education has also accelerated the need to recruit more expatriate teachers. Therefore, the rapid growth of the school system at the primary and secondary levels has been accompanied by the expansion of facilities for training teachers in Zambia. Reorganisation of the system of training teachers was inevitable after independence. With a much more rapid expansion of primary schools, the existing colleges were not expected to produce the number of teachers required. Nor was it a practical proposition to expect two new teacher training colleges, which were under construction in 1965, to increase the supply of primary school teachers almost two-fold; on the one hand education planners were required, as far as possible, to maintain a high standard of professional training for primary school teachers, and on the other hand they were required to plan for a larger output of teachers into the school system year after year.

To achieve this crucial balance, traditional considerations were discarded in favour of a radical approach to teacher training in the early years after independence. Any new scheme for training teachers after independence had to satisfy the needs of the nation during the period of accelerated primary school expansion.

Since the days of Latham, the standards of the teaching profession have risen considerably. A few years before independence an efficient system of teacher training was built up. In comparison with many African countries, Zambia had at the time of independence a relatively small, almost negligible percentage of untrained teachers employed in all types of schools. Burns states that in Ghana and in Eastern and Western Nigeria, where attempts were made fifteen years ago to implement universal primary education, school

authorities were obliged to employ thousands of untrained teachers to serve in primary schools.[1] The employment of large numbers of untrained teachers in these countries had the effect of depressing the standards of teaching and lowering the status of the teaching profession. For example, in 1962 as many as 11,766 teachers in a teaching force of 24,384 in primary schools in Ghana had received no training at all; in the Eastern Region of Nigeria, 13,393 were trained and 26,756 were untrained teachers. In Tanganyika, all teachers (10,273) serving in primary schools in 1962 were trained. In Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), out of a total primary teaching force of 6,027 in 1962 only 174 teachers were untrained.

The picture may be seen more clearly from the following estimates of trained and untrained teachers at primary level in selected African countries:[2]

Country	*Percentage of unqualified teachers in primary schools*
Liberia	75-80
Nigeria	75
Guinea	45
Niger	45
Ghana	35
S. Rhodesia	30
Kenya	30
Senegal	30
Upper Volta	10
N. Rhodesia (Zambia)	2.4
Tanganyika (Tanzania)	0

In 1961, three years before independence, the minimum academic level for teacher training in Zambia was upgraded from the full primary education qualification to at least Junior Secondary Certificate. Two main pre-service courses were offered in teacher training institutions. First, all teacher training colleges offered a special type of two-year course, the U.2 course, for upper primary teachers. Candidates with the post-Junior Secondary Certificate were preferred for this course, although the majority of the U.2 course trainees in the colleges were admitted on the strength of a good pass in the Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination. The I.2 course was provided for training lower primary teachers whose academic qualifications could be either the full Junior Secondary Certificate or 'statements' issued in a stipulated number of subjects passed

by the candidate in the Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination. From 1961 to 1965, a third type of teachers' course was provided at Chalimbana Teacher Training College only. It was a three-year course, known as the S.3 Course, for training secondary school teachers. The qualification for admission was a School Certificate with a minimum of five credits, including English Language.

The Government decided to wind up this course by the end of 1965 because the continued association of Chalimbana Teacher Training College and the University College in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, was politically unacceptable. The University College in Salisbury was responsible for the syllabus of the S.3 Course at Chalimbana and for the examination and certification of successful students. Obviously, while this arrangement existed, it was logical to argue that the Southern Rhodesia Government had an indirect control over the operation of the S.3 Course through the University College in Salisbury. The abolition of the S.3 Course at the end of 1965 was motivated purely by political considerations; otherwise the standard of training provided for this course conformed generally with international requirements.

ONE-YEAR RESIDENTIAL TEACHERS' COURSE

The point has been made that a very large expansion in primary education was undertaken after independence. Following an accelerated programme of primary school expansion in 1965, nearly 1,000 additional teachers were required to staff both new and old primary schools at the beginning of the first term in 1966. To avoid employing a large proportion of untrained teachers in the formal school system, it was decided to offer a one-year residential course to students entering teacher training colleges at the beginning of 1965, followed by one year in schools as 'student teachers'. This novel scheme of training teachers for primary schools was required to meet the anticipated shortage of teachers without employing too many untrained men and women as teachers and consequently depressing the standard of teaching in primary schools.

Experience in other countries has shown that the employment of untrained teachers leads inevitably to a deterioration in the quality of teaching. In subsequent years, the untrained teacher employed 'temporarily' becomes employed 'permanently' because

the growing demand for more teachers makes it difficult to release him for training.

During the first year at college, the courses offered to students included the basic academic subjects closely related to the content of the primary school curriculum. They also included the study of professional subjects, namely child psychology and the science of teaching. Students were not, however, expected to obtain a recognised teachers' certificate until they had completed satisfactorily the second year of training 'on-the-job' at schools to which they were posted after the residential course. The students' second year of training was a comprehensive follow-up scheme which included vacation courses, professional guidance under the supervision of inspectors and training college tutors, lessons by radio and, wherever possible, Saturday morning seminars. Those teachers who successfully completed the second year of studentship, after an initial one-year residential course, acquired exactly the same status as the two-year trained teachers.

The one-year residential course was not intended to be a permanent form of training teachers in Zambia. It was an interim scheme for providing qualified teachers for primary schools during the period of rapid expansion of primary education and while the expansion of facilities for training teachers was taking place. For example, in 1963 the number of students who successfully completed various teacher training courses was 536. At the end of 1965, 1,342 teachers were posted to various primary schools after completing the one-year residential course. At the end of 1967, 1,655 lower and upper primary teachers were available from the colleges for posting to schools early in 1968.

A return to the two-year residential course for training primary school teachers was envisaged when the teacher training development programme was approved under the Transitional Development Plan. Further expansion of teacher training institutions was also anticipated with the subsequent implementation of the First National Development Plan, 1966 to 1970. In 1971, there were 8 pre-service primary teacher training colleges with a total enrolment of 2,000 students. Further expansion of teacher training colleges was approved in the Second National Development Plan, 1972 to 1976. Funds were provided in 1972 for extensions to the Mongu, Malcom Moffat and Mufulira Colleges. Construction of new teachers' colleges at Mansa and Solwezi was expected in 1973 or 1974 for

completion before the end of the S.N.D.P., apart from extensions to the College at Kitwe and the National In-Service Training College at Chalimbana. There will be a substantial increase in the yearly output of qualified two-year trained teachers when the development programme for teacher training is completed. The objective of this programme is as follows:

(a) to increase the supply of teachers for new primary schools by building new colleges and extending selected existing colleges in order to raise their intake to full capacity;

(b) to improve the quality of teaching and the efficiency of teacher training colleges and to return to the two-year residential course;

(c) to continue to recruit a considerable portion of secondary school teachers for some time to come from suitable countries outside Zambia;

(d) to provide secondary teacher training facilities for students entering at post- 'O' level to meet the needs of the growing secondary school system and thus reduce and in time eliminate dependence on outside recruitment; and

(e) to support the University schemes for training graduate teachers.

A partial return to a two-year residential course for training teachers for primary schools was made in 1968. At the beginning of 1969, all colleges were obliged to offer two-year courses and a reasonable output of qualified teachers has been maintained to cope with the increasing demands. As recorded in the Annual Report of the Ministry of Education for 1967, the emergency teacher training operation mounted in 1965 proved successful in spite of the consequential strain on the Inspectorate and the administrators:

> 90. Arrangements continued within the colleges whereby students spent their first year in residence and were then posted to schools for "on the job" training. Mention has been made in the chapter dealing with the Inspectorate of the tremendous burden which this follow-up work placed on the Regional Inspectorate and on college tutors. Despite the success of the scheme, there can be no doubt that as soon as practicable there should be a return to a two-year residential course. To this end it has been proposed as a first step that 50 per cent of the intake of students in January, 1968, will be enrolled on two-year residential courses.[8]

TRAINING SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

In Zambia, as in many countries in Africa, expansion of secondary education has been given the highest priority in all development programmes since independence. The manpower needs of the nation have compelled this emphasis on educational development even though it is at the secondary school level that the scarcity of qualified local teachers has been chronic. Inevitably, secondary schools have been staffed by graduate and non-graduate teachers recruited from various countries. Because of the post-independence accelerated expansion of secondary education, the number of teachers recruited has increased considerably. Dependence on external sources of supply for secondary teachers is too expensive and uncertain.

At the end of 1965, the scheme for training secondary school teachers within the territory was abandoned because continued association between the University College in Salisbury, controlled by the Southern Rhodesia rebel Government, and Chalimbana Teacher Training College, administered by the Ministry of Education in Zambia, was politically unacceptable. In 1964, the Government decided to establish a national university by 1966. Following the illegal declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia in November 1965, a decision was taken in New York to remove from the University College of Rhodesia the Teacher Training Project sponsored under the United Nations Special Fund. At the beginning of 1966, Professor Rogers, the Project Manager, arrived in Lusaka with his staff and their families to join other teachers in the University of Zambia. The U.D.I. in Southern Rhodesia facilitated, much earlier than many had expected, the establishment of the School of Education in the University of Zambia, and in 1966 it was able to offer a one-year post-graduate Certificate in Education, recognised *ab initio* by the University of London, to graduates of foreign universities who were bonded to teach in Zambian secondary schools for a period of two years after completing their course. The School of Education no doubt gave strength and prestige to the University of Zambia as a whole, apart from its unique contribution by giving at an early stage an international character to the student population.

The developments caused the Government to consider the re-establishment of a teachers' college for training local secondary school teachers. A decision was taken at the end of 1966 to site the new college at Kabwe in superb temporary accommodation at the King George VI Secondary School. This institution, at first named

the 'Kabwe Teachers' College' was opened in March 1967 with an initial intake of 56 students. In order to provide all the facilities of a modern college for training secondary school teachers—boarding facilities for all students, classrooms, science laboratories and workshops for handicraft subjects, library and residential housing for teachers— K800,000 was allocated to this project under the F.N.D.P. Phase I of the College was completed in 1971 and it now provides permanent accommodation for 300 students. Under the Zambia World Bank Education Project, Phase II of Kabwe Teachers' College, which was re-named the 'Kwame Nkhrumah Teachers' College' in 1972, was completed in 1973. The completion of the Phase II of the construction programme will make it possible for the College to take in 450 students.

Admission of students at the Kwame Nkhrumah Teachers' College is restricted to men and women who have passed the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate with credits in appropriate subjedts or a minimum of four acceptable G.C.E. 'O' level subjects, including English Language. Serving teachers with requisite teaching experience may be admitted to the course after satisfying the College's entrance requirements. The curriculum for academic and professional training includes the study of education and the use of the English Language as compulsory subjects over a period of two years. These are Group A subjects. Students are allowed to select two other subjects in Group B from the following: English, French, history, geography, mathematics, science, home economics, agricultural science and metal/woodwork. The subjects selected in Group B are studied over a two-year period. In the first year, students must select one of the following subjects for study for one year in Group C: physical education, music, religious knowledge, speech and drama, art, the philosophy of science, and mathematics or social science.

The curriculum described was devised in 1967 when students were admitted to the course for the first time. The programme of studies at the College was under review in 1971 and 1972 by the Professional Board of the Institute of Education in the University of Zambia in the light of the experience of the College since its inception. As the Institute of Education is responsible for the certification of successful students, it is likely that suitable reforms suggested for organisation and training teachers at the College will be accepted by the Ministry of Education and Culture and by College authorities.

Secondary schools have continued to be adequately staffed since independence. We have stated already, however, that to meet the needs of secondary schools a large number of expatriate teachers have been recruited to serve in Zambia on contract terms. The shortage of Zambian teachers in secondary schools and other post-primary institutions has always been a source of great concern. No system of education which relies heavily on expatriate teachers can truly meet national aspirations. Pupils in schools, more especially pupils in secondary schools, have to be reminded time and again of their privileged positions and, consequently, of their responsibilities to the nation. Such exhortations should be based upon deep-rooted sympathy for the kind of society which the nation's leaders are striving to build. This responsibility cannot be discharged easily by expatriate staff, except the most able and devoted who have worked in the country for many years. The number of expatriates who renew their first contracts is rather small and disappointing. And yet, during the first contract of some two to three years, most expatriates are inevitably concerned with adjustment to new conditions. They only become more useful to the teaching service during their second and subsequent tours of service.

A number of local teachers for secondary schools will graduate every year from the University of Zambia. In terms of requirements, the output of local secondary school teachers from the University will not increase the output from the Kwame Nkhrumah College significantly. A decision was made by the Government in 1969 to establish another secondary teachers' college on the Copperbelt. The Zambia Episcopal Conference offered to make available to the Government for teacher training purposes the site and buildings of St. Francis College. The College was previously a private primary-cum-secondary institution for boys only, administered by Catholics. It is about sixteen kilometres from Kitwe in a particularly beautiful and pleasant setting. Under the Zambia World Bank Education Project, conversion and extensions to the buildings was completed in 1973 to enable a total intake of 300 students for the two-year course for secondary school teachers. The Copperbelt Teachers' College concentrates on the fields of science, mathematics, home-craft and commerce.

Requirements for secondary school teachers and outputs from local training institutions are projected in the Second National Development Plan. The requirements far exceed the local output and this will necessitate the continued recruitment of foreign teachers for secondary schools. In the author's view, it is not impossible to conceive some form of emergency operation to start a third college for training secondary school teachers, perhaps at first in temporary premises in much the same ways as the Kwame Nkhrumah Teachers' College was established in Kabwe in 1967. The long-term economic and political advantages of such a bold decision would be incalculable, having regard to the following forecast of secondary school teacher requirements, 1972-76:[4]

Projected Secondary School Teacher Requirements, 1972–76

	1972	*1973*	*1974*	*1975*	*1976*
Total teachers required	2,536	2,546	2,791	3,061	3,246
New input of trained Zambians	130	187	309	480	529
Total Zambians in system	387	535	790	1,151	1,507
As % of total teachers	15.3	21.0	28.3	37.6	46.4
New expatriate recruits required	511	399	493	409	307

THE EFFICIENCY OF TEACHERS

In many developing countries, as enrolments have expanded in recent years, it has been difficult, and more often impossible, for education systems to maintain the levels of quality and efficiency of the pre-expansion periods. Often, facilities required to maintain teaching efficiency—classrooms, equipment and teaching materials —have not kept pace with the expanding number of students. Sometimes, teacher training too has lagged behind and the qualifications and experience of the teaching force have declined. In Zambia, in the formerly scheduled schools, the efficiency of teachers has remained very high indeed in terms of international standards. The quality of education in the formerly unscheduled schools has been generally satisfactory, although obvious weaknesses have been readily identifiable here and there.

It is, however, quite easy to exaggerate the competence and efficiency of teachers in formerly unscheduled primary schools in Zambia against the background of the generally low level of teaching in most African countries. The vast majority of teachers have a meagre education. Only a few have received twelve years of formal education (that is primary and secondary) plus two or three years of training as teachers. The primary school teaching force is dominated by teachers who have had only eight years of formal schooling, apart from two years of training as teachers. Fortunately, the number of trained teachers who have received at least nine or ten years of formal education is increasing yearly.

The efficiency of any teacher at any level of the education system depends as much on his educational background as on his professional training and ability. In many schools, it is still the unqualified and academically ill-equipped teacher that has the exclusive responsibility for educating children during their first two years of schooling. This is a heavy responsibility for teachers with barely more than primary education, trained sometimes several years ago in methods since declared antiquated. Poor teaching at the various levels of the primary school system, especially at lower primary, affects the quality of teaching for pupils who eventually enrol in secondary school classes.

One reason for inefficient teaching in some primary schools is the double-session system. As we have described already, this system makes the teacher's work more exacting because he is required to teach two sets of pupils in the same classroom each day—one in the morning and another in the afternoon. Thus he must give individual attention to each of the eighty or more pupils spread over the two classes. It is not however, possible in the foreseeable future to abolish the double-session system in lower primary schools. The difficulties caused by the poor educational background of teachers and the double-session system will eventually be eliminated through selection of better academically qualified men and women for training as teachers on the basis of the new Zambia Primary Course.

Another reason is that too many people who take up the teaching profession are not always the most promising students intellectually. Some take up teaching simply because they need a job after failing to qualify for the senior secondary course. Such people regard teaching merely as a means of earning a living and not as one of the

noblest professions for contributing to the growth of a stable, prosperous society. It is the duty of Inspectors of Schools and the educational administrators to remind teachers constantly that theirs is a noble profession. Throughout the ages, teachers have always represented a section of the community whose remuneration is disproportionate to the value of their contribution to social stability and human progress. Those who take up teaching must regard it as a *vocation* and dismiss from their minds purely mercenary considerations.

The situation in most secondary schools has always reflected a more satisfactory picture regarding the adequacy of teachers' academic qualifications and training. There are basically two problems which have in the past caused serious inefficiency and ineffectiveness of teaching in secondary schools. The first is that for many years the teaching methods and curricula followed in secondary schools were derived largely from European practices of the past century and were, therefore, to a great extent irrelevant to present-day needs. To give but a few examples, a study of the history, geography and science syllabuses used in both senior and junior secondary forms a few years after independence will reveal the alien content of these syllabuses. During the past three years much has been achieved to reform syllabuses and diversify the curricula. The subject content of mathematics, science, history and civics is now more interesting to the pupils and relevant to their needs, factors which greatly facilitate the learning process.

The second reason for inefficiency or ineffectiveness of teaching in secondary schools is that the staff turnover has been very high since independence. The majority of secondary school teachers are expatriates engaged on contract initially for about three years. Lack of continuity of teaching staff, who may sometimes serve in three or even four different schools during a three-year contract, has a grave unsettling effect on the morale of schools. Until more stability of teaching staff is achieved in secondary schools, the problems of indiscipline among students and poor performance in examinations will persist. This viewpoint has been expressed by J. Elliot as follows:

> As indicated earlier, there was ample evidence from the present study that staff turnover in most schools was alarmingly high, a state of affairs which is seen in sharpest relief when pupils find themselves with perhaps several different teachers of mathematics, English and history in one year. Politicians and other interested parties who look on high failure rates in 'O' level and other external examinations with disappointment and annoyance and look around for explanations, citing perhaps a lack of industry on the part of pupils and teachers, or see lowering of standards as a consequence of rapid expansion, may well overlook the extremely detrimental effect which high teacher turnover has on pupil performance.
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> High rates of teacher turnover in schools is a plague that besets so many educational systems and only teachers and others professionally and intimately aware of the educational, psychological and sociological repercussions it has on pupils and schools can assess the acuteness of the problem. . . . Yet, it is no exaggeration to state that high teacher turnover can do just this, since the utter confusion that emanates from continual staff changes is confusion and perplexity in the minds of young people, and the damage may be irreparable.[8]

The education authorities should consider very seriously the problem of staff turnover in secondary schools and identify some of the contributory factors for which remedial measures are possible in the near future. The author believes that Dominican Convent Schools have maintained a very high and satisfactory record of student passes in the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate examinations because staff continuity is assured. These schools often accept mediocre pupils whose parents can afford to pay the high tuition fees, pupils who are sometimes unable to find room in Government or Aided secondary schools on the basis of performance in the Secondary Selection Examinations. Yet the results of these pupils' performance in public examinations have been quite outstanding.

Another method of improving the efficiency of teachers in primary schools is the regular provision of refresher courses for teachers at selected centres in the regions. Though attendance by teachers in recent years has been voluntary, nevertheless their enthusiasm has continued. Even heads of primary schools have in the past attended the refresher courses along with their assistants so that 'they might truly lead their schools in the professional as well as the administrative sense'. Zambia teachers are sometimes sent outside the country for courses which are not normally available locally and for which overseas aid has been offered. In the past, the Ministry of Education and Culture received assistance, education-wise, from Commonwealth countries and other United Nations Allied Agencies. Training awards have been offered to Zambia mainly under the following schemes:

(a) Commonwealth Teacher Training Bursary Scheme (United Kingdom)
(b) Study Tours and Visitors Awards (United Kingdom and Australia)
(c) Teacher Training Awards, Scholarships and Fellowships (Technical Assistance).

THE STATUS OF TEACHERS

To sustain the expansion of education in Zambia and to maintain the present standards of teaching in primary and secondary schools, it will be necessary to enhance the status of the teaching profession. Since independence, there has been a gradual but conspicuous erosion of the teachers' status with the attainment of practically all top administration posts by Zambians in the Civil Service. While in pre-independence days the African teacher, more especially the African headmaster, held an enviable position of leadership and influence, today it is usually the senior administrative officer who commands authority and respect as the true successor of the former colonial administrator, at least in the eyes of the simple unsophisticated citizens in rural and urban areas. It is, therefore, not surprising that many young men and women who reach an appreciably high level of education are no longer interested in the teaching profession. In the years ahead, the teaching profession must be prepared to encounter severe competition for recruits from professions which are more glamorous but perhaps less important in the context of Zambia's real needs, such as law, journalism and administration.

The Government has an important role to perform in order to enhance and consolidate the status of the teaching profession. The salary scales of teachers are generally reasonable in relation to those of teachers with comparable qualifications in other countries in Africa. However, more effort should be made to improve the standard of teachers' houses, especially in rural areas. Teachers' working conditions should also be improved; for example, classrooms which are dilapidated ought to be replaced. The replacement of dilapidated teachers' houses and school buildings is part of the education programme under the S.N.D.P.

The teachers in Zambia have the right to organise themselves into associations and unions. The Ministry of Education and Culture has always encouraged the development of a strong, well

organised but responsible body of teachers in the territory. The organisation officially recognised to represent the interests of teachers is the Zambia National Union of Teachers. Much of the strength and prestige of the Teachers' Union in the past has derived from increased revenues from teachers' subscriptions through the check-off system. A Negotiating Committee under an independent chairman, with Ministry and Union representatives as members, deals with problems referred to it either by the Union or the Ministry of Education and Culture. The frequent use of the Committee to resolve Union-Ministry differences can undoubtedly enhance the status of teachers and gain for them considerable respectability in the eyes of the public.

The Zambia National Union of Teachers has also a grave responsibility to uphold the reputation of the teaching profession by advocating responsibility and moderation regarding demands made by their members. During the first two years after independence and also in 1969 and 1970, the Teachers' Union was too preoccupied with only mundane issues—better salaries, good houses for teachers and so on. The good reputation of the Teachers' Union was seriously undermined during these years. More recently, however, the members of the Union and their leaders have adopted a more realistic and responsible attitude towards the Ministry of Education and Culture. Their increasing involvement in educational planning and professional problems will benefit the education system and enhance the status and prestige of the teaching profession.

[1] D. G. Burns, *African Education: An Introductory Survey of Education in Commonwealth Countries* (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 149.
[2] ibid., p. 150.
[3] Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Zambia) for 1967, p. 18.
[4] Republic of Zambia, Second National Development Plan, 1972–76, p. 132.
[5] J. Elliot, 'An Inquiry into the Staffing and Organisation of Secondary Schools in Zambia', University of Zambia Institute of African studies, Communication No. 8, 1972.

X

The School System

The Ministry of Education is responsible for all schools providing formal education and for all technical, further and higher education. A wide variety of vocational training courses are provided by the Ministry of Education in Technical Colleges, trade schools and teacher training colleges. The education of the physically handicapped is also the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Other Ministries are, however, responsible for vocational training courses which are geared to meet their manpower needs—for example, agriculture, medical, veterinary, forestry, accountancy, and others—for pre-service and in-service students. The National Institute of Public Administration provides training in law, administration, Local Government and accounts.

The Ministry of Rural Development, through the Department of Community Development, is responsible for adult literacy programmes. The Zambia National Service is the responsibility of the Ministry of Defence. The registration and control of pre-school institutions is the responsibility of the Ministry of Local Government and Housing.

In terms of the Education Act of 1966, the Minister of Education controls the administration of the entire formal education system. However, in the exercise of his powers under the Act, the Minister shall have regard to the general principle that, so far as is compatible with efficient instruction and training of pupils, and the avoidance of excessive expenditure of public funds, pupils may be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents.

ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

THE STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION

In 1972, the Headquarters of the Ministry of Education and Culture had five main divisions under the command of the Permanent Secretary, assisted by a senior officer holding the rank of Under Secretary. There was a strong team of Inspectors of Schools, all

of them men and women with many years of teaching experience in various subjects in secondary schools, teacher training colleges or primary schools. The total number of posts of Inspector of Schools approved in the staff establishment for 1972 was 103, of whom 82 were approved for Regional Headquarters and the remainder for the Ministry's Headquarters. The head of the Inspectorate Division is the Chief Inspector of Schools, assisted by a Deputy Chief Inspector of Schools.

Paragraphs 26 and 27 in the Annual Report of the Ministry of Education for 1967 summarize the general duties and responsibilities of the Inspectorate:

> 26. The work of the Inspectorate can conveniently be divided into routine duties and developmental planning and execution. Under the former heading falls the inspections of schools and teachers, the writing of the reports and the organisation of conferences and workshops. In spite of petrol rationing, all secondary schools were visited by at least one member of the Inspectorate in 1967.
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> 27. There were two types of school visits. In the first, individual subject inspectors visited selected secondary schools either introducing new projects or evaluating existing projects. In the second type, a team of three or four inspectors, under the leadership of a senior Inspector, spent several days in certain schools and gave them a full inspection. There were twelve full inspections in 1967.

The efficiency of the teaching force depends upon the quality of the Inspectorate. In this regard, the number of School Inspectors employed by the Ministry is less important than their suitability in terms of proven teaching ability, enthusiasm for innovation in their fields of specialisation and adequate experience from which self-confidence can be derived. Inspectors should inspire teachers by their knowledge of the latest developments in education world-wide. As the education system grows in the years ahead, more Inspectors of Schools will be needed. Those offered the important function of determining the quality of teaching in schools should not be mediocre men or women. They should be experienced, capable and dedicated educationists, whose wider responsibilities include the revision of syllabuses, curriculum development and the organization of teachers' refresher courses.

The second division at the Ministry Headquarters organisation in 1972 was the professional. An Assistant Secretary was put in charge of this division, under the overall supervision of the Under Secretary and Permanent Secretary. He was to be responsible for

professional subjects such as examinations, the teachers' association, legislation, libraries, audio-visual aids, bursaries and all education programmes. The Assistant Secretary (Administration) was to be responsible for finance, buildings and supplies. The Assistant Secretary (Establishments) was to be responsible for staff duties, including recruitment, discipline and promotion in collaboration with the Teaching Service Commission. The fifth division to be established was the Development and Planning Unit. The Director of Planning was to be responsible for appraising new development schemes at every level of the education system and determining their viability in terms of cost or the manpower needs of the country or both. Two other functions of the Unit should be mentioned because they are important: (i) supervision of building programmes to ensure that targets are achieved for opening new schools and (ii) maintenance of an up-to-date digest of educational statistics.

The Republic of Zambia is divided, for the purpose of educational administration, into nine regions which coincide with the eight provinces into which the territory is divided, except that the Central Province is divided into two educational regions. In each region, the Chief Education Officer is the senior officer responsible to the Permanent Secretary in discharging his duties and responsibilities. He is responsible for the supervision of all educational activities in his region, and he controls the development of educational services, the disbursement of funds and the discipline of staff in accordance with the policy laid down by the Ministry. In carrying out his numerous professional and administrative duties, the Chief Education Officer is assisted by the Regional Educational Secretary and a team of Inspectors of Schools and executive officers.

He is Chairman of the Regional Teaching Service Committee which submits recommendations to the Permanent Secretary regarding breaches of discipline by teachers, and he is also a member of the Regional Council of Education on which he sits as an educational adviser. Much of the time of Chief Education Officers is spent in the field, away from their offices, supervising the implementation of development programmes—approving sites for new secondary schools, trade schools and teachers' colleges, organising rural and urban communities to participate wherever possible in self-help projects for new primary schools, and explaining to the people Government's immediate and long-term educational plans and their implications.

There are a number of advisory councils and committies which participate in the formulation of policy on professional matters and development programmes. The Local Councils of Education at district level enable representatives of Government and mission schools and teachers' associations to collaborate in assessing the educational needs and efficiency of schools in their areas. At the top of the pyramid of educational authorities, there is the National Council of Education with the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education as Chairman. The Minister may refer any subject on education to the National Council of Education for consideration and the Council's advice is taken to reflect national opinion.

Under the Education (Parent-Teacher) Association Regulations of 1967, as amended in 1968, parents are encouraged to take a more informed interest in the education of their children. The functions of the Parent-Teacher Associations are defined in the Regulations thus: 'to ensure, through regular contacts between parents and teachers, the welfare and best possible education of pupils, an enlightening of parents on all aspects of pupils' progress in school and an enlightening of teachers on the home background of their pupils as full individual personalities, and thus cater the better for their individual needs'. These associations are also empowered to raise and control funds for their schools. A Parent-Teacher Association is composed of all members of the teaching staff of a school, who are *ex-officio* members of the Association, and parents (or guardians) of pupils attending the school for which an association is established. The Regulations also permit a District Secretary of the area where the school is situated, and local Chief or any other local dignitary to be a member of a Parent-Teacher Association.

THE SCHOOL CALENDAR

In Zambia, the school year coincides with the calendar year. There are three terms in a school year and a short break is provided at the end of each term. The regulations provide that pupils shall receive instruction in school for a minimum period of 180 days in each year. In fact, grants-in-aid to voluntary agencies are made by the Ministry of Education after satisfactory evidence has been received concerning attendance of pupils at school during the school year of approximately nine months. The school calendar for any particular year is issued by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, usually a year in advance.

EXAMINATIONS

Until the publication of the Binn's Report and the acceptance of some of its major recomendations in the early 1950s, the education system was dominated by annual examinations. The examinations were held at the end of every level of the education system, even where it had the least beneficial results to pupils and the examiners alike. During the past two decades, the number of examinations held has been limited and each examination is conducted to meet a real need.

At the primary school level, there were until recently three important examinations conducted by the Ministry of Education. Except in the urban areas, pupils in primary schools sit the Grade IV tests after completing the lower primary course. On the basis of performance in these tests, they may be offered places in upper primary classes. In urban areas, promotion is automatic from the first grade to the next until pupils reach Grade VII. They have an advantage, therefore, over pupils enrolled in lower primary schools in rural areas.

After Grade VII, pupils previously sat two separate examinations, namely, the Grade VII School Leaving Certificate Examination and the Junior Secondary Selection Examination. The former was basically an attainment test in most of the subjects taught in the primary school curriculum. A Certificate was awarded to successful students in the Grade VII examination. On the other hand, the Junior Secondary Selection examination, as the name implies, was a competitive examination for the purpose of selecting those pupils who were to proceed to Form I in the following year. The examination consisted of four objective-type tests, one each in English, arithmetic, verbal reasoning and non-verbal reasoning. The results were standardised by the computer and listed in rank order to help the Heads of secondary schools to select the best pupils to fill the available places in Form I.

In 1971, however, the Government adopted a new policy for examination of pupils completing Grade VII. A new Grade VII Composite Examination was introduced to replace the Secondary School Selection Examination and the Grade VII School Leaving Certificate Examination. Grade VII pupils sat the combined examination for the first time at the end of 1971 in arithmetic, English, science, social studies, Special Paper I (verbal reasoning) and Special Paper II (non-verbal reasoning). With the introduction of the Grade VII Composite Examination, parents will no longer confuse the results of two separate examinations which was always the case in the past. Experience had shown too that two examinations for Grade VII pupils had generally a disruptive effect on organisation in schools. It will also be cheaper to conduct one composite examination rather than two at the end of the Grade VII course. The new Grade VII Composite Examination provides a more satisfactory method of certification of successful candidates who complete the Grade VII course and a more equitable method of selecting suitable candidates to fill Form I places.

At the secondary school level, there are two public examinations for pupils. After three years of secondary education all pupils write a local Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination. All candidates must take English, a mathematical subject, a science subject and civics. All candidates must also take at least three and not more than six other subjects to be selected from four groups. Certificates are awarded to successful candidates in Division I, Division 2 or Division 3. A Division 3 Certificate is awarded to candidates who obtain a pass in English and at least five other subjects. Those who meet these criteria, and who obtain a total of not more than 18 points (on a four-point scale) in their six best subjects, including English, obtain a Division 2 Certificate. A Division 1 Certificate is awarded to those candidates who earn two points in English, three or less in a mathematical subject and a science subject, and whose total of their six best subjects is no greater than 12. A similar examination is conducted for external candidates. The syllabuses, regulations and conditions of passing are exactly the same as for school candidates and question papers are of equivalent standard.

At the end of the two-year senior secondary course, all pupils write the University of Cambridge Joint Examination for the Overseas School Certificate and the General Certificate of Education. All candidates must enter for English Language and at least five other subjects from specified groups to a maximum of nine. A full Overseas School Certificate is awarded to a candidate who obtains passes in five subjects including English Language with credits in two of these *or* passes in six subjects including English Language with a credit in one of them. Private candidates are not accepted for the Cambridge Examinations. However, external candidates may sit examinations of the General Certificate of Education of the

University of London which are held twice yearly in January and June.

We have stated that although there has been tremendous expansion of primary and secondary school facilities since independence, the quality of education has not suffered a significant drop. In some areas of education, a marked improvement has been achieved. Yet an examination of statistical details for Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination results shows that there has been a substantial drop in the percentage of candidates gaining full certificates. Even at the Junior Secondary level, this trend has been noted. This fact must be considered against the background of the extremely rapid expansion during this period, but there should be no room for complacency. It is hoped that with the improvement in the selection methods and by more vigorous and regular inspection of schools, standards will be raised and, consequently, an improvement in the examination results will be recorded.

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

Missionary societies were the pioneers of education in Zambia, as described in Chapter Two, and over the years a system of education has developed on the basis of partnership between the Government and voluntary agencies. After independence, voluntary agencies have continued to manage various types of education institutions—teacher training colleges, primary and secondary schools—under their control. In an expanding non-static education system capable of rapid growth, the Ministry of Education has continued to welcome the participation of voluntary agencies—whether churches, mines, industry or other recognised groups—more especially in the post-primary field where the need to supplement Government's effort is considerable. But the continued participation of voluntary agencies in education development must depend upon their willingness to comply with school regulations issued by the Ministry from time to time. Their schools may be Aided schools or private schools with or without a subsidy from the Government.

After independence, representations were made to political leaders by UNIP followers in some parts of the country demanding the surrender of management of primary schools by missionary societies. The policy of the Government on the participation of voluntary agencies in the development and management of primary

schools was thus declared when the Minister of Education opened the first joint meeting of the two Advisory Boards in October, 1964:

> The problem of management of schools has been a live issue this year. I must emphasise that the voluntary agencies will not be compelled to surrender management of primary schools. Nevertheless, it is Government policy to assume responsibility for the management of primary schools when voluntary agencies express a willingness to transfer them to the local authorities. Indeed, this is a welcome trend in view of the need for rationalizing the system of administration and supervision of schools. The need will become greater with the expansion of primary education and, with the development of local government, it is most likely (and logical in any educational system) that the local people, through their representatives on Rural District Councils and Municipalities, will wish to play a larger part in the control and management of schools in their areas. In connection with post-primary work, it is my hope that voluntary agencies will come forward and participate as far as possible in the future expansion.[1]

In spite of continued pressures on the Government, this policy has remained unchanged since independence. On the one hand non-Roman Catholic missionary agencies have continued to hand over their primary schools to Government management; on the other hand the Catholic missionary agencies have continued to manage a large number of primary schools, both old primary schools and a few new schools which have been built in the post-independence period.

Although the Government provides generous subsidies for the maintenance of primary schools, the rapid expansion of the primary system will in future impose a heavy burden on the Catholic missionary agencies—a burden which they will find increasingly difficult to bear. The teachers' associations are inclined to compare the services provided in schools managed by voluntary agencies—state of repair of teachers' houses and classrooms, the quantity and quality of school equipment, provision of transport facilities for teachers proceeding on leave—with services provided in primary schools under the direct control of Government.

Inevitably the trend of increased Government control of the primary school system will continue as recent statistics have indicated. Until 1929 when the Jeanes School was opened at Mazabuka, the only Government school for Africans in the country was the Barotse National School. All other schools were run by missions. As recently as 1963, the year before independence, the Local Education Authorities and Government managed only 554, or 34 per

cent, of the 1,721 primary schools in the country. The remaining 68 per cent, that is a total of 1,166 schools, were managed by voluntary agencies. But owing to the large number of agencies who have voluntarily handed over their schools to Government, the degree of control of primary education has changed. In 1967 of 2,476 unscheduled primary schools in the country, 1,562 or 63 per cent were managed by Government, and 914 or 37 per cent, by voluntary agencies. More non-Catholic agencies have continued to hand over management of their schools voluntarily to Government. The Zambian Diocesan Trust handed over to Government 46 primary schools in 1969.

In secondary education, 27 grant-aided unscheduled schools and 8 private schools were under the control of voluntary agencies in 1967. In the same year, there were 62 secondary schools, scheduled and unscheduled, which were controlled by Government. When the participation of voluntary agencies in the running of secondary schools and teacher training colleges is considered against the background of the world-wide shortage of good graduate teachers, their contributions at these levels is welcome. However, it is important that Government must reserve the right to ensure that the opening of new secondary schools by voluntary agencies forms part of the national overall plan for the development of secondary education facilities in the country. Development, particularly in the young nation, cannot be haphazard; it must be planned rationally and in the best interests of the country as a whole. Facilities for education, primary and secondary, must be evenly distributed throughout the country and should not be concentrated in certain areas. These are important considerations to any Government which seeks to be fair to all and, of course, to ensure its own survival. But such considerations do not always appeal to missionary educators who may be inclined to provide educational facilities in areas inhabited by their more ardent Christian converts. Finally, Government cannot accept the continued participation of voluntary agencies in the running of post-primary schools unless they are prepared to maintain satisfactory standards of efficiency.

TYPES OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

GRANT-AIDED AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Voluntary agencies may establish any type of education institution

in accordance with the regulations in force at the time such an educational institution is established. Where a voluntary agency receives from Central Government an annual grant for the maintenance of any primary or secondary institution under its management, such an institution is called a grant-aided school to which the Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations of 1966, as amended, are applicable. These Regulations also apply to all Government Schools unless they have been designated previously as boards of governors institutions.

Education institutions which are established by voluntary agencies in accordance with the Regulations but which receive no grants from the Central Government are called unaided schools or private schools.

The registration and control of unaided schools is governed by the provisions in the Education (Private Schools) Regulations of 1966. Some of the unaided primary schools do not require students to pay tuition fees, but the number of these schools has declined since 1964. In 1966, there were only 31 such schools in Zambia with a total enrolment of 3,220 children.

DAY AND BOARDING SCHOOLS

In recent years, boarding facilities have been provided for practically all secondary schools in rural areas, and nearly all post-primary academic educational establishments in urban areas are day secondary schools. Nearly all primary schools, especially in urban areas, are day secondary schools although full boarding facilities are still provided in a number of upper primary schools for children in rural areas who live a long way from their schools. Because a large number of new primary schools have been opened in rural areas since independence, the distances which many children have to travel to go to school has been reduced. Consequently, the unsatisfactory system of weekly boarders is being gradually eliminated. The cost of maintaining boarders in secondary schools is very high. In 1970, the financial commitment for 32,374 boarders at the boarding rate of K47 per annum was K1,521,578. The commitment in future will be more.

Co-education, in the sense that boys and girls attend the same classes, is practised in nearly all types of primary schools. However, in a number of unscheduled upper primary schools boys and girls attend separate classes, particularly in the case of boarding schools.

At the secondary school level, co-education is provided in several day secondary schools but separate facilities for different sexes are generally provided in the boarding secondary schools. Experience has shown in recent years that educational instruction at boarding secondary schools is far more effective than in day secondary schools. Pupils' out-of-class studies are more easily organized in boarding institutions under the close supervision of teachers than in day schools. Undoubtedly, the pupils who suffer greatly are day scholars who come from broken homes, and thus lack parental encouragement to pursue their studies vigorously, or those whose parents are so poor that they are unable to provide their families with the basic needs of life. As yet there are only a few day secondary schools in Zambia which have achieved a consistently high performance by students in the School Certificate examinations.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

The primary school system provides a seven-year course which runs from Grade I to Grade VII. The Government decided in 1972 that the overall policy on the age of entry to primary schools will remain unchanged. Children will be eligible for entry to Grade I if, on 31 January of the year of enrolment, they have attained the age of 7 years but have not attained the age of 9 years. In respect of entry to Grade I in former scheduled primary schools, special interim arrangements were made to allow for a phased introduction of the standard rules into such schools. The provisional arrangements are explained in Chapter XII. In spite of the clear restatement of policy on age of entry to primary schools, a large number of under-age children will continue to gain admission. This is most unfortunate because it upsets educational planning. The 'smuggling' of under-age children into Grade I is more prevalent in the Copperbelt area and in towns and cities along the line of rail. Until registration of births is made compulsory, prevention of this malpractice will be very difficult.

The length of the primary course in the former African schools was reduced from eight to seven years to accord with that in the former Federal schools and to provide, as in East African countries, a total of only twelve years for primary and secondary education to the School Certificate level. Whereas in 1964 the pattern of the primary course was lower primary (4 years), middle primary (2 years), and upper primary (2 years) in all unscheduled schools, the primary course today consists of only two segments: lower primary (4 years) and upper primary (3 years); in urban areas practically all school children who complete Grade IV are able to proceed to Grade V to commence the three-year upper primary course. The S.N.D.P. allows for expansion of upper primary facilities 'to provide enough upper primary streams to enable four out of every five Grade IV pupils to enter Grade V by 1976'.

In primary schools, instruction is provided in the following subjects: arithmetic, arts and crafts, English, agricultural science, handicrafts, needlework (for girls only), physical education, scripture, singing, science and social studies (and vernacular where qualified teachers are available). Efforts have been made in recent years to revise the primary curriculum to bring it more into line with the needs of the majority of pupils who complete their full-time education at the end of the primary school course. Emphasis has been placed on stimulating the interest of pupils in the potential development of rural areas.

In the past, the management of primary schools was vested in Managers of Schools responsible to the Chief Education Officer in respect of Government schools or to proprietors of Aided schools. Since 1964 it has been the Government's policy to reduce the number of Managers of Schools gradually. Headmasters are being retrained to assume full responsibility for performance of the Manager's functions in their own schools. In the long term, the new policy will increase efficiency and stability in schools. The cost of education will be reduced by the elimination of Managers who are undoubtedly superfluous in the present school system.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Admission to Form I in all Government and Aided Schools is restricted to pupils who have completed the full primary school course and obtained relatively high marks in the Grade VII Composite Examination which is an attainment-cum-selection examination. The age of entry into Form I is between 12 and 16 years, although the average age in recent years has been 14 to 15. Current development plans provide for about one-fourth of the Grade VII leavers to proceed to Form I for the three-year junior secondary course. Half of the Form III output are able to find places in Form IV to complete the two-year senior secondary course leading to the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination.

In the junior secondary course, the following basic subjects of the secondary curriculum are offered in schools: the sciences, mathematics, English Language, civics and practical subjects. The first four subjects are compulsory in all schools which in addition must choose at least two of the following subjects: agriculture, art and crafts, woodwork, metalwork, technical drawing, typewriting, book-keeping, office practice and homecraft.

In 1966, a drastic revision of the junior secondary syllabuses was made in order to bring them into closer relation to the needs of pupils in Zambia. A most significant development was the reintroduction of agricultural science in both the junior and senior secondary schools' curricula. Where agricultural science is offered at the junior secondary level, it does not replace general science, which is generally taken by all students in secondary schools. However, the importance of agricultural science, more particularly in rural secondary schools, lies in demonstrating to the pupils the possibilities and opportunities of rural life in a very practical way. To meet the requirements of science departments in the University of Zambia, school authorities are obliged to teach science in some depth to the more able students in senior forms. Biology, physics with chemistry or physical science may be taught as single subjects in place of general science. Students enrolled in science streams include mathematics, and often even additional mathematics, in their curricula.

Since 1963, there has been a growing awareness in Zambia that traditional methods of teaching mathematics need to be assessed in the light of new ideas developed in other countries. Thus in 1964, as part of the effort to demonstrate the content and methods of the 'new' mathematics, ten experimental primary classes were started. These classes involved 400 children in the Entebbe Mathematics Programme Grade One. This project has continued to expand, and involved more than 3,000 pupils in 1966. The efforts which are being made to improve mathematics and science teaching in the secondary schools will not become effective until children are taught at the primary school level in a systematic way the fundamental mathematical concepts and skills needed in a modern technological era. Teachers' enthusiasm for modern mathematics has not been lacking. At the end of 1964, following a conference of secondary school and training college mathematics teachers in Kitwe in October, study groups were formed in each of the Copperbelt towns. In December of the same year, the Lusaka District Mathematical Association was formed.

One unhappy development in recent years is the decline in the status of Zambian languages in secondary schools. With the opening up of many secondary schools since independence, it has become unavoidable to staff new secondary schools with only expatriate teachers who are, of course, not able to teach Zambian languages to students. Consequently, the status of Zambian languages in secondary schools has been lowered and pupils who study them in preparation for the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations consider them as easy options from which they will eventually derive very little benefit. The scornful or indifferent attitude of students to the study of their own vernacular languages in secondary schools reveals their ignorance concerning the basis of their culture. Unless boys and girls continue to study, wherever possible, local languages offered in secondary schools, the basis of national pride and self-confidence will be undermined in the young generation.

Therefore, the Ministry of Education has a responsibility to restore the image of vernacular languages in the secondary schools curriculum. In any secondary school where a local teacher on the staff is qualified to teach Silozi, Chinyanja, Chitonga or Chibemba, students should be compelled to study the local language in preparation for the Junior Secondary or Cambridge School Certificate Examinations. Second, there is an urgent need for the Ministry of Education to formulate a scheme to upgrade suitably qualified upper primary school teachers to teach vernacular languages in secondary schools. The University's Institute of Education should be competent to advise on the formulation of a suitable scheme for training teachers of local languages in secondary schools, provided that the Ministry's needs and objectives are identified properly.

One disturbing aspect of secondary education is the continuing problem of wastage from secondary schools. For example, for Form III to Form IV in 1965 to 1966 the wastage was 18.2 per cent and in 1967 to 1968 it was 13.4 per cent. For Forms IV to V the percentages were 41.1 and 17.3 respectively. The wastage of girls has always been heavier than that of boys. Since education at the secondary school level is so costly, the harmful effect of this wastage to the economy is considerable. Much really depends upon parents to ensure that their children remain in school to complete their studies.

(D) THE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTRE

The Curriculum Development Centre was established in October 1970 at Burma Road School in Lusaka. It absorbed the English Medium Centre which had operated in the same premises since 1965.

Curriculum officers have been appointed for practically all subjects taught in primary schools. The officers have produced suitable books for pupils' and teachers' use in nearly all primary school subjects as part of an integrated course on the basis of the New Zambia Primary Course which will eventually be extended to all schools. The most successful and encouraging work has been achieved in English. By 1971, the New Zambia Primary Course in Language and Reading together with English supplementary readers had been introduced in selected Grade V and Grade VI classes in the upper primary schools. Course writers have been found for Zambian languages and it is hoped that some progress will be achieved before the end of the S.N.D.P. The need to improve the teaching of Zambian languages is very urgent indeed. The establishment of the new Curriculum Development Centre holds great promise for immediate reform in the methodology of teaching Zambian languages efficiently.

Arrangements have been completed for course writing in the secondary school field for which curriculum officers were appointed in English, science and history towards the end of 1970. This is an area which requires urgent attention. Many textbooks which pupils are obliged to read for the junior secondary course and for the senior secondary course as well are not suitable. The whole education system will derive inculcuable benefit if the Curriculum Development Centre is given priority in the allocation of experts, local and expatriate, to undertake the programme of the reform of the curriculum and production of suitable textbooks for use in primary and secondary schools.

[1] Extract from an Address to the Joint Meeting of the African and European Advisory Boards (Oct. 1964) by the Minister of Education (author).

XI

The Education of Adults

Before independence, the adult education effort of the Ministry of African Education was hampered by a serious shortage of staff and funds. In 1964, only 4,498 students were enrolled as students in the evening classes organised by the Ministry of African Education under the supervision of Provincial Education Officers. Adult education, which is defined as the further academic education of adults in courses leading to recognised educational standards, was confined in pre-independence days mainly to centres along the line of rail although a few classes were organised also in more thickly populated rural centres. Yet there has always been a great demand for adult education in all parts of the country as the following passage from the Triennial Survey of the Ministry of African Education (1961 to 1963 inclusive) shows:

> A very great unsatisfied demand for adult education exists, particularly in the more densely populated rural areas. Elderly men travel by bicycle as much as twelve miles along rough tracks which entails wading rivers to attend classes three times a week, and back home again, late at night. In one class a father and son sat side by side studying for the Standard VI examination; the father hoped to be spared the embarrassment of failing while his son passed; he was. In one prison, warders and prisoners attended evening classes together; it was perhaps as well for discipline that the warders achieved better results in the final examinations than their charges.[1]

After independence, the Government embarked upon a vast expansion of adult education, deeply aware that to be truly independent a country must be able to supply its own skilled manpower at all levels from within its own borders. The Government realised that several major projects for the expansion of educational facilities were long-term in character and the benefits to the nation could not be expected for many years. It was recognised, therefore, that the improved and extended facilities for adult education were a means of alleviating the manpower difficulties of the nation. To many capable workers who possess experience in their specialised jobs, additional knowledge of arithmetic and English is a prerequisite for advancement to positions of responsibility. Many well-paid jobs in industry require workers who know how to read charts or metres

designed for upper primary schools, secondary schools and teacher training colleges. The Minister of Education set up an Educational Broadcasting Council, with a wide representation of experts, teachers and parents to advise him on the organisation and running of the Educational Broadcasting Service.

Educational broadcasting has proved to be an effective medium for providing supplementary instruction in key subjects for the benefit of pupils and students in upper primary and secondary schools as well as teacher training colleges. In 1966, the range of programmes prepared by the Educational Broadcasting Unit was widened to cover the needs and interests of student-teachers, teachers and adult education groups. During the year, about 300 programmes were written and presented from the Unit's own studios; they were broadcast during the morning, afternoon and evening. At the end of 1966, over 1,000 programmes prepared by local teachers and presented by the staff of the Educational Broadcasting Unit had been taped for use in future. The time allocated for broadcasting educational programmes was increased to three-and-a-half hours each day in 1967; and public interest and appreciation of this service continued to grow.

The quality of production at the Unit's Headquarters in Lusaka is reflected by the success achieved in the 1966 and 1967 international educational broadcasting competitions held in Tokyo. In 1966 and 1967 the Educational Broadcasting Unit's entries for 'The Japan Prize' won a special prize. The Ministry of Education had distributed over 4,000 radios to schools and colleges since the establishment of the Educational Broadcasting Unit in 1965. It is the Ministry's policy to eventually distribute radio sets to every school since to derive the minimum benefit from this service, it is necessary to increase the radio sets available in schools. Otherwise, the time and effort of broadcasters of educational programmes will be wasted. For example, in 1970 22½ hours per week were made available for educational radio broadcasts, 16 hours 15 minutes for school broadcasts and 6 hours 15 minutes for evening programmes.

Educational television programmes were organised by the Federal Government during the colonial era, and restricted to the Copperbelt area for the benefit of non-African school children. However, in 1966 a Radio Zambia Studio in Kitwe was converted for use as a television studio and provided with equipment partly donated by the mining companies and partly purchased by the

Government to bring the studio up to transmission standard. During the year, television sets were purchased and distributed to upper primary schools, secondary schools and teacher training colleges. At first the educational television programmes presented to schools were imported programmes which were largely unsuitable. In 1967 most of the programmes were prepared and presented by the staff of the E.T.V. studios in Kitwe, apart from the 'live' or 'part live' programmes produced as a joint effort of the studio staff and practising teachers.

Although the E.T.V. service has been extended to cover schools in the Lusaka area which have electricity facilities, the impact of this service will continue for a long time to be limited because the vast majority of school children in rural areas will not benefit from it. The cost of the E.T.V. service is generally prohibitive—at T.V. receiver can cost up to five or eight times more than a good radio set supplied to schools.

The Ministry of Education also maintains an Audio-Visual Aids Library of films, film strips, tapes, gramophone records, wall charts and art reproductions. In 1966 there were more than 200 active members of the Audio-Visual Aids Library, composed mainly of schools and cultural institutions. More than 20,000 aids items were issued to schools on loan in 1966. The aim of the Ministry is to continue to expand the visual aids facilities in the Library and, at the same time, to increase the audio-visual facilities which are supplied direct to schools.

(C) THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICE

A Psychological Service was established in the Ministry of Education in September 1965, with the appointment of Dr. M. N. Lovegrove as a psychologist. The main function of this service is to construct suitable tests for the selection of Grade VII pupils who apply for entry to Form I. It is also responsible for the development of attainment and diagnostic tests which are suitable for streaming pupils in secondary schools or in teacher training colleges and special institutions. Another important function which the Psychological Service is required to perform concerns the educational and intellectual assessment of retarded children. The service provides clinical facilities and is therefore capable of offering remedial suggestions on the education or vocational placement of educationally sub-normal or handicapped school children.

fixed to machines and are able to write reports at the end of the day.

The Lockwood Commission on the establishment of a University in Zambia recognised the need in a developing country to provide facilities for the education and training of adults and noted that: 'Intelligence and ability are not the prerogatives of any generation. Many men and women now in lowly positions possess the potential for more responsible positions.'[2] Since independence, the Government has undertaken to increase facilities for adult education so that those with intelligence and ability, from whatever generation they may come, shall be given the opportunity to develop their talents to the full. While in the past Government efforts merely supplemented the more extensive effort of voluntary agencies—Rotary Clubs, Municipal Councils, mining companies, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., welfare clubs and others—after independence it was desirable that the main burden of the cost of adult education should rest on Government shoulders. Only Government's full participation in adult education work could ensure the even spread of facilities in the country and a reasonable measure of efficiency.

ADULT EDUCATION AND NATION-BUILDING

Adult education is undoubtedly a dynamic factor in promoting all forms of development. In all but a few independent countries in Africa, the stock of educated and trained manpower is inadequate, due mainly to the neglect of education by our former colonial masters. In most of these countries, including Zambia, the shortage of educated and trained manpower has persisted long after the attainment of independence. The seriousness of the problem may be noted from the statistics in the Table below. The figures show the number of people in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) who had by May 1963 passed recognised examinations.[3]

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF EDUCATED AFRICANS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA: 1963

Education Level	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
Standard IV	86,900	23,300	110,200
Standard VI	28,200	4,200	32,400
Form II	3,940	480	4,420
School Certificate	884	77	961

As we have observed already in Chapter IV, the stock of educated manpower was barely adequate for meeting the requirements of the public and private sectors for professional and administrative grades after independence. In the nation-building effort, the energies and talents of *all* citizens should be mobilised for development. In the public service, there is usually a correlation between the level of education of an officer and his efficiency. To build a nation, dedicated and loyal public officers are required. Unfortunately, such loyal and dedicated workers often have very meagre educational qualifications which make their promotion to more responsible positions difficult. In the private sector, too, the pace of the Zambianization of posts held by expatriates such as accountants, bookkeepers, secretaries, stenographers, statisticians, actuaries, and so forth, is largely determined by the availability of local people with the requisite qualifications or training. The programme of Zambianization can be accelerated by improving the academic qualifications of Zambian job-seekers or those already in employment. Many intelligent men and women have improved their educational standards since independence by private study in evening classes or through correspondence courses. They have subsequently proceeded to complete appropriate professional qualifications.

In the present situation, with a high incidence of illiteracy, the real contribution to national income is left in the hands of a few people. There is no doubt, for example, that the level of crop production by subsistence farmers in Zambia can be raised through modern methods of agriculture. Until literacy is more widespread so that peasant farmers can read for themselves agriculture bulletins in simple English or their vernacular, the task of improving subsistence agriculture will continue to be difficult. The education of adults in literacy, higher academic standards or in specific skills is necessary to mobilise the entire nation for increasing domestic production.

Ignorance and illiteracy are two of the basic factors which make forging of national unity more difficult in emergent countries of Africa. First, we have the problem of 'haves' and 'have-nots' which arises directly from wide disparities in the education of the people in the country. This technically constitutes the problem of two nations in one, with all the attendant frustrations and conflicts. The more educated Zambians, especially if they are articulate in English, have better opportunities for well-paid jobs and the enjoy-

ment of a comfortable life. The less educated, especially illiterates, are seriously handicapped in the never-ending race for employment. The provision of more education for adults can help to diffuse the in-built tensions among illiterates. Second, since English is one of the major subjects taught in adult education classes, the barriers separating the educated from the uneducated will be broken down gradually with increasing communication. The author believes that in a multi-tribal and multi-lingual society, the extension of the use of English must surely have a unifying influence. This view was advocated, albeit indirectly, by former President Milton Obete of Uganda who said:

> Today I have to, like all my colleagues in Africa, think in a foreign language in order to express myself to Africans on problems affecting Africans. When I move out of Kampala to talk to the people, I have to talk in English. Obviously, I have no alternative but I lose a lot especially as far as the Party is concerned. The Party welcomes everybody and some of the great and dedicated workers are those who do not speak English and yet the Party leaders cannot call this great dedicated workers alone and say 'thank you' in a language the man will understand. It has to be translated.[4]

The success of democracy depends upon widespread intelligence and knowledge among the citizens. Once power is given to the few by the majority for a fixed period of time, the citizen's safeguard of their rights and their freedom depends upon the effective use of such media as newspapers to bring their grievances to the attention of rulers and legislators. This requirement also emphasises the important role of adult education in nation-building. We need to increase the number of adult literates in our communities, so that they can read newspaper reports on their own and learn about Government machinery. Through adult education, citizens may be made aware of their rights and responsibilities. This is one way of giving true meaning to democracy; otherwise the author perceives the possible substitution of autocracy for democracy in a predominantly illiterate community:

> History, however, offers many examples of dedicated rulers who have suddenly become corrupted by power, oblivious of their responsibilities to govern fairly on behalf of their electors. History has shown that once in power, a minority can try, often effectively, to wrest power from the people for all time by establishing a dictatorship. . . . So adult education, which includes 'all educational activities for adults', can be a positive force in the political development of any country. Ignorant people are the usual victims of exploitation by crafty, selfish, power-hungry men and women. Education is, therefore, the effective protection that humanists, or true believers in democracy, can give to illiterate citizens.[5]

Today, we live in a jet age, when distance no longer separates people and nations in time to the same extent as, say, fifty or even forty years ago. A generation-gap is clearly manifested everyday and everywhere by conflicts between parents and their children and between students and school authorities. Continuing education for adults is vital to harmonize, as far as possible, the interests and aspirations of the younger generation with those of the older people. Often the modern things which children learn in school and about which they show real interest are unduly dismissed by their parents as useless even when they are relevant to real life today or tomorrow. Continuing education for adults is necessary as a means of broadening their minds and helping them to know how to use their leisure time.

In the final analysis, once all reasons in support of the important role of adult education in nation-building are exhausted, it must be provided simply on the grounds of social justice. Education is a birthright for children and adults alike. The most important commitment of any nation in the development process is to its human resources—men and women, youth and children who yearn for a better and happier life. Adults can be helped through properly planned study courses to re-discover themselves, to realise their potential and gain self-confidence. In this context, 'the most important role of adult education is in the civic, cultural, and moral development of the individual.'[6]

EVENING CLASSES

As stated, one of the early obstacles to the expansion of adult education was shortage of staff engaged solely on the organisation and supervision of adult education activities. Accordingly, in 1964 adult education was carried out from two main centres. The College of Further Education was responsible for adult education in the southern half of the country and the northern half was organised from the office of the Provincial Education Officer in Ndola. At the end of 1964 the administration of adult education was strengthened by the appointment for the first time of a Senior Education Officer responsible for a special adult education section at the headquarters of the Ministry of Education. More field staff were required to

supervise adult education work in rural areas and urban centres. Before independence the total full-time adult education staff numbered five, but at the end of 1967 more than twenty-one full-time adult education staff working in the field had been appointed. Consequently, it was possible to extend adult education programmes into the long-neglected rural areas. Anticipating greater enrolment after the extension of facilities to rural areas, the scale of fees was reduced at the end of 1964 and, as an incentive, the second year of any course was to be offered free of charge to any student who had a minimum of 65 per cent attendance during the year, whose progress and conduct was satisfactory and who proceeded to the next year of the course without a break.

In 1967 the fees paid by adult education students were increased slightly, but they remained well below pre-independence rates. The Ministry policy is to maintain the low rates of fees but not to abolish them altogether. It is correctly maintained that charging fees excludes those who are not really interested in educating themselves and also forces those who have enrolled to stay on and get the full benefit of their money.

Following the changes made in 1964 in the organization of adult education and the level of fees charged for tuition and equipment, the expansion of adult education has been astronomical. There was an increase of over 40 per cent in the enrolment of pupils in three regions—Southern, Central and Copperbelt—along the line of rail in the period 1965 to 1966. The enrolment of students in adult education classes also increased considerably in rural areas. At the end of 1965, 2,725 adults had registered in adult education classes in off-the-line-of-rail regions and in 1966 the figure increased to 7,652. At the end of 1967, the number of adults enrolled in evening classes was 37,000 as compared with a total of only 4,498 in 1964. In 1971, adult education enrolment for beginners, primary (i.e. Grade I to IV) and for Grades V to VII was 27,409, of whom 8,063 were female students. Total secondary school enrolment for adult education classes, including classes for commercial and domestic science subjects, was 15,096 in 1971. Of these, 3,603 were female students. There were altogether 1,641 classes in 1971.

The investment in education for adults has not yet begun to produce the expected benefits. Though education is always good for its own sake, nevertheless there is some justification in using the results of students obtained in public examinations as indicators of its efficacy. At practically all levels of the education system, especially in the G.C.E., the performance of adult students has in public examinations been repeatedly poor. Several reasons may be given to explain this phenomenon. First, adult students generally do not have the same urge as internal students to work hard and prepare themselves adequately for examinations. Second, most teachers in night-schools are half-hearted in the preparation of adult students for external examinations. Third, the proportion of unqualified teachers to qualified ones responsible for teaching adult classes is higher than in the formal school system. For example, in 1970 1,534 part-time teachers were employed in night schools and of these 319, that is about 20 per cent, were untrained teachers. However, 99 of the untrained teachers were university graduates. The poor performance of adult students in examinations may be noted from the following results which show the general trend. In 1970, 12,143 external candidates sat for the full examination. Out of these, 2,096 gained full certificates, 1,527 were referred in one or two subjects and 8,140 failed.

CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION

In May 1964, with generous financial assistance from the copper mining companies, the Ministry of Education was able to start a pilot scheme in correspondence education. At first, the scheme was based at the College of Further Education, now called the Evelyn Hone College of Applied Science and Arts, in Lusaka and a full-time skeleton staff was appointed by the Ministry of Education to organise a junior secondary course offering six subjects. Initially, successful applicants for the Government-sponsored junior secondary course by correspondence were required to pay a fee of about K17 for full courses which included the cost of a residential tutorial course. When the course was advertised, more than 1,600 applications were received from which 150 students were selected, mainly men and women living in remote parts of the country where Form I and Form II evening classes had not been established.

From these humble beginnings, the Correspondence Courses Unit in Luanshya has expanded considerably. Study courses have been prepared in selected subjects of the secondary school curriculum, experienced tutors have been engaged to mark the written work of students and to supervise their progress, and whenever possible residential tutorial courses have been arranged. The basic aim of

the Ministry's Correspondence Courses Unit is to provide an intensive, adequate and useful type of education and training which provides opportunities for the guidance of individual students who fail to pass examinations at the junior secondary and G.C.E. levels in view of the fact that commercial correspondence organisations have a somewhat limited interest in the all-round success of their students. Their objectives hardly go beyond cramming their students to pass examinations in return for a stipulated tuition fee paid by students.

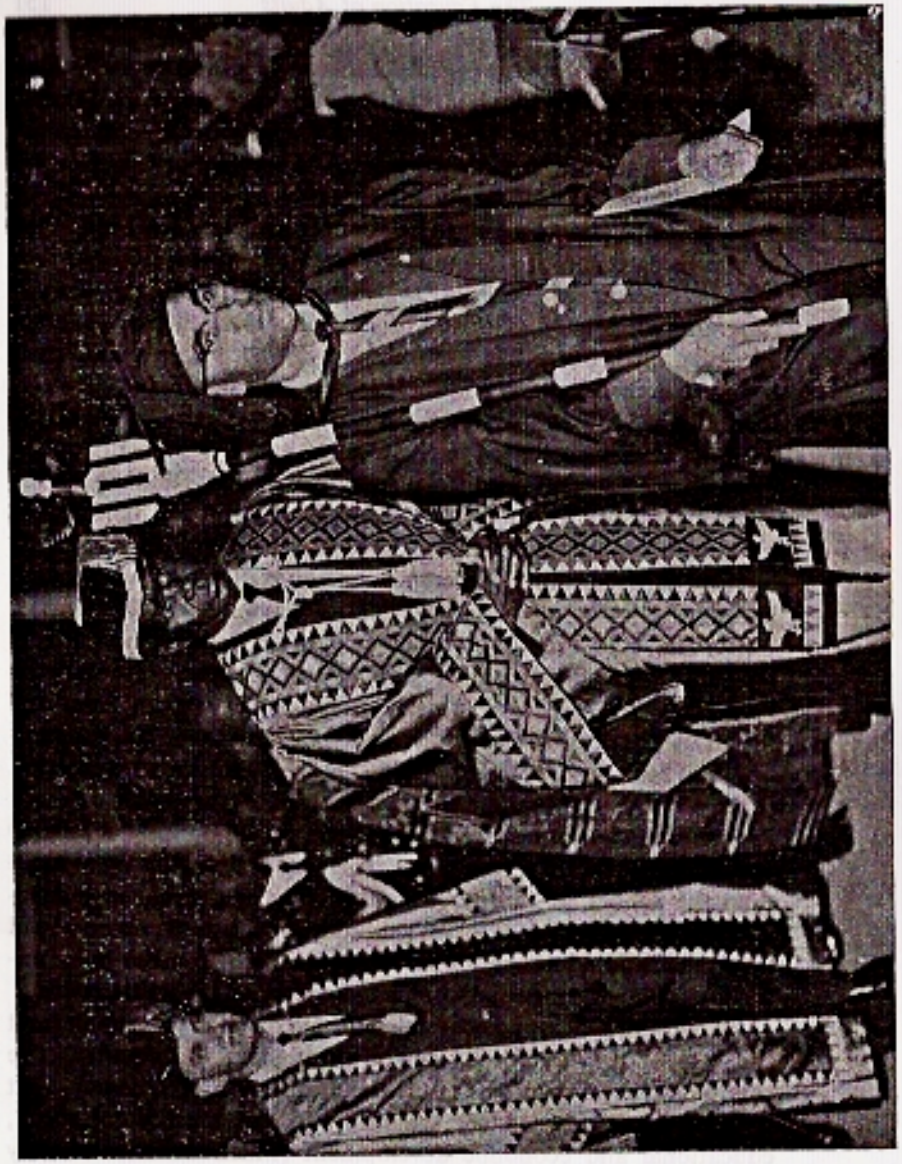
The courses offered by the Luanshya Correspondence Courses Unit have become popular and are in great demand by aspiring students throughout the country. A total of 730 students were enrolled for the junior secondary course in 1966—100 at the beginning of the year, another 300 in April and a further 300 in August.

In the same year, a start was made on the writing of G.C.E. courses in selected subjects. The real usefulness of the Correspondence Courses Unit is that those adults who, for one reason or another, are unable to attend normal evening class programmes are not denied the opportunity of improving their qualifications and playing their full part in the development of the country. Over 2,000 students were enrolled in the Ministry's Correspondence Courses Unit by the end of 1967. The Annual Report of the Ministry of Education for 1966 records the favourable impression gained by Dr. Edstrom, a Swedish correspondence education expert, after making a survey of correspondence education facilities in East and Central Africa on behalf of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. In his final report to the Foundation, Mr. Edstrom expressed the following opinion:

> Zambia is in the unique position, within the region dealt with by this report, of being the first country to enter upon a government correspondence education programme. Conceived as a pilot project, a Correspondence Courses Unit was established in 1964. . . . The foresight and imagination of education authorities in investigating possibilities of correspondence instrucion at a very early stage can serve as a model for educational development planning. . . . The contribution of the Correspondence Courses Unit in Zambia is impressive in view of the many difficulties that have had to be overcome.[5]

The Luanshya Correspondence Courses Unit has continued to supply correspondence material to night schools up to junior secondary level and to teachers of G.C.E. classes. The Unit has

The author



The installation of His Excellency President Kaunda as Chancellor of the University of Zambia, 12 July 1966

increased its activities by supplying lectures to Zambia Army and National Service.

THE ADULT LITERACY PROGRAMME

In Zambia, literacy campaigns which were previously organised by the African Education Department and, later, by the Commissioner for Rural Development, were largely ineffective. Though in the post-Second World War year much effort and devotion were given to the fight against illiteracy by individual officers, lack of funds and a properly organised and co-ordinated national scheme for adult literacy made it impossible to achieve significant progress. Early campaigns for adult literacy met with very limited success because the organisers did not appreciate that literacy is a tool for advancement and mass education for literacy represents futile efforts unless adequate suitable reading material is prepared. Otherwise, when students have mastered the literacy primer and are declared literate, they soon find that an enormous gulf exists between the primer and vernacular books or newspapers; they become discouraged and gradually lapse into illiteracy. Second, early campaigns for adult literacy did not relate literacy to economic development to provide the necessary incentive for sustained effort by adult students.

As we have stated previously, illiteracy is a serious handicap in the development of a country. The following startling facts concerning illiteracy were revealed after the 1963 population census:

Total population of Zambia:	3,408,000
Total adult (i.e. over 21 years) illiterate population:	1,247,000
Total male adult illiterates:	517,000
Total female adult illiterates:	730,000
Illiterate population between 13 and 21 years of age:	415,000
Estimated lapsed illiterates:	289,850

Percentages:

(i) approximately 67% of adults (both sexes) over 21 years illiterate.

(ii) approximately 80% of women over 21 years illiterate.

Thus, we find that at the time of independence in 1964 the number of adults who were unable to read and write represented about two-thirds of the nation's adult education population. Obviously from the view-point of national development, the large number of illiterate adults posed a serious difficulty to the new Government's desire to improve the living standards of all citizens and promote rapid economic progress. Consequently, preparations were made in 1965 by the Department of Community Development to launch a nation-wide adult literacy programme to begin in all provinces in 1966. Adult literacy was planned with two objectives in mind:

(a) First, the eradication of illiteracy in order to accelerate the spread of knowledge and the acquisition of better vocational skills for better standards of living; and

(b) Second, the utilisation of the programme as a through-going exercise in community self-organisation and voluntary service for the benefit of the individual and the nation.

The interesting feature of the adult literacy programme is that it is partly based on the expoitation of local enterprise in organising adult literacy classes. From the start there was a limit to the amount of money and the technical advice provided by the Government through the Department of Community Development. For example, the Government assumes responsibility only for (i) advising and helping groups in their own organisation; (ii) producing and distributing the necessary literacy materials; (iii) training the literacy personnel and the local volunteer literacy teachers; (iv) servicing literacy projects; (v) arranging for and issuing literacy certificates; and (vi) supplying and maintaining the equipment necessary for the effective operation of the programme. On their part, the communities are required to arrange the places and times to meet, and to find instructors and, if necessary, reward them. They are required also to ensure regular attendance by persons who enrol in these classes and to exercise due discipline on instructors and students alike. The educated members of the community are expected to provide the necessary leadership.

From its modest beginnings in 1965, the Adult Literacy Programme has become a nation-wide programme. By May 1966, an initial cadre of eleven trained literacy officers was deployed in the field.

More staff were provided in the following year, and by 1971 there were more than one hundred literacy officers throughout Zambia. Local authorities have now joined the adult literacy campaign, especially in the urban areas where each Municipal or City Council has at least one trained literacy officer.

Since the beginning of July 1971, concerted action has been taken by the Department of Community Development and other appropriate Government agencies to launch the functional literacy programmes side by side with the regular adult literacy classes. The new programme has been undertaken to enable participants to improve the economy and their own standard of living. In 1971, therefore, 252 experimental functional literacy classes involving 2,978 farmers were started in the Central and Southern Provinces. These farmers were trained to increase their maize yield through the experimental classes in literacy skills. This approach holds great promise not only for accelerating the literacy progress of participants, but also for inculcating in them new methods of agriculture, animal husbandry or any other selected field of economic development.

The high standard of adult literacy work in Zambia was publicly recognised on 8 September 1971 when Zambia received the Nadezhda W. Krupskaya international prize. Apart from the medal itself, the prize was worth also K4,046 in cash. The competition had been sponsored by UNESCO and 24 entries were received from all over the world. The importance of the Adult Literacy Programme cannot be over-emphasised. In 1971, only K350,000 was allocated for this programme. This was exactly fifty times more than the allocation of K7,000 for this effort at the time of independence. The provision of increased funds for this programme would help to expand adult literacy activities and so help many more unfortunate illiterate men and women to understand the written word.

Literacy broadcasting was inaugurated in 1969 to supplement the role of the literacy instructor throughout the country. The role of literacy broadcasts is (a) the eradication of illiteracy, that is basic illiteracy; and (b) the utilisation of literacy for social, educational and economic development (which we have already described as functional literacy). Literacy broadcasts are organised from the headquarters of the Ministry of Rural Development in order to co-ordinate with Farm Forum radio broadcasts and the Publication Section. The popularity of literacy broadcasts may be noted from the following:

XII

Desegregation of Schools

One of the most unmistakable features of educational administration in the colonial era was the rigid separation of races enforced at all levels of the education system and in all types of schools. By law and in practice separate schools were provided for African and European children. Later separate schools were also provided for Asian and Coloured children in areas with a concentration of these communities. White settlers imposed racial segregation in schools with the connivance and sometimes the tacit approval of the Colonial Office administration, for the sole purpose of enhancing the status of Europeans and perpetuating their dominance in practically every walk of life. With growing competition for jobs in industries and in offices, the African had begun to demonstrate his capacity and competence to perform jobs which required skills and training. In such circumstances, racial segregation was a convenient device for providing two parallel systems of education: one system catering for the educational needs of 'natives', with insufficient school places, inadequate school equipment, poor school buildings and with a predominantly ill-equipped teaching force; another system intended to provide superior educational facilities for non-African children, facilities which were in all respects as good as those provided overseas. The arrogant hard-core white racialists erroneously believed in the universal mental superiority of the European child whose educational progress might be seriously 'retarded' in mixed schools.

The real truth is that part of the white man's secret for preserving his superior status in pre-independence days lay in his effort to isolate himself from the African as much as possible, creating the white man's image of potent omniscience. Multi-racial sports were discouraged, and 'natives' in some towns were not even allowed to walk on pavements, although they were employed in domestic service to prepare meals and attend to the usual chores. The white man knew that familiarity breeds contempt! So, since the European adults were desperately anxious to protect their status and perpetuate

the myth of the white man's superiority, they considered it an almost sacred duty to safeguard their offspring from undue familiarity with Africans, indeed a vital duty for the preservation of the master-servant relationship.

The story of racial segregation in schools in the colonial period must be understood in this context. Progressive educationists and administrators, although for dubious mixed motives, made proposals from time to time for the introduction of multi-racial education without any success. Appeals fell on deaf ears, mainly due to the resistance and political influence of representatives of settler interests in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council. For example, in 1935 owing to the long illness of the Director of Native Education, the Department was adminstered by the Director of European Education in addition to his usual responsibilities. Following the successful administration of the two Departments, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, then Sir Hubert Young, proposed permanent amalgamation of the European and African Education Departments. Although the proposal was accepted by both the African and European Education Advisory Boards, it was rejected because 'strong opposition came from Elected Members (who were Europeans) in the Legislative Council.'[1]

The next important step concerning integration of the two education systems, at least in the administrative sense, was made by a Committee which was appointed in 1949 to investigate European Education in Northern Rhodesia, under the Chairmanship of Professor T. Williams, Principal of the Teachers' College, Johannesburg.[2] The Committee's Report dealt practically with every aspect of European Education and, to a certain extent, went beyond its terms of reference. It was described later as one of the most important documents to come out of Northern Rhodesia. One of the Committee's controversial recommendations concerned the amalgamation of the European and African Education Departments.[3] This recommendation, which merely sought to unify the administration of the two Departments at the headquarters level, generated heated discussions in the two Advisory Boards.

The public took up the issue in the local press, generally voicing uneasiness regarding the long-term implications of the proposal. The Administrative Secretary, who presented the Report in the Legislative Council, announced that the recommendation was unacceptable in its entirety. He stated, however, that while maintain-

ing two separate Departments under their respective heads, the Government was prepared to merge responsibilities of the two Departments under one political boss. At the same time, the Administrative Secretary announced that the Government was prepared to accept this recommendation of the Committee as 'an aim of policy'.[4] The Government's avowed long-term objective was not realised because the 'aim of policy' was subsequently overtaken by the imposition of Federation in 1953. European education became a Federal responsibility; African education remained a territorial responsibility. The white man's Federal Government was deeply committed to uphold the political, social and economic interests of the settlers. Therefore, during the period 1953 to 1963 the policy of separate educational facilities for children of different races—Africans, Europeans, Coloureds, Asians—was accelerated and educational inequalities became more pronounced.

In 1963, anticipating the return of European Education to the territorial Government at the end of Federation, the Government of Northern Rhodesia announced a scheme for the desegregation of schools in January 1964. Immediately, political pressure groups were organised to persuade the Government not to introduce drastic measures which might lead to wholesale racial integration in schools. Caution was therefore advised regarding the pace at which multi-racial education was to be introduced because the country still needed the services of expatriate professional men in Government service and in the private sector. The prospect of multi-racial education, therefore, aroused considerable anxieties among expatriates, even among the few who professed to hold liberal views on racial problems. They were not prepared for it—it had come too soon! Grace Keith has written the following vivid description of the dilemma of European parents at the prospect of multi-racial education;

> The very mention of the subject conjured up in their minds all sorts of ghastly prospects: educational standards would drop; classes would be too big; bright pupils would be held back by duller black ones; dull white children would be surpassed by clever black pupils—an unthinkable situation; good European teachers would leave and be replaced by inefficient black ones (would you like your child to be taught by a native?). African children would pass on to European children all kinds of unpleasant habits, not to mention fleas, bugs, lice and other unhygienic horrors. Another and more terrifying thought exercised the minds of these white parents. This was that their own well brought up children might have to share accommodation with African boys and girls, who were well known to be sexually precocious. Not only do African children tend to be earlier developers, physically, than European children, but it was common knowledge that, due to their starting school at a later age than white youngsters, they could be two to six years older than the average white child in the same form. . . . The outlook was fraught with danger. Multi-racial education—so far as Europeans were concerned—was a non-starter.[5]

It is important to stress that apprehensions about multi-racial education were not confined to European parents only. Among some misinformed Africans, the notion prevailed that young African children would not benefit from mixed schooling until their knowledge of English had improved. There was also the general suspicion that white teachers would neglect the educational interests of African children. The majority of African parents who were reluctant to send their children to mixed schools, when these became available at the beginning of 1964, were influenced by political considerations rather than by a genuine belief that their children's educational progress in mixed schools was uncertain. Private schools under the management of the Roman Catholic Church were the first predominantly European schools to open their doors to non-European children long before independence.

Since the African and non-African systems of education had developed in almost completely separate compartments, important administrative decisions had to be made in 1963 in order to regulate the smooth integration of races in hitherto non-African schools at the beginning of 1964. It was necessary to equalize as far as possible opportunities for schooling. But policy-making for racial integration in schools was a difficult exercise, partly because of the need to accommodate some of the fears of the Europeans and also because of major differences between the African and European systems of education. Furthermore, the Coalition Government of 1963 was not in any case sufficiently strong to introduce the major reforms required for accelerated integration of the races in former Federal schools. The major differences between the African and non-African education systems in 1963 were as follows:

(a) Syllabuses followed by teachers and primary and secondary schools were different.

(b) Different ages of entry to schools applied, generally five to five and one-half years in non-African primary school and seven to eight years in African schools.

(c) There was virtually universal entry to non-African schools when children reached the age of five and *compulsory* education for non-Africans between the ages of five and fifteen years. However, there was only a limited measure of compulsory education in 1963 in urban areas for African children from the age of about seven years. In the rest of the country the pyramid system of education at the primary level was conspicuous.

(d) Children in non-African schools proceeded automatically to Form I at the end of the primary segment of education. On the other hand, in African schools admission to secondary schools was based on a highly competitive selection examination.

(e) During the first four years of primary schooling, different languages were used for the instruction of pupils—the appropriate vernacular was used in African schools and English in non-African schools.

(f) In the African schools, day primary schools were generally co-educational, but by and large sexes were separated at the secondary level. In the non-African sector, however, co-education was common practice throughout the entire school system from primary to the end of secondary education. There were only two exceptions, at Lusaka and Kitwe, where boys and girls were provided with separate facitliies for secondary education.

RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS—PHASE I

The first and most difficult problem of integration in schools related to conditions of enrolment of pupils in hitherto non-African schools. Although non-African primary and secondary schools were known to have better educational facilities, their capacity for the enrolment of pupils was greatly limited. For example, primary school enrolment in 1963 in the predominantly African schools was 358,257, but in the ex-Federal primary schools the enrolment was only 11,314. Furthermore, this point may be more properly illustrated by1967 enrolment figures of Grade I pupils in schools in Lusaka and Kabwe. There were 9 scheduled primary schools in Lusaka with a Grade I enrolment of only 617. On the other hand, there were 29 unscheduled primary schools with a total enrolment of 4,958 in Grade I. In Kabwe there were 3 scheduled primary schools with an enrolment of 112 children in Grade I in 1967 against 14 unscheduled primary schools with an enrolment of 2,256 children in Grade I.

It is quite easy to see that these scheduled primary schools (that is the former European schools staffed by well qualified teachers, provided with good school libraries, playing fields, and, in many cases, swimming pools and gymnastic halls) formed only a small portion of the entire school system. It is quite easy to appreciate also that if no fee of any kind was charged, selection for Form I would have been very difficult since so many parents would have naturally wished to enrol their children in scheduled primary schools.

Therefore, the Government decided in 1963 to impose a tuition fee which parents who enrolled their children in January 1964 in ex-Federal schools were required to pay. The tuition fees announced in December of that year were as follows:

Primary and Secondary Schools

1st child	—	K48 per year
2nd child	—	K36 per year
3rd child	—	K24 per year
4th and subsequent children	—	Nil
Sixth Form	—	Free

There were hostels at some ex-Federal primary and secondary schools to which non-European children became eligible as boarders after the abolition of racial segregation in schools. The boarding fee was fixed at K162 per student per year as it had been for European pupils, with a remission of up to K60 per pupil depending on the parents' means.

In 1963, in preparation for racial integration in the schools, the Government considered policy on selection of pupils to secondary schools. It was decided in October 1963 to impose selection papers in English and arithmetic on pupils of all races intending to proceed to Form I. Therefore, 1964 marked the end of the privilege of European children (including Asian and Coloured children previously enrolled in ex-Federal schools) to progress automatically from primary to secondary schools. But built-in safeguards were at the same time introduced to ensure that the European children were not ousted from scheduled primary schools and secondary schools, at least in the first year (1964) of multi-racial education. The following passage from the Triennial Report of the Ministry of African Education throws light on this point:

> Arrangements therefore had to be made in some haste for selection papers in English and arithmetic to be written by all pupils of all races in the top classes of primary schools in October 1963; selection was based not only on the results of these tests but also on such factors as parents' wishes and children's ages. In addition it was stated that as a normal rule there should not be more than 25 per cent change in the racial composition of any class in 1964; the emphasis was on making racial integration in schools a gradual process.[6]

And the Report continues:

> A number of English-speaking parents have been worried lest an influx of non-English speaking children to infants' classes should retard the progress of the others.
> There clearly must be some point at which this will happen; figures ranging from 10 per cent to 20 per cent have been quoted from Kenya, Birmingham (England) and elsewhere. Present indications are that in no school in Northern Rhodesia will a difficult situation in this aspect arise in 1964, but the numbers of children and the classroom developments will have to be watched—and indeed more than watched. For here is room for constructive research and experiment. . . . There have been criticisms as to the method of implementation, but almost none as to the basic principles.[7]

RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS—PHASE II

The time at the disposal of educational administrators in 1963 was not sufficient to allow them to introduce a more comprehensive set of reforms for integration of the African and non-African school systems. Quick decisions had to be made on the basic principles for inter-racial education at the primary and secondary school levels. When the more representative Government was formed at the beginning of 1964, the education policy announced previously received closer attention and a more meaningful direction—the new policy demanded 'that the two systems should be integrated as far as possible into one system'.

The returns of enrolments in former Federal schools at the beginning of 1964 revealed that there were empty places which required to be filled urgently in terms of overall national needs. For example, in the first classes only of the primary and secondary schools there were over 1,131 vacancies representing about 5 per cent of the total school facilities in the fee-paying system. There were also many more empty places in the other classes of the system at the primary and secondary levels.

To arrive at a more comprehensive set of reforms which took account of the desire to maintain, as far as possible, traditional

standards in former European schools, while encouraging the maximum use of all the available facilities, working parties were established in each main centre. In addition to Ministry officials, teachers and headmasters, representatives of Municipal Councils, Parent-Teacher Associations, school councils and local education authorities were appointed members of working parties. Their terms of reference included practically all aspects of inter-racial education such as age-limits, sex, academic attainment, selection tests and school capacity and organisation. The recommendations of the working parties were considered by the Government as the bases for the following major decisions made in the second half of 1964:

(A) PRIMARY SCHOOLS

(i) The class nomenclature of both the fee-paying and non-fee-paying systems was changed. The terms 'reception' and 'sub-standard A' was abolished for the first class in each type of school. The term 'reception' had been used in former European primary schools and the term 'sub-standard A' in African schools. The first year of schooling was to be 'Grade I' and the final year 'Grade VII', which meant the introduction of a seven-year primary course in the African schools by elimination of 'Grade VIII'.

(ii) The age-range of entry of a child to the first year of the primary course was widened from 5 to 6½ years to 5 to 7 years in the fee-paying schools. The policy for admission to non-fee-paying schools remained unchanged. The change for fee-paying schools was designed to encourage increased enrolment of African children in these schools.

(iii) A knowledge of English was not to be considered necessary as a qualification of a child's entry to the new fee-paying primary schools. A knowledge of English, however, was considered desirable in some cases. Therefore, extra classes might be organised so that pupils whose mother tongue was not English might be brought up to a standard which would enable them to benefit fully from the education provided. Where such extra classes were organised, however, they were to be held in the afternoons or on Saturday mornings. Such classes were *not* to be 'established on a racial basis, but they were to be open to all pupils who were likely to be able to take advantage of the extra instruction and they were to be limited to the first term and only in Grade I'.

(iv) The following fee-paying primary schools which were seriously under-enrolled in 1964 were ordered to change their status in January 1965, and become either non-fee-paying primary schools (for use entirely by African school children) or adult education centres. This was to ensure that all available accommodation was used to the best and fullest advantage in accordance with the needs of the nation.

	Town	*School*
Southern Province	Choma	Swan
	Livingstone	Blue Gum
Central Province	Kabwe	Broken Hill Infants
Western Province	Chingola	Twin Rivers
	Luanshya	J. B. Clark
	Mufulira	Mary Moffat
	Ndola	Ndola Primary (which became an Adult Education Centre).

(v) All pupils in the last year of primary schools, both fee-paying and non-fee-paying, were required to sit the Secondary Selection Examination in order to proceed to secondary schools. The examination was to be 'devised as a non-verbal test of ability dependent to the minimum extent possible on the mother tongue and environment'.

(vi) The tuition fees set in 1963 were drastically reduced because their high level was a contributory cause of the unexpectedly small numbers of African children who enrolled in fee-paying schools in 1964. Tuition fees in 1965 were set at only K24 per annum for one child and no remissions were to be allowed.

(B) SECONDARY SCHOOLS

(i) From January 1965, the term 'high school' was to cease and all secondary schools were to be known as such.

(ii) Although the normal age of entry to Form I for non-African children was between 11½ and 13½ years, African children normally reached the secondary stage at 15 or 16 years of age because they did not usually enter school until 7 or 8 years of age. Therefore, from January 1965, pupils who would not have reached their seventeenth birthday by March 1965, were eligible for selection for Form I.

(iii) Sixth Form courses were to be abolished in accordance with the Recommendations of the Lockwood Commission on the establishment of the University of Zambia with 'O' level as the basic qualification for admission of students to a four- or five-year degree course.

(iv) From January 1965, no tuition fees were to be charged for Form I pupils, and this abolition was to be carried forward annually as the pupils concerned moved up the schools. On the other hand, tuition fees for other secondary classes were set at K36 per annum without any remissions.

(C) GENERAL

(i) Boarding fees at hostels in fee-paying schools were not changed—the rate was K162 per annum for pupils residing outside a nine-mile radius of a fee-paying school. Pupils residing within a nine-mile radius of the school were required to obtain permission from the Headquarters of the Ministry of Education before admission at the rate of K240 per student for one year.

(ii) The school bus service which was subsidised by the Government for the benefit of non-African pupils was to be discontinued at the end of 1964.

(iii) School grants in 1965 and in subsequent years were to be paid on the same basis.

(iv) The Government was to continue payment of grants to private schools on a *per capita* basis on K20 and K40 for primary and secondary school pupils respectively.

(D) VERNACULAR TEACHING IN SCHEDULED SCHOOLS

When the use of English was adopted as a medium of instruction in all classes of unscheduled primary schools, the Government decided to introduce compulsory vernacular teaching in all scheduled primary schools from Grade III upward. It was considered desirable to give all children entering Grade III in scheduled schools, whether Africans, Asians or Europeans, an opportunity of learning a vernacular language. The scheme was introduced for the first time in 1966 in selected scheduled primary schools in Ndola, Lusaka, Livingstone and Choma where the local vernacular language taught was as follows:

were unable to adjust themselves to the new conditions in schools; others were merely eager to terminate their services and obtain the 'golden hand-shake' (i.e. inflated gratuity payment) and then seek new pastures elsewhere. But with the Government's successful recruitment campaign the former European primary schools have continued to be staffed by well qualified teachers. In fact, there are reasons for believing that in the period following the reassumption of responsibility for the education of all children in Zambia, the standards of education in all types of primary schools have risen steadily. More generous equipment funds are provided, the facilities for educational television have been improved and classroom instruction in upper primary is supplemented by lessons from the educational broadcasting unit.

Although figures alone do not tell the full story of the success of multi-racial education in Zambia, they at least reflect the attitude of parents of different races towards former European schools—primary and secondary. Since 1964 there has been a sharp fall in the number of European children who have continued to enrol in these schools. There have been a variety of reasons for this trend. First, in the effort to achieve a unified system of secondary education, courses which were provided exclusively for non-African school children during the Federation were removed progressively from the curriculum. Soon after independence, the 'A' and 'M' level courses offered previously in ex-Federal schools were eliminated. Later, the College of Preceptors Examination was subsequently removed. This was an unpopular decision among the European community whose children were required afterwards to sit the local Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination. Second, even the few 'liberal' European parents who were happy to allow their children to continue schooling in inter-racial secondary schools received little encouragement with the award of generous education allowances by big industrial groups to their employees for the education of their children outside Zambia.

So in recent years most parents who have no intention of making Zambia their permanent home have sent their children to secondary schools in Great Britain or South Africa where they intend to settle afterwards. It is difficult to believe that Europeans, expatriate or local, who have sent their children outside Zambia for secondary education have had genuine fears about falling academic standards in former European secondary schools. The fact is that, with the

eligibility of African children for admission to hitherto European secondary schools, the competition for places has become acute. Few white students have relished the idea of competition between black and white in schools. It is known that a number of European children have been unsuccessful in the Secondary Selection Examinations. The following tables illustrate the racial pattern of enrolment of pupils in scheduled primary and secondary schools:

Primary	*1964*	*1965*	*1966*	*1967*
African	204	1,132	1,784	2,773
European	8,468	7,779	7,061	6,220
Asian	2,118	2,383	2,782	3,030
Eurafrican	524	630	588	720
Totals	11,314	11,924	12,215	12,743

Secondary	*1964*	*1965*	*1966*	*1967*
African	142	1,466	2,876	3,994
European	3,601	2,859	1,689	835
Asian	607	731	725	782
Eurafrican	130	171	210	252
Totals	4,480	5,227	5,491	5,863

Although ex-Federal primary schools retained a modest tuition fee of K24 per annum for one child, nonetheless there has been a steady increase in the number of non-European children, especially Africans, who have enrolled in these schools since 1964. The increase in the number of pupils of African origin enrolling each year in former European schools has been steady, although such schools are situated in central parts of Zambia's towns and cities, quite remote from concentrated residential areas; the transport of children to these schools is usually a difficult problem unless they have access to a family car. Previously the high cost of school uniforms had the tendency of discouraging parents from enrolling their children in mixed schools. The Ministry of Education decided in 1967 to standardise the scale of basic uniforms for which the maximum rates to be paid by parents were laid down for the guidance of Heads of schools. However, Heads of schools are allowed to

(B) AGE OF ENTRY TO PRIMARY SCHOOLS

The Government decided in August 1972 to rationalise the question of age of entry to all Government (and Aided) primary schools. It was decided to maintain the overall policy on the age of entry to primary schools as in the former 'non-scheduled' or predominantly African schools. The policy is that children will be eligible for entry to Grade I if, on 31 January of the year of enrolment, they have attained the age of 7, but not that of 9 years.

In order to avoid disruption of school organisation in the former scheduled primary schools and in deference to the anxieties of the expatriate parents of school-going children, it was decided to postpone by one year the phased increase in the age of entry to these schools. It was appreciated that parents, both Zambians and expatriates, whose earlier preference was the former scheduled primary schools for their children's education, needed sufficient time to accommodate themselves to the new policy. The following procedure was, therefore, laid down for age of entry to primary schools.[8]

(i) *For January, 1972*
A child was of an appropriate age for enrolment at a former scheduled primary school as a pupil in Grade I if he/she had attained the age of five years but not six years on 31st January, 1972.
(ii) *For January, 1973*
The same rule as for 1972.
(iii) *For January, 1974*
A child will be of an appropriate age for enrolment in Grade I at a former scheduled primary school if he will have attained the age of six years, but not have attained the age of seven years on 31st January, 1974.
(iv) *For January, 1975*
A child will be of an appropriate age for enrolment in Grade I at a former scheduled primary school if he will have attained the age of seven years, but not have attained the age of nine years.

The instructions of the Ministry of Education and Culture provide for preferential treatment of expatriates' children who are not permanently domiciled in Zambia. From January 1974 non-Zambians may, therefore, enter their children to Grade I at the current age of entry to Grade I (or its equivalent) in their home country, that is at the age of five or six years as the case may be. Heads of primary schools may require any non-Zambian parent to produce documentary evidence of his place of permanent domicile. Many Zambians have expressed bitter opposition to a new discriminatory provision relating to age of entry into Grade I in Government schools. A more equitable rationalisation of rules for admission of children to Grade I should be applied to all the children, whether their parents are permanently domiciled outside Zambia or not. The concession of allowing children of non-Zambians to enrol their children in Grade I at the current age of entry to Grade I in their home country was inevitable. We have observed earlier chapters that Zambia will need skilled expatriates for many years to come. Few expatriates with children of school-going age would be willing to accept appointment in the teaching service, the medical profession, mining and related specialised fields without definite assurance that the education of their children will not suffer. Already, the children of expatriates form a small proportion of the total number of pupils enrolled in ex-Federal primary schools. As more expatriate skilled workers are replaced by Zambians from universities and similar institutions, the problem will gradually be insignificant.

THE FUTURE OF MULTI-RACIAL SCHOOLS

Grace Keith has written that in 1964 apprehensive European parents considered multi-racial education 'a non-starter'. In 1964 and in 1965 many prophets of doom and alarmists continued to disparage all efforts to promote multi-racial education and to show that it could work successfully in Zambia. Government assurances that the accepted standards of education would not be lowered were not readily accepted among a section of the country's expatriate community. The truth is that many European residents who sought to denigrate the introduction of inter-racial education would have wished to see education organised on a racial basis after the dissolution of the Federation. Indications are that the non-European children who have enrolled in multi-racial schools have not suffered any significant handicaps, reports of racial incidents in schools have been few, and the European children have found the added competition a stimulus for harder work and progress. Teachers who had limited experience previously of teaching either Asians or Europeans have found pleasure in teaching pupils whose backgrounds and cultures are varied.

Of course, a very large proportion of men and women who were teachers when inter-racial schooling was introduced in 1964 have resigned from the teaching service and left the country; some

encourage parents to provide non-essential items of school uniform, such as shoes, socks, ties on an optional basis and it is clearly understood that many parents will be unable to afford them.

The Ministry has always recognised the good effect which a [illegible] school uniform can produce in maintaining the [illegible] and in fostering habits of cleanliness and self-respect. Nevertheless, the overall interests of the nation cannot be sacrificed merely to attain these limited objectives. [illegible] approach to the problem of school uniforms in these words:

> 'Educational privilege based on race has been eliminated from our schools and will not be replaced by an equally obnoxious form of privilege which would confer educational opportunities on the children of parents who were able to afford to buy school uniforms. No child in Zambia is to be denied a place in school because he or she cannot produce a pair of [illegible] encourage parents to provide their children with uniforms, but they cannot *compel* them to do so. They must not refuse to enrol, and neither must they punish, children who lack uniforms.'

These questions should now be asked: What is the future of such former schools? Have they any place in the Zambian society? If they have, will the Government uphold the undertaking that there shall be no lowering of standards? At the end of 1969, all former scheduled secondary schools became absorbed in the stream of existing predominantly African secondary schools. Students enrolled in Form I in scheduled Government secondary schools in 1969 were the last to pay tuition fees. Only 855 European children were enrolled in these schools in 1967, whereas in 1964 the number was 5,007. The Ministry of Education and Culture no longer provides classification of pupils according to race in the official statistical returns because the numbers of non-African pupils in ex-Federal schools are now insignificant. All schools in Zambia, primary and secondary, are multi-racial and free; even private schools where pupils pay tuition fees are completely mixed.

As regards the future, an important principal is involved. In any multi-racial society, educational opportunities should be equal for all children irrespective of their race. The second equally important issue concerns the broad nature and purpose of the

Ndola	Chibemba
Lusaka	Chinyanja
Livingstone	Silozi
Choma	Chitonga

The 1967 [illegible] scheme did not expand as previously envisaged owing to the difficulty of finding teachers, and it was again confined to Grade III and IV in selected [illegible] primary schools.

The children in Grade III and IV who attended Chibemba lessons in Ndola have shown considerable interest and made remarkable progress. They had the benefit of effective well planned vernacular programmes presented by the Educational Television Service in Kitwe. These programmes were so popular that they were seen not only by school children to whom they were directed but also by members of the general public.

RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS—PHASE II

There were three specific features which characterised former European schools at the primary level in 1970, six years after independence. In the non-scheduled primary schools which were predominantly for African children, the age of entry to Grade I was between 7 and 9 years. In the scheduled primary schools, however, the age for admission to Grade I was from 5 to 6½ years. Children who enrolled at first in Grade I in the scheduled primary schools were certain to complete the course at least a year or two earlier than children who enrolled in the non-scheduled primary schools. The children enrolled in the scheduled schools had therefore an advantage over those children who entered Grade I classes at the age of seven or eight in non-scheduled primary schools.

As practically all primary schools which were exclusively for European children before independence were situated in the residential areas for parents with high incomes, it was mostly the children of expatriates and the Zambian elite who enrolled as pupils in scheduled primary schools. They were regarded as institutions for privileged children whose parents could afford to pay the tuition fee of K24 per year for each child, a fee which was not in any case excessive. These schools usually had additional facilities such as libraries, swimming pools, assembly halls and workshops. On the other hand, tuition in the non-scheduled primary schools has always been completely free, although such schools lack the additional educational facilities such as libraries provided at ex-Federal schools.

education which we seek to offer to children in schools. We seek primarily to develop the individual personalities of our pupils in schools, to encourage imagination and not memory, and to teach the fundamentals of knowledge and the interdependence of members of a community. It follows that after independence educational apartheid became intolerable. The policy of the Government in Zambia is to build a non-racial society and to forge from the diverse elements in it a single nation. Multi-racial schools, therefore, provide opportunities for instilling mutual understanding and respect among children of all races in Zambia.

The rapid integration of the two systems which has been achieved in the short six-year period since independence should not be allowed to lower the standards of education in former European primary schools. Already, the experience in Zambia has shown that school integration acts as a stimulus for the improvement of the quality of education in schools. Even schools in remote areas of the country which are not multi-racial will in the long term benefit. The Government's aim is to gradually raise the standards of such [illegible] in an infinitely better position than the village lad of the same age and intelligence to whom these facilities are unknown. This is because it is almost impossible to devise a test of pupils' intelligence which will not reflect to some extent the health and environmental differences of pupils.

At the beginning of 1970, there were 2,664 primary schools of all types. The number of Government scheduled primary schools was 48, which was nearly 2 per cent of the total number of primary schools. These figures clearly show that the influence of scheduled

The scheduled primary schools were anomalous in the education system as a whole. Only a very small, virtually negligible, percentage of children were enrolled in ex-Federal primary schools in 1970. To the few, however, whose children were enrolled in these schools, their importance was inestimable. The schools bore the stigma of exclusive educational institutions for the rich or *bapamwamba*, a kind of derogatory term used to describe the privileged group. Like the expatriates, the *bapamwamba* had a vested interest after independence to perpetuate scheduled primary schools. To the Government, however, the existence of scheduled and non-scheduled primary schools meant the perpetuation of inequality of educational opportunities.

Two important decisions were, therefore, made by the Government in 1971 and 1972 to remove the final vestiges of inequality in the opportunities available to children of all races to enroll in the well-staffed and well-equipped ex-Federal primary schools.

(A) DE-SCHEDULING OF SCHOOLS AND HOSTELS

[illegible]

The effect of these measures was to de-schedule, at the beginning of 1971, the primary and secondary schools which had come under the control of the Government after the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at the end of 1963. The nomenclature for the former 'scheduled' and 'non-scheduled' primary and secondary schools became simply 'Government primary' or 'secondary schools', as the case might be, from January 1971.

primary schools in the whole education system was very little. With the abolition of tuition fees at the end of 1970 in the scheduled primary schools, the term 'scheduled primary school' is now obsolete. The former European primary schools, like the former secondary schools for European children only in the Federal days, are now classified as 'Government Schools', distinct from schools classified as 'Aided schools' or 'Private schools'. The process of integration in schools in Zambia is now purely of historical interest—it is a story of success in spite of what critics, black and white, have said in the past.

[1] A. J. Saich, op. cit., p. 12.
[2] Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate European Education (Lusaka, 1948).
[3] ibid., p. 7 (paragraph 19).
[4] Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates: 1 April 1949, p. 465.
[5] Grace Keith, *The Fading Colour Bar* (London, Robert Hale, 1966), pp. 155–6.
[6] Triennial Survey (1961 to 1963) of the Ministry of African Education, paragraph 75.
[7] ibid., paragraph 78.
[8] Ministry of Education and Culture Circular No. 18 of 1972.
[9] Extract from Ministry of Education Circular Minute No. 3 of 1967 on the subject of 'School Uniforms'.

XIII

Higher Education

> For years I have looked forward to the day when a University would emerge in this country. . . . But the creation of the University of Zambia is much more than a matter of sentiment with me. Many of our hopes for the future of our land and its people are wrapped up in this institution. Without it, we cannot hope to become the nation we want Zambia to be. The University of Zambia is one of the keys that can open the door of the future and help us to overcome the persisting evils of poverty, ignorance and disease.[1]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The establishment of the University of Zambia in March 1966 was a momentous occasion. It was the culmination of several years of eager expectation on the part of the people of Zambia to found their own higher educational establishment which would function as the peak of the educational ladder for their sons and daughters, but the story of the creation of a university institution in Zambia is marked by bitter, unfortunate, agonising, indecisive acts of the Colonial Government, complicated before independence by the rival aspirations of the Southern Rhodesian settlers.

As we have indicated in an earlier chapter, in the years from 1925 to 1940, that is during the colonial governors' early years of responsibility for African education, little thought was given to the needs of Africans for secondary education, let alone higher education facilities.

Writing about the origins of secondary education in Zambia, Trevor Coombe has stated that when the Currie Report on Higher Education in British Tropical Africa was presented to the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in 1933, it was subsequently circulated to all colonial governors in the following year. He has stated that it did not create a notable impression in Northern Rhodesia. Response was conveyed in a report by the Acting Director of Native Education who merely stated that 'No Africans in the territory would be requiring higher education in the future.'[2] Not long afterwards, mainly through the initiative of the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Hubert Young, a scheme for 'secondary

education and university and post-secondary education for Africans' was discussed. There was no significant outcome of the discussions on both secondary and higher education for Africans at this inter-territorial conference, which resolved that 'There is a need for secondary education for some natives in all three territories, the number being limited by the conditions obtaining in each.' In fact, the idea of a higher education institution for Africans died away until its revival immediately after the Second World War.

Following the development of higher educational institutions in various parts of Africa after the Second World War, the Government of Northern Rhodesia began to push forward plans for a Central African University College for Africans. As a result, the old Central African Council appointed a special committee to investigate the need for 'a college for the higher education of Africans'. The deliberations of the Committee resulted in a recommendation for the establishment of a University College, to be located near Lusaka, as a matter of urgency. However, the Committee's recommendations were not received with enthusiasm by the Southern Rhodesian Government, which had made its own arrangements for the establishment of a University College in Southern Rhodesia for European interests.

Early in 1951, the South African Government decided to forbid the admission of non-Europeans to universities and other higher educational institutions in South Africa. Consequently, there was great difficulty in finding university places at Fort Hare University College and other South African universities for a small but increasing number of qualified African students from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Eventually, a British Commission on Higher Education for Africans in Central African was appointed in 1952, headed by an outstanding academician, Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders. The report of the Commission was submitted in March 1953 after an exhaustive study of the rival claims of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland for the establishment of an institution that would meet the needs of the three territories. At this stage the Southern Rhodesian Government pressed for the siting of the University in Southern Rhodesia in the hope that funds would then become available from the British Government for building the institution. Reluctantly, therefore, the idea of multi-racialism in higher education was accepted by Southern Rhodesia. The Commission recommended siting the institution in Salisbury,

Southern Rhodesia on the clear understanding that 'all students irrespective of race be admitted on a basis of equality'.

It is understandable that a Commission which was dominated by scholars nurtured in the tradition of absolute equality among inmates of British universities should have emphasised this point. But it is also interesting to reflect that one member of the commission regarded at that time, that is 20 years ago, as a liberal, dissociated himself from this condition. A minority report was, therefore, written by Dr. Alexander Kerr, former Principal of the South African Native College, which subsequently became the University College of Fort Hare. He maintained that acceptance of the establishment of the new higher educational institution on the basis of absolute equality between the races was impracticable. He contended that so long as Europeans maintained political control, the interests of Africans were bound to be undermined. He therefore recommended the establishment of a university institution in Lusaka, only for non-Europeans.

The events of the last 20 years bear clear testimony to the wisdom and prophetic ideas of Dr. Alexander Kerr. The white settlers in Southern Rhodesia have never intended to encourage any degree of equality among African and European students enrolling at the University College in Salisbury. So the next step was the establishment of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which was supported by Southern Rhodesia, as a multi-racial institution purely for the sake of obtaining a grant from the British Government of three million Kwacha which was required to develop the College in Salisbury and to prevent the creation of a rival University College in Lusaka. The University College in Salisbury failed hopelessly to win the confidence of African students from outside Southern Rhodesia.

The story of the declining of popularity among Africans from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia before the end of Federation is clearly illustrated in the following passage from the Triennial Survey of the Ministry of African Education 1961 to 1963:

> African students from Northern Rhodesia have continued to enrol at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. On 31 January, 1963, the Minister of African Education made a statement in Legislative Council on behalf of the Government. He stated, 'It is a sad fact that this University College is not popular with Northern Rhodesian African students. I say that it is a sad fact because the degrees provided at Salisbury, being those

primary schools in the whole education system was very little. With the abolition of tuition fees at the end of 1970 in the scheduled primary schools, the term 'scheduled primary school' is now obsolete. The former European primary schools, like the former secondary schools for European children only in the Federal days, are now classified as 'Government Schools', distinct from schools classified as 'Aided schools' or 'Private schools'. The process of integration in schools in Zambia is now purely of historical interest—it is a story of success in spite of what critics, black and white, have said in the past.

[1] A. J. Saich, op. cit., p. 12.
[2] Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate European Education (Lusaka, 1948).
[3] ibid., p. 7 (paragraph 19).
[4] Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates: 1 April 1949, p. 465.
[5] Grace Keith, *The Fading Colour Bar* (London, Robert Hale, 1966), pp. 155–6.
[6] Triennial Survey (1961 to 1963) of the Ministry of African Education, paragraph 75.
[7] ibid., paragraph 78.
[8] Ministry of Education and Culture Circular No. 18 of 1972.
[9] Extract from Ministry of Education Circular Minute No. 3 of 1967 on the subject of 'School Uniforms'.

XIII

Higher Education

> For years I have looked forward to the day when a University would emerge in this country. . . . But the creation of the University of Zambia is much more than a matter of sentiment with me. Many of our hopes for the future of our land and its people are wrapped up in this institution. Without it, we cannot hope to become the nation we want Zambia to be. The University of Zambia is one of the keys that can open the door of the future and help us to overcome the persisting evils of poverty, ignorance and disease.[1]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The establishment of the University of Zambia in March 1966 was a momentous occasion. It was the culmination of several years of eager expectation on the part of the people of Zambia to found their own higher educational establishment which would function as the peak of the educational ladder for their sons and daughters, but the story of the creation of a university institution in Zambia is marked by bitter, unfortunate, agonising, indecisive acts of the Colonial Government, complicated before independence by the rival aspirations of the Southern Rhodesian settlers.

As we have indicated in an earlier chapter, in the years from 1925 to 1940, that is during the colonial governors' early years of responsibility for African education, little thought was given to the needs of Africans for secondary education, let alone higher education facilities.

Writing about the origins of secondary education in Zambia, Trevor Coombe has stated that when the Currie Report on Higher Education in British Tropical Africa was presented to the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in 1933, it was subsequently circulated to all colonial governors in the following year. He has stated that it did not create a notable impression in Northern Rhodesia. Response was conveyed in a report by the Acting Director of Native Education who merely stated that 'No Africans in the territory would be requiring higher education in the future.'[2] Not long afterwards, mainly through the initiative of the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Hubert Young, a scheme for 'secondary

of London University, are of a high standard and Northern Rhodesia contributed substantially to the building of the college which was designed as its name indicates—to serve the whole of Central African. Unhappily, the fact that the college was situated in Salisbury has made it an object of suspicion. Political strains and stresses in Southern Rhodesia have been reflected in the life of the college and made the development of a happy, united community, difficult."[a]

As early as September 1962, at the Tananarive Conference sponsored by UNESCO on the development of higher education in Africa, Northern Rhodesian delegates began quietly to solicit support for the establishment of a higher educational institution in Lusaka, in anticipation of the advent of a predominantly African Government at the end of 1962. Planners, however, even at this late stage did not envisage that Africans in Northern Rhodesia intended a complete break with the Southern Rhodesian university institution. Early in March 1963 the new Government appointed a high-powered commission, led by the late Sir John Lockwood, a former Vice Chancellor of London University, which investigated the feasibility of a university for Northern Rhodesia. The report was submitted to the Government at the end of 1963 and was acclaimed as a most progressive document because the commissioners made radical proposals for the new university. Indeed, in every way it represented a landmark in the educational development of Zambia and of Africa as a whole.

SIXTH FORM

One of the basic recommendations in the Lockwood Report was that admission to the new University of Zambia was to be based upon the 'O' level qualifications of applicants in acceptable subjects. This recommendation marked a distinct departure from the traditional qualifications for admission to British universities and the institutions of higher learning in African countries which were modelled mainly on the Oxbridge pattern. The Commission's view was that it was desirable to avoid in the University of Zambia mistakes made in other parts of Africa where university curricula, syllabuses and other requirements were merely carbon copies of the Oxbridge regulations. It was essential that the new university must be geared to serve 'the real needs' of the nation. The 'O' level qualification for admission to universities was acceptable in various parts of the world including the U.S.A., and U.S.S.R. When Sir

Charles Ponsonby and his colleagues reported in 1964 on the admission requirements to the University College in Salisbury, they called for the abandonment of 'A' level entry. They stated: 'We are bound to remind ourselves that universities of such countries as Scotland, Northern Ireland, Australia and New Zealand (to mention only four) today begin teaching their students at an earlier stage of their educational progress than is called for by the college's present requirements.' Indeed, the trend in Africa is away from the Sixth Form as some Nigerian universities have wisely decided by the adoption of both 'A' and 'O' level entry qualifications for degree courses. It is important to observe that the acceptance of the 'O' level qualification for admission to the University of Zambia was made on the condition that a minimum period of four years was required to prepare students for the general arts or science degrees. Students must complete sixteen courses (four each year) for a degree and a student achieves majors by concentration on a majority of courses in particular subjects of competency and interest.

Opinion in regard to the abolition of Sixth Form has been varied in Zambia. First, the expatriates, many of whom had expected their children would obtain Sixth Form qualifications in Zambia, were greatly disappointed. There have been a number of Zambians who, overly influenced by the British pattern of education, wrongly viewed the introduction of the new entry qualification as a measure designed to introduce an inferior degree course.

The plain fact is that it would have been very difficult to establish a local university college with a sufficiently large number of Zambian students on the basis of the Sixth Form qualifications for entry. The base had to be broadened in order to ensure that annual intake was reasonable and a fair building-up of residential students was achieved over a few years, making the institution worthwhile and more geared to meet the country's needs. In any event, it is quite clear that expansion of facilities for Sixth Form would not only have been an expensive exercise, leading to the extension of selected secondary schools and equipping them; but the staffing of new Sixth Forms with expert teachers in mathematics, geography, English, French and other subjects would have been an extremely difficult exercise. For example, despite the concentration of the best qualified masters at Munali Secondary School for Sixth Form work, from 1957 to 1962 a total of 173 Higher School Certificate candidates were presented for examinations and only 75, that is about 21 per

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cent, obtained full Higher School Certificates. A slightly higher number of candidates were able to obtain passes in two major subjects. On the other hand, where all preparatory work for undergraduate studies is done in the first year at the University campus, the necessary facilities are provided under one roof more adequately and more cheaply. The lecturers responsible for teaching first-year students are experts in their subjects who may also be responsible for providing instruction to advanced students in the University.

Indeed, there have been indications in recent years that re-thinking about the role of the Sixth Form in the United Kingdom has gained momentum. Reports have been published in which the narrow approach of the Sixth Form courses has been deplored by educators. Today, a large number of teenagers are capable of pursuing advanced courses in the more liberal atmosphere of a college by the time they have passed their 'O' level examinations. And since this is certainly true in Europe and North America, it is, *a fortiori*, likely to be true in Zambia where 'O' level is normally taken as late as the age of eighteen or even nineteen. Again, from an economic point of view, the advantages of entry at 'O' level are compelling. It is known that the University, with its more highly trained staff and superior facilities, can teach in one year what it takes secondary schools two years to do in Sixth Form classes. There is, of course, as stated previously, a special problem in mathematics and natural sciences when the dearth of teachers and laboratory equipment make it increasingly doubtful whether schools in Zambia can be developed to undertake this essential pre-university education.

A distinguished Nigerian educator has expressed grave doubts about the value and propriety of 'A' level courses in Nigeria. Professor Fafunwa has also questioned the wisdom of basing admission to universities in Africa on 'A' level qualifications when such conditions for entry should be regarded rather as 'the exception in the world and not the rule'. A. B. Fafunwa has suggested that:

> (i) Each country's educational system must by and large be geared to its needs and circumstances.
> (ii) The Sixth Form is inadequate as the main source of recruitment for university places in Nigeria. It is an unnecessary bottleneck inhibiting development at present, if it is to become the *only* source from where universities can draw their candidates especially for science and applied courses.
> (iii) The specialised Sixth Form is "the expection in the world and not the rule." Nothing can be nobler than for a country to emulate the "best of its kind" but by the same token can anything be more harmful to a country than for it to set its target on "an exception" particularly at the expense of its urgent manpower needs and economic development. It is unlikely that Nigeria is wiser academically than the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and many other advanced countries that follow a more realistic programme in higher education (it would appear that Nigeria is still closely tied to the academic apron strings of Britain, political independence notwithstanding).
> (iv) Statistics show that the Nigerian universities cannot meet their enrolment requirements for some years to come if the basis of admission is restricted solely to those with the Higher School Certificate and G.C.E. Advanced level, particularly in science and technology.
> (v) The quality of Sixth Form work as it is pursued in Nigeria has yet to be fully assessed in terms of Nigeria's needs and aspirations.
> (vi) A preliminary sample study of the performance of the Advance level studies attempted in 1961-1962 academic year indicated no significant difference between the Advance level group and the West African School Certificate group.
> One can only hope that each individual African country would at least consider its own manpower needs very carefully and not succumb to the "international gold standard" in determining its admission requirements.[4]

THE LOCKWOOD REPORT

When the Lockwood Report was published, it engendered considerable excitement in university circles. In many ways the recommendations in the Lockwood Report broke new ground and charted a plan hitherto scarcely known in the development of new universities in Africa. In the past, the idea has prevailed that new universities established in Africa required to enter into some 'special relationship' with a long established university in order to ensure that the new African university gained the confidence of the academic world. The idea was that sponsorship of a new university by metropolitan universities of world-wide reputation would guarantee the degree offered by the new African universities. Sponsorship meant, therefore, that the metropolitan university undertook to support the new university with the much needed staff for teaching and research functions, but it also meant that the metropolitan university assumed responsibility for the syllabuses and curricula as well as qualifications for entry to various degree courses. Such special relationships for the universities in the developing countries tended inevitably to restrict the new universities with regard to what had to be taught in various subjects and the curricula of the degrees offered. In other words, the actual needs of students, or even the needs of the countries which these new universities were intended to serve, were almost completely ignored. It was not uncommon in the early days of these new

universities in various parts of Africa and the West Indies to place considerable emphasis on classical subjects, Greek and Latin as well as English literature being the regular Bachelor of Arts degree subjects.

At the same time, considerable specialization was encouraged for capable students who took the honours degrees. For example, Sir Eric Ashby in *African Universities and Western Tradition* has stated that:

> Until comparatively recently no African language could be studied at university level in West Africa, not even Arabic, but Latin, Greek and the history of the Greeks and Romans were put, as Europe had put them for centuries, at the core of the humanities. In Ghana, in the session 1959-1960, twelve under-graduates were devoting their *full time* to Latin, Greek and Ancient History. In Ibadan while the University College was in special relation with London, there were seven one subject honours schools. . . . It is not, of course, only the British who have carried this particular manifestation of European cultural nationalism into African universities. The curriculum in Louvanium University in Leopoldville, for example, faithfully reflects the curriculum of Louvain in Belgium.[5]

Therefore, to obviate the difficulties and handicaps which earlier African universities established in the tradition of British universities had encountered, the Lockwood Commission recommended that the new University of Zambia was to be a fully fledged university from the start. In other words, no special relationship between the new university and an established university such as London or Manchester was recommended. This meant that the new university would start with the advantage of offering its own degrees and diplomas, working out its own curricula and syllabuses. It is true that that scheme of 'special relationship' between the new university and an old university was restrictive, notwithstanding the flexibility allowed for new syllabuses more in keeping with the requirements of students in the developing world. After all, eventual responsibility for degree course examinations was the metropolitan university's concern and it had to ensure that the usual provisions were generally accepted. It is partinent to remark that some French universities, and in particular the Belgian-sponsored University of Louvanium in Kinshasa, allowed a measure of flexibility. In these institutions, arrangements at a fairly early stage had been made for teaching African literature and history, African philosophy and psychology.

How, it might be asked, did the Commission expect the new university to achieve international recognition for its courses and the degrees awarded to its students? The Lockwood Commission underlined the fact that the acceptability of a university in the international world depends in the final analysis upon the quality of its products; the depth of degree courses and the width of the teaching and the quality of the graduates themselves would determine the acceptability of the degrees. The Lockwood Commission recommended that examinations should be conducted by both internal and external examiners.

External examiners are required to validate and ensure that acceptable standards were maintained in the University. It is indeed true that the standard of a university is not determined by the quality of its buildings, neither would the quality of a degree course be determined solely by the new university's close association with an old, well-established institution. Both the staff and the students must make their mark upon the academic world by the high standard of teaching, by the high standard of student performance in public examinations and by the performance of graduates in the outside world. Judging by the high academic qualifications of the staff recruited to teach in the Zambian university, the past six years have amply shown that these basic requirements will always be met.

Lockwood's real objectives were that the new University should be organised to meet the 'real needs' of the nation and that it should get its inspiration from the environment in which it is required to operate. In paragraph 3 of the report it is stated:

> The starting point of our enquiry into the establishment of a university has been a two-fold conviction; first, that the university must be responsive to the real needs of the country; secondly, that it must be an institution which on merit will win the respect and proper recognition of the university world. Unless it satisfies these two criteria, it will fall short of meeting its national responsibility. It must combine practical service to the nation at a critical time in its life, with the fulfilment of the historic purposes of a university as a seat of learning, a treasure house of knowledge, and a creative centre of research.'[6]

In many ways the basic recommendations of Lockwood have been met over the past six years. The establishment from the inception of the University of a Department of Correspondence Studies marked an important departure from most new universities in Africa which cater almost exclusively for internal students following

degree courses. In the University of Zambia young men and women, as well as old folk who possess adequate qualifications to enrol as students are able to read for degrees either as full-time or part-time students. A vigorous Department of Extra-Mural Studies was established in 1967. This Department offers a wide range of short and long non-degree courses both in the capital city of the territory and at provincial centres. In this way, the University's expert staff and teachers are able to impart knowledge and that critical approach, so fundamental in a developing country, to a broader section of the community.

However, despite Lockwood's insistence on the need to relate the activities of the University to the national needs, the basic functions of the University are strongly emphasised. On these and on their fulfilment the success of the University and its recognition in the university world must ultimately depend. The requirements must be a high standard of teaching by competent teachers, part of whose time must inevitably be spent in research work in order to fulfil the university's function to search for truth and to extend the frontiers of knowledge. In other words, there can be no conflict between the maintenance of the high academic standards accepted in universities the world over and ensuring that a new African university is not merely a prototype of old universities in an environment which is not responsive to old traditional practices. The fact that the university is independent gives it more political acceptability within the borders of the country in which it is located than would have been the case otherwise. This dual function of an African university is stated thus in the first chapter of the UNESCO report on the development of higher education in Africa:

> As the birth of the truly African University is coeval with national independence, so will African freedom be dependent upon the continued existence and viability of the university. This imposes upon the African university responsibility to forge unity by assuming an African character without becoming isolated from the main stream of civilization. . . . Considering the great need for trained manpower in all areas of national development and progress, higher education has an obligation to raise the intellectual standard of the population to improve the quality of education at all levels and to provide training to meet the country's needs.[7]

Indeed, other recent African universities have opted for full university status from the time of establishment in place of the former practice of sponsorship. The editors of *Education and Nation-building in Africa* have stated that it is significant that those universities that have been founded by African governments have refused formal links with, or any kind of control by, universities abroad.

When the University of Zambia was formally established in 1965, a decision was made to use the premises of the former Oppenheimer College for the first intake of undergraduate students in 1966. Thus, when the University opened its doors in March 1966, just over 300 students were enrolled in various courses offered by the University. Two hundred seventy students were undergraduates in first and second year in the Schools of Natural Sciences and Humanities and Social Science. Second-year students were drawn from boys and girls who had completed successfully Sixth Form courses in secondary schools. The majority, however, of the undergraduate student were enrolled from successful secondary school applicants who fulfilled the 'O' level requirements for admission. Forty-two students, mainly from overseas universities, were enrolled for the Post-Graduate Certificate in Education course, sponsored by UNESCO and the Zambian Government and recognised by the University of London.

DEVELOPMENT

The University of Zambia was officially established in 1965. As we have stated previously, however, the first academic session of the University opened in March 1966. The teaching and hostel accommodation was in the first instance provided on the premises previously occupied by students of the former Oppenheimer College near the Central Hospital (now the University Teaching Hospital) in Lusaka. The construction of permanent buildings began in 1966 on the main campus of the University about eight kilometres from Lusaka, off the Great East Road. Most of the construction work started in 1966 and 1967 was completed in 1968. This included buildings for the Schools of Education, Humanities and Social Sciences, Natural Sciences (Physics) and those for administration, hostels, lecture theatres, staff residences and the student hall. Construction work continued on the library, biological sciences building, Engineering Stage I building, and other student residences. Most of the construction work on these major buildings was completed in 1969. In March 1968, the University moved from its temporary Ridgeway campus to its main campus, called the

University Campus, on the Great East Road.

Few universities in Africa can surpass the rate of expansion of physical facilities for staff and students which has been maintained since 1966. Quite apart from the steady increase in the enrolment of full-time and part-time students of the University, the increased accommodation for staff and students has been provided mainly within the University itself. To sustain such a rapid rate of development, the Government was obliged to provide more funds each year to the University at considerable sacrifice to other services such as health and agriculture. Most major University buildings had been constructed by April 1971.

The cost of some of these buildings is given to illustrate the heavy investment made by the Government in the development of higher education:

Project	*Date Commenced*	*Date Completed*	*Cost*
Dining Hall and Kitchen	January 1966	January 1968	K393,557
Humanities Building	March 1966	March 1968	K429,478
Physics Building	February 1966	September 1968	K450,967
Humanities Lecture Theatres	January 1967	August 1968	K132,024
Library	October 1967	May 1969	K1,203,943
Biology Building	March 1968	April 1971	K680,000
Chemistry Building Stage I	December 1969	July 1971	K738,666
Education Building Stage II	April 1971	July 1971	K686,018
Engineering Building Stage I	August 1968	March 1969	K98,256
Psychology Building	May 1967	June 1969	K83,612

At the beginning of 1971, five years after the commencement of construction of buildings at the University Campus, the Chairman of the Building Committee, Simon B. Zukas, directed the Resident Architect to write a comprehensive report on the physical development of the University. The Report was published in May 1971.

For all the buildings constructed at the University Campus, the total cost at the end of 1969 was K12,529,106 or about 66 per cent of the estimated capital expenditure of K18,811,509 to December 1971. At the end of 1969, K6,702,059 was spent on main buildings, including site development and main services, K3,266,401 on staff housing—including land, professional fees and expenses—and K2,560,646 on students' hostels, excluding furniture, furnishings or equipment, site works or main services. An estimated capital expenditure of K1,409,864 was anticipated in 1971 for completion of World Bank projects. In the S.N.D.P. the University is allocated

K13,800,000 for completion of major capital projects, including the block for the new School of Agricultural Sciences and new administration block; the School of Education Phase 2, School of Engineering Phase 2, and hostels for 960 students, all under the University of Zambia World Bank Project, were due for completion in 1972.

Informed University administrators, while admitting the spectacular growth of the University of Zambia during the first six years, have questioned the high cost to the nation. Some have also questioned the aesthetic aspects of the design of the University and the underlying architectural concepts. These are, of course, matters on which opinion is bound to differ according to individual taste. In two respects it is the author's firm conviction that the design and architectural concept of the original Architect Planner of the University, A. M. Chitty, provide the most functional relationship of the major units—the student hostels, the lecture rooms, laboratories, the library and dining halls. In the words of Chitty in the University of Zambia Report on Physical Development 1971 (p. 41), the most important planning principles were 'compactness combined with traffic segregation' and 'closely interwoven staff and student life'. This design facilitates efficient organisation of University activities. Secondly, much of the high cost of the University construction programme is due to the excessive use of concrete for all major buildings in the early years. The appearance of dark grey congested buildings on the skyline off the Great East Road was aesthetically distasteful. These buildings, which now look bright after a face-lift between 1968 and 1970, are solid structures which should stand for many years without any extensive maintenance.

The most forceful indictment against the University scheme concerns the high capital investment. Has the nation obtained value for the investment? In the early years of the development of the University, due to lack of experience and the urgency of the scheme, contractors' offers for some of the projects were excessive. Much money was wasted for this reason. Even though building costs are generally higher in Zambia than in East Africa, for example, the cost of the scheme in its early years was excessive.

In recent years, the Building Committee of the University Council has exercised much greater control, with remarkable success in ensuring reasonable construction costs. Even in connection with

the staff and students' needs, the Committee's rigorous appraisals of these needs ensures maximum space utilisation. The University of Zambia is not lavish with the teaching and other accommodation provided. The Committee's policy was clearly stated in this regard in May 1971 by Simon Zukas as follows:

> Space Utilisation studies are essential to a rational building programme. To overbuild may please the users who will then have less need to be disciplined in organising themselves, but it is to do neither the country nor the University a service. The Building Committee is now very conscious of this. However, some temporary over-building is bound to take place in the early stages: the task of the Building Committee is to ensure that this is limited and that where this has to take place for any school, its spare space will be of a flexible nature so that it can be used by other Schools. To pay lip-service to planning, space utilisation, sharing of spare space, etc., is one thing: to apply these concepts seriously in a building programme is quite another. Similarly with the concepts of Schools of Study. Constant vigilance is necessary by the Building Committee if it is to do its duty to the University and the Nation.'[8]

ACADEMIC ORGANISATION

When the University was established in 1965, great importance was attached to one of the most important recommendations in the Lockwood Report that the new seat of learning should serve the 'real needs' of the nation; not to serve, in other words, the interests of foreigners resident in Zambia or to cater for fanciful ideas unrelated to the needs of Zambia. In the formulation of the University's academic programme, this principal consideration has been foremost in the minds of the authorities. The Vice Chancellor of the University, Professor Lameck Goma, has stated that:

> The academic programme of the University represents an effort to guard against the dangers of excessive specialisation in undergraduate study, and reflects a desire to break down the kind of developmental barrier that often stands in the way of properly integrated courses incorporating two or more traditional "subjects". Accordingly, the idea of "fields of study" has been accepted by the Senate and its implementation is being considered by the Boards of Studies; while the academic organisation of the University is based on the "School" (rather than the Faculty) system.[9]

The University is organised in Schools which are headed by Deans who serve as Chairmen of Boards of Studies. Each School, except the School of Medicine, is composed of subjects, rather than

Departments as in some universities. Therefore, a subject may be, for academic purposes, in more than one school even though it is assigned to one particular School for administrative purposes. Heads of subjects are usually professors. On the other hand, a subject may have more than one professor, or none at all.

When the first academic session of the University was opened in March 1966, the following Schools were established: the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, the School of Natural Sciences and the School of Education. From 1967 to 1968 plans were completed for the establishment of the Schools of Law, Engineering, Medicine and Agricultural Sciences. The authorities of the University concluded consultations with representatives of Government and mining companies on the establishment of the School of Mines which is expected to offer degree courses in 1974 or 1975. The need for the creation of such a school was recognised from the inception of the University because the mining industry will continue for many years to be the backbone of the economy in Zambia. Although most technical and other middle level jobs have been Zambianized in the industry, professional jobs are held almost entirely by expatiate staff with appropriate advanced qualifications in mining. The development of the new School of Mines is expected to attract scholars from many countries in Africa and elsewhere because the sophisticated mining industry, internationally recognised for high quality production of minerals, will provide a sound base for teaching the technology of mining.

In 1971, however, there were three Departments in the University apart from those in the School of Medicine: the Department of Correspondence Studies, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies and the Department of Education—so designated to distinguish it from the Institute of Education. The Departments of Correspondence Studies and Extra-Mural Studies were established specifically for the benefit of mature students and men and women in full-time employment desiring to improve their education or merely to obtain more knowledge in selected fields of study. For example, resident courses were organised by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies in 1970 for courses in economics and social development, political science, mathematics, history, geography and so on. Thirty-eight such courses, seminars and conferences were held on the University campus and 11 off-campus with more than 2,300 participants. The number of part-time students enrolled for various degree

courses has increased steadily. One hundred and fifty-two students were registered for correspondence studies in 1967. There were 281 in 1970 and 378 in 1972.

Although research work is the constant occupation of teachers and senior students in the University, a number of institutions have been established solely for the purpose of carrying out research activities in specified institutions. There is the Institute for African Studies, the successor to the world famous Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research established just before the Second World War in conjunction with the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. The aims of the Institute are: to analyze scientifically the social life of modern man, indigenous and immigrant, in Central Africa; to provide accurate scientific information on the social life of man; and to disseminate this accurate information as widely as possible to the public.

In one more sense, the University of Zambia has undoubtedly broken new ground, setting a positive example for emulation by universities in developing countries. In 1969, the Vice Chancellor of the University, Professor Lameck Goma, proposed the establishment of the Rural Development Studies Bureau. For many years, as a senior member of the academic staff from the inception of the University, Professor Goma advocated the need to involve the University positively in the activities of the Government which are intended to accelerate the development of rural areas where more than two-thirds of the people of Zambia live. He maintained that research into all aspects of rural life—economic, social and political—was an essential prerequisite for the formulation of enlightened policies for the economic and social transformation of rural life. In September 1972 the Bureau was manned by two professors, a research fellow and a research assistant. There were two vacancies in the establishment.

The objects of the Rural Development Studies Bureau to undertake policy-oriented research into problems of rural development were defined as follows by Professor Goma:[10]

> to (a) respond to specific requests from Government and other agencies for advice or information, in support of rural development programmes;
> (b) build up data relevant to the development needs of the rural areas;
> (c) assist in assessing and evaluating programmes for rural development and so ensure the depth of insight needed in the planning efforts of the country;
> (c) provide guidance for policy-decisions in the development problems of the rural areas without waiting to be requested by those outside the University; and
> (e) accumulate materials on which meaningful teaching programmes at the University and other educational institutions, can be based.

The work of the Bureau is in its infancy and even its existence has not been much publicised. Its establishment provides the most concrete example of the University's scope to serve Zambia's real need thus enhancing the reputation and prestige of the institution as a seat of higher learning.

In June 1971, the academic staff of the University was 268 and it was composed of some 29 different nationalities. Only 23 or 8.6 per cent of the academic staff were Zambians, 52 or 19.4 per cent came from other countries in Africa and 193 or 7.20 per cent came from outside Africa. In September 1972, some 280 men and women were engaged in teaching duties in the University, although a few vacancies existed in a number of courses. A very high standard in the qualifications of the University's teaching force has been maintained since the first academic session opened in March 1966. Speaking at the opening of the academic year in 1968, the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zambia, Professor Douglas Anglin, stated that:

> The students of this University can regard themselves as extremely fortunate indeed in the lecturers who are teaching them. As a body the staff of the University of Zambia is one in which any University could be justly proud. This is a point that many have been slow to appreciate.

There are two areas in which some concern exists among citizens regarding the activities of the University. Some have argued that though the first phase in the life of any institution of higher learning is inevitably a difficult one, the University of Zambia's record of student indiscipline has been appalling. It is true that some students have indulged in excessive beer drinking on the campus to the detriment of progress in their studies. Some male students have been known to indulge in excessive flirtations with women either on the campus or outside. These are valid criticisms. But the weaknesses of students in behaviour have been exaggerated. It would be unfair

to damage the reputation of the institution on the basis of the misbehaviour and irresponsibility of a minority of the students. The majority of the student body are dedicated and responsible. In any community anywhere in the world, there will always be some hooligans.

The second criticism of the students and the staff in the University concerns the drop-out rate which is solely attributed through misinformation to poor teaching and the laziness of students. Other critics of the University regarding wastage claim that the academic performance of students will remain poor until Government decides to re-introduce Sixth Form classes in secondary schools. These critics, a small but articulate and vociferous minority, prefer a three-year first degree course for undergraduates who complete the 'A' levels successfully in appropriate subjects in the Cambridge Higher School Certificate Examination for Overseas Students.

There are two arguments against these criticisms. The first, and most important, is that available figures for the rate of drop-outs in the University of Zambia do not show that it is alarming or significantly different from the pattern of undergraduate failures in other universities with similar entry qualifications and degree courses. Often some critics confuse 'wastage' and 'redirection' of students. A student is wasted only when he is unable to complete the final year for a degree course in the University and to sit the appropriate examinations. The number of students who either on their own or through advice from the authorities abandon their studies each year is small. It is of course one of the important functions of university authorities to 'redirect' students who are unable to benefit or perform satisfactorily in the subjects chosen by them in the first instance. The reasons for redirection of students are obvious. First, most students do not fully understand what is involved in certain university disciplines when they are called upon to make their choice in the final year of the senior secondary course. It is only in their first or second years of study at the university that students can be expected to make a meaningful choice of the disciplines in which they can study competently.

Most students who study in the University are awarded bursaries by the Government. The award of bursaries to successful students is closely related to the Government's policy of directing potential high-level manpower according to national needs. A student may, for example, choose to study for a B.Sc. degree in Education in

order to be awarded a bursary by the Government. In the course of his studies, the student's lack of ability or interest in educational subjects might be exposed. Redirection of students is, in fact, one method of reducing wastage.

Finally, it is always necessary to consider the problem of the wastage of students retrospectively. The pass rate of students who enter universities after successful completion of Sixth Form studies is generally high, with very little wastage at the intermediate level. One reason for this trend is that the selection point at the Sixth Form level is quite severe. That is the point at which many potential graduates are eliminated. As we have stated already in this chapter, although Munali Secondary School had a concentration of the best Sixth Form teachers before independence, only 75 candidates obtained full Higher School Certificates out of a total of 173 candidates who wrote the examinations between 1957 and 1962. Only a slightly higher number of candidates were able to gain certificates in two major subjects.

The subjects of academic freedom for the University of Zambia has always been taken for granted. This important principle is enshrined in general terms in the provisions of the University of Zambia Act of 1965 as amended by Act No. 10 of 1970 and Act No. 45 of 1971. The academic and administrative head of the University is the Vice-Chancellor, who is appointed by the Chancellor on the advice of the Council of the University. The Council itself is an independent body composed of some representatives of the Government and representatives of the public and the staff of the University. It has complete and unfettered authority to determine all matters pertaining to the administration of the University, including the appointment of academic, administrative and other staff, the receipt of sums of money by way of grant or donation and power to enter into contracts or to acquire land and personal property. In terms of Section 14(1) of the University of Zambia Act, the Council 'shall be charged with the general control and superintendence of the property and policy of the University. . . .' There is no provision in the Act which confers power on any person to give instructions to the Council on any matter at all.

The Act also provides for the establishment of the University's Senate which 'shall be responsible for the academic administration of the University. . . .' It is composed almost entirely of the University's professorial academic staff who are responsible for such

matters as the academic policy of the University; the programmes of instruction; the conduct of examinations and the award of degrees, diplomas, certificates and other awards of the University; and the award of scholarships and prizes administered by the University. Academic freedom is, therefore, enshrined in the legal instrument, itself by which the University was established and the instrument which provides the basis for administration of the University. The staff of the University and their students may freely pursue academic studies and research activities and publish their findings without interference from the Government. Objective truth must be sought by scholars in the University in order to enable the institution to make its own contribution to the extension of the frontiers of man's knowledge.

In July 1971 an unfortunate confrontation occurred between students and Government which led to the closure of the University. The rift would not have occurred if political factions had not used the University campus as a playground for disseminating their sectional ideologies in the race for influence among students. Ultimately the intransigence of students cost them the University's closure at a time when some of them were preparing for vital final examinations. When students put up barricades on 14 July 1971 and prevented a Cabinet Minister from entering the University campus for a lawful purpose, the indifference of the Government came to an end, if only because it had a duty to protect innocent men and women from being terrorised by a few hooligans.

The action of the Government was bitterly criticised by some people both within and outside the University. A valid complaint was made that the University should not have been closed by the Government because it had no *locus standi* vis-a-vis the provisions of the Act. The Council alone had power to close the University, so the academic freedom of the University had been infringed. This was indeed a correct but narrow view of the problem. The Government subsequently clarified its position on this issue when Aaron Milner, Secretary General to the Government, announced to the National Assembly in a Ministerial Statement on 20 July 1971 that:

> It must also be made abundantly clear that Government will not turn a blind eye to any situation in which there is a clear breakdown of law and order and where life and property are threatened, as they were at the University of Zambia.[19]

This pronouncement was not intended to impose a constraint on academic freedom.

The point has been made that the overwhelming majority of teaching staff in the University are expatriates. This situation obviously poses a number of problems for students whose welfare has to be entrusted for a period of four years or more to expatriate teachers often unfamiliar with the fundamental objectives of the new nation and the social environment from which students come. For example, even undergraduates in the University should be reminded all the time about their privileged positions in society, that the failure of one student to complete a degree or diploma course postpones the date for complete Zambianization of professional and technical jobs.

In 1969, Professor Lameck Goma, Vice-Chancellor, launched a plan for accelerated Zambianization of the University staff with the approval of the Council. The Staff Development Programme is intended primarily for promising young Zambian graduates with a first degree to proceed for post graduate studies after training at the University for a period of at least one year. For this purpose, posts are created in various Schools to which academically suitable graduates may be appointed. After a year of training at the University they may be awarded a Staff Development Fellowship for postgraduate studies. Six such Fellows have already returned to Zambia after obtaining postgraduate degrees overseas. In September 1972, there were 25 posts for Staff Development Fellows on the University's establishment. The scheme, though imaginative and meritorious, is too modest. Under this programme, 62 Zambians are expected to join the academic staff of the University between 1970 and 1975. On grounds of social, economic and political imperatives, authorities in the University must consider it their primary responsibility to devise more schemes for promoting accelerated Zambianization of academic staff.

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

Although the University is very closely linked with the problem of high-level manpower requirements of Zambia, it should not be regarded merely as a factory to turn out the men and women required to man the services of the society. It should be the centre for the highest intellectual development of those all scholars who gain admission to it, helping them to understand the aspirations of the

less educated men and women in the land, to break the tribal and racial barriers which they may have previously accepted and to foster in them a national consciousness.

Every effort should be made to discourage the University from turning out graduates who will form a privileged elite in Zambia, an exclusive class of intellectuals who will be ashamed to return to their villages to live and work among their kinsmen for the general good of the country. The role of the University must be to bridge the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' so that gradually the evils of a class-conscious society are completely eliminated. In the furtherance of this ideal, the University's staff and students should be realistic in their demands for better living conditions bearing in mind that the University was not intended to be a prestige institution which would create new and unrealistic standards of living. Lest we forget—the University of Zambia is probably one of the few institutions of higher learning in Africa which was established with immense goodwill from the public. Old women sold their eggs to raise funds for the new University, old men gave some money from selling their catch of fish, townsmen signed stop orders to contribute regularly from their bank accounts the funds sorely needed by the Government for the University project.

The sacrifice of the old people and the young men and women, as well as the countless hundreds of teachers and their pupils who organized raffles and concerts to raise funds for the University, was an act of faith—faith that the University would produce the elite which the nation wants, 'one which is more concerned with its responsibilities than with its rights, an elite dedicated to the noble task of nation-building, however hard and humble the demands'.[11] Indeed, the University has already become the most expensive educational project in Zambia. It must, therefore, continue to win the hearts of men and women in the country on the basis of the contribution by the students of the University to nation-building efforts.

The University is 'not a Government Department'[13]—it is an autonomous institution. But the freedom of the University must be accepted in the context of the Government's desire for a vigorous and determined young nation anxious to maintain political stability and promote rapid social and economic reforms for the good of the common man. Where no attempt to abuse freedom is made, the University's role and that of the Government should not be in

conflict—their respective roles ought to be complementary. In a large measure proper foundations have been laid by successive chairmen of the University Council for co-operation between Government and the University through its Council. This augurs well for the future. Without co-operation and mutual confidence, all the effort to fulfil the time-honoured functions of a University—to teach and impart knowledge, to seek and discover truth and to disseminate its findings —will be wasted!

[1] Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, at his installation as Chancellor of the University of Zambia (1966).
[2] As quoted in African Social Research Publication No. 4 of December 1967. (University of Zambia Institute for Social Research), p. 291.
[3] Triennial Survey of the Ministry of African Education 1961–1963, paragraph 130.
[4] A. B. Fafunwa, *New Perspectives in African Education* (Lagos, Macmillan & Co. (Nigeria) Ltd., 1967), p. 144.
[5] Eric Ashby, *African Universities and Western Tradition* (London, Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 38–9.
[6] Report on the Development of a University in Northern Rhodesia (1963), p. 1.
[7] UNESCO, The Development of Higher Education in Africa (1962), pp. 17–18.
[8] S. B. Zukas, Foreword in University of Zambia 'Report on Physical Development 1971'.
[9] L. K. H. Goma, Pamphlet on 'Some Facts and Figures about the University', June 1971.
[10] L. K. H. Goma, Paper on 'University of Zambia: Rural Development Studies Bureau', 1969.
[11] Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of Zambia, op. cit.
[12] Parliamentary Debates (Zambia): 20 February, 136.
[13] Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, op. cit.

XIV

The Education Act of 1966

A milestone in the progress of education was reached in April 1966 when the Education Bill was passed by Parliament. The Education Act of 1966 came into operation on 2 September of the same year and it marked an important step forward in the integration of the two separate systems of education which existed before and for a short period after independence: one education system for Africans and another system for Europeans, Asians and Eurafricans. The Act replaced practically all provisions in the African Education Ordinance of 1956, as amended, under which the defunct Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Government had administered and controlled European, Asian and Eurafrican schools on a racial and discriminatory basis.

Since independence in 1964, the people of Zambia have cherished the ideal of national unity enshrined in the motto, 'One Zambia, One Nation'. After independence it was logical that there should be one educational system governed by one code instead of two. In fact, the new Act was necessary to legalize the changes made after independence in the administration of the education service. For example, after 1963 schools were at first classified as 'fee-paying' or 'non-fee-paying' schools and, later, as 'scheduled' or 'non-scheduled' schools under the provisions of the Education Act of 1966. Furthermore, as well as legalizing changes which had already taken place, the Education Act included a number of new measures intended to promote the efficiency of the education system and to enable the Minister of Education to exercise effective control over the implementation of policy. Although the new Education Act of 1966 is intended to regulate the whole of the national education system, its provisions do not apply to the University of Zambia or to educational or training institutions which are not under the control of the Ministry of Education. Again, the Minister has power to exempt any school from the provisions of the Act which apply to the school. In granting exemptions, the Minister may lay down such conditions and restrictions as he may deem fit.

The Act is divided into seven parts, all dealing with the broad principles of educational organization and administration. The first part provides definitions of descriptive terms used in the Act, such as 'aided school', 'board of governors', 'Ministry', 'school' and others. The functions of the Minister are defined in the first part of the Act, which also provides the basis for the division of the Republic into educational regions. The third part deals with the establishment, maintenance and closure of Government schools and hotels. Provisions for the registration and control of private schools are made in the fourth part of the Act. Part five deals with the establishment and incorporation of Boards of Governors and their functions. Finally, parts six and seven deal respectively with general provisions and transitional provisions which are intended to effect the smooth and efficient operation of the Act as a whole.

The Act is basically in outline form. It does not deal with administrative details. However, the Minister has the power of making regulations, withing the broad principles provided in the Act, on a wide range of subjects and 'generally for the better carrying out of the purposes of this Act' (Section 32). In 1966, in exercise of the powers vested in him by the Act, the Minister made various regulations by Statutory Instruments carrying, *inter alia*, The Local Councils of Education Regulations; The Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations; The Education (Private Schools) Regulations and the Education (Aided Schools) Regulations. Since 1966, more Regulations affecting the organization and administration of the entire education system have been promulgated by the Minister, for example, The Education (Parent-Teacher Association) Regulations, 1967, dealing with the formation, establishment and conduct of Parents-Teacher Associations in Government and Aided Schools; and The Education (Examinations) Regulations, 1967, which provide for the establishment of an Examination Council for the Republic of Zambia. Some of the Regulations made in 1966 or subsequently have been amended in the light of experience gained regarding their application.

The regulations made by the Minister under the Act have the force of law and the maximum penalty which may be imposed upon a convicted person is fixed as follows:

> 33. (1) Any person who is guilty of an offence under the provisions of this Act shall be liable, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year or to both such

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The advantage of the change is that it is flexible. It will allow authorities responsible for education to sub-divide any province into two or more units to make education administration more efficient. For example, the Southern Region, which comprises the Southern Province, is a vast area with a large number of primary and secondary schools. In this region, as in the Northern Region which is also a large area, the Chief Education Officer is more likely to be absent frequently from his Regional Headquarters in Livingstone than his counterpart responsible for the Lusaka Region. With the continued growth of education during the Second National Development Plan, 1972 to 1976, the necessity to sub-divide some of the large provinces into two or more regions for the purpose of efficient educational administration will become urgent. For example, a convenient geographical division of the Southern Province into regions might be as follows: Livingstone Region (Livingstone, Kalomo and Gwembe Districts); and Choma Region (Choma, Namwala, Monze and Mazabuka Districts). For the Northern Province, the existing Northern Region with eight districts can be conveniently subdivided into the following regions: Kasama Region (Kasama, Luwingu, Mporokoso and Kaputa Districts); and Chinsali Region (Chinsali, Mpika, Isoka and Mbala Districts).

COUNCILS OF EDUCATION

Part II of the Act makes provision for the creation of Councils of Education: a National Council of Education, Regional Councils of Education and Local Councils of Education. These councils are advisory and consultative only in their functions. The power to appoint members of the National, Regional and Local Councils of Education is vested in the Minister in accordance with the regulations he may make to constitute these bodies and to establish procedure at meetings. However, for the National Council of Education the Act provides that there shall be persons representing the University of Zambia, Regional Councils, Local Councils, Boards of Governors, proprietors of Aided and private schools and recognised associations of teachers. There are four *ex-officio* members of the National Council of Education, including the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education and Culture, who is the Chairman of the Council.

The first thing we may notice is that the Regional Councils of Education and the Local Councils of Education have replaced

the old Provincial Education Authorities and District Education Authorities respectively. At first sight, Provincial and District Education Authorities appeared to invest executive powers in local and provincial education 'authorities'. In fact, these authorities have never had any real executive powers. Indeed, it was always the intention to confer upon the 'authorities' a measure of executive responsibilities, but the intention had never been fulfilled under the African Education Ordinance. They had no funds of their own so that, in effect, they were part of the Ministry of Education's administrative machinery. Under the Education Act of 1966, it was decided to remove the legal fiction enshrined in the African Education Ordinance—provincial and district 'authorities' were authorities only in name.

The decision to make all Councils of Education 'advisory' does not mean that no local authority in Zambia was ready to assume full responsibility for the administration of the education service in its area. There were local authorities with adequately experienced staff and reasonable sources of income upon which executive powers could have been conferred. But such local authorities were very few indeed. Introducing the bill in Parliament, the Minister of Education conceded that there were certain major obstacles which made it difficult for the Government to provide for the delegation of executive powers to local authorities in the immediate future:

> In general terms these are that certain sections of the Local Government Act and the Local Government Officers Ordinance vest powers in the Minister of Local Government and Housing and the Local Government Service Commission relating to the employment of staff by local authorities and the administration and expenditure of moneys. Legal difficulties also rise in regard to the employment of members of the Zambia Teaching Service. These are not. . . insoluble problems, but problems which will have to be very carefully and closely examined before executive powers can be given to such bodies.
> Indeed, any teacher employed in a local education authority school has always considered himself to be an employee of Government, and not a local authority. I therefore make no apologies for what some would suggest is a turning back of the clock. I am merely presenting honestly the positon as it exists, and that is that these bodies for the time being, must be advisory and consultative only.[1]

The Minister's prediction has stood the test of time. For six years after the Education Bill was passed by Parliament, Local Government authorities are not yet financially self-supporting and

in a position to make a substantial contribution to the financing of education services and school expansion in their areas. Since the introduction of partial decentralization of the Government administration and the posting of a Cabinet Minister to each provincial headquarters, supported by a Permanent Secretary, a measure of responsibility has been given to Local and Regional Councils of Education. These councils are now entirely responsible for the construction programmes of primary schools, school discipline and inspection. Until the local authorities have gained more experience, especially in the rural areas, regarding running affairs at Local Government level, delegation of full authority to them for the administration of the education service would be premature and against the national interest.

In one respect, however, the Education Act of 1966 marked a significant milestone in the history of Zambia. The Act provides for the establishment of a pyramidal structure of education authorities. This was never achieved under the African Education Ordinance because the consultative bodies formed under this Ordinance—the African Education Advisory Board, Provincial and District Education Authorities—were dominated by nominated members who were not representative of the people. On the other hand, under the Education Act of 1966, at the base there are Local Councils of Education in which elected members of local authorities participate when appointed by the Minister. The activities of all members of Local Councils of Education in an area or region are closely watched and controlled by a superior consultative body, namely the Regional Council of Education, whose chairman is the Cabinent Minister for the Province in which the Chief Education Officer's headquarters are situated. Apart from *ex-officio* members and representatives of proprietors of Aided and private schools, provision is made for a 'number of persons equal to the number of Local Councils established within the region, each one of whom shall repesent a different Local Council' to be appointed by the Minister of Education as members of a Regional Council of Education.

Thus, in 1966, there were forty-five Local Councils of Education, one for every district in Zambia, nine Regional Councils—two for the Central Province which is divided into two educational regions, and one for each of the remaining provinces. These Councils of Education have advisory responsibility for the education of all races, whereas the District and Provincial Authorities which they

replaced were concerned only with African Education. Under Statutory Instrument No. 102 of 1970, the Minister promulgated the Local Council of Education (Establishment) (Amendment) Order, 1970. The Order amended Barotse, Broken Hill and Western Regions to read Western, Kabwe and Copperbelt Regions respectively. Secondly, the Order made provision for the establishment of seven additional Local Councils of Education.

The democratic pattern of the Native Council of Education is reflected in the composition of the Council. More than half the members of the National Council are representatives of city, municipal, township and rural councils to which they were elected by the people. Such members are representatives of their Regional and Local Councils of Education on the National Council and, ultimately, they are responsible to the people who elected them in the first place to city, municipal, township and rural councils. This hierarchical type of representation is intended to provide all citizens with an effective voice in educational affairs at all levels—local, regional and national. The composition of the National Council of Education is set out in Part I of the Schedule to the Councils of Education Regulations of 1966:

(a) The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education—Chairman.
(b) Three officials of the Ministry.
(c) One person representing the University of Zambia.
(d) Nine persons representing Regional Councils of Education, each one of whom shall represent a different Regional Council.
(e) Three persons representing Local Councils.
(f) One person representing Boards of Governors.
(g) Two persons representing proprietors of aided schools of whom—
  (i) One shall be a person nominated by the Episcopal Conference of Bishops; and
  (ii) one shall be a person nominated by the Christian Council.
(h) One person representing proprietors of private schools.
(i) One person representing recognised associations of teachers.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

In Part IV of the Act, provisions are made for the establishment and registration of private schools under such conditions as may be

laid down by the Minister; for the cancellation of registration of private schools by the Minister if he is not 'satisfied in regard to any of the matters' specifically laid down in the Act which the proprietor of the school has failed to discharge; and for the refusal by the Minister to accept an application for the registration of a private school. The Act stipulates stringent conditions for the sole purpose of protecting school children and their parents against exploitation, conditions which must be met in full by a proprietor who applies for registration of a private school. Section 13(2) accordingly provides that the Minister shall cause the private school to be registered if he is satisfied:

(a) that the school is necessary to meet the educational requirements of the area; and

(b) that the premises of the school, including any hostel or other building to be used in connection with the instruction or accommodation of pupils attending, are or will be suitable or adequate for the purpose; and

(c) that adequate financial provision has been or will be made for the maintenance of the school; and

(d) that the proprietor of the school is a fit and proper person or persons to be a proprietor; and

(e) that a fit and proper person or body of persons will be responsible for the management of the school; and

(f) that efficient and suitable instruction of a nature and level approved by the Minister will be provided at the school in accordance with a syllabus approved by the Minister; and

(g) that the teaching staff to be employed at the school will be qualified for the purpose; and

(h) that proper compliance will be made with the provisions of this Act applicable to the School.

The provisions of Part IV of the Act confer upon the Minister very wide powers concerning the registration of private schools or cancellation of registration of private schools. For example, in terms of Section 14(3) of the Act, the Minister has the power to cancel the registration of a private school if 'at any time the Minister is satisfied that a registered private school is being conducted in a manner detrimental to the interests of peace, order or good government or to the physical, mental or moral welfare of the pupils attending it'. The Act, however, provided for the protection of the interests of proprietors of private schools against the arbitrary

exercise of powers of the Minister. Under Section 15 of the Act, the proprietor of a private school aggrieved by the Minister's decision in respect of an application for registration of a school or cancellation of registration of such a school may, within a stipulated period, lodge with the Minister a notice of his intention to refer his case for review by a private schools tribunal. Such a private schools tribunal is obliged 'to make a full, faithful and impartial inquiry into the case referred to it for review and to make recommendations to the Minister in accordance with its findings'. The Minister must then give effect to the recommendations of the private schools tribunal and must notify, in writing, the proprietor of the private school whose case has reviewed by a private schools tribunal.

There have been no instances of the appointment of a private schools tribunal since 1966. At the end of 1972, an appropriate amendment was made to the Education Act of 1966 in order to remove the provision for the appointment of such tribunals. In effect, therefore, in future the Minister's decisions in such matters will be final. This new development should not cause undue alarm among present or prospective proprietors of private schools. In the event of an arbitrary decision by a Minister in relation to an application for registration of the private school or cancellation of an application for registration of a private school, public opinion will continue to influence the extent to which the Government may reverse its own decision.

The proprietors of private schools cannot infringe with impunity the basic rights of individuals in respect of their freedom of religious belief. For example, Section 24 reads: 'No pupil shall be refused admission to any school or school hostel on the grounds of his race or religion.' Again, Section 25 reads: 'If the parent of any pupil attending any school requests that he be excused from receiving religious instruction or from taking part in or attending any religious ceremony or observance, then, until the request is withdrawn, the pupil shall be excused therefrom accordingly.' These provisions emphasize the fact that private schools, like Aided schools, should be open to children of all races who apply for admission and that it is now illegal for the head of any educational institution to demand to know the pupil's religious affiliation as a condition for granting or refusing his admission. Furthermore, under the Education (Private Schools) Regulations, 1966, it is compulsory for the proprietor of a registered private school to cause to be kept a register of enrolment

and a register of daily attendance of pupils at school; to cause to be furnished to the Minister, in such form, at such times and for such periods as the Minister may require, correct returns of the enrolment and a register of daily attendance of pupils at school; to cause the Minister to be notified of the dates of commencement and enrolment and a register of daily attendance of pupils at school; to cause the Minister to be notified of the dates of commencement and termination of each school term in the year and be satisfied that these dates provide a minimum of 180 teaching days per annum, and to cause to be furnished to the Minister particulars of the periods of instruction given at the school [Regulation 3(1)].

SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION OF PUPILS

The most important set of regulations governing the administration of all primary and secondary schools which are Government or Aided institutions is the Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations of 1966 as amended from time to time. These regulations deal with all aspects of educational administration in primary schools, especially conditions for the enrolment and admission of a child to school, the duty of parents to ensure the attendance of their children at school on the first day of term, provision of clothing for pupils, repetition of classes and corporal punishment.

Part IV of the Regulations deals solely with matters concerning the suspension, expulsion and exclusion of a pupil from a school or school hostel on grounds of discipline. Regulation 30 of the Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations provides that no pupil may be suspended, expelled or excluded from any school or school hostel on grounds of discipline except in accordance with the provisions of Part IV of the Regulations.

According to these regulations, a head of a school may suspend from attendance at the school [Regulation 31(1)]:

(a) any pupil whose language or behaviour is habitually or continually such as to endanger the maintenance of a proper standard of conduct in the school;

(b) any pupil who has committed an act of a reprehensible nature;

(c) any pupil who fails to attend school regularly without reasonable excuse; or

(d) any pupil who wilfully refuses to sing the National Anthem or to salute the National Flag when he is lawfully required to do so under these Regulations.

The head of a school may also exclude from any school hostel accommodating pupils attending the school any pupil whose accommodation at the hostel is prejudicial to the maintenance of discipline in the hostel [Regulation 31(2)]. However, before any pupil is suspended from attendance at school or excluded from a hostel under the provisions of this regulation, the head of the school must fulfil the following conditions [Regulations 31 (3)]:

(a) notify the pupil and his parent of the action which he proposes to take and of the grounds thereof; and

(b) afford the pupil and his parent a reasonable opportunity of making representations against the action which he proposes to take; and

(c) give proper consideration to any representations made by the pupil or his parent.

Where substantial delay would seriously prejudice the interests of the school community, the Head may suspend the offending pupil from attendance at school without notifying his parent or affording his parent an opportunity of making representations.

After every case of the suspension of a pupil from attendance at school or exclusion of a pupil from any school hostel, the head must report the full facts immediately to the Chief Education Officer for the region concerned. In the case of suspension, after considering the report, the Chief Education Officer may direct the head of the school to withdraw the suspension in force, in which case the head shall comply with the directions. The Chief Education Officer may forward the report to the Minister with his comments for consideration. In every case of the exclusion of a pupil from any school or school hostel, the Chief Education officer is obligated to forward the report to the Minister.

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There have been no instances of the appointment of a private schools tribunal since 1966. At the end of 1972, an appropriate amendment was made to the Education Act of 1966 in order to remove the provision for the appointment of such tribunals. In effect, therefore, in future the Minister's decisions in such matters will be final. This new development should not cause undue alarm among present or prospective proprietors of private schools. In the event of an arbitrary decision by a Minister in relation to an application for registration of the private school or cancellation of an application for registration of a private school, public opinion will continue to influence the extent to which the Government may reverse its own decision.

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The head of a school may also exclude from any school hostel accommodating pupils attending the school any pupil whose accommodation at the hostel is prejudicial to the maintenance of discipline in the hostel [Regulation 31(2)]. However, before any pupil is suspended from attendance at school or excluded from a hostel under the provisions of this regulation, the head of the school must fulfil the following conditions [Regulations 31 (3)]:

(a) notify the pupil and his parent of the action which he proposes to take and of the grounds thereof; and

(b) afford the pupil and his parent a reasonable opportunity of making representations against the action which he proposes to take; and

(c) give proper consideration to any representations made by the pupil or his parent.

Where substantial delay would seriously prejudice the interests of the school community, the Head may suspend the offending pupil from attendance at school without notifying his parent or affording his parent an opportunity of making representations.

After every case of the suspension of a pupil from attendance at school or exclusion of a pupil from any school hostel, the head must report the full facts immediately to the Chief Education Officer for the region concerned. In the case of suspension, after considering the report, the Chief Education Officer may direct the head of the school to withdraw the suspension in force, in which case the head shall comply with the directions. The Chief Education Officer may forward the report to the Minister with his comments for consideration. In every case of the exclusion of a pupil from any school or school hostel, the Chief Education officer is obligated to forward the report to the Minister.

Where any pupil has been excluded from a school hostel or suspended from attendance at school, the pupil and his parent are entitled, within ten days after the date when the suspension or exclusion takes effect, to make representations in writing regarding the suspension and any further action to the Minister through the Chief Education Officer for the region concerned. After considering any representations made to him in respect of a suspension of a pupil, the Minister may (i) direct the Head of the school to withdraw the suspension in force against the pupil; (ii) direct the Head of the

school to expel the pupil from the school, either permanently or for a period determined by the Minister; or (iii) direct the transfer of the pupil to another school, or give such other directions as may appear to be just in the circumstances [Regulation 34(1) (a)].

In a case where a pupil has been excluded from a school hostel, the Minister may (i) confirm the exclusion of the pupil from the hostel; (ii) direct the Head of the school to re-admit the pupil to the hostel; direct the transfer of the pupil to another school hostel; or (iii) give such other directions as may appear to be just in the circumstances [Regulation 34(1)(b)]. The head of the school is required to give effect to such directions by the Minister. The Minister may attach conditions to any direction and if such conditions are not complied with he may excise other powers conferred by Regulation 34(1) as he may deem fit.

Two years after the promulgation of the Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations of 1966, it was found burdensome to refer every case of a pupil's suspension or exclusion to the Minister for a determination either in respect of the decision of a head of a school or in respect of representations made by a pupil or his parent to the Minister. This procedure caused delays and frustrations, all of which affected efficiency and the proper administration of justice. Consequently, by Statutory Instrument No. 293 of 1968, the powers of the Minister regarding the suspension, expulsion and exclusion of pupils on grounds of discipline were delegated to Chief Education Officers. The Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) (Amendment) Regulations, 1966 (Delegation) Order, 1968, empowered Chief Education Officers of the Ministry to deal with all matters relating to the suspension, expulsion and exclusion of pupils on grounds of discipline. This measure marked an extension of the policy of delegation in such matters whenever there was a need. Accordingly, the powers in this regard which had been vested in a Parliamentary Secretary on behalf of the Minister by Statutory Instrument No. 148 of 1967 were withdrawn when the new Order was promulgated in 1968.

Under the Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations, as amended, the head of a school has no power to expel a pupil from school, however reprehensible his conduct may be. A head's authority is restricted to the imposition of ordinary punishment which does not include suspension or exclusion. He may, therefore, inflict corporal punishment on a pupil or impose

performance of manual labour by the offending pupil. In serious cases of indiscipline, however, the head may suspend a pupil from attendance at school or exclude him from a school hostel but, in such a case, a report must be furnished to the Minister for consideration and final determination, the Minister's power now being exercised by Chief Education Officers on behalf of the Minister.

Before and after independence, the education system was notoriously ridden with large-scale expulsion of pupils from schools —especially secondary schools. Although the conduct and behaviour of students in a number of secondary schools has not been exemplary during the post-independence period, the administration considered it necessary to devise safeguards in the regulations against expulsion of pupils from schools on trivial grounds. To less experienced staff who inevitably assume more responsibility before they are ready for it, owing to the very fast expansion of education, expulsion of pupils from school in the circumstances appears to be the easy way out of a difficult problem of school indiscipline—to teach the pupils concerned a lesson and to scare the rest against the danger of recklessness! Often little regard is shown for the social problems attendant on an expelled pupil or for the effect it has on the national effort to increase the supply of educated manpower.

[1] Parliamentary Debates (Zambia): 1 April 1966, 950-51.

XV

The Problem of Language

> Without taking the extreme view of classical education that all education is education in language, it must be granted that language studies always occupy a central position in the curriculum and in the case of Africa, a crucial position in relation to advance.[1]

One of the most difficult problems of educational policy in the post-independence period concerns the development of an appropriate language for instructing pupils in primary schools. There is no lingua franca in Zambia. Instead there are over forty vernaculars spoken by just over four million people scattered over a wide geographical area. True, several of the local languages and dialects are similar, as practically all of them belong to the Bantu language group. Therefore, it is not ususual for native speakers of one local language to learn with minimum effort to speak another local language with a remarkable degree of fluency.

Owing to this close affinity of local languages, often called vernaculars, before independence the Colonial Government selected four of them as official languages for administrative and educational purposes. Although one or two more vernaculars have recently gained semi-official status, Chibemba, Chinyanja, Chitonga and Silozi have continued to serve as the main official languages of the country in addition to English. Therefore, in deciding on the appropriate medium of instruction in primary schools, it has been necessary to consider the five official languages in Zambia—Chibemba, Chinyanja, Chitonga, Silozi and English, none of them a lingua franca. On political grounds alone, it is very difficult to adopt any one of the official vernacular languages as a medium of instruction in primary schools without exciting tribal passions and creating serious discontent and unrest. In making tactful enquiries, the author has heard confessions from even the most extremist tribal adherents that imposition of their own language on the rest of the country would be disastrous. Notwithstanding this fact, the selection of any one vernacular as a medium of

instruction presupposes that teachers would be available in sufficient numbers throughout the country to teach efficiently in the chosen vernacular, so that the much needed uniformity is obtained. Such a supposition is definitely unrealistic.

In the past, the general principle was adopted that in the early years of an African child's formal education, instruction should be in the mother tongue. If, therefore, a child began school in his tribal area where one of the four official vernaculars was spoken, he continued to learn through the medium of his mother tongue until he reached the fifth year, when English was gradually introduced as the medium of instruction, in other words as the language used for teaching all the subjects of the school curriculum. By the time a child reached the sixth and seventh years, English replaced the vernacular altogether as the medium of instruction. In the fifth and subsequent years of primary school, the child continued to learn the vernacular and might study the language at a secondary school. Chibemba, Chinyanja, Chitonga and Silozi may be offered by candidates in the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations. Apart from children who started their education in one of the four official vernaculars as their mother tongue, there were also children who began learning through one of the minor vernaculars and then changed in the third year to a main vernacular closely related to the minor one, followed by a change again to English as the medium of instruction in the fifth year. Even today, except in areas where the English medium of instruction has been adopted, it is not uncommon to meet a child who began education in his mother tongue but changed to one of the main vernaculars after two years, only to change two years later to another foreign language—English—as the medium of instruction.

The educational problems inherent in this situation have been recognised for a long time. First, learning through a multiplicity of languages presents the child with daunting difficulties which often retard progress. The plight of a child who is compelled to transfer from one school to another where a different vernacular is used for instruction can be quite serious. A child's educational career could be ruined completely in such a situation. The urban areas have a different set of problems. For example, in a limited language census taken in Lusaka in 1966, it was found that only 49 per cent of all children enrolled in 42 Grade 1 classes spoke Chinyanja in their homes, 20 per cent Chibemba, 11 per cent Chitonga, 5 per cent

Although the Government recognized that in the context of Zambia's social structure, English was the most useful tool of communication, nonetheless the important role of vernacular teaching was accepted. When the decision was made regarding a universal medium of instruction, the Government re-affirmed the importance of teaching vernacular languages in scheduled primary schools from Grade I to Grade VII. In addition, a phased programme was worked out for introducing vernacular languages in scheduled primary schools for the benefit of African, Asian and European children. In fact, when the English medium scheme was adopted for instruction in schools, it was confidently expected that the new method of teaching would lead to an improvement in the development of teaching in the country.

Fears have been expressed that the adoption of the English medium scheme might lead to the creation of an un-African class of people, a new breed of African boys and girls who might strive to become more English than the English. If such a situation can only arise as a result of the introduction of the English medium scheme, then the fears are largely unfounded. In the final analysis, it is the attitude of parents which has a real and decisive influence on what sort of life and outlook the African child will adopt. The preservation of Indian culture in East and Central Africa, despite exposure to African and Western influence, can be attributed to the conservative role of Indian parents. On the other hand, if the ambition of some African parents is to turn their own sons into little Englishmen, no device such as compulsory teaching of the vernacular in former European primary schools can reverse the trend. Even so, to ensure that a fair balance is provided for the child to learn the things of the new society and at the same time to know about things of his home background and his past, the teaching of vernacular languages in primary schools must be compulsory. Vernacular teaching has its value. The mother tongue can stimulate and awaken the child's imagination through songs, stories, nursery rhymes, folk-tales and proverbs. There can be no better method of preserving national culture for all time than by encouraging school children to learn their tribal customs, songs, beliefs and literature in vernacular lessons. Properly guided during vernacular lessons, pupils should develop national pride and self-confidence as members of a new society with its roots firmly planted in the past—the past which they know and understand.

THE ZAMBIA PRIMARY COURSE

Very significant progress has been made since 1966 in the expansion and consolidation of the English medium scheme which is now officially called the Zambia Primary Course. After 1970, the emphasis changed to regarding the English medium scheme as a design for teaching the English language effectively in order to facilitate pupils' instruction in the remainder of the subjects in the curriculum. What has been described as unique about the Zambia Primary Course is that it carries the principle of English medium one step further than similar courses designed elsewhere. The underlying principle of the course is that English must subserve the needs of all parts of primary education. This is achieved in two ways: first, it must anticipate and meet the special language needs of pupils and, second, it must provide, in the readers, most of the material which makes the pupils familiar with much of the content of most of the subjects of the curriculum. The course is intended to provide (a) linguistic control and (b) topic reinforcement. The word 'control' is significant in that writers in any area of the curriculum must take care that no vocabulary or language structure for which the children are not prepared is included. Linguistic control is therefore a sort of two-way exchange between planners of the curriculum as a whole and the planners of the language course.

During the first three years of the Zambia Primary Course, English medium is dominant; all other courses must accept the need for an interdisciplinary approach based on language. In the fourth year, English is taught as a separate subject, as are geography, history and civics, science or nature study, mathematics, vernacular and religious knowledge. These other subjects are, of course, taught in English but without the rigid inter-locking of disciplines which characterizes teaching in the first three years of primary schooling. In other words, the anticipation of language needs is abandoned or left to the initiative of the teacher. The advantage of this approach is that nothing is taught—or should be taught—which a pupil may store away for later use. What is taught is usually needed that same day or week and will thereafter be needed constantly.

The planning of the Zambia Primary Course and implementation of approved schemes is carried out by the Curriculum Development Centre. The Centre has its own staff of lecturers and assistant lecturers with support from the Inspectors of Schools in the head-

quarters of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The exposition of the Centre's underlying approach of using the English medium 'to subserve the needs of all parts of primary education' was made in March 1971 by Bryson McAdam. A booklet, called *The Zambia Primary Course: A General Guide*, has been prepared by the Curriculum Development Centre; it incorporates the McAdam paper and subsequent ones.

The preparation and production of course material has progressed satisfactorily since the establishment of the Curriculum Development Centre. For English, by July 1972 all teachers' handbooks, pre-reading material, and class readers had been either published or sent to the press. The preparation of further series of 'Upper Supplementary Readers' was undertaken in that year. There were also plans for the publication of a special series of six Grade VII school readers. Since 1966, course writing for Zambian languages has proceeded smoothly. The procedure for preparing a course for each grade is as follows: first a teacher's handbook is produced in an English language master-copy; then it is re-cast in Chinyanja, Chibemba, Chikaonde, Chitonga, Silozi, Lunda and Luvale. Books in these languages for Grade I to III had been produced and were either published already or in the hands of printers. Course writing and preparation of books for social studies and science has begun at the Curriculum Development Centre.

In September 1972 the annual report for the year showed a satisfactory staff position at the Centre. The English Department alone consisted of seven course writers, including for the first time, a Zambian graduate. In mathematics, there were four members of staff engaged in the preparation of courses under the supervision of a senior mathematician from the British Centre for Educational Development Overseas (CEDO). In Zambian languages, the team was almost complete, with a head of department and two writers for each language. Plans were also approved for drafting course writers with suitable qualifications and experience in order to accelerate work on primary science, home economics and arts and crafts. In future, it is hoped that the Centre will be geared also to give help in secondary education.

In terms of the number of classes using the new materials, the expansion of the Zambian Primary Course has been steady and satisfactory. In 1966, there were 42 classes only in 9 schools. In 1968, there were 763 classes in 138 schools. At the end of 1972,

for example, the number of classes in each grade per region was as follows:

Region	*Gr. I*	*Gr. II*	*Gr. III*	*Gr. IV*	*Gr. V*	*Gr. VI*	*Gr. VII*
Copperbelt	640	581	558	520	347	131	2
Lusaka	236	214	194	167	154	111	41
Kabwe	191	170	129	91	12	6	1
Southern	273	189	153	111	87	16	—
Northern	225	209	204	102	9	—	—
Eastern	213	176	138	75	30	11	—
Western	200	162	119	64	13	12	—
Luapula	188	161	140	78	16	—	—
N.-Western	147	109	107	53	—	—	—
Totals	2,313	1,971	1,742	1,261	668	287	44

THE NATIONAL IN-SERVICE TRAINING COLLEGE

The secondary school at Chalimbana, originally the seat of a territorial teacher training college, will be transferred permanently to a new site at Chongwe in the same district—Lusaka Rural. A new institution was established at Chalimbana to eventually replace the secondary school. It is called the National In-Service Training College (NISTCOL) and in 1970 it provided re-training in the New Primary Course for selected primary teachers from all regions. Three courses of one term's duration, each serving 100 teachers, were run during the year. The College will expand, under the World Bank project, to accommodate 300 students.

The work done at the College was supplemented in 1970 by three pre-service primary training colleges with in-service training accommodation. One hundred serving primary teachers in all, each term, were re-trained for the New Zambia Primary Course.

TOWARDS A COMMON EDUCATION SYSTEM

In the first few years after independence, a remarkable and impressive record of progress in the integration of children of all races in the former exclusive European primary schools was achieved. Nevertheless, a genuine measure of discontent existed regarding disparity of academic standards in the scheduled and non-scheduled primary schools. The author believes that children who enrolled in the scheduled primary schools made faster progress academically than their counterparts entrolled in non-scheduled primary schools.

The reason is that the approach to teaching in the two types of schools is vastly different. Under the Zambia Primary Course, the methods used are child-centred and enable the teacher to reach all levels of his class from the brightest to the dullest. Under the traditional system of teaching, the pupil does not fully participate in his own education—he is a passive recipient of what the teacher thinks he should know, with little or no consideration of the pupil's own interests.

The hope of reducing disparities between the two types of schools lies in the extension of the Zambia Primary Course. In this regard, NISTCOL has a crucial role to perform. The Ministry's approved syllabuses are used in all Government and Aided schools. No effective integration of the two former types of schools will be effectively achieved until the Zambia Primary Course is used in all primary schools in Zambia. It is, therefore, the universal extension of this new Course to all primary schools which will mark the final step towards the establishment of common education in the country.

[1] *African Education: A Study of Education Policy and Practice in British Africa*, p. 79.
[2] 'Language and National Unity', an address by President Milton Obote before a seminar on mass media in East Africa, held in Kampala and published in the *Times of Zambia* of 17 June 1967.
[3] M. B. Mubanga, Paper on 'Language and Nation in Zambia: The Problem of Integration', published for the Institute of African Studies, University of Zambia.

XVI

Discipline in Schools

There is one sphere in which educational development has followed an unworthy course since independence. There have been numerous acts of serious indiscipline among students in schools. In a rapidly expanding educational system, difficulties in schools sometimes arise, leading to conflict between staff and students, or between the student and the adults in the community. In any event, the occurrence of a strike by students will damage the good name of a school, however just their cause may be. The growth of a disciplined school community requires, as a pre-condition, a healthy and easy relationship between staff and students. As we have stated in a previous chapter, education should seek primarily to develop the individual personalities of students in schools and colleges, to encourage imagination and not memory, and to promote the spirit of co-operation and unselfishness. It follows that every manifestation of insubordination, strikes, drunkenness or other anti-social forms of behaviour by students should be deplored. Such trends defeat the function and purpose of our educational institutions.

The object of this chapter is to describe the disciplinary problems which have confronted teachers and school administrators in Zambia, particularly after the attainment of independence. In the concluding paragraphs, suggestions are given about some of the ways in which the growth of disciplined school communities can be encouraged.

To understand the problem of discipline in schools and to appreciate the role of staff and students in its promotion, it is necessary firstly to discover the meaning of the word discipline. A wide meaning was adopted at the First National Convention in Kitwe. 'Discipline' was defined as 'a code of conduct, or rules of behaviour involving the relationship between the individual and the community in which he lives and works, and requiring the subordination of personal interests to the good of the community'.[1]

In discussing the problem of discipline in schools, I have adopted the last definition proposed at the National Convention in Kitwe.

Therefore, in a disciplined school community, students should respect properly established authority at all times. They should share with their Headmaster (or Headmistress) and staff a well known and accepted purpose which the school has set out to achieve. This acceptance of authority does not mean that students may not question the decisions of persons in authority, whether such persons are teachers or school prefects. When an explanation for the decision students have questioned has been given, perhaps by the last person in the chain of authority, then they should accept the decision in the interest of the school community, however distasteful such a decision might be to the student body itself. On the other hand, in a disciplined school community, teachers make deliberate efforts to promote genuine co-operation through patience, sympathy and fairness in their dealings with students. They, too, must be committed, and be seen to be committed, to the achievement of the school's purpose. And above all, the staff must work as a team at all times. It has been emphasized many times that only teachers who are themselves good citizens can hope to influence their students to become good citizens.

Until recently, no serious problem of indiscipline in schools was acknowledged in Zambia either by teachers or parents or by administrative officers of the Education Department. For many years after the introduction of the formal type of education into Northern Rhodesia by European missionaries, the concern of enlightened educators was the apparent inactivity of pupils, lacking initiative and self-confidence. In the early days, much respect was given to teachers by pupils in both mission and Government schools. The authority of the teachers in schools was well established and undisputed and there were very few instances when students revolted, either individually or collectively, in complete defiance of such authority.

The reason for the almost total absence of indiscipline in schools until a few years before independence are mainly sociological. First, it was a unique privilege for an African child to find a place at all in the first grade of a primary school, let alone to secure later another place in the fifth or seventh grade, because the shortage of places made them highly competitive. Each pupil knew that good behaviour at all times was an insurance against forfeiture of a place in school. Today educational opportunities are many and places in schools are no longer the privilege of a few. Again, in

the past parents took a much keener interest in the proper behaviour of their children at school. In the same way that our forefathers accepted responsibility for the proper up-bringing of their children, with emphasis on 'good manners, obedience to elders, hospitality to friends, co-operation in common tasks. . . . '[2], until just before independence parents who sent their children to school continued to fulfil these parental responsibilities. Thus, parents and teachers were partners in the task of training school children to become responsible citizens. Today, there is no much enthusiasm among parents to provide moral training for their children, especially when some parents cannot even enforce discipline in their own homes.

Third, completion of the eighth year of the primary course carried a high reward, until quite recently, in terms of social status and money. This situation was an incentive to students for good behaviour. The author recalls attending a feast in 1960 organised in a remote Southern Province village by parents of a schoolboy who became the first person in the village to pass the Form II examination. Today, even the Cambridge School Certificate award does not confer an enhanced status on the recipient. Finally, as in other countries in Africa and elsewhere, teenagers are exposed to harmful influences on their attitudes and behaviour. The type of cowboy pictures which young children are able to see in the cinemas and on television screens sometimes portray the worst aspects of human behaviour. It is reasonable to link growing indiscipline in schools and the youth's tendency to revolt against authority with the gradual disintegration of the traditional ways of life in Zambia. Professor Castle has said that the clash of cultures in Africa has quite often upset the confidence of the African in his futile effort to preserve what is good in African traditional life while accepting what the West has to give. In support of this contention he quotes this passage written by a young African teacher:

> "The wind of change has altered our economy from subsistence agriculture or subsistence pastoralism with the addition of a few simple crafts. It has brought us quick means of transport; it has sharpened our appetites for material possessions. It has made us look different economically, socially and morally. In trying to take in everything without discrimination, tribal and family life has been broken. The inter-tribal society of the Saxons, Yankees, Celts, Luos, Luyias, Hindus, Sikhs, has killed the old tribal conscience, suspended its moral standards and is indifferent to what is happening in the heart of the people."[3]

The first serious outbreaks of indiscipline in African schools in Northern Rhodesia were in 1960, which incidentally was a crisis year in the advancement of the political fortunes of the African people. In the previous year, following serious unrest among boys at Munali Secondary School, authorities had decided to close Munali in November in order to punish students for their misconduct. However, in 1960, there was serious trouble at six other schools in various parts of the country which led to mass expulsion of students. The mass expulsion of students in the affected schools did not, of course, immediately restore harmonious relations between staff and students. On the contrary, the actions of school authorities, who were backed by the colonial administration, were regarded as excessive and vindictive. The expulsion of students definitely created an air of uneasiness and disappointment among African parents about educational prospects for their children.

The Governor of Northern Rhodesia then set up a Commission of Inquiry into indiscipline in schools. The Chairman of the Commission was Sir Walter Harragin, a former Chief Justice of the Gold Coast and Kenya, and the two African members were Chief Mapanza and Henry F. Makulu, both of whom had been teachers before. The Commission was appointed specifically 'to enquire into and report upon the circumstances leading to and the causes of the outbreaks of indiscipline in March, 1960, at Hodgson Technical College, Chalimbana Training College, Fort Jameson Secondary and Trades School, Fort Rosebery Trade School, St. Canisius College, Chikuni, and Kitwe Trades School, and to make recommendations, both specific and general, to prevent the recurrence of such outbreaks'.[4] The Commission submitted its report to the Governor and listed the following contributory causes of unrest and indiscipline in the six schools:

(a) The general grievances of students concernd the inadequacy and dullness of food provided by school authorities.'

(b) There were 'too few' teachers at the six institutions who were 'dedicated men' because many of them made little effort to mix freely with the boys so that they could know their feelings intimately. This criticism was levelled more at the African teachers than at their European counterparts in these schools.

(c) Authorities in schools were dealing with active adolescents who were eager to participate in all types of adventure. These adolescent students were irritated daily by "discipline and restrictions which they considered unnecessary'. Therefore, when school authorities failed to impose heavy penalties on offenders, the students' temptation to misbehave was thereby encouraged indirectly.

Though the Commission found a number of minor shortcomings in the administration of schools, it was evident that the hot political climate in the country at the time was the main cause of disturbances in schools. Students were therefore quite understandably in the front of the struggle against colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia and the continuation of Federation. They cherished the goal of self-determination for their country and universal adult suffrage as much as the political leaders who controlled the nationalist parties. But the Commissioners found no evidence that any one political party had directly instigated strikes in schools even though they were satisfied that 'members of UNIP advised students, both singly and in groups, to cause disturbances in their schools as a protest against the appointment of a United Federal Party African Minister who, they alleged, was a "stooge" of the Europeans.'[5] They emphasised that UNIP's advice to students was given *outside* school bounds. With or without the encouragement of political parties, in the hot political climate of Northern Rhodesia in 1959 and 1960, it is difficult to believe that students in schools would have remained aloof from activities designed to eliminate colonial rule. Certain paragraphs in the Commission's Report support this conclusion. In paragraph 173 of the Report, the Commissioners stated that 'The very word "Freedom" which was shouted in almost every school represents opposition to authority and is one of the UNIP's slogans.' Then in paragraph 175 they concluded that the atmosphere in the country was so politically charged that 'the six baloons went up all over the country on the smallest of pretexts and often ludicrous complaints.'

We have stated already that in January 1964, the United National Independence Party was able to form the first African Government in Northern Rhodesia, following their landslide victory at the general election held under universal adult suffrage. Since 1964 the Party has worked relentlessly to expand facilities for education and training at various levels. The vigor with which the Government has prosecuted its development programmes of education has brought opportunities for the education and training of the youth which

were unknown during the colonial era. Regrettably, some of the facilities provided by the Government have not been used to the maximum. There have been a number of disturbing reports of student indiscipline in schools in the form of strikes, insubordination, insolence and one case of riot. After independence, the occurrences of indiscipline in schools have been isolated and in no way has widespread and as serious as those of 1960. Even so, occurrences of indiscipline in a number of schools have caused some apprehension among teachers and educational authorities.

Except in a few instances where school maladministration was the basic cause of unrest among students, trouble has nearly always started either because of poor communication between staff and students or the failure to provide students with opportunities to excercise responsibility, to be trusted as sensible human beings and not to be treated as little children. That is why most cases of indiscipline have occurred in secondary schools and teacher training institutions which provide boarding facilities for adolescents. Sometimes trouble has arisen in schools because of trivial complaints by students; for example, alleged inefficiency of a teacher in the classroom, the severity of punishment imposed on a guilty student or the 'unpalatable' diet provided in boarding schools. In recent years, there has been an increase in reported cases of drunkenness and drug-taking among students in secondary schools and teacher training colleges. The Ministry of Education has always supported the expulsion from school of any student repeatedly guilty of drunkenness or smoking *dagga*.

Fortunately, in spite of the poor record of some schools and colleges in maintaining authority based on co-operation between staff and students, many others have been successful. What, then, are the factors which lead to a harmonious and purposeful school community? To try to give an adequate answer to the preceding question requires a re-exposition of the word 'discipline'. In the definition of this word at the Kitwe National Convention, a wider meaning was provided—true discipline requires 'the *subordination* of personal and selfish interests to the good of the community'. We shall agree to note that in applying any sanctions to enforce an accepted disciplinary code it is necessary to find out what it is that the community wishes to achieve. It might be political stability, economic and social progress or educational advancement. Any member of the community who subscribes to its principles and

ideals must accept the code of discipline designed to make the attainment of those principles and objectives possible. Inevitably there will be moments when the interests of individual members will conflict with the overall interests of the community. But the interests of the community should always be paramount. It follows that in a disciplined school community, both teachers and students must be prepared at times to subordinate their personal interests to those of the community as a whole.

At the present stage, there are certain difficulties which tend to prevent the development of disciplined school communities. First, since 1964 students in secondary schools and colleges have tended to resent any kind of admonition or punishment, even for misconduct for which they were prepared to accept responsibility. This attitude arises from a misunderstanding of freedom which confers not only rights and privileges upon a people, but also responsibilities in return for privileges. They resent more especially admonition by expatriate teachers because it reminds them of colonial rule. Students often do not realize that though Zambia has been freed from political domination by foreigners, nonetheless expatriate teachers will be required for a long time to support a worthwhile education system, more especially in secondary schools, teachers colleges and technical institutions. Schoolboys have been known to resent even well meant actions of their white schoolmasters because of the suspicion that expatriates will always strive to perpetuate the old master and servant relationship. This situation is made more difficult by the expatriate teachers' failure sometimes to communicate with this students without causing misunderstanding because of the 'subtler nuances of expression when exact transfer of meaning is important: "students often fail to relate their words or ours to any background of references except a purely verbal one".[6] In a number of schools and colleges, no local teaching staff are available to provide a kind of bridge between students and their expatriate teachers, especially the new recruits, who are generally ignorant of 'African values, customs and traditions, their awareness of an African boy's sensibilities, and ways of thinking. . . .'[7] So students have staged a strike to protest against a teacher who has called them 'silly boys', unaware of the connotations of such a phrase.

Frequent transfers of staff is one of the main contributory causes of indiscipline in schools. Since 1964 it has become inevitable administratively to transfer teachers from one secondary school

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or college to another with greater frequency than in the past. This has been necessary to ensure that each secondary school has its fair complement of specialist teachers, more particularly in the key subjects of the curriculum—mathematics, French, science and English. But these frequent transfers of teachers from one school to another have sometimes had an unfortunate disruptive effect on the tone and morale of the schools involved. First, students are deprived of the advantages of continuity with teachers responsible for key subjects and they are quick to perceive their plight, especially when the next teacher is not as competent as the previous one. Second, teachers too are deprived of the opportunity to get to know their pupils well. The efficiency of a teacher quite often depends on his knowledge of the abilities and weaknesses of his pupils, their temperament and their individual characters. Third, in an education system where teachers are transferred frequently from one school to another, the heads of schools find it difficult to build up traditions, to encourage staff and students to mix freely in boarding schools and to enable them to share a common sense of purpose.

Apart from interminable staff changes, the phenomenal expansion of secondary education has led to the employment of a large number of relatively new and inexperienced teachers who have sometimes assumed responsible positions before they have studied the country's educational system and its problems sufficiently. Although Zambia has been fortunate to sustain a very satisfactory programme of recruiting expatriate teachers for secondary schools and teacher training colleges, the calibre of some of the recruits has been poor. This small proportion of mediocre teachers, who have not been dedicated men and women, has done little to inspire confidence in students. Where very little is done to encourage students to accept responsibility and exercise it, where no efforts are made by staff to provide adequate facilities for student recreation, boredom and a lack of the means of self-expression will drive students into wild acts of indiscipline over the most trivial grievances.

Finally, in a wider context, indiscipline in schools should be considered against the background of the changing pattern of social values and social relationships in Zambia as in other parts of Africa. Students cannot be expected to adopt an attitude of mind and habits which are different from the social values accepted by their own parents. The prevalence in Zambia today of drunkenness, gambling, hooliganism and drug addiction among

adults has a bearing upon the conduct and behaviour of students enrolled in schools.

SIX CASE STUDIES

To obtain a realistic appreciation of the basic conditions which affect discipline in schools, the author made a study of six secondary schools at the beginning of 1968. All the secondary schools, some day, others boarding; some predominantly girls', others boys' secondary schools; some of them rural, others urban; are situated in one province. Some of the conclusions drawn and opinions expressed are based on the facts observed in these case studies. The conditions which affect discipline considered specifically in these studies are stability of staff, the age of the school and existence of tradition, and whether it is a day or a boarding school. These factors are then set against the official record of the discipline in each school.

CASE NO. 1

This is a girls' secondary school under the management of the Roman Catholic Church. It is a boarding institution which had only a Form IV class as its senior group of students, so that it had at the end of 1967 an average life of about six years. It is located in a rural area not very far away from an industrial town. The school's student population is a mixture of town and rural girls.

During the two years 1966 and 1967 the staff of the school was reasonably stable—only one teacher left the school in 1967 on the termination of his contract. Because of the development at the school three additional staff members were appointed in 1967.

The discipline of the school was good during the years 1966 and 1967. In 1966 one girl was reprimanded because of a truculent attitude to staff; eventually she was gated but allowed to write the Form II Examination three weeks later, which she passed. Two girls left school at end of term because of pregnancy. In 1967 one girl who tried to abort whilst at school was expelled. Two girls left at end of term owing to pregnancy. All the girls involved were in Form I.

CASE NO. 2

This is a boys' boarding secondary school which is located in the country but only about six miles from a large industrial and

commercial town. It is one of the oldest secondary institutions in Zambia and had the full strength of senior secondary classes in 1966 and 1967. The student population is a mixture of mainly town and some rural boys. It is a Government-controlled school.

The staff changes in 1965 and at the end of 1967 reveal a great degree of instability. In 1965, six teachers left the school on resignations from the teaching service or on transfer. For these same reasons at the end of 1967 seven teachers left the school. Since the school was opened about twelve years ago there have been four heads in charge of the school for periods of time ranging from one year to four years.

The school's discipline has been appalling. In 1966 four boys were expelled from the school, one for repeatedly slipping out of boarding at night, another for *dagga* smoking, one for absenteeism and theft and the other for knocking a Form I boy unconscious as a form of mockery. A fifth boy was suspended for slipping out of boarding at night as a first offence. In 1967 seven disciplinary cases were reported, mainly for the drinking of intoxicants by students and for slipping out of dormitories at night without permission.

CASE NO. 3

This is an old school, formerly for European boys, only now open to secondary school pupils of all races. It is a Government-controlled day school with no boarding facilities. It is situated in the centre of one of Zambia's main industrial towns.

In 1965, eight teachers out of a total of twenty-eight left the school on resignation or on transfer, and eleven changes were reported at the end of 1967 for the same reasons.

The school's discipline has always remained exemplary with only one pupil expelled in 1967 for refusing to sing the national anthem and salute the national flag. In 1966 three students were withdrawn by their parents before their expulsion for refusal repeatedly to obey teachers' instructions.

CASE NO. 4

This is a school like the one described in Case No. 3 above and located in the same town, but it is a day school for girls only.

It has pupils of all races on the roll, an outstanding past academic record of pupils, and a remarkably friendly attitude between staff and students.

In 1965 there were eight staff changes and in 1967 four owing to transfer and resignations.

The discipline of the school in 1966 and 1967 was excellent. No pupil was expelled from the school in those years.

CASE NO. 5

This is a day secondary school on the outskirts of a large industrial town and has a life of about six years. The school has had a remarkably stable staff with only five staff changes in the period from 1966 to the end of 1967.

The discipline of the school, previously privately managed but at present under Government control, has always been satisfactory. In 1966 and 1967 only two serious cases of pupils' misconduct were reported, one involving the refusal by a student to sing the national anthem. The school has co-education classes in all junior and senior forms.

CASE NO. 6

Opened in January 1966, this is one of the newest secondary schools built during the post-independence period. It is a day school under the direct control of the Government and it is co-educational. The school is located in the centre of a small industrial town.

In the period from 1966 to the end of 1967 three teachers left the school but were replaced by six other teachers because of the growth of the school.

But the school's beginning has been disappointing, as both staff and students do not appear to have resolved to discipline themselves in the first instance. In 1966 three cases of student misconduct were reported, including the case of a student who was involved in two knifing incidents before his expulsion. The other student was expelled from school because of his poor work in class, drunkenness and assault on a member of staff. The third case concerned a boy who attended a school concert while drunk and then made an unwarranted assault on a school prefect and was later involved in a knifing incident in his home township. In 1967 there was a minor case of indiscipline at the school. The revolt by students was sparked off by a racist remark by an expatriate member of staff who subsequently left the country.

THE PROBLEM OF PREGNANT SCHOOLGIRLS

The problem of girls' indislinecip in schools has become a matter of grave concern to educational authorities owing to the increase in the number of cases of pregnancy. According to the *Zambia Mail* of 2 February 1968, the Ministry of Education reported that 65 schoolgirls became pregnant in 1967, a figure which by no means included pregnancies which were not reported to headquarters. In recent years, the numbers of pregnancies among girls attending secondary schools and teacher training colleges have increased. It is believed that most pregnancies are conceived during long weekends and school holidays. This supposition is strengthened by the large number of girls, in comparison with boys, who fail to return to school at the beginning of term. On investigation, reports received by school authorities often confirm the pregnancy or even marriage of girls who have failed to return to school after the long vacation.

Teachers should not be held entirely responsible for insufficient control of school girls when pregnancies occur. In day schools, whether primary or secondary schools, the responsibility for training girls to restrain their impulses rests mainly with parents. On the other hand, in boarding schools, parental responsibilities should be assumed by teachers during term time at any rate. Unfortunately, too few parents and guardians nowadays take any real interest in the proper up-bringing of their sons and daughters. We have stated in the first chapter that traditional education provided for the instruction of girls in sexual behaviour as they approached womanhood. The real purpose of girls' initiation ceremonies in tribal societies was to impress upon initiates the importance of feminine chastity. It is remarkable that, although the Mbereshi Girls Boarding school was opened in 1915, there was no reported case of pregnancy of a boarder until 1928. The credibility of this testimony is easily appreciated when we remember that girls at Mbereshi were carefully protected—outside the classroom they lived in their fenced dormitory area known popularly as *icipango*. On the other hand, during school holidays, they were strictly under the care of their grandmothers or paternal aunts who did not give them opportunities for flirting with boys.

School authorities have been uncompromisingly strict in dealing with the problem of pregnant schoolgirls who are invariably expelled from school. If a schoolboy is known to be responsible for the pregnancy of a girl at school, he also suffers expulsion. Some of the victims of this rigid policy have been the more intelligent students with definite potential for high academic attainment. For this reason, the question has been asked time and again: why should school authorities not permit pregnant girls to continue with their education after they have had their babies? After all, isn't it quite usual for such girls to leave their babies with their mothers in search of employment? In these circumstances, why couldn't these girls be allowed to return to school? Anxious about the wastage of potential woman-power, a Member of Parliament appealed to the Government in the National Assembly in July 1966, to allow pregnant schoolgirls 'maternity leave' and to re-admit them to school after delivery to continue with their studies.

The Ministry of Education has always taken the view that one of the most important functions of our schools is to inculcate in the inmates the virtues of chastity and moral rectitude in order to preserve the social foundations of the nation. Re-admission of pregnant girls to school after delivery of their babies would degrade educational institutions. In tribal society an unmarried girl who became pregnant was regarded as a social outcast; indeed under Zulu customary law the sanction against parties responsible for illegitimate pregnancies was death. Today, in order to protect the schoolgirls and to uphold the wishes of their parents, school authorities are required to show that misconduct leading to pregnancy of a schoolgirl is intolerable. Missionary organisations in Zambia and responsible public associations have given the Ministry's policy unequivocal support. In a parliamentary debate, the policy adopted by the Ministry of Education regarding pregnant schoolgirls was declared by the Minister of Education as follows:

> Our schools today fulfil this function by transmitting social values and traditions, the goal always being the pursuit of self-control, respect for decent human institutions such as marriage and the pride of raising legitimate offspring
> Of course, pregnancies among schoogirls are a worldwide problem. When these cases occur my Ministry always approaches them with understanding. But under no circumstances will I allow our school system to play the role of promoter of illegitimate babies among schoolgirls.[8]

THE FUTURE

It is important that in the years ahead careful attention should be given to ways and means by which school administration can be

properly geared to provide ideal conditions for harmonious relations between staff and students. The occurrence of indiscipline among students in a school is a result of frustration either on the part of the staff who fail to perform their duties satisfactorily or on the part of the students themselves. If students become dissatisfied with their treatment, if students become discontented with conditions in school, then the seeds of misbehaviour are immediately sowed in fertile ground.

The following guidelines are suggested for the establishment of ideal conditions in schools in order to promote harmonious relations, improve the corporate life of schools and engender responsible attitudes among students.

(a) *Continuity of Staff*

It is imperative that continuity of staff of secondary schools and training colleges should be encouraged. This is not always easy, as other equally important considerations must be borne in mind. Nonetheless, no school can ever hope to create a sense of oneness and a sense of pride among its students until traditions have been built up. Traditions can only be built up in schools by a team of devoted teachers subscribing to a common purpose. It is important that heads of schools should be selected considering not merely their academic qualifications and experience, but much more their ability to provide the right kind of leadership, the right kind of attitude toward students so as to inspire mutual respect. Difficulties which arise from some members of staff undermining the activities of other teachers are more readily overcome by the leadership of a strong headmaster. Above all, continuity of staff helps to set a much higher academic standards which in turn inspires students to greater endeavours. Wherever possible, African teachers should be considered preferentially for promotion to positions of responsibility. This, however, is not entirely the solution to the problems of discipline in schools, as Professor Castle has quite properly pointed out in the following passage:

> The solution we know ultimately lies in the hands of Africans, and expatriate teachers are generally convinced that the schools must have a higher proportion of African staff. Nevertheless, it would be a grave error to assume that the change-over from white to black teachers will do more than ease the disciplinary situation. Troubles will recur if the African teachers are not at least as good as expatriates, but it will be many years before African graduates are produced in sufficient numbers to satisfy this particular need.[9]

(b) *Parent-Teacher Association*

In schools where the head has made an effort to identify the school's activities and the efforts of staff and pupils with the interests and activities of the surrounding community, a sense of purpose for the school is achieved. It is impossible to run a school satisfactorily in isolation. Students must always regard themselves and be regarded by the staff as members of the community as a whole. Therefore, the support which a head of a school receives from parents in the case of day schools or from the local community in the case of boarding schools can play a vital role in stabilising student activities and interests. Consequently, it is important that every school should have a thriving active Parent-Teacher Association appointed in terms of the regulations for the establishment of Parent-Teacher Associations. Parents can quite often exert considerable influence on pupils and it is advantageous sometimes for pupils to realise that the disciplinary measures meted out to them are supported by their own parents. Therefore, political leaders should avoid making critical remarks about expatriate (or local) teachers, remarks which frequently result in the degradation of teachers in the eyes of the students. It is also true that parents can help to improve the behaviour of students where they openly condemn any manifestations of student irresponsibility. A good example is provided by the Nchelenge Secondary School in Luapula Province where one of the leading Zambian businessmen is a member of the school's Parent-Teacher Association. The businessman has undertaken, of his own accord, not to permit any student from this boarding school to enter his local bar to drink beer. Parent-Teacher Associations can also help to devise suitable incentives for students' good conduct.

(c) *School Societies*

It is absolutely important that in every school or college, and more particularly in boarding institutions, students should be encouraged to organize school societies. This provides an opportunity for leadership among students and provides also an outlet for their ability and energies. School societies, of course, also provide the teachers with the opportunity to get to know their students outside the classroom. But what is more important is that in a relaxed atmosphere the teacher can exert greater influence on his students than in other situations. Therefore, wherever possible, students should be encouraged to form Young Farmers' Clubs, Photographic

Societies, Athletic Clubs, Football Associations, Debating Societies and so on. It ought to be emphasised that cases of indiscipline occur least where the head and individual members of staff take a direct interest in their pupils' affairs.

One aspect of school societies of the greatest importance is the encouragement of traditional dancing and the writing of traditional songs and folk-lore. This is a sphere in which Africans easily excel. Indeed, it is a field in which their natural inclinations can be exploited for the benefit of a school as a whole. More important still, encouragement of traditional dancing among secondary school students helps to associate them with institutions which are basic to the structure of Zambian society.

(d) *Boarding Fees*

It is important that in the course of time, efforts should be made by educational authorities to find avenues of parental contribution to the education of their own children. Restoration of boarding fees in secondary schools and even in teacher training colleges should be seriously considered. The imposition of boarding fees will compel parents to take a keener interest in the education or training of their children. Also boys and girls whose parents make some monetary sacrifice for their education or training are likely to take a more serious attitude towards their studies. Good behaviour and the serious application of a student to his or her studies are quite often complementary. Basically the problem is that it is in the nature of human beings to attach little value to things that are obtained freely. The imposition of fees for boarding, provided a reasonable level is established, cannot in any way negate Government's objective of eliminating inequalities in society. Even at the level of higher education much thought should be given in future to the question of student contribution to the cost of education.

(e) *Punishment*

The way in which punishment is carried out has a decisive effect on the general tone of the school and in particular on the rehabilitation of the offender. The punishment that is inflicted on a student must always be fair, and reasons should always be given for it. There should also be some relation between previous punishments of other individuals and those of subsequent offenders. Equally important, incentives should be provided for students of good conduct. Expulsion of students from school in accordance with the regulations sometimes provides the best solution to a serious problem of indiscipline or misconduct. But at other times expelling a student from school is not a satisfactory method of resolving this type of problem. In 1966 only 16 per cent of the age group were provided with any secondary education at all, and about 11 per cent only of the age group were provided with education beyond Form II. Secondary education, therefore, is a privilege for the individual pupil and the state.

Constructive suggestions should be given to students as to how they can avoid getting into trouble. In a subsequent chapter we deal with the importance of training for citizenship.

CONCLUSION

The whole purpose of education is to train young men and young women to be responsible, dedicated and willing to contribute to national development and progress. At school the right attitudes should be inculcated in students by competent teachers who should set the pupils a good example of co-operation and respect for each other. Self-discipline is important. It means being sensitive to our own faults and not excusing them. We have to control our own tempers. We should at all times avoid acting on the spur of the moment, but should think first of other people. We must respect the established institutions and learn to act through normal channels. Orderliness is important, that is accepting guidance and orders from the top. Finally, we must be moderate in our personal demands and ambitions. At every turn we must avoid drunkenness, loose morals, drug-taking and other weaknesses.

There is no reason at all to despair as regards the future of schools in Zambia. What is important is that now is the time to ensure that the base of the educational system is well and truly laid. For the adult the independence honeymoon was over by 1969. It was then over for the students too. Yet drunkenness in Zambia is still a serious problem among students and adult workers. Much, therefore, remains to be done in Zambia to improve discipline in the nation. It is in the schools where a start must be made and some success achieved soon in order to enhance the chance of rapid social and economic progress. Educated but undisciplined men and women cannot be expected to make worthwhile contributions to the

development effort in the nation. Parents, teachers and school administrators should join hands in the important task of educating our youth for life.

[1] National Convention on Four Year Development Plan (11 to 15 January 1967). Definition of Discipline—Committee on Discipline in the Nation and Race Relations.
[2] E. B. Castle, op. cit., p. 44.
[3] ibid., p. 45.
[4] *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in Certain African Schools (1960).* (Lusaka, Government Printer, 1961).
[5] ibid., p. 24.
[6] E. B. Castle, op. cit., p. 222.
[7] ibid.
[8] Parliamentary Debates (Zambia): 5 August 1966, p. 455.
[9] E. B. Castle, op. cit., pp. 227–8.

XVII

Training for Citizenship

Informed educationists know that education means not merely the imparting of knowledge by the teacher to his pupils. It certainly does not mean, as a pupil might understand it, the transferring of facts from the notebook of the teacher to the notebook of the student without passing through the head of either one. Indeed, true education means not merely providing the knowledge which a pupil requires but also stimulating the pupil's interest in the subjects which he is taught. However, what is even more important is that a good teacher must pay sufficient attention to the moral and emotional development of his pupils. Educationists have, therefore, suggested that education means three things. First, it means the search for the truth. In other words, true education must be a discipline of feretting out the facts which support any theory that is to be forwarded and it means the discipline to accept facts as one finds them. If people are properly educated, they should be able to search for truth and to respect the facts discovered. Second, education means the pursuit of excellence. It means that properly educated men and women should excel in their chosen field so as to be competent and able to perform their functions to the betterment of their communities. Finally, education also means, or at least it ought to mean, the capacity for service. In other words, the truly educated man does not set himself apart as better than the rest.

The educated man is one who is conscious of his obligations to his fellow men. The educated man does not ask what his country can do for him, but rather what he can do for his country. He should be aware of the interdependence of members of the community in the development, happiness and prosperity of individual members. His education should enable him to identify and recognise the needs of the community and how best the individuals, including himself, can help in ensuring that the needs are met.

In this chapter an attempt is made to outline some of the fields in which Zambia's broad educational system is developing so as to prepare the youth of the nation to serve their country and

their fellow men. After all, true education is a preparation for life. It is not an end in itself but merely a means by which the individual boy or girl, man or woman, is prepared to fit into society. It is true that this is mainly the function which must be performed by teachers in schools. They can only succeed if they are sufficiently dedicated and determined to turn their schools into institutions of good learning and of sound character training. But training future leaders in citizenship is not a function that can be left to the teachers alone. The nation as a whole must be involved. Teachers, parents, and educational administrators all have a vital part to play. There are certain aspects of character training as well as training in citizenship which cannot be adequately fulfilled in the school environment.

Character training and training for citizenship are aspects of education which are not new in Zambia. Success in these fields of education has differed from school to school and from period to period in the growth of the education system in this country. In those schools which have enjoyed a measure of staff continuity and which have been fortunate to obtain teachers of the highest calibre, dedication and devotion to duty, progress has been made in turning out men and women who have become outstanding leaders of their communities. In the past, institutions such as Kafue Training Centre, Mbereshi Mission and Sefula in the Barotse Province have all made their mark upon the country's educational development because of the training in character which the inmates of the institutions were able to receive.

In this regard, it is proper to mention that Chipembi Girls School and Munali Secondary School have over the past 25 years provided the nation with some of her most outstanding sons and daughters. The former institution, founded by the Methodist Church, placed great emphasis upon sound academic training, based firmly upon the Christian way of life. Similarly, at Munali Secondary School students received not only academic training but were also encouraged to develop a wider outloook on issues confronting them and a greater awareness of their special role in the development of the country. Today it is possible to identify institutions where sound leadership is provided by the school's head and where members of the staff are making an impact on the character and outlook of students.

In the succeeding paragraphs, an outline is provided of the new

institutions and the new type of courses which are being developed in Zambia specifically to assist the education system to provide the much needed character training and training in citizenship of youth—the youth in schools and also the youth who have left school.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

There has been a growing and urgent need over the years for drastic revision of existing syllabuses in primary and secondary schools. During the colonial era the type of text-book used generally for such subjects as English, history and arithmetic had an accent on the sort of things that a European child of approximately the same standard was required to learn. In other words, a characteristic of education during the colonial era was the endeavour by the educational administrators to equate educational standards provided in colonial territories to those of the metropolitan power, whether France, Britain, or some other power.

Today the position is different. For the first time an attempt is being made to provide books with a Zambian environment and produced with the aspirations, ambitions and interests of the Zambian people in mind. To make this policy effective, the Government has promoted the establishment of the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation which directs the policies of the National Educational Company of Zambia Limited and the National Educational Distribution Company of Zambia Limited. These two subsidiary companies of the Foundation are responsible for encouraging Zambians to write school text-books and for distributing text-books and students' equipment to schools in Zambia. The earnings of all the subsidiaries of the Foundation will be channelled into development projects and into an extensive schoolarship programme for gifted young Zambians.

The process of revising syllabuses for all subjects of the junior secondary school course was largely accomplished by the end of 1969. The curriculum development undertaken since independence for the primary and secondary courses has been a response to an urgent need to devise syllabuses appropriate to local conditions. Training in citizenship should be more adequately fulfilled in the current civics and history syllabuses than in the past. For example, the aims of the civics syllabus for the junior secondary school course are stated as follows:

(i) To introduce pupils to the national philosophy of Humanism

and to ensure its application to modern Zambian society.

(ii) To prepare pupils to be responsible and mature citizens and to give them some knowledge of the workings of particular institutions which they will meet on leaving school.

(iii) To give a background to and an indication of the political and social structure of Zambia, and to examine the relationship of Zambia to the outside world.

(iv) To impart to and instil in the pupils a knowledge of and pride in Zambia's heritage.

The process of curriculum reform and development is a continuing one. The beginning has been made, but more remains to be done. It is important that in the development of the curriculum, wherever possible, the emphasis ought to be placed upon the need to enable each student to understand his own role in the development of the nation.

THE OUTWARD BOUND COURSES

The Outward Bound School at Mbala was established in 1962 when twenty students received their first training. Since the inception of Outward Bound, regular courses have been provided at the School, situated on a hill in one of the most beautiful parts of the country, overlooking Port Mpulungu on Lake Tanganyika. The school is located in an area which provides the right kind of environment for the physical endurance tests which are an important part of instruction in Outward Bound Courses. From the inception of Outward Bound in Zambia, funds required to maintain the school and run courses have been obtained from donations from local business organisations, especially the two giant mining companies. In recent years, even small business and industrial organisations which now appreciate the value of the character training provided by Outward Bound have given generous donations.

Those who have organised the Outward Bound courses have emphasised that these courses are part of the normal formal education of students. Indeed, it has been stated time and again that the disadvantage of the course is merely that it restricts the intake of participants to a small number each year. The training offered to those who attend the Outward Bound Courses includes the physical training of the body, toughening the individual, and providing the right kind of environment for developing the virtues

we admire in a good man: kindness, selflessness and courage. It has been said that:

> The whole purpose of Outward Bound is to impel, while there is still time, into the kind of experiences that will have a profound and lasting effect on their character. Those who have led sheltered, secure lives have little experience of the crude stuff of ordinary human life; while those whose lives have been confined within certain narrow limits must gain a broader view.[1]

That part of Mbala District where the Outward Bound Courses are held offers every facility required to teach and test the ability of students to face hazards and hardships in life with perserverence. It is of course an advantage that the country's future leaders should be men who are not soft.

In the education of students in our schools we try to show that a cheerful, willing, friendly person is always a help to his team or group. The development of these qualities is encouraged during Outward Bound courses and every participant is encouraged to demonstrate to and learn from other boys whose home background may be different from his own. Indeed, by enabling each student to appreciate his own role in the group, he is encouraged more positively to co-operate with the rest of the participants. In this way the intention is to give a student the opportunity to discover himself and for the team leader to help each member of his team to show the talents which he possesses which he could not hitherto show because suitable conditions did not obtain. At the end of each Course each participant should have surmounted fear and difficulties and to have carried out responsibilities. During endurance tests students are expected to gain self-respect through self-control and to appreciate honour and good behaviour.

It is, therefore, vitally important that the Outward Bound School should be expanded in future so that a larger number of students, junior executives, including personnel and training officers, and even young political Party organisers, are afforded the opportunity to benefit from attending the courses offered at the school. In 1967 the School offered 13 courses during the year which were attended by 486 students, an increase of 167 over the figures for 1966. In 1967 for the first time, a girls' course was held at a site in the Mulungushi Dam near Kabwe. In recent years, however, there has been a decline in the number of bodies prepared to sponsor students

for various courses at the Lake School. Industrial and commercial organisations should give more financial support to the Outward Bound Association to enable it to fulfil the important role of character training in Zambia.

THE ZAMBIA NATIONAL SERVICE

Until recently, another important institution in training for citizenship was the Zambia Youth Service. The Zambia Youth Service was established immediately after independence in 1965 as a means by which the energy and enthusiasm of a large number of young men and women who had played a prominent role in the emancipation of the country could be harnessed into constructive channels. The Service was rather haphazardly organised before proper principles for training the youth were established, and camps were created in two provinces to cater for the different needs of members of the Service.

The early difficulties did not stem only from a lack of clearly defined objectives, but also from the fact that members were drawn from a large pool of young men and women with a variety of interests as well as differing academic backgrounds. In the early days of the development of the service, a serious error was made—students were promised a large number of skills ranging across training as pilots, aircraft technicians, vehicle maintenance mechanics, tractor drivers, stenographers and so forth, a training which in fact the Zambia Youth Service was unable to provide.

When the Service was established at the beginning of 1965 the headquarters were administered by the Director who was assisted by five senior members of staff. The Director and his staff were responsible for recruitment of members of the Service and for recruitment of staff as well as organization of the various camps and supervision of the activities of field staff and students. Subsequently, the Government approved the establishment of two camps on the Copperbelt, the first at Kitwe, which ultimately enrolled a large number of boys who were all drawn from the Copperbelt and surrounding areas. The second, for girls, was established outside Chingola. Initially 62 girls were recuited for the Helen Kaunda Girls Camp at Chingola. Later 62 youths drawn from the Lusaka and Kabwe areas were enrolled at the Kabwe camp. All these recruits were under the supervision of their camp commissioners who were assisted by five local members of staff.

From the beginning of 1967, attention was given to a clearer definition of the objectives of the Zambia Youth Service. Organization of the Service was also streamlined so as to make it an efficient, effective movement properly geared to inspire the youth to appreciate the importance of service to the community. Subsequently, therefore, the Service was controlled by a statutory body, the Directorate of the Zambia Youth Service under the chairmanship of a Minister of State. The Service expanded very rapidly afterwards. In April 1967, there were 498 boys and 120 girls in camps at Kitwe, Kabwe, Lunzuwa (for girls) and at the Kitwe Farm Project.

When the basic objectives of the Zambia Youth Service were re-defined at the beginning of 1967, certain important principles were laid down. First, Kafue Central Training School was established to provide basic training in agriculture and various skills. It provided training in agriculture, brickwork, carpentry, leatherwork, mechanics and so forth. Trainees of the Service who were recruited for training at Kafue were required to select one or more of the skills provided at the Centre. However, it was a fundamental obligation on the part of every inmate or every member of the Youth Service to undertake complete training in agriculture. After completion of preliminary training, the successful members of the Youth Service were then placed in certain occupations for on-the-job training for a further period of six months.

Apart, however, from the training which was provided in agriculture and various skills, members of the Zambia Youth Service at the Central Training School at Kafue and at camps in various provinces of the Republic were also given education designed to promote national consciousness, patriotism, discipline and leadership. The basis of this over-riding training is that the youth who will be called upon to follow the difficult but rewarding life of rural farming must be patriotic. Otherwise the possession of knowledge and skills will not by themselves assist either the nation or individuals to move towards prosperity. It has been recognized that by far the greatest proportion of Zambians must expect to lead prosperous and contented lives on the land. Therefore, it is the young generation who must be prepared for the important task of developing the land resources of the nation. It is appreciated that the development of the rural areas is such an enormous responsibility that the energies of the youth must be mobilized to the greatest possible extent in the development of agriculture.

The Zambia Youth Service was abolished in December 1971 in terms of Section 58 of the Zambia National Service Act which repealed Cap. 161 of the Laws. The former Zambia Youth Service was replaced by the Zambia National Service established under an Act of Parliament to promote exactly the same objectives as its forerunner but on a larger scale and better co-ordinated basis. The responsibility was consequently vested in the Ministry of Defence and the functions of the Service were described in Section 3 of the Act (No. 35 of 1971) as follows:

> 3(2) The functions of the Service shall be the training of citizens to serve the Republic and the employment of its members in tasks of national importance and otherwise in the service and devence of the Republic.

Emphasis will be placed on the acquisition by national servicemen of useful skills such as carpentry, building, tailoring, plumbing and metalwork. Two other aspects of training will also be given emphasis. National servicemen (including women) are expected to know how to handle small arms. They will be given a measure of military training in order to play their part effectively in the defence of the Republic in the event of war. Secondly, all national servicemen will be trained to cultivate the land and grow various types of crops. Their role in the nation-building effort will be two-fold: (a) to defend their country in time of war; and (b) to cultivate the land and grow food in peace time.

The President of the Republic of Zambia is the supreme commander of the Service whose powers include: (a) the power to determine the operational use of the Service; and (b) the power to appoint members and to dismiss them. The President may delegate any of these powers to the Minister, the Commandant of the Service or any other person. In accordance with the provisions of the Act, the members of the Service include persons who enlist voluntarily and those who enlist compulsorily. In terms of Section 7 of the Act, liability to the called up for the Service is restricted to 'every citizen, male or female, who has attained the age of eighteen years and has not attained the age of thirty-five years and is a member of the class specified in the Second Schedule'. The law provides for a minimum training period of three years in the National Service for persons enrolled in specified institutions of learning or training. The duration of the training provided for others who are liable to be called up is two years.

COMMUNITY SERVICE CAMPS

Since 1964, there have been many challenging opportunities which independence has brought to the people of Zambia. However, it has been noted that with a few exceptions most of the youth of the country did not respond satisfactorily to these challenging opportunities. It was expected after independence that young men and women would offer their services wholeheartedly for various development schemes and would not spare themselves in making a contribution to the rapid growth of the new Zambia.

Although there have been a number of honourable exceptions, (that is, examples exist of young men and women who have voluntarily participated in community self-help projects) it is a fact that there has been a marked reluctance on the part of the country's youth to identify themselves with the National Development Plans.

This negative attitude of the youth to development and to self-sacrifice is of course not uncommon in other countries in Africa and in other parts of the world. Quite often the youth who obtain a measure of education consider themselves to be an elite class, and prefer to stand aloof from the hard work, the toil, and sweat which are essential components of development in any country. Indeed, there is, as previously stated, a misconception by students, particularly secondary school students, that as educated men the Government owes them a living. They ask for more and better facilities without thinking about the need to give back something to the community which gives them their education and provides for their upkeep. Students' conspicuous attitude to materialism should also be explained as a manifestation of the general attitude of adults who wield considerable influence on the youth. There is a growing tendency among the adults in Zambia, whether as workers for businessmen or as employees of the Government, to consider their personal interests in the form of wages and conditions of service to be paramount over the interests of the nation as a whole. It has been stated that the self-centredness, lack of patriotism and the plain selfishness which characterise many of our boys and girls in schools is partly responsible for periodic outbreaks of indiscipline in schools.

In 1967, the Ministry of Education decided to stimulate secondary school students to a greater awareness of their duties and responsibilities as future leaders of the nation. A plan was conceived to encourage students to devote their full energy and enthusiasm to the development of Zambia. It was realised that if the students had

for a long time after independence stood aloof from the main stream or activity in the form of development in Zambia, it was because the, had not been confronted with the challenge to participate positively in national development projects.

Therefore, the Ministry of Education planned to organize community service camps in all the eight provinces of the Republic for a two-week period which was to involve the participation of secondary school students drawn from Form IV and Form II classes. The Ministry of Education decided to involve students and make them responsible for certain small but important projects withinthe Four Year National Development Plan and this proved to the critics that the students were ready and willing to commit themselves fully to national ambitions and the programme of development. In 1967, the scheme was confined only to boys in Form II and Form IV in all Government and Aided secondary schools, which were invited to volunteer to attend community service camps from 5 to 19 August. In every region 100 boys were to be selected from Form II and Form IV classes, of whom 50 boys were to remain in their own region and the other 50 to proceed to a neighbouring region to work on a community project with 50 selected students of that home region. However, the Western Province was permitted to select a total of 200 boys, 100 of whom were to proceed to two other regions.

From the reports which were received from teachers who were responsible for the close supervision of students during the fortnight community service camps it was quite clear that they were an unqualified success. Reports showed that the boys thoroughly enjoyed living in temporary shelters, worked hard, submitted to strict discipline, shared the spirit of comradeship and oneness, and found satisfaction in a job well done. It is expected that the boys were able to learn something of the dignity of labour and were to be expected to put to the test their self-reliance, their self-discipline and their qualities of perseverance, determination and leadership. Indeed, when an invitation was issued, the response from the boys was considerable. So good was the response that there were more volunteers than there were places available in the camps. If disappointment has been expressed at the lack of interest in positive development schemes by the youth, it should be remembered that very little in the past has been done to confront the youth specifically with challenges requiring their immediate response.

Finally it is appreciated that the success of community service camps will depend upon the interests which the public in general and education administrators in particular will bear. At two community service camps which the author attended in 1967 as an active participant, old men and women from local communities in the Mkushi and Kalomo rural areas joined the youth from secondary schools in the road-making projects. Later when these projects were completed they expressed their gratitude through their elected Members of Parliament to the Ministry of Education for valuable work done by the students.

In other regions where students' efforts made new services available to local communities, similar sentiments of gratitude by local people were reported. Undoubtedly, apart from the services provided cheaply and quickly for selected rural communities, the whole scheme helped to create a favourable image of student enthusiasm to help others. Unfortunately, it was not possible to involve all Ministries and Members of Parliament in the camps—an arrangement which would be desirable not merely to give the camps an official stamp, but to provide participating students with an opportunity of sharing knowledge and experience with their political leaders who should be required to reside in the camps for a minimum period of one week. Senior civil servants' attendance of community service camps would stimulate camp life, making it interesting. Over a period when a Government Minister or senior civil servant is available, lectures should be arranged for students on such subjects as Zambian Humanism, co-operative living, the evils of tribalism, and the role of youth in a developing country.

One of the most important aspect of education is the awakening of a sense of civic responsibility among students. Equally important is the question of character training in schools. Community service camps provide appropriate settings for such training.

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM AND THE NATIONAL FLAG

One of the most important and effective way of training in citizenship is the use of the national anthem in all types of schools and institutions. Students are expected to know how to sing the whole of the national anthem, that is three verses and one refrain, and to appreciate fully the meaning of ech part of the national anthem. By encouraging students to sing the national anthem and to relate the substance of the anthem to national hopes and ideals, a sense of

patriotism can be engendered and national cohesion achieved. In the same way, the national flag occupies an important role in building a sense of unity and a sense of loyalty to the nation. Without the institutions of the national anthem and the national flag, the ideal of a united and coherent nation would be completely frustrated, because there would be no basis or common outlook for unity.

Thus, it is provided in the Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations of 1966, promulgated under the Education Act of 1966, as amended, for the purposes of promoting national unity and a proper respect for the national anthem and the national flag as a secular symbol of national consciousness:

Section 25 (i)

(a) Instruction shall be provided in all schools in the singing of the National Anthem and in the proper manner in which pupils should behave on formal occasions on which the National Anthem is played or sung or the national flag is flown; and

(b) At all schools pupils shall be required formally to sing the National Anthem and to salute the national flag on such occasions as the head may, subject to this Regulation, determine.

Section 25 (2)—Whenever pupils are required in accordance with this regulation—

(b) formally to salute the National Flag, the pupils shall raise the right hand to the temple with the open palm facing outwards while standing at attention. It is then provided in Section 25 (3) that: "subject to the provisions of sub-regulation (4), the Minister may give to the head of a school such directions as he may consider necessary with respect to the occasions on which pupils attending school shall be required to sing the National Anthem or salute the national flag, and the head shall comply with those directions."

However, the most important provision of the section dealing with the national anthem and national flag is provided in sub-section (4) of section 25 of the Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations, 1966, as amended. The proviso is as follows:

(4) No pupil shall be required to sing the National Anthem or to salute the national flag as part of any religious ceremony or observance.

All this is in the section on *Instruction at Schools*. Two things therefore are clear: that it is not the intention of the Government that either of these two actions, singing and saluting, should have a religious significance; and that the Government is concerned only with the promotion of national consciousness and national unity. Obviously, all these objectives are shared by reasonable parents of school children who are anxious to bring up their children in such a way as to obey in these two important subjects dealing with training in citizenship. The Government has consistently held the view that since education is not compulsory in Zambia, no individual may complain of being subjected to measures completely unacceptable on the grounds of religion or conscience. It follows that any parent who does not like the kind of educational institutions which are provided can voluntarily withdraw his boy or girl from the regular school system. It is important that the state must reserve the right to prescribe what subjects shall be taught at different levels of the school system. In other words, in so far as training in citizenship is concerned, instruction in the singing of the national anthem and the saluting of the national flag is intended to be purely 'secular' and not 'religious' ceremonies, intended only for the promotion of a national consciousness and national unity.

THE PRESIDENT'S CITIZENSHIP COLLEGE

On 4 July 1968, the Government decided to establish a new institution in Zambia where 'leaders of opinion in the country can come together for courses which would enable them to understand and appreciate Government policies and plans and thus actively participate in implementing those policies and plans in their respective roles in society'. The need to establish such an institution was recognised during the first year after independence. There was a need to mobilize capital resources required for development purposes; there was also a need to mobilize manpower to be more efficient, more disciplined and more productive. Because independence brought new opportunities and responsibilities, the attitudes of the people required reorientation so that the war against widespread poverty and ignorance could be successfully prosecuted.

The idea of establishing such an institution originated in 1965 with the preparation of a paper on the 'Need for a Labour College' by the author, then Minister of Education, at the instruction of the President of the Republic of Zambia. Subsequently, other papers

patriotism can be engendered and national cohesion achieved. In the same way, the national flag occupies an important role in building a sense of unity and a sense of loyalty to the nation. Without the institutions of the national anthem and the national flag, the ideal of a united and coherent nation would be completely frustrated, because there would be no basis or common outlook for unity.

Thus, it is provided in the Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations of 1966, promulgated under the Education Act of 1966, as amended, for the purposes of promoting national unity and a proper respect for the national anthem and the national flag as a secular symbol of national consciousness:

Section 25 (i)

(a) Instruction shall be provided in all schools in the singing of the National Anthem and in the proper manner in which pupils should behave on formal occasions on which the National Anthem is played or sung or the national flag is flown; and

(b) At all schools pupils shall be required formally to sing the National Anthem and to salute the national flag on such occasions as the head may, subject to this Regulation, determine.

Section 25 (2)—Whenever pupils are required in accordance with this regulation—

(b) formally to salute the National Flag, the pupils shall raise the right hand to the temple with the open palm facing outwards while standing at attention. It is then provided in Section 25 (3) that: "subject to the provisions of sub-regulation (4), the Minister may give to the head of a school such directions as he may consider necessary with respect to the occasions on which pupils attending school shall be required to sing the National Anthem or salute the national flag, and the head shall comply with those directions."

However, the most important provision of the section dealing with the national anthem and national flag is provided in sub-section (4) of section 25 of the Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations, 1966, as amended. The proviso is as follows:

(4) No pupil shall be required to sing the National Anthem or to salute the national flag as part of any religious ceremony or observance.

All this is in the section on *Instruction at Schools*. Two things therefore are clear: that it is not the intention of the Government that either of these two actions, singing and saluting, should have a religious significance; and that the Government is concerned only with the promotion of national consciousness and national unity. Obviously, all these objectives are shared by reasonable parents of school children who are anxious to bring up their children in such a way as to obey in these two important subjects dealing with training in citizenship. The Government has consistently held the view that since education is not compulsory in Zambia, no individual may complain of being subjected to measures completely unacceptable on the grounds of religion or conscience. It follows that any parent who does not like the kind of educational institutions which are provided can voluntarily withdraw his boy or girl from the regular school system. It is important that the state must reserve the right to prescribe what subjects shall be taught at different levels of the school system. In other words, in so far as training in citizenship is concerned, instruction in the singing of the national anthem and the saluting of the national flag is intended to be purely 'secular' and not 'religious' ceremonies, intended only for the promotion of a national consciousness and national unity.

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were prepared in the Ministries of Education and Labour. In the discussions that followed on this and similar papers, it was decided to expand the scope of the College in order to cater for a wide variety of leaders in the nation, not merely trade unions and representatives of management. Consequently, the name of the College was changed to the 'President's Citizenship College' and its main objects were redefined as follows:

(a) to provide courses for workers and trade union officers and persons engaged in trade unionism, industrial relations and kindred matters;

(b) to provide courses for political party workers in political organisation and financial management;

(c) to provide courses for people engaged in the co-operative movement in matters relating to the organization and management of co-operatives;

(d) to provide courses and seminars for youth in leadership and democratic citizenship;

(e) to provide courses and seminars for leaders from various sectors of the community, business, public service, local government and similar groups in subjects relating to activities of such sectors;

(f) to provide courses and seminars in political, economic and social problems affecting Zambia with special emphasis on the National Development Plan; and

(g) to instil in persons such sense of pride and patriotism as will engender the growth of Zambia, its philosophy of Humanism and the fruition and realisation of the spirit embodied in the Republic's motto—*One Zambia, One Nation*.

The site for the new College was approved in January 1968. It is near the famous Mulungushi Rock which lies about 22 kilometres north of Kabwe. Construction work at the College site started in 1969. The completion date of 1 April 1973 was met for the major buildings of the College, the Convention Hall, library, lecture and administration rooms, one hostel block, the kitchen, dining room and staff houses. It was decided to organize the first courses and seminars at Mulungushi after the completion of necessary buildings in 1973.

The cost of building the College at Mulungushi was undertaken jointly by the Government and a German Foundation called the Friedrich Ebert Foundation which pledged in January 1969 the

amount of K600,000 towards the capital cost of the construction of one hostel, dining hall, and kitchen block and administration/college block. Subsequently, the Foundation increased the amount pledged to K1,200,000. In the agreement between the Trustees of the Council for the President's Citizenship College and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, it is provided that 50 per cent of the recurrent expenditure of the College for the first five years will be contributed by the Foundation. Thereafter, the contribution by the Foundation to recurrent expenditure will be diminished by 10 per cent annually. The Foundation also undertook to provide scholarships for training suitable local staff in West Germany in order to prepare them for senior positions in the College. Three Zambian students were sponsored by the Foundation to study for a year's Certificate in Adult Education in 1971 at the University of Zambia. The objectives of the College have been approved by the Headquarters in New York of the United Nations Development Programme from which financial assistance will be obtained for specialist lecturers at the College.

CONCLUSION

The first years after Zambia's independence have revealed that tribal sentiments constitute the greatest danger to the national unity. Erstwhile great champions of our country's emancipation all too easily fall prey to personal ambitions in which national interests do not count at all. Even to a greater extent than our long serving freedom fighters, the upstarts whether in the realm of politics or business or the professions will not take stock of the serious consequences of provoking tribal sentiments. The greatest stresses and strains which have beset the new independent African countries have arisen primarily from corruption and a failure on the part of political masters to learn the art of compromise in the national interest. It is in this context that the role of the President's Citizenship College should be appreciated. The Principal-designate of the College, Emmanuel Chalabesa, has underlined the important role of the College in the words:

> As institutional changes take place, the College will afford an opportunity to the leadership from the various levels of society to meet and discuss their experiences, their problems and their solutions to them. Such a flow of experience and ideas it is hoped will enhance the emergence among the leadership of values and attitudes conducive to development and modernisation.

I believe that one of the most important functions of education in Africa or anywhere else in the world is to train future leaders in citizenship—to place at the nation's disposal the men and women who will not ask what their country can do for them, but rather what they can do for their country.

[1] Ralph Stanbury on 'Kindness, Courage and Character' in the *International Bulletin of Outward Bound*, Vol. I, No. 4, (October 1967), p. 5.

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