

**TRADITION AND EDUCATION FOR ALL AMONG THE BAILA PEOPLE OF
NAMWALA IN SOUTHERN PROVINCE, ZAMBIA**

BY

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**A thesis submitted to the University of Zambia in fulfilment
of the requirements for the award of Doctor of
Philosophy in Education**

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DECLARATION

I, **Patrick Chota Muma**, declare that this thesis represents my work. It has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other university and does not incorporate any published work or material from another thesis.

Signed:

Date:

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the loving memories of my father and my mother who sacrificed their comfort so that we the children could be educated. At the beginning of each school term they sometimes literally surrendered all their money, and at times even the payslip to prove a point. They taught us to share the money according to our boarding school needs and only requested us to leave them a small amount for them “to buy salt and soap.”

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This thesis by **Patrick Chota Muma** is approved as fulfilling the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

The study investigated the Ila tradition in relation to the realisation of Education for All (EFA). The purpose of the study was to establish how the beliefs and traditions of the Baila people of Namwala affected the realisation of EFA in Namwala. The objectives of the study were to assess the influence of the Ila tradition on access to formal education and on academic performance. The other objective was to ascertain the compatibility of Ila tradition with modern formal education. The Baila people were chosen because of the general perception of some teachers in Namwala that the district performed relatively worse than other districts in Southern province in the Grade 7 and 9 national examinations because of the Ila traditions.

Qualitative methodology of data collection and analysis process was used. Four data collection instruments were employed. I started the study with document analysis where I examined the trend of access to school and compared the Grade 7 and 9 results of Namwala to other districts in the province over a period of four years. I then used semi-structured interviews of diverse interest groups in education, namely, the four chiefs in Namwala, some Head teachers, teachers, pupils, parents, young people who had never been to school, World Vision Zambia representative and a FAWEZA official. The last two are NGO groups with noticeable presence and influence in the promotion of education in Namwala. In addition, Focus Group Discussions were held with some village headmen. The fourth and last data collection instrument was ethnography where I, as researcher, remained open and sensitive to everything of traditional nature of the Baila that I saw, heard and read during the whole period of the study. A total of 81 participants formed the study sample of a study population of all Baila in Namwala and stakeholders in the formal education in the district.

The major findings of the study were that access to school as well as retention level was low in Namwala. In addition, Namwala featured poorly academically in Grades 7 and 9 posting in the bottom three out of eleven districts in the province in 2012 to 2015 for Grade 7 results and within the bottom five in the province in Grade 9 during the same period. In all the years reviewed (2012-2015) Namwala never performed above the national mean in the two national examinations. The study established that the beliefs and traditions of the Baila, which basically oscillate around the rearing of cattle, had a negative impact on the Baila's perception and appreciation of formal education and ultimately on the realisation of EFA. It was observed that many traditional Baila regarded formal education as irrelevant to their lives as cattle, which they rear in very large numbers, answered most of their economic and social needs.

The study concluded that EFA in its Western hegemonic form and implementation mode of 'one size fits all' did not seem to answer the needs and aspirations of some societies like the Baila. The study, therefore, recommended the use of localized curriculum which took cognizance of local cultures and practices, like the rearing of cattle in the case of the Baila, to ignite the interest of the local people in formal education.

The study recommended that further research be taken into the actualization of the concept of localized curriculum and its impact on the mind-set of the Baila concerning formal education.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIKS	African Indigenous Knowledge System
DEB	District Education Board
DEBS	District Education Board Secretary
ECE	Early Childhood Education
ECZ	Examinations Council of Zambia
EFA	Education for All
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FAWEZA	Forum for African Women Educationalists of Zambia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HIV	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non- Governmental Organisation
PTA	Parents Teachers Association
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SFP	School Feeding Programme
TTL	Time to Learn
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPND	United Party for National Development

USAID	United States Agency for International Development
ZANEC	Zambia National Education Coalition
ZAWA	Zambia Wildlife Authority
ZESCO	Zambia Electricity Supply corporation
ZOCS	Zambia Open Community Schools

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The chapter gives background information on the study. It begins with the researcher's motivation for undertaking this study. Here I give the reasons which prompted me to undertake this particular study. The chapter then briefly outlines how the Zambian education policies have been influenced by Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This is followed by statement of the problem under study and the purpose of the study. The chapter then outlines the objectives of the study and the research questions. In addition, the significance of the study is given here. The chapter ends with limitations of the study.

1.2 Justification for Study

I moved to Namwala District Education Board at a time when all the three national examination results (Grades 7, 9 and 12) were published and the District Education Management Team was in the process of carrying out results analysis for 2012 national examinations. The district performance ranking showed that for Grade 7, the district was number 9 out of ten districts in the province. The grade 9 results were equally very poor, occupying the last slot in the province. The District Education Management team, therefore, wanted to establish how each individual school had performed. For operational purposes, Namwala district is divided in five educational zones. In each of the five zones in the district, the District Education Management team brought together Head teachers and their Deputies, Senior teachers as well as Careers and Guidance teachers so that each school could account for the results they produced in the three examinations. Schools were at the same time requested to state how they planned to improve their results. In all the zones, the blame

was mostly laid on the pupils and their parents; that they were not interested in education. When I implored the teachers in one zone that they should play their part for them, too, were to blame, one Head teacher rose and addressed me in the following words:

Sir, when we say the pupils and their parents are to blame, we know what we are talking about. Here in Namwala, we are dealing with Baila. The Baila are generally not interested in education. You are new here but people who occupied your position before you tried to improve the results in Namwala and failed. You will also fail to improve the results here in Namwala because the Baila are different and you cannot change them as far as their attitude to education is concerned.

I took this as a personal challenge. I resolved to get interested in the Ila tradition and investigate the part of their tradition which makes them be disinterested in modern formal education.

1.3 Background

Zambia's educational policies are influenced by two international initiatives on the improvement of education, namely the World Conference on Education for All (EFA) and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The two initiatives are underpinned by the understanding that education is a Human right.

While MDGs are multisectoral in nature, the first three goals are relevant to education or education plays a vital role in their attainment. The first Millennium Development Goal focused on eradication of extreme poverty and hunger. It was assumed that education was a catalyst in this goal. The second goal aimed at achieving universal primary education. The third goal was concerned about promotion of gender equality. It is believed that education is the best equaliser of people. While currently in many developing countries men lord it over women because of the economic advantage they have over women, education has elevated some women to the same status as men.

The expiration of the Millennium Development Goals in 2015 gave birth to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). On 25th September, 2015 countries adopted and committed themselves to the 17 goals whose aim is to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure prosperity for all. The introduction of SDGs did not, in any way, denigrate the MDGs. What the SDGs did was to update them and expand on the MDGs. To expand and enrich the understanding of MDGs new goals which relate to water and sanitation, energy, climate change and issues of equality in society are dealt with in the Sustainable Development Goals. The main difference between MDGs and SDGs is that whereas the former mostly seemed to address specifically developing countries, the later are all encompassing and aim at calling on all countries to account for their development. Although the SDGs are interlinked in principle, the fourth goal is specifically on education. This goal, whose heading is 'Quality Education', advocates for inclusive and equitable education and aims to promote lifelong learning opportunities.

The goals of Education for All are:

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.
3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life- skills programmes.
4. Achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.
5. Eliminating gender parities in primary and secondary education by 2015, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus of ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.
6. Improving all aspects of quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

Source: *Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Commitment*

Zambia has taken considerable strides to fulfil the EFA goals of realising universal primary education. For example, as a way of addressing the declining enrolment rates and the increasing dropout rate, Zambia introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) where learners in Grades 1-7 are not expected to pay any school fees. And as an improvement to this policy, the government extended the free education issue by abolishing examinations fees for grade 9 starting from 2012. It is the government's intention that abolition of school fees will eventually be up to Grade 12 (Examinations Council of Zambia, 2013, p. 3). In addition, as a way of increasing access and at the same time raise the pupil retention level, the government of Zambia in 1997 (Ministry of Education, 2004, p. 2) introduced the Re-entry policy "which mandates schools to allow girls back into the school system who previously left school due to pregnancy". The Re-entry policy, at the same time addresses the issue of equity in the education system. The Re-entry policy document (2004, p. 2) states that "gender disparities persist in favour of males in literacy rates, school enrolments, completion rates and education attainments, most of which in part attributable to teenage pregnancy." The school feeding programme is another intervention the government has introduced in selected districts where learners from Grade one to nine, are provided with a basic meal at school as a way of keeping them in school and at the same time increase their level of concentration. This is only done in schools which still operate as Basic schools, that is, those which run from Grades One to Nine. With the reintroduction of Secondary schools in 2012, the Grades 8 and 9 in schools that operate from Grades 8 to 12 do not benefit from this facility. Namwala is one of the districts where the School Feeding Programme is operational. In 2016, the School Feeding Programme was operational in 38 districts and extended to ECE centres annexed to government primary schools. In 2017 the intervention has been extended to 78 districts (Ministry of General Education, 2017).

Another positive intervention which the government introduced to scale up access to school is the introduction of the ‘uniform policy.’ It was noticed that with the widespread poverty which many families found themselves in, providing school uniforms in some cases proved to be a big financial challenge for some households. What exacerbated the situation was that as a way of fundraising for the smooth running of schools, some school administrations with their PTA devised a system where they started selling school uniforms in school and compelled every learner to buy just that brand of uniform which the school supplied regardless of whether the same could be purchased from a cheaper source elsewhere. The government, through the Ministry of Education, introduced the uniform policy which no longer made wearing of school uniform compulsory in primary schools. Further, the selling of school uniforms by schools was abolished. It seems this piece of intervention did not go through wide consultation before it was decreed. The reality on the ground was that there were very few children who went to school in their own casual clothes. Those who could not afford school uniforms soon found themselves as outcasts who were constantly ridiculed by their colleagues. So in the long run every parent made sure that their child had the appropriate school uniform. The intention of the government should, however be lauded.

Furthermore, as a way of improving access to formal education, the government came up with the initiative of creating an enabling environment for private participation in the provision of education (Ministry of Education, 2000). The government is aware that the provision of education cannot entirely be left to Central government, which may not have enough resources to provide this service to all its citizenry. Therefore, government has encouraged the establishment of two categories of private schools, namely those run with a purpose of making a profit for the owners and those that operate on non-profit basis such as church-run ones, communal schools operated by local communities and non-governmental organizations or those run by entities such as the army or mining companies for their children and others within their operational areas (Ministry of Education

1996, p.138-139). In addition, the government has embarked on massive construction of more schools countrywide. In 2017 a total number of 115 secondary schools are being built and are at various stages of construction (Ministry of General Education, 2017). Currently, it is the government's desire that children should not move more than five kilometres to access school.

To address the issue of quality and relevance of the education offered, the government came up with a national policy on education called *Educating Our Future* which advocated for a curriculum which departed from mostly academic subjects and moved to a more diversified curriculum which embraced entrepreneurship culture and the promotion of life skills. *Educating Our Future* (1996, p. 26) states:

One of the main purposes of the school system is to provide quality education to all students. The numbers enrolled in schools or participating in established programmes are important, but much of the investment that these involve does not bear fruit unless children actually learn as a result of the opportunities provided to them. A well-functioning education system should be able to point to evidence of the personal incorporation by children of useful knowledge, reasoning ability, skills and values.

To further concretise the aspirations of making education more relevant to the developmental needs of the nation as well as of those of individual learners the Ministry of Education developed in 2013 the Zambia Education Curriculum Framework which is linked at all levels from Early Childhood Education to Tertiary and Adult literacy. The revised curriculum framework has three main features. Firstly, it emphasises the importance of early education for ages from 3 years to 6 and directs that this section of learning be part of all schools, be they private or public. Prior to this, early childhood, or nursery schools, as they are popularly known by many people in Zambia, were mostly run by the private sector and were in most cases a preserve of the well to do people in urban areas who could afford to pay for their children. The second feature of the revised curriculum is that the medium of instruction from pre-school to Grade four is the familiar language, not English as was the case

before. Familiar language is defined as one of the seven local languages, Ibibemba, Cinyanja, Chitonga, Luvale, Kiikaonde, Lunda, or Silozi, designated according to the zone the school operates in (Ministry of Education, 2013, p. 19). English is only used as a medium of instruction from Grade 5 to tertiary level. The third feature of the curriculum is the introduction of two career pathways; academic and vocational, in grade 8 to 12. The academic pathway is for learners who have passion for academic subjects and want to have careers which are in those lines while the vocational pathways encourage those who have interest in practical or technical skills and wish to be employed as such or favour self-employment after acquiring the necessary skills. The five fields one can specialise in within the Vocational pathway are Design and Technology, Home Economics and Hospitality, Agriculture, Performing and Creative Arts, and lastly, Physical Education and Sports (Ministry of Education, 2013, pp. 33–46).

While it can be argued that the whole dream of actualising the goals of EFA has been a crisis (Kelly, M. 2010, p. 163), it can, nevertheless, be equally pointed out that the crisis has been regionally or ethnically relative. There are some regions of Zambia which have positively responded to the initiatives and interventions of the government to, for example, improve access to education. Inversely, some societies have not made much progress educationally since government rolled out the implementation of EFA. This could be, according to Kelly (2010, p. 160), in tandem with the principle which states that “the scope of basic learning needs and how they should be met varies with individual countries and cultures, and inevitably, changes with the passage of time.”

Namwala district, which is predominantly inhabited by the Baila ethnic group, has been performing poorly in the education sector in terms of access, equity, quality of the products of education and the progression rate.

A survey carried out by the District Education Board on the low performance in the grade 7 and 9 results revealed five reasons (Namwala DEB, 2012, p. 9):

- High absenteeism rate among both teachers and pupils.
- Very low staffing in most schools.
- Inadequate teaching and learning materials.
- Poor school infrastructure.
- Lack of interest in the education of their children by some parents.

Notwithstanding all the reasons mentioned above, the most contributing factor to the district's dismal performance in realising the EFA is alleged to be the tradition of the Baila, the indigenous people of the district, who are said to have very little value for formal education. This reason is married to the last point from the district's survey above.

This study, therefore, seeks to investigate how compatible the Ila tradition is with the present day formal education which the global architect of education advocates should be offered to all to enhance personal as well as societal development. The study further seeks to explore whether Education for All can be realized within the Ila tradition and culture.

1.4 Statement of the problem

Namwala District, a traditional homeland for the Baila, has not been performing very well in the formal education sphere. There is low enrolment in many rural schools, low retention rate and very high absenteeism rate. In addition, it has also been noticed that the rate of drop out among Ila girls due to early marriages and teenage pregnancies is quite high. So, why is Namwala district performing dismally in the formal educational sector? Or, how were the Ila traditions affecting the realisation of EFA? Neglect of this problem perpetuates the poor appreciation of education by the Baila. So the study takes the first step into correction of the situation.

1.5 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to establish how the Ila traditions had affected the realisation of EFA in Namwala. In addition, the study investigated whether EFA was relevant in the traditional Ila society.

1.6 Objectives of the study

The study had three objectives:

1. To assess the influence of Ila tradition on access to formal education.
2. To assess the influence of Ila tradition on academic performance.
3. To analyse the compatibility of the traditional Ila worldview with the goals of EFA.

1.7 Research questions

To achieve the objectives of the study, three research questions were formulated to help in the data collection process:

1. In what ways does tradition influence the Baila learners' access to formal education?
2. How have the Baila learners been influenced by their tradition in academic performance?
3. What is the compatibility of the Ila tradition with the goals of EFA?

1.8 Significance of the Study

The study is important for the education and development sector. It can be of use to the officials at the District Education Board as well as teachers in Namwala to strategise on how they utilise the Ila worldview to accommodate EFA. The study would, therefore, be of benefit to the government and any other agencies involved in the provision of education or any other social developmental projects, especially in the rural parts of the district.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The data collection process was not without challenges. To start with, some of the participants in the study could not keep their promises of being available on the agreed days and times; so some interviews had to be rescheduled several times. This became an added strain on my meagre financial resources as well as on time. Secondly, while I am quite conversant in Tonga, which is close to Ila language in some ways, I, on few occasions had to use the services of an interpreter when I interviewed one Chief and two parents who chose to speak in deep Ila and could not speak English. This part was something I did not cherish for I had aimed at getting first-hand information from all the participants by engaging them in a one to one conversation where I would even take note of their choice of words and the manner they spoke them as a way of communicating something which would be essential to expressing meaning in their lives.

This study adopted a qualitative research design which depended on the views of the sampled population. It, therefore, follows that the views of the participants may not be shared by all the Baila. Consequently, the findings cannot be generalized to all the Baila in the country.

1.10 Operational definitions

District Education Board - This is a group of individuals within a district representing various stakeholders who are appointed by the Minister of Education to take care of policy issues concerning education in primary schools of the district on behalf of the government.

District Education Management Team - This is a team within the District Board responsible for the day-to-day running of the Board affairs and institutions within the Board. It is chaired by the District Education Board Secretary (DEBS). The other members are the District Education Standards Officer (DESO), Two Education Standards Officers, Human Resource Officer, Planning Officer, District Resource Centre Coordinator and District Accountant.

Community Schools - These are schools which are organized and operated by the communities through Parents committees. They sometimes receive financial support from civil society organizations and Churches. The government recognises these schools and offers material and human resource support in many cases.

Parents Teachers Association - This is a body of teachers and parents of children in a particular school which is formed to create synergy in the improvement of teaching and learning for the sake of the child in a particular school.

Senior Teacher – This is an administrative position in Primary schools which is just below a Deputy Head teacher.

1.11 Ila words and expressions used in the Thesis

Baila – The plural form of the totality of the Ila speaking people.

Mwiila- The singular form of *Baila*; an individual Ila.

Bwengwa-Leza – God’s creation.

Bakaseluka- They came down (descended from heaven).

Balumbu – Non-Baila. The expression is mostly used in a derogatory way to describe or name the people in Namwala who are not Ila.

Ba pushi – Beggars, low class. The expression is used to describe those who have no cattle; who the rich Baila regard as living on charity.

Lobola – Bride price

Lutanga – A plain where cattle graze from for most part of the year away from the villages. The Kafue River and the Namwala River provide this much needed environment where water and good pastures are available for the cattle.

Mizhimo – Ancestral spirits.

Shifundo sha Leza- God’s teachings or commandments.

1.12 Summary

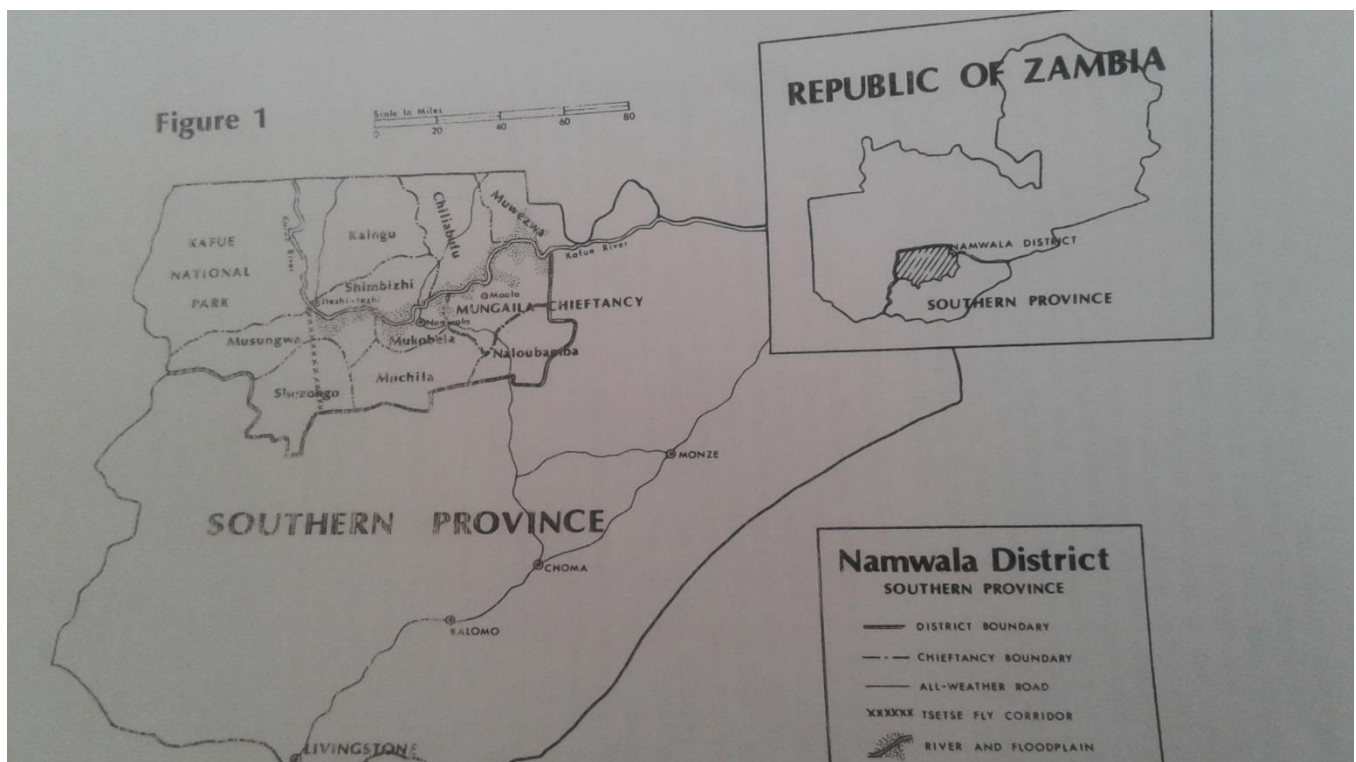
In this chapter I have expressed what prompted me to pick this particular topic as my interest of study. In addition, the Chapter has given a very brief background of Education for All, an international intervention which together with Millennium Development Goals on education has a strong influence on the educational policies of Zambia today. Further more, the Chapter contains the statement of the problem, the purpose for the study, objectives of the study and the research questions emanating from there. The Chapter has included the significance of the study, the limitations of the study and has ended with operational definitions.

In the next Chapter, I look at the Baila people, the subject of this study

CHAPTER TWO THE BAILA PEOPLE

2.1 Overview

This Chapter looks at the Baila people, the main subject of this study. It starts by giving the geographical position of Namwala, the home district of the Baila under discussion. The chapter dwells on the uniqueness of the Baila by bringing to the fore their traditions and culture. A good section of the chapter discusses cattle which sets the Baila apart and play a vital role in the way they view the world. The chapter ends with the Baila's attitude to formal education. This chapter is important because it sets the stage for proper appreciation of the findings of the study. As will be noticed, most of the literature on the Baila is an anthropological lowdown of early European missionaries and colonial government officials who served in Namwala in the early 20th Century.



Source: Central Statistical Office

Figure 1: Map of Namwala

2.2 Origins of the Baila

The Baila are a pastoral tribe found in Namwala and Itezhi-Tezhi districts of Zambia. A small number is also found in Mumbwa. Namwala district lies between latitudes 15 degrees South and longitude 25 and 27 degrees East (Central Statistical Office, 2009). Figure 1 shows the position of Namwala on the map of Zambia (inset) and the boundaries of chiefdoms. Its area is approximately 10 000 square Kilometres. The district shares boundaries with Itezhi Tezhi to the west, Kalomo to the south, Monze in the east and Choma to the South East. The district has a population of 101 589 with an approximate annual population growth of about 2.1% (Central Statistical Office, 2010). Of this population, almost 60% is below the age of 18 years and, therefore, falls within the school going category (Central Statistical Office, 2010).

While oral history states that the Baila came from the south of Sudan, Ila mythology, according to Smith and Dale (1920, p. 31), states that their ancestors came from the sky. In Namwala there are some stones called *Bwengwa-Leza* where footprints of people and animals are found. The Baila claim this is the place where their forefathers landed when they first touched the earth- "*Bakaseluka*" (Smith and Dale, 1920b, p. 21). Similarly, Nkumbula (1961, p. 7) in his unpublished manuscript, states that if one asked a Mwila where the Baila came from, he would get an answer like, "We came down from heaven right here in our present territory." Smith and Dale further state that one of the derivation of the word 'Ila' suggest that they are people set apart. They, in addition, point out that "this certainly answers very well to the arrogant spirit of the people" (1920b, p. xi).

2.3 Uniqueness of the Baila

The Baila, very much in line with their mythology, are unique. One can, however, claim that the same can be said about each tribe. As Massey (1979, p. 55) states:

There is something to be said for human groupings. There are strengths in common tradition and common culture. Each group has 'intelligible

actions' which grow out of its tradition and those meanings have an inner significance from which strength for life can be derived. Each human grouping has had distinctiveness not available elsewhere in just the same way. All human groupings have distinctiveness that they should preserve, distinctiveness which give 'meaning' to the group as its members review their 'story in the drama of life'.

Reverend Massey's principle above gives rise to an assertion by Smith and Dale that the Baila are very strict traditionalists and conservatives whose personal judgements are normally dictated by the Ila tradition and custom. Smith and Dale (1920, p. 344) state that for the Baila

The norm is custom, what is done should be done... A Mwila acts as part of a whole; his wellbeing depends upon conforming to the general practice; the good is that which has the approval of the community; the bad is the anti-social... He grows up to fear and resent change; from the cradle to the grave he is ruled by custom.

The conservative nature of the Baila is further linked to dynamism by Smith and Dale (1920, p. 79). The two argue that while on the outlook one may term the Baila to be materialistic, in reality they are "very largely concerned with what is invisible and mysterious." They further state that this fact is very difficult to understand mostly because of the haziness of the Baila's own minds. Concluding this issue about the Baila, the two authors (1920, p. 79) state that "for anyone to expect reasoned precise statements from them is to be disappointed. They are content with resting in the beliefs inculcated in childhood without exercising their minds as to their logicity."

Nkumbula (1961, p. 22) amplifies the conservative nature of the Baila and states that:

As their fathers did in days long past, so do they also today. The custom of knocking out the upper front teeth is a case in point; it is only slowly dying out... initiation rites, marriage customs etc on the other hand remain as in former days.

Smith and Dale (1920b, p. 345) further state that the Baila follow custom because of two reasons. Firstly, they believe some of the customs were established by God "*Shifundo sha Leza*" and not

obeying the customs would mean disobeying God who would punish them for that. Secondly, they believe some customs were established by the departed ancestors, *Mizhimo*. They believe the ancestors must have had very good reasons for establishing those customs and going against them is an insult to the *Mizhimo*, who, again they fear may spell doom if they are disobeyed.

This second reason is later amplified and generalized by Smith (1946, pp. 56-57) in his work *Knowing the African* where he points out the exalted position the living dead, or ancestors, play in the value formation in an African society. He explains thus:

Always in considering African society we must remember that the visible members of the community do not constitute the whole: those whom we call the dead are still members of the community. They are living and active. They are in a peculiar sense custodians of the tribal traditions; any departure from the established order of things without their consent is an offence against them.

The active role that ancestors or the living-dead play in the African society made Mugabe, the Zimbabwean President argue that “Africans have no time to rest, even after dying they have to work as ancestors” (<https://buzzkenya.com/50-hilarious-robert-mugabe-quotes>).

While the authors cited above appear to regard the Baila as being more conservative than usual, Maalouf (2003, p. 102) suggests that this trend of conservatism is normal in human beings. He explains:

... Each one of us has two heritages, a “vertical” one that comes to us from our ancestors, our religious community and our popular traditions, and a “horizontal” one transmitted to us by our contemporaries and by the age we live in. It seems to me that the latter is the more influential of the two, and that it becomes more so every day. Yet this fact is not reflected in our perception of ourselves, and the inheritance we invoke most frequently is the vertical one.

Smith (1946) does not leave this issue of the Africans' obedience to custom without referring to Professor John Murphy who stated that for Africans, "customs are so implicitly obeyed that they might be called the instincts of the tribe" (1946, p.51).

The conservative nature of the Baila can be termed as self-preservation. The principle is again supported by Maalouf (2003, p. 79) who suggests that modernisation should be approached with caution. He questions, "How can we modernize ourselves without losing our identity? How can we assimilate Western culture without denying our own? How can we acquire the West's knowledge without leaving ourselves at its mercy?"

The uniqueness of the Baila is further exemplified by their independence or sense of self-reliance. Lawman (1958, p. 123) describes the Baila as a people whose independence from each other made them pay dearly in wars because of their lack of unity. He states:

Although an interesting people, the Baila have often shown themselves to be obstinate and to have independence which has more than once floored their administrators of the past. Perhaps even more than most Africans of Northern Rhodesia they like to feel they are being led. Their history shows that because their tribal structure did not provide for a paramount Chief and consequent unity they were easy prey to invading tribes from outside their boundaries. They lacked a common loyalty, they lacked cohesion, and because of this they suffered badly in defeat. All this seems to have had a profound effect on them and has made them ever conscious of the importance of leadership.

Lawman's statement is in agreement with Smith and Dale who stated that the Baila have never been a united people (1920b, p. 22). While the history of the Baila, as Lawman puts it, is a factor in their lack of unity, Smith and Dale attribute this independence, which they link to isolation, as stemming from the Baila's geographical location of being in a plain area. They postulated that when the Baila's habitat, the plain, is flooded it restricts their movements and ultimately forces them to develop a sense of independence and self-satisfaction (1920b, p. 17). This isolation, in many ways,

forces some Baila's to be very difficult people to talk to and get information from. Smith and Dale (1920, p. xi) amplify their assertion thus:

The Ba-ila do not readily communicate to a foreigner their ideas and customs; direct interrogation often fails, generally fails, indeed except when complete confidence has been won before hand- for they either profess to know nothing or deliberately give misleading answers. It is only by tactfully leading conversation in the desired direction and not pressing it too far that one succeeds in getting information in this way.

It may, partly, be because of this background that Smith and Dale (1920, p. 379) call the Baila as liars. They exemplify thus:

Among themselves they lie in the most bare faced and strenuous manner... You do not listen long to any Ba-Ila conversing without hearing somebody call out, "*Wabea*" (You are lying); and the one to whom it is said is not indignant- not in the least- but smiles and accepts it as a tribute to his prowess. It is altogether against their code of honour even to admit they are lying or even to confess to wrongdoing.

Jordan (1962, p. 30) similarly attests to the Baila's lying nature and states:

Like most African tribes, the Baila excel in the art of telling a lie and it was amusing to hear a Mwila witness in court after being duly warned to speak the truth answer, "Chief I am unable to tell a lie" and then calmly proceed to reel off a statement replete with falsehoods. "

Having given a lowdown of the uniqueness of the Baila, I now turn to the precious possession of the Baila, cattle which, in a way, play a very big role in their identification as a people. This section is important in this study because it shows how dear cattle are to the Ila economy and life and how cattle rearing affects their attitude to education.

2.4 Cattle: source of pride for the Baila

The pride of the Baila lies in the possession of cattle. It is undisputable that Namwala is one single district with the highest number of cattle in Zambia. Smith and Dale (1920, p. 132) acknowledge the importance of cattle in the Ila society and state that “the Baila are good cattle masters, and exercise more intelligent care of their cattle than most natives...” Cutshall too (1982, p. 4) describes the Baila as being conspicuously acquisitive particularly in the area of owning large herds of cattle. Similarly, discussing the Baila and their love for cattle, Tuden (1968, p. 97) observes:

A sizeable portion of their time is spent discussing, admiring, safeguarding and manipulating these resources; and they are quite conscious of differences in rank or status from the control of these resources.

The last part of Tuden’s comment confirms the Baila’s general belief that a man is rated by the number of cattle that he owns. Those with large herds of cattle are respected and their voices carry a lot of weight in the community. Conversely, views of those who have no cattle are never respected in any village discourse.

Currently, the Veterinary department in Namwala estimates that there are about 135 000 heads of cattle in the district. The person with the highest number of cattle is estimated to have about 5000. In a month an average of 1000 cattle are slaughtered or sold (Interview with District Veterinary Officer on 25/2/2015).

The Baila value their cattle so much that Smith and Dale (1920, p. 126) point out that, “above all the possessions, above kith and kin, wife or child, the Ba- Ila, with few occasional exceptions love and value their cattle.” Commenting on the Baila’s attachment to their cattle, and with reference to Smith and Dale’s assertion much earlier, Cutshall later (1982, p. 4) states:

Despite six decades of social and economic change, the Ila continue to love and value their cattle above all other material and personal

resources. The relationship between the Ila and their cattle, however, goes beyond a deep sentimental attachment.

Smith and Dale further demonstrate that the Baila love cattle so much that they take them as a manifestation of the beauty of nature. While cattle are loved by the Baila because of the functions which they perform, Smith and Dale (1920, p. 26) state that some Baila rear cattle not to be used for ploughing. Chief Shaloba, when pressed to utilize his cattle for ploughing is reported to have responded, “How could I be so cruel as to make them work?”

Likewise, Lawman (1958, pp. 137-138) brings out the importance of cattle in the life of the Baila. He narrates a conversation with Chief Mukobela who said:

To the Ba-Ila, cattle are not wealth as you Europeans know it- we live and we die with our cattle and when we are no more their spirits join ours. In the olden days the young men of our tribe knew all about our beasts but today with so much education they have no time for them. When we old men are dead what is to become of our herds! What a disgrace it will be if ‘foreigners’ have to be employed to do the traditional work of the Ba- Ila.

The quotation above shows the importance that is attached to cattle by the Baila and demonstrates that the relationship that a Mwiila has with his cattle can be termed as “spiritual.” Chief Mukobela, additionally, amplifies that rearing cattle is an ordained traditional job of a Mwiila. By implication, any Mwiila without cattle is not a real Ila. His putting blame on education for the Baila young men’s turning away from taking care of cattle is critical to this study.

The Baila love cattle so much that at puberty a Mwiila child has four front top teeth removed to show that the child belongs to the cattle-owning tribe. The habit is however slowly dying (Lawman, 1958, p. 138).

Nkumbula (1961: 30) outlines the use of cattle for the Ila as being:

- a. For milk, mostly as sour milk, *mabishi* for food.
- b. Meat while drinking beer.
- c. For funerals
- d. Payment of debt.

In addition, cattle have a social function. Smith and Dale (1920, p. 128) state that,

A high complement to a friend or wife or lover is to name an animal after them, and it is considered an act of discourtesy to part with this particular beast which it is customary to ornament in the manner described.

During my stay in Namwala, I came across a lot of oxen called “Hakainde” named after the UPND leader, a dear son of the people there.

The value that the Baila have of their cattle does, in a way, influence the relationships that parents have with their children, or in other words, the positions of boys and girls in the family. Smith and Dale (1920, p. 2) explain that “Sons are preferred to daughters because through sons the family is continued... Girls are regarded as riches only, that is, as so many cattle to the credit of the clan’s account.”

The Ila word for boys suggests the value that the Baila place on the boys. The Ila-English Dictionary calls boys of about 7 or 8 years as *kembezhi* or *shikembezhi*. One older than 14 years as *mwembezhi* (Smith, E. W, 2011, pp. 271–272). The word ‘*bembezhi*’ also means shepherd or herdsman (2011, p. 337). This then shows that the primary duty of such an age group is to take care of cattle. This has a very deep meaning of the position of boys in the Ila society when we relate it to the fact that life of a traditional Ila oscillates around cattle. An Ila boy in this age group is counted as being of value only when he is able to take care of cattle. In a similar way a girl is named *Muka banji-banji* which means a lady has to be loved by many men and bring wealth to the family when

she is married. This implies that the value of the girl is determined by her ability to attract men, get married and bring cattle in the family. The earlier she does this, the better. Consequently, early marriages are encouraged or preferred by many parents. As a result, formal education is frowned upon and seen as a delay in the acquisition of wealth.

While it can be argued by some people that cattle are mostly reared for prestige, devoid of any economic currency in the Ila society, Jaspan (1953, p. 28) argues that:

The economic value of cattle projects itself in many ways into the social life of the Ila. Cattle constitute the major and indispensable part of bride wealth (*chiko* or *ciko*) and are used to pay fines and damages...They are prominent in funeral feasts.

Cutshall (1982, p. 4) also brings in the aspect that the Baila regard cattle as an investment which upholds their social status. He bases this on the claim by the Baila that cattle are their bank and elucidates that:

The Ila, however, do not intend to simply possess the largest bank account possible, for indeed, greedy individuals are viewed with great disfavour. Conspicuous acquisition of cattle is intended more as an investment account, targeted for distribution and conversion in transactional networks which yield direct profits or indirect social credits.

Among cattle rearing tribes of Zambia, the Baila are currently leading in the demand for the number of cattle charged as bride wealth. Depending on the economic status of the two families whose children are marrying, as many as fifteen heads of cattle are demanded from a man asking for the hand of a girl in marriage, particularly an educated one. One can notice the irony here about an educated girl fetching more cattle than uneducated one. If educated daughters fetch more cattle when married off one then wonders why many parents cannot be patient enough to have their daughters reasonably educated so as to demand premium bride price.

In the Ila tradition, unlike other pastoral tribes, the giving of cattle is not only one sided, that is, the family of the bridegroom paying the bride wealth, but even the family of the bride give some cattle to the bridegroom (Smith and Dale, 1920a, p. 48).

One of the occasions when it is imperative that cattle would be slaughtered is on funerals. The slaughtering of cattle at funerals was so exaggerated in the past that as many as two hundred heads of cattle were slaughtered (Fowler, 2015, p. 83). The more prosperous one is, the higher the number of cattle that is slaughtered at their funeral. Smith and Dale (1920, p. 110) narrate that funerals in the Ila society are occasions for feasting:

Everyone in a position to do so brings a *chidizho* (literally, “a thing to weep with”) - an ox, a pot of beer, some grain...In addition, cattle belonging to the deceased are killed. We have known as many as a hundred beasts killed in this way at a funeral.

In a similar way, Lawman (1958, pp.138-139) describes *masuntu* as an occasion when cattle is slaughtered in honour of a deceased member of the Ila society. He terms this occasion as the only ceremony where the veneration of cattle by the Ila loses its proportion.

Masuntu is the killing of cattle by spearing on the death and interment of a member of the tribe. The reason for the slaughter of cattle is to ensure that the deceased person does not enter the next world alone and that he is accompanied by the spirits of some of his beasts. Hence the reason for Mukobela's statement that his people “lived and died” with their cattle...One by one the same gruesome end befell at least sixty head of cattle, most of which were in their prime and each worth more than £20.

Lawman narrates that according to Ila tradition, about 15% of the deceased cattle is supposed to be slaughtered on his burial day.

Nowadays, the aspect of cattle being a bank is so emphasised that many Baila literally want to keep their money in the form of cattle which they sometimes refer to as a blank cheque. Cutshall (1982, p. 7) exemplifies this:

While long- term labour migration continues to be minimal for most Ila, many young men spend a few years earning wages in the urban areas along the line of rail. A portion of their earned wages is typically set aside for the purchase of cattle. Elder kinsmen may claim a share of these cattle as repayment for having contributed to the wage earner's education, often going so far as to suggest that some of these cattle should be returned to the hearth.

All these uses and functions of cattle made Jordan (1962, p. 27) assert that, "without their cattle these people would be miserable indeed."

I would like to conclude this section of the Baila and their cattle by pointing out that the position of cattle in the lives of the Baila is so crucial that some of them can even forget about some other things that are equally important in their society. Namwala did not have a Filling station since its establishment as a district. During my stay there, the government decided to open one. A suitable location was identified. During the social impact survey, objections arose about the location of the place. Some traditional Baila did not want the Filling station because its intended location was the traditional route that their cattle used from their villages to the river for water and pastures. They were ready to sacrifice the opening of a Filling station, which many people thought would bring economic and social development to the area, as long as the cattle had their way to the river for water. Similarly, the roaming of cattle in people's dwelling compounds is not a 'crime' in the Ila tradition. It is believed cattle have 'licence' to go wherever they want and it is imperative upon the people to protect or adequately fence off what cattle can destroy, like vegetable gardens.

Having looked at literature that deals with the rearing of cattle, which is claimed to be a major factor in the Baila value formation and casts a negative attitude to formal education among many Baila

youths, the chapter now turns to sexual morality among the Baila which some participants in the study claimed played a role in the way the Baila responded to formal education.

2.5 The Baila and sexual morality

The Baila are said to be very promiscuous people who let sexual relationships flourish without much restriction. About this subject, Smith and Dale (1920, p. 36) state that:

To write of the Ba-Ila and omit all references to sex would be like writing of the sky and leaving out the sun; for sex is the most pervasive element of their life. It is the atmosphere into which children are brought. Their early ages are largely a preparation for the sexual functions; during the years of maturity it is their most ardent pursuit and old age is spent in vain and disappointing endeavours to continue it. Sex over towers all else.

Smith and Dale (1920, p. 35) further state that during their time in Namwala, 90 percent of the cases in the magistrate's court were about sex. The rampant way sexual offences occurred among the Baila made the two authors conclude that the Baila seemed to put sexual indulgence at the same level of necessity as eating and drinking which they had to indulge in whenever possible (1920b, p. 36). Furthermore, with reference to indulgence into sex, Smith and Dale (1920, p. 36) state that boys and girls are under no restriction to get involved. They claim that, "whatever they may do is looked upon merely as 'play' (*kusobana*). Adults rather encourage than otherwise these precocious acts, for they regard them as a preparation and training for what is man's and woman's Chief business in life." In addition, the two assert that it was impossible to find a virgin who was over ten years old. In fact, according to their sources, such a person is called *mudimbushi* – a fool (1920b, p. 39). The statement implies that not indulging in sex is regarded as being abnormal. Further more, perusal in his *Handbook on the Ila language*, Smith (2011, p. 351) makes this entry about the word 'Virgin':

VIRGIN, n. 1a. *nakadindo*. Owing to the immoral ways of the Baila, it is doubtful whether such a thing as virginity is to be found among them, and they seem to have no word to express the idea. The word *nakadindo* means a young woman.

It is probably the alleged promiscuous nature of the Baila that made Butt (1910, p. 206) wish the missionaries would move to the Ila land quickly so as to save them, particularly the younger generation from the vice. As Butt one day analysed the physical features of the Chief's children who sat before him, he reflected:

I feel sure they possess high mental and moral possibilities; and as they sat before me, I could not help asking myself, "Will our mission be soon enough to rescue the bigger boys and girls from the life to which they have been born?"

The excessive indulgences in sexual activities which Africans are generally purported to crave in is said to affect their mental faculty. On this subject, Snelson (1974, p. 54) refers to the situation in Nanzela, one of the mission stations in the Ila land and states:

Child-marriage frequently robbed the schools of the girl pupils, a problem which continued for many years. As for the scholastic performance of the children, the missionaries were convinced that they became dull and listless on reaching adolescence, a phenomenon they attributed to unrestrained sexual licence.

Snelson's statement must be an echo of Smith's (1946, p. 73) assertion that, "some educationists profess to observe an arrest of mental development in African adolescents and ascribe it to obsession by sex."

Some anthropologists, however, do not paint a wholesomely negative picture about Africans and their sexual appetites. Some traditions and taboos are said to restrain the Africans' indulgences as Murray (1929: 84) in Smith (1946: 74) states "The restraint that the so-called 'savage' can and does

put upon his sexual impulses at certain seasons through loyalty to tribal custom is one of the most remarkable things about the make-up of primitive man.”

Smith further calls the sexual aspect of many African tribes, which includes the Baila, as a paradox. He explains that while promiscuity is rampant, virginity and abstinence are equally valued. He points out that certain rituals of religious nature can only be performed by virgins or women who are past child bearing stage. Similarly, rigid continence in some activities like hunting or fighting is recommended (1946, p. 92).

Having examined literature on the sexual morality of the Baila as seen through the early missionaries’ and European anthropologists’ lenses, I now wish to explore literature on the Baila’s early perception of formal education. This section will be important when we bring it to the present situation and examine how and whether there has been any positive change in the Baila’s attitude to formal education.

2.6 The Baila and formal education

The missionaries pioneered education in the Ilaland. The Primitive Methodists opened their first mission at Kasenga in Namwala in 1909 and another one in 1916 at Kafue (Mwanakatwe, 2013, p. 9). The main motive for the missionaries settling in a particular place was to evangelize. The provision of education was just a by the way undertaking which they believed could speed up the process of conversion. Mwanakatwe (2013, p. 10) posits:

The provision, then, of schools and educational facilities by missionaries was fortuitous or, at best, merely complimentary 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.

About the success of the schools that the missionaries set up, Butt (1910, p. 192) narrates that the better the relationship the missionaries coined with the locals, the higher the number of children who attended their schools. He gives an example of Chief Shaloba who sent his own children to school.

The Chief has shown his friendship to the mission by sending four of his children to Nanzela school- three boys and a girl. The Chief pledged that he would send his own children and use his influence with his people to send theirs.

Whereas the early missionaries had to cajole the children to stay in school by giving them clothes and feeding them, Chief Shaloba surprised the missionaries when he pledged that he would ensure that the children whom he sent to school were fed before they went to school. Butt (1910, p. 192) explained why he was surprised: “At Nanzela and Nambala and indeed at N’kala, too, we have to feed the children to retain them in school.” The school feeding programme is a phenomenon I will discuss later as it is one of the interventions that the government is using to improve access and retention in school.

However, in an apparent contrast to the attitude to formal education of the Baila that the early missionaries experienced, Fowler (2015, p. 53) narrates his experiences of the period between 1958 and 1966 at Kasenga in Namwala and states that:

There were two main differences between schooling in Zambia and that in the U.K. In Zambia there were no free schools, and there were no reluctant or uninterested pupils. Because schools were built and run by Missions, all the pupils had to pay fees to cover the costs; yet in spite of this, youngsters eagerly competed for places. At Kasenga Girls’ School, the fees were 250 Pounds per year, including food and two uniforms.

Fowler (2015, p. 53) further narrates how boys walked long distances to go and secure places at Kafue Institute which was always full.

At Kafue Training Institute, boys walked great distances to get places. When every place had been filled, several hopefuls built themselves huts, and waited for the incumbents to die, although they were only young teenagers. One of my tasks as acting Head was to stop the boys from working too hard. I used to go round the dormitories after dark, to make spot checks and stop them from working by torchlight under the blankets.

Fowler's experience cited above further contrasts with Snelson's claim about African attitude to formal education. Snelson (1974, p. 20) writes of schools in the early stage of being introduced by missionaries as having been regarded by the locals as "places to go to when there was nothing more pressing to attend to in the tribal economy." Generally, formal education was regarded by the Baila as being for the poor people who had no wealth, *ba pushi*. And this wealth, as earlier mentioned, is cattle. Consequently, attendance was very poor.

Perhaps the best explanation for the interest in formal education as narrated by Fowler is that this is a period just before and shortly after Zambia attained political independence. Independence brought a lot of hope for the Africans. Freedom fighters preached the good news that Black Zambians would take over the running of the country and that all the jobs that were performed by the Whites would be left for the Black Zambian. They emphasised that education was important for the Africans to prepare themselves for the running of the country. So those who wanted to take part in the running of the country and live the kind of lives that they saw the Whites live strove to get educated at all cost. The boys in Fowler's case put a lot of hope in education to change their economic and social status and that is why they could even camp to wait for a place in school. Mwanakatwe (2013, p. 33) explains this phenomenon that "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." The disillusionment, however, came in when some noticed that the Western formal education they acquired could not get them the jobs they desired.

Snelson further states that acceptance or rejection of missionary or Western education partly depended on the social and political strength of the tribe. In many African countries the strong or warrior tribes saw no need for education and rejected it. Snelson (1974, p. 20) however, draws a contrast in Zambia, then Northern Rhodesia, where he states that “it was some of the weaker or traditionally subservient tribes such as the Baila, the Lamba and the Senga who proved the most reluctant to take at all seriously the schools which were hopefully opened in their areas.”

True to the statement above, in the early years of Western education being introduced to the Ila land, enrolment and attendance to school seemed to be weighed against the time one spent looking after cattle, especially for the boys, and also the heads of cattle which would be given to the family in the form of dowry if and when a daughter was married off (Smith, E and Dale, 1920b, p. 2). It is for this reason that Snelson (1974, p. 21) downplays the notion that acceptance of missionary education had everything to do with the strength of a tribe but asserts that economic consideration played a bigger role. He amplifies:

Where a school was considered by the community to have scant relevance to their socio-economic pattern, there was little the mission educationists could do about it. ‘our cattle are our school,’ the Ila headmen told the Primitive Methodists who complained that their schools were not supported.

In the case of girls, Dorman (1993, p. 36) generalizes the situation about African girls and states:

The traditional attitude of the Africans to girls was that their job was to work in the gardens or the fields, to help prepare food, to marry and to have children, and generally to provide whatever the male might need. For this they had no need of education; it did not even matter if they could not read or write.

In addition, it was feared that the Western formal education would change the mentality of the young Ila lads. Lawman (1958, p. 137) narrates a conversation with Chief Mukobela when he asked him if formal Western education was good for the tribe. Chief Mukobela responded:

It has done our children little good except to teach them to become rude to their elders. But on the other hand it has helped us old men to learn much of the ways of the European. Being old men, of course, we have only taken notice of the good things and have ignored the bad.

By implication the rudeness Chief Mukobela referred to among the children who went to school is part of the bad which the young ones have failed to decipher from the European formal education, unlike the old people. Western education is further held responsible for some Ila youths losing interest in the art of rearing cattle (refer to section on Cattle: source of pride for the Ila). Conversely, it is this rearing of cattle which the missionary educationists blamed on the low attendance at their schools. Snelson (1974, p. 54) reflects:

Attendance problems were acute, especially among the Ba-Ila who preferred their children to herd cattle than go to school. The quarterly report of Nanzela Mission in 1914 noted the disappointing position of one of the out schools: 'Samuel reports excellent congregations, but cannot get children to school. "The cattle are their school", says the Ba-Ila of their children.

The prominence that is placed on the rearing of cattle made one of the missionaries complain that if there was no cattle in the Ila land the work of the missionary educationists would have been much easier (Snelson, 1974, p. 54).

When one critically looks at the importance the Baila attach to cattle rearing, it then becomes apparent that the education offered, which is deplete of animal husbandry, goes against the British policy statement on education which, according to Thomson (1994, p. 36) states:

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitude, occupation and traditions of the various people, conserving as far as possible all sound

and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life, adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution.

In a similar way, making reference to (Illich, 1971) and (Reimer, 1971), Banda (2008, p. 53) argues that “if schools cannot teach children about their society and shape their values and ambitions and learning patterns, they should be abolished.” So for the Baila, any formal education which does not involve the rearing of cattle is less appreciated.

The unintended side effect of formal education as Chief Mukobela pointed out (Lawman, 1958, p. 137) is echoed by Marah (1987, p. 464) who observed that “the educated Africans were inculcated with negative attitudes towards their own culture and heroes while they revered those of the Europeans. They were made to hate their own culture and therefore themselves.”

Further, Smith (1946, p. 133) recounts how it was common among Africans to complain about the indiscipline of the young people in their societies. He concludes that Western education had a fair share of the blame in this. He explains:

The indiscipline is due partly to the decreased parental control as the result of economic conditions; but also in no small degree to the suppression of the initiatory rites. The complaint is that the schooling given by Europeans does not meet the case.

In a similar way, Harrison (1979) first outlines the positive aspects of Western formal education for personal and societal development but paints a gloomy picture in the case of its application in the Third world. Harrison (1979, p. 306) posits:

Instead, it has turned yet into another device for ensuring high rewards for the few and continued poverty for the many. It is an alienation machine; distancing young people from their families and from manual work, making them turn their backs on the villages that so desperately need their promise, vigour and adaptability. It does not even turn out enough people with the skills that the modern sector

needs, but produces a large class of disoriented drones and impractical mandarins.

The issue of Western education being an alienation tool is shared by Breidlid (2013, pp. 54–55) who calls it an epistemological transfer which has immense effects on the quality of schools because it influences and compels learners from the South to change their way of thinking from the natural and indigenous manner to an alien culture and epistemology of the global North.

Although the Baila do not seem to be interested in education, one of the Ila Chiefs, Mukobela, whose real name was Lubanga Shabongwe, single handedly built the biggest primary school in Namwala from his personal resources. Heinzer (2011) narrates that when Chief Mukobela asked the then District Commissioner what would make herds of cattle grow in his Chiefdom he was told that school, or Western education would. Heinzer (2011) points out that the Chief was further fascinated by the big guns which he saw being used in the Second War and desired that his subjects learnt how to use them. When he asked the District Commissioner again how his people would gain the skills of operating those guns, he was told Western education was the answer. So the Chief embarked on building a school so that his dreams and aspirations would be realised. Lubanga Shabongwe School, as the institution was named, was built to teach good methods of animal husbandry so that cattle would always be in abundance among the Baila and to teach technical skills to enable the Baila operate machines like the big guns.

Lubanga Shabongwe school was officially opened on 9th September 1952 by Governor Sir Gilbert Rennie (Heinzer, 2011, p. 50). To enhance the animal husbandry part of the education the Chief donated 100 heads of cattle to be used for learning and teaching and also provide the dairy nutritional needs of the learners. Apart from the hundred heads of cattle the Chief donated to the school, every fortnight the school was mandated to go to the palace and collect one ox to slaughter

for beef (Mr Shibulobe Bryan: interview of 29/4/15). A bronze statue of Lubanga Shabongwe (Figure 2) at the school reminds the community of this Chief with a brilliant vision. Figure 3 shows the sign post at entrance of the school named after Chief Mukobela (Lubanga Shabongwe).



Figure 2: Picture of a bronze statue of Lubanga Shabongwe erected at the school named after him



Figure 3: A poster at the school named after Chief Mukobela (Lubanga Shabongwe

2.7 Summary

In this Chapter I have looked at the culture, beliefs and practices of the Baila people. The Chapter has examined what makes them unique from the other tribes in Zambia. In depth, I have examined how cattle, which they rear in very large numbers, play a vital role in their perception of the world in relationship with Western formal education. In addition, the chapter has demonstrated the challenges the early missionaries faced to introduce the Western formal education, and how Chief Mukobela, in spite of the indifferent environment to Western formal education, used his personal resources to construct a school for the benefit of his subjects.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1 Overview

This chapter looks at the theories which underpinned the study. It starts with an explanation of the Human Capital theory followed by the Indigenous Knowledges system. The chapter then explains the Conceptual framework of the interaction between Indigenous knowledges and modern Western knowledge production system embodied in Western formal education. This chapter is important because by use of these theories later in the Discussion of Findings chapter the researcher would be able to lift the findings of the study to a higher cognitive level.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

Theories, according to Bryman (2008, pp. 6–8) form a rationale for the research and provide a framework which aids the interpretation of findings in the research. This, in turn, makes it easier for a social phenomenon identified in the research to be understood. This study is guided by two theories, namely, the Human capital theory and the Indigenous Knowledges systems theory.

3.3 The Human Capital Theory

The Human capital theory is popularly domiciled in the Economics discourse as a factor which enhances productivity of an industry. The theory has been referred to in this study purely because of its link to education. It is, therefore worth noting, from the onset, that the Human capital theory will not be referred to or discussed in its full scope of sophistication which Economics as a discipline would do but rather only as it relates to education and development.

Human capital refers to the knowledge, skills or characteristics which a worker has and contributes to his productivity. Such knowledge or skills can be inborn or acquired. It is in the acquisition domain that education plays a pivotal role. The Human capital theory was popularized by Theodore Schultz, President of the United States of America. On the occasion when he delivered his presidential address to the 1960 American Economic Association Schultz asserted that investment in human beings was a better and faster way of accelerating development. He further linked education to human development. According to Fagerlind and Saha (1995, p. 18) Schultz argued that, “education does not only improve the individual choices available to men, but that an educated population provides the types of labour forces necessary for industrial development and economic growth.” But while the Human capital theory was only popularised in the 1960s, Machlup (1981) points out that the theory is an old one and was first mentioned in 1676 by Sir William Petty. Machlup (1981) further states that a hundred years later another phenomenal stage was attained in 1776 when Adam Smith moved the meaning of stock from only the level of physical things like factories and machines but included human beings. From this time, man became to be recognised as an important factor in economic production and development.

In line with the Human capital theory the World Bank (2011, p.11) identifies people as the real wealth of any nation and that education enables people to live happier and healthier lives. In addition, the World Bank links education to better parenting, ability to make informed decisions, adoption of new technology and proper sustainable use of natural resources. The interpretation of the Human Capital theory by the World Bank depicts education solely as a means of economic expansion (Crossley and Watson, 2003, p. 111). The theory stipulates that for any society to be developed it must have an educated citizenry. The World Bank (2011, p. 1) provides a good summary for the essence of the Human Capital theory:

Education is fundamental to development and growth. Access to education, which is a basic human right enshrined in the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, is also a strategic development investment. The human mind makes possible all other development achievements, from health advances to agricultural innovations to infrastructure construction and private sector growth. For developing countries to reap these benefits fully- both by learning from the stock of global ideas and through innovation- they need to unleash the potential of the human mind. And there is no better tool than education.

The human capital theory emphasises that education is not a form of consumption to government but an investment which improves the economic worth of individuals and ultimately the whole society. This notion motivates individuals and societies to acquire formal education. It must be noted that the education which the Human capital theory espouses is the Western hegemonic education whose knowledge formation is based on what the West calls measurable science. This knowledge is further claimed to be rational and secular, as opposed to Indigenous knowledge which has no boundaries between the religious and the profane (Chabal and Daloz, 1999). And because of its hegemonic nature, the West refers to its kind of education as being ‘universal.’ It is worth noting that the Western form of education has a capitalist bias. On this ground, Breidlid (2011) points out that the hegemonic role of Western knowledge and science from the 16 th Century has moved hand in hand with the systematic expansion of capitalism into a world economy. This reality is also expressed by Bowles and Gintis (1975, p. 80) who state that because of the essential role that education plays in supporting the capitalist order, the capitalist class have an interest in schooling and influence nations on educational policy. This then explains why the World Bank was part of the consortium that sponsored the World Conference on education.

However, concerning the high value which is placed on education as a catalyst for economic and social development, Machlup (1981) makes an observation that it is not every form of education which adds to the betterment of the individual and society at large. He states that some forms of education are a social waste. He explains that education, being an investment should produce some

good or benefits in future and that at the same time, the learner should derive some current joy as the learning is taking place. He, therefore, apportions benefits of education to be for the present as well as for the future and concludes that where school education does not yield present nor future benefits, it is a waste (Machlup, 1981, p. 3). Machlup (1981) further points out that apart from some forms of formal education being a waste to the individual and the society; it can also be harmful to both parties. He elucidates that harm is done to the individual as well as to the nation when a school system churns out people unfit for work which is required in their community (Machlup, 1981, p. 3). For example, if the education system produces graduates for white collar jobs which are not available in the community the individuals do not realise any benefit for that education and are in most cases very unproductive when they are forced by circumstances to do jobs which they were not trained for and do not like. Likewise, this becomes a drain on the government's resources when the returns on its investment in human capital are not commensurate with the input in terms of training.

Another important point to note for education to be an essential ingredient in the Human capital theory is that it should run for a reasonable duration. Machlup (1981) asserts that too little schooling could be wasteful. He amplifies this by stating that some educationists and psychologists state that for schooling to have a positive effect, it should take place for at least four or five years. If one spends two years in school, the likelihood of them being positively changed by the new knowledge and skills is very low. As a matter of fact, people who spend only one or two years in school easily forget the little they learnt within a short time and easily slip back into the state they were before they set foot in any formal classroom.

To forestall the assumption which is made that every education adds to the quality of the human capital, Machlup (1981, p. 12) makes a qualification that education should be suitable to the values of the people and states that:

Education is not a homogeneous good; neither as an output nor as an input in other production processes. Much depends on whom you educate and how, in what kinds of knowledge or skill, and what levels, for how long, etc. ...If a poor country copies the education system of a rich country; the likelihood is great that it produces a wrong education mix, especially at university level.

This statement is in agreement with the assertion by Bowles and Gintis (1975, p. 82) that economic returns to education are functionally related to its impact on some other welfare related variables like the individual's worldview which are manifested in the personality, consciousness, interpersonal behaviour and self-concept.

I understand this theory to mean that man is very important in all forms of development. The theory puts value on man so much that any development which takes away from the dignity of man is not worth considering. And since education is believed to unlock the potential in man, it adds to his dignity, and so it becomes essential that it is given to all. In addition, the theory implies that since the values that each group of people hold influence their perception of things and the world in general, their potential is realised only when the offered education is in line with their values. It therefore follows that if education unlocks the potential in a person, it must then be that education which the recipient would appreciate. In this regard, I argue that education for development should be considered as being contextual to the group of people it is being offered to. This then questions the universality of education as advocated by global archtech of education, or indeed the 'One size fits all' policy.

Critics of the Human capital theory state that the theory takes for granted some variables which are essential for human development. Some of these variables are one's family background and the innate abilities or qualities, which at times go against the principles of the human capital theory of depicting formal education as the only route to development and personal success. It is on these

grounds that one can question whether higher education always gives better employment or higher remuneration.

It should, in addition, be borne in mind that some structural factors, such as political and economic systems can influence the purported noble outcomes of the Human capital theory. When a country is politically unstable the returns of investing in the education of the people are not realised in their entirety. One can give the case of Zimbabwe as a country whose investment in human capital seem to have been a waste in the real sense when the situation of the past ten years are put in economic perspective.

3.4 The Indigenous Knowledges System

The second theory which anchored the study is the Indigenous Knowledges systems, IKS. Breidlid (2013, p. 31) defines indigenous knowledges as “knowledges produced in specific historical and cultural context.” And as a way of contrasting the indigenous knowledge production to Western knowledge, Breidlid (2013) quotes Semali and Kincheloe who posited that indigenous knowledges are not “generated by a set of pre-specified procedures or rules and are orally passed on from one generation to next” (Semali and Kincheloe, 1999, p. 40) in Breidlid (2013, p. 31). This, in a way, shows that indigenous knowledges do not have to be validated by or viewed in the positivist manner as Western knowledge is.

“Indigenous” means local or native to the local people of the society under consideration. It is in this vein that Breidlid (2013, p. 30) defines indigenous people as those who have been on the continent before the colonisations of the 19th and 20th Centuries. Breidlid (2013) at the same time associates indigenous people with a shared experience of domination which he claims emanates from their contact with the hegemonic Western epistemology which has the tendency of ‘othering’ other forms of knowledge formation. It is for this reason that Breidlid (2013, p.31) makes reference

to T.Moodie's manipulation of the word 'local' which is sometimes used instead of 'indigenous' in knowledge. T.Moodie (2014, p. 3) in Breidlid (2013, p. 31) posits:

“Local” can only be understood in relation to “universal,” and thus the term *indigenous knowledge* incurs a string of negative judgements: “universal is identified with “mainstream,” and hence with “progress.” And so “local” comes to be understood as referring to an intellectual backwater, and whatever is indigenous is then regarded as primitive or, at best, quaintly ethnic.

This view is shared by Claxton (2010) who asserts that after the European occupation of territories in the global South, the word 'indigenous' changed its neutral meaning to assume a derogatory connotation to apply exclusively to non-European people or the people from the global South who were considered inferior to those in the North. Similarly, Emeagwali and Dei (2014, p. x) posit that the Eurocentric mentality of terming the indigenous as primitive, culture-based and static as a ploy to privilege European identity and their knowledge production. Emeagwali and Dei (2014) further state that each society has a right to hold on to their indigenous culture as it is part of their identity which should not be taken away just because they encounter other people on their homeland. The inferiorization of African Indigenous knowledges is what Anwar Osman (2009, p. 6) terms as one of the challenges of African indigenous knowledges. Osman (2009) argues that there seems to be a deliberate move by the West to put in place policies which aim at deconstructing, erasing and relabelling all the cognitives of African indigenous knowledges and heritage and replace them with the cognitive and conceptualisation of the Western hegemony.

Nevertheless, Claxton (2010) looks at the positive part of the term 'Indigenous' and points out that some scholars have now come to realise that there are a lot of beneficial points in the indigenous knowledges discourse especially in the field of agriculture and medicine. Taking agriculture as an example, Claxton (2010) points out that what the developed world is now calling Ecological agriculture, Organic agriculture and Conservation farming are terms referring to farming systems

which the indigenous people in the South practised for many years before the West adopted them. The irony is that the West, which has appropriated this knowledge, is now coming to the indigenous Africans to teach them what they actually already knew and practised. This situation is accepted as being normal because the global North through its hegemony has given the impression that real knowledge can only come from them. It is on this ground that Emeagwali and Dei (2014, p. x) assert that in spite of the good things the Western civilisation may have brought to Africa, it should be noted that the ‘African world’ existed prior to the exploits of the European explorers, bandits and pirates. The two, therefore, urge indigenous Africans to reclaim their indigenous ways of knowing and highlight Africa’s contribution and place in the public space of knowledge production and change some of the inaccurate information peddled about African indigenous epistemology by some scholars (Emeagwali & Dei, 2014, pp. ix–x).

It must be noted that Indigenous knowledges are appreciated better when the epistemology is taken into perspective. Indigenous knowledges encompass both the spiritual as well as the physical. And so, making reference to his studies of the indigenous Mapuche people of Chile and how their epistemological stand clashed with their socially imposed Western epistemology, Breidlid (2013, p. 34) posits that the Eurocentric epistemology, on these grounds, is perceived as being a “violent epistemology destroying the sacred relationship between man, nature and the supernatural.” Breidlid further argues that since spirituality is an integral part of the indigenous knowledge production, the imposition on the indigenous people of Western epistemology, which is devoid of the spiritual aspect, is an alienation of the colonised indigenous people from themselves. In other words, the colonised indigenous people cease to be themselves, or lose their identity, when they totally embrace the Western knowledge production at the expense of their own epistemology.

In the quest of giving a source of indigenous knowledge, Gegeo (1998) states that what the indigenous people call their knowledge is actually a collection and modification of knowledge and practices collected from different sources but which have, over time, become truths for these people.

About indigenous knowledges and their epistemology Gegeo further (1998, p. 290) states:

Theorizing about creating truth, establishing facts or knowledge that becomes truth and ways of creating knowledge are all aspects of epistemology. Indigenous epistemology refers to a cultural group's ways of thinking and of creating and reformulating knowledge using traditional discourses and media of communication (e.g., face-to-face interaction) and anchoring the truth of the discourse in culture... Indigenous epistemology guides the social construction of indigenous knowledge, and indigenous knowledge is the result of the practice of indigenous epistemology.

Indigenous Knowledges systems, therefore, promote the culture and tradition of the indigenes and emphasises that these knowledges and practices need to be respected and recognized as treasures which can contribute to the development of the society. Semali and Kincheloe (1999, p. 3) state that:

...indigenous knowledge reflects the dynamic way in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organise that folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs and history to enhance their lives.

By using the word 'dynamic' Semali and Kincheloe echo Gegeo's assertion that what is called indigenous knowledge of a people is actually a collection of the practices and knowledges that have been collected, authenticated as truths and then appropriated by such people. Semali and Stambach (1997, p. 3) explain the process of appropriation of indigenous knowledge as being through trial and error and flexible enough to cope with the change that a community passes through. The implication is that indigenous knowledge is not static but is formed by the lived realities of the people unlike the Western knowledge which is said to be scientific and detached or separate from the lived experiences of the people.

Another definition of Indigenous Knowledge is given by Dei (2002, p. 339) who calls it as “knowledge unique to a given culture or society characterised by the common sense ideas, thoughts, values of people formed as a result of the sustained interactions of society, nature and culture.”

The epistemology of African indigenous knowledge rests on the spiritual as well as mental perceptions without basing it on proven empirical evidence. The Western hegemony in knowledge formation has made Indigenous knowledge be classified as inferior by some scholars like Horsthemke (2009) who holds the view that what the African indigenous people call knowledge is actually only practices and beliefs which do not qualify to be called knowledge. However, Breidlid (2013) does not share this simplistic way of looking at indigenous knowledges. Breidlid, (2013, p. 3) states that “indigenous knowledges have important assets that need to be seriously considered in a world that is completely dominated by Western epistemology and knowledge production.”

To remove the negative tag on IK, Claxton (2010) urges the indigenous people to own the term indigenous and remove the negative connotation which it carries. He elucidates that once this is done the indigenous people would be prepared to consider their indigenous cultures as a development resource instead of a development obstacle; only then would this knowledge be used as the best source of solutions for problems of sustainable development of the local people. In addition, Claxton (2010, p. 13) sounds a warning that when a development process has been tap rooted in one indigenous system of thinking and living it does not follow that it would produce the same results when it is transplanted to another country which has adopted the same process. Claxton (2010, p. 15) concludes that “...Excellence in development can be achieved only if such development is rooted in the eco-indigenous knowledge, values and socio-economic system of the country concerned.”

I have considered this theory in this study because it, somehow, contrasts with the human capital theory's emphasis on formal Western education as the only way in which any form of economic and social development can be realized in a society. The Indigenous Knowledge Systems espouse the view that a people can develop fully by making use of their indigenous knowledges without necessarily completely falling back on Western knowledge productions at the expense of their innate knowledges. This only holds true in a situation where endogenous development is not overshadowed by exogenous kind of development which, in most cases, seems to be privileged by the influence of scientific knowledge, wealth and power (Odora, 2002, p. 15).

3.5 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is defined by Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 18) as a visual or written product which “explains, either graphically or in a narrative form, the main things to be studied- the key factors, concepts or variables- and the presumed relationships among them.” Going by this definition, ‘cultural development’ and ‘Indigenous Knowledge system’ on one hand, and ‘modern development’ with ‘Western formal education’ on the other hand, were identified as the main themes of the study.

The study is guided by the assumption that one's culture affects one's outlook on every form of development. In other words, one sees the world through his or her culture, life and experiences.

Figure 4 shows the interface between modern development which is represented by Western formal education and the cultural development represented in indigenous knowledges. The intersection represents the people that are affected by the two value-formation stand points.

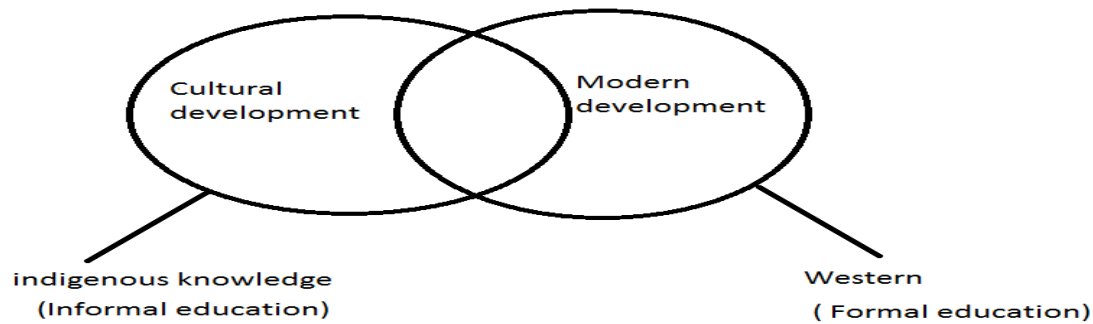


Figure 4: Relationship between cultural development and modern development

The concept is at the same time alive to the fact that culture is not static and so there should be a space of intersection between what is culturally valued and what is believed to be influence from the Western world. It is at this intersection point or space that action takes place. This study intends to explore what should be happening at this intersection space in terms of education and development. It is assumed that as one of the knowledge formations accommodates more of the values of the other, the intersection set becomes bigger. The big question is whether one of them can entirely consume the other. In other words, would modernity or Western knowledge production ever engulf indigenous way of defining knowledge, or vice versa? The epistemological orientations of the two make it unforeseeable that one could completely obliterate the other. Nevertheless, the intersection set could definitely grow bigger as allowances and acceptance or accommodation of each other's values becomes the norm. The harmonization of the two value formation stand- points requires the devaluation of one culture to take on the other which is more pro-modern development. This is where one could see the diminishing of indigenous knowledges values as Western knowledge production takes centre stage.

3.6 Summary

The chapter has discussed the Human capital theory and the Indigenous knowledges theory which, according to the research findings, underpinned the study. In addition the chapter has conceptualised modern and cultural developments as the two variables at play in the Baila's situation concerning their appreciation of Western formal education. This Chapter is important to this study because it forms a basis for discussing the findings of the study and bringing the findings to a higher cognitive level.

CHAPTER FOUR

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

4.1 Overview

The chapter reviews literature which is relevant to the study. The chapter starts by exploring the concept of formal education in the modern world. Since education is perceived as the main drive for development, the chapter outlines the various meanings of development as a way of establishing if all forms of development really hinge on education. After this, the chapter looks at issues concerning Education for All. The first part of the Chapter is covered as background literature to understanding the key elements of the topic of the study. The chapter then reviews related studies which have been done in relation with Education for All especially in pastoralist societies.

4.2 Formal education and the modern world

In today's world, education has been linked with economic progress, transmission of culture from one generation to the next as well as the development of intelligence (Carmody, 2004, p. x). It is argued that education improves the quality of life in modern society. The World Bank (2011, p. 11) justifies its involvement in the development of education by stating that:

People are the real wealth of nations (UNDP 2010) and education enables them to live healthier, happier and more productive lives. There are broad agreements, backed by research findings, that education enhances people's ability to make informed decisions, be better parents, sustain a livelihood, adopt new technologies, cope with shocks, and be responsible citizens and effective stewards of the natural environment.

The importance of education in human economic development today is further stressed by UNESCO which produced a landmark report on world illiteracy (UNESCO, 1957) which, according to Crossley and Watson (2003, p.86) highlighted that "the world map of illiteracy

coincided with the world map of poverty.” Crossley and Watson further argue that the status quo is still the same today.

The World Bank’s statement on education, however, stimulates the question as to whether all forms of education bring about human development and whether human development is synonymous with modern formal education. On this ground, Crossley and Watson (2003, p. 111) condemn the World Bank’s emphasis on the human capital theory “which sees education solely as a means of economic expansion and ignores the potential impact of local analyses and knowledge.” They further state that education, health, rural development, the environment and the economy are all interdependent and that education cannot, therefore be treated as a sector isolated from society as a whole (Crossley and Watson, 2003, p. 111).

At this stage, it would be important to reflect on the meaning of development.

4.3 Concept of Development

Development is not a simple term to define as it has many sheds and interpretations. Byrne (1983:6) gives a simple definition of development as “the promotion of the good of people, every person and the whole person.” In a similar way, Nyasani (2010, p. 6) argues that the original goal of development is just to satisfy man in the ordinary material pursuit but this has now been complicated by the desire for technologies and other scientific innovations. He further (2010, p. vii) posits that:

...development need not always be uniform or uniform in character since it happens to derive its reality and peculiar pattern from the locally prevailing geographical, historical and cultural circumstances. In this sense then, development as a phenomenon, is uniquely and substantially determined by local physical realities and only very rarely by intercultural and transnational determinants.

This statement raises interesting issues which seem to be at variance with the promotion of EFA. For example, EFA in its current dispensation appears to be blind to the local cultures of the people. EFA also gives the impression that Western hegemonic education is a panacea for all under development issues of all societies of the world. It is on this ground that Tucker (1999, p. 1) takes a rather pessimistic and sarcastic interpretation of development and calls it “a process whereby other peoples are dominated and their destinies are shaped according to an essentially Western way of conceiving and perceiving the world...It is a process whereby the lives of some peoples, their plans, their hopes, their imaginations, are shaped by others who frequently share neither their lifestyles, nor their hopes nor their values.” He further asserts that after more than three decades of development, many countries, especially in the global South, are worse off than when the development discourse was put in the limelight.

My argument is in tandem with Nyasani’s view on wholesome acceptance of Western form of development. Nyasani (2010, p. vii) cautions that inasmuch as Africa wants to attain the Western model of development, she must be prepared to do it at the expense of her inveterate habits and attitudes. Nyasani (2010, p. vii) therefore recommends a “modified form of development which peculiarly captures and incorporates its spirit, ambition, vista and capacity.” Nyasani’s caution strikes a similarity with the views of Dimmock and Walker on globalisation which tends to mostly export theories, policies and practice systems from the West to the developing countries. So, defending societal cultures, Dimmock and Walker (2000, p. 307) argue that:

Theories, ideas and practices derived in one social setting should not be assumed valid in other social-political-cultural contexts. Social cultures, along with local economic, political and religious conditions act as mediators and filters to policies and practices imported from overseas. Consequently, policies may be accepted, adapted or rejected.

Dimmock and Walker's claims on the absurdity of importing foreign forms of development which intrinsically have no regard for the local cultures is shared by Gegeo (1998, p. 289) who justifies his claim by asserting that:

From Foucault (1980, 1988) to Amin (1976, 1989), and from Freire (1970, 1984) to Nyerere and others (1990), a strong argument has been made that development dictated from the outside rather than anchored in the knowledge base of the target population is in principle modernization disguised: it will not be fully concerned with the local needs. While it is true that globalizing forces may be realized in uniquely local forms, it is also true that western-oriented development in third world countries has been haunted by its own ghost, underdevelopment.

It is in the light of EFA being a brainchild or offshoot of globalisation that this statement will be discussed to establish how traditions and beliefs of the Baila do not seem to be receptive of some policies of EFA which appear to have been coated with Western traditions.

Justifying the human nature of pursuing excellence in life or improving ones lot, Nyasani (2010, p. 53) posits:

...all human beings desire and will some form of development in a degree conformable with their social sophistication, their local circumstances, their cultural philosophy and ethos, their taboos and folklores and , above all, their degree of perception and appreciation of the dangers besetting them at any given period in history. If the cultural beliefs are such that they arouse negative emotions and hostile attitudes vis-à-vis some candid undertaking in the promotion of some long-term social or individual welfare, the effort may go to waste or may never be brought to any meaningful fruition...

Nyasani's views here bring out points which need to be discussed in relation to the Baila's attitude to formal education. For example, do the traditional Baila really believe education is the only vehicle for their personal and societal development? In other words, is the feeling of personal

fulfilment or completeness among the Baila only restricted to those who are educated in the Western sense?

While the provision of education seems to be connected to economic development, some scholars argue that for education to offer the much required positive economic impact on the people, it should be credible and relevant to the society which it is aimed to serve. Banda (2008, p. 17) argues that among the many reasons Zambia can give for her failure to achieve the goals of EFA, quality, relevance and credibility of education offered could be the main ones. He states:

Recent studies (Serpell, 1993; Kelly, 1999; MOE, 2005) show that failure to offer education relevant to the needs of the people and relevant to the immediate environment has also made people lose faith in education and schooling altogether.

The importance of relevance of education, content or curriculum offered to the local people for it to have a positive impact on the people is further supported by the British policy statement on education according to Thompson (1994, p. 36) which is referred to earlier.

Likewise, the content of formal education is argued by some scholars like Marah to be foreign and an agent of alienation of its product from the local milieu. Marah (1987, p. 464) posits:

The educated Africans were inculcated with negative attitudes towards their own culture and heroes while they revered those of the European. They were made to hate their own culture and therefore themselves.

Odora (1994) adds her voice to the condemnation of Western formal education as a vehicle for attaining EFA. She argues that Western education is alien to many African countries and people because it rejects African indigenous knowledges and thereby excludes community involvement as an integral part of education. She further argues that Western formal education which is prescribed for EFA hails the reward system of society which encourages individualism and social stratification, elements which are frowned upon in African societies. It is for this reason that Banda (2008, p. 53)

draws his arguments from Illich (1971) and Reimer (1971) and states that “if schools cannot teach children about their society and shape their values and ambitions and living patterns, they be abolished.”

Having looked at views of some scholars and institutions on the importance and demerits of formal Western education as a vehicle for economic development in Africa, I now look at the concept of culture and tradition so that this can later be linked to the Baila and see how it affects their perception of development in the light of formal Western education.

4.4 The concept of culture and tradition

There is a growing trend and interest today suggesting that culture is an important part of any societal development. It is for this reason that this section of the chapter examines the meaning of culture. This will be discussed in the light of how it impacts on a person’s view of the world, and in particular, education and development.

Concerning culture, UNESCO (2001, p.3) states:

Culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or a social group, and encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs.

On the other hand, Mondin (2005, p. 145) gives three definitions of culture. The first one is what he calls the Elitarian meaning where “culture signifies a great quantity of knowledge either in general or in some particular sector.” It is from this definition that in everyday use a person could be referred to as being very cultured.

Secondly, Mondin (2005, p. 146) gives a pedagogical sense of the word culture where culture indicates the education, formation and cultivation of man. He calls it as the “process through which a person comes to full maturation and realization of his personality.”

The third definition of culture is understood in the anthropological sense where “culture signifies that totality of customs, techniques and values that distinguish a social group, a tribe, a people, a nation- it is the mode of living proper to a society” (Mondin, 2005, p. 146). This definition is the modern popular understanding of the word. It is this understanding of the word which will be applied in the discussion of the Baila people in this study.

Likewise, Gyekye (1997, p. 220) defines culture and tradition as “socially inherited beliefs and practices that profoundly affect the texture of our lives.” Gyekye is of the view that the two words, culture and tradition, are interchangeable. Verhelst (1990, p. 17), on the other hand, defines culture as a response to the challenges that a people faces for their survival. He calls it as a sum total of the original solutions that a group of human beings invent to adapt to their social and natural environments. This means all the aspects of life of a specific group of people. The role culture plays in the survival of a people is amplified in the definition which Bullivant in Banks (2011, p. 8) gives of culture as “a group’s programme for survival in and adaptation to its environment.” He further elaborates that the cultural programme “consists of knowledge, concepts and values shared by group members through systems of communication.”

While some schools of thought argue that man is a product of nature and others that man is simply a historical being, Mondin prefers a middle road in which he calls man a cultural being. According to Mondin (2005, p. 147), “not all of man is a product of nature nor a product of history, but partly of nature and partly of history, and that this amalgam between history and nature is called culture.”

Mondin (2005, p. 148) further asserts that “the objective of culture, in the anthropological sense, has always been that of making man a person, a fully developed spirit, able to bring to complete and perfect realization that project which Providence has consigned to him.”

To underpin the critical role nature and history play in the character formation of a people, Mondin (2005, p. 158) sums it as follows:

Every social group, in addition to language and its own customs, also develops particular techniques for work, which correspond to the requirements of the environment, to man’s capacities, his creativity, his level of civilization and to other scientific level of a people...Every social group devises first those techniques that are indispensable for its own existence- that is, the techniques to procure and conserve food...The other type of techniques are hunting, fishing, agriculture and the herding of cattle.

Having looked at formal education and its perceived influence on development, it is important that we now look at why the Conference on Education for All was mooted.

4.5 World Education Conferences on EFA

The first World Conference on Education for All was held in Jomtien, Thailand from 5-9th March, 1990. 1 500 participants from 155 governments, 20 Intergovernmental bodies and 150 NGOs gathered for this great Conference. This, according to Crossley and Watson (2003, p. 94) “marked what many saw was a new beginning in international development cooperation.” The Conference was jointly coordinated by the World Bank together with the three United Nations agencies on education and development, namely, United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), United Nations Development Plan (UNDP) and United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF). Progress towards the achievement of the Jomtien Conference goals was first reviewed in 1996 at the mid-term Review Conference in Amman, Jordan.

The next World Conference on Education was held in Dakar, Senegal from 26th to 28th April, 2000. This Conference was a culmination of the evaluations done by six Regional conferences to assess the progress made towards the goals that were mooted in Jomtien (UNESCO, 2000). The six Regional conferences were:

1. The Sub- Sahara Conference held in Johannesburg
2. Asia and Pacific Conference in Bangkok, Thailand
3. Arab Regional Conference held in Cairo, Egypt
4. The Third Inter-Ministerial Review meeting in Recife, Brazil
5. Conference on EFA in Europe and North America held in Warsaw, Poland
6. Regional Education for All in Americas held in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

The Dakar Conference resolved that the heart of EFA lay at the country level and encouraged nations to come up with National Plans by 2002 so as to map up strategies which would lead to achievement of EFA goals and targets by 2015.

The remote causes which prompted the conception of Education for All (EFA) stemmed from the decline in primary school enrolment in the South, particularly in Africa within the decade period of 1980 and 1990. Brock-Utne (2000, p. 3) points out that while enrolment in primary schools was generally on the upswing in developing countries during the period 1960-1980, the trend was reversed in the years following 1980 with Africa recording enrolment lower than the population growth. She attributes the decline in enrolment to the general economic recession which compelled countries to spend less on social services like education. For example, Zambia's and Nigeria's real expenditure per head on education fell by 67% while Tanzania recorded 60% (Brock-Utne, 2000, p.

3). About this negative trend in the educational growth in developing South, Brock- Utne (2000, p.

4) posits:

It was this steady deterioration of the education sector in the developing countries in the 1980s that led some of the multilateral organizations to organize the 1990 World Conference on education for all (WCEFA). This conference, called by Simon McGrath (1997:3) “the greatest education jamboree of all” took place in Jomtien, Thailand, on 5-9th March, 1990...The overall aim of the main organizers of the conference was to get developing countries and donors to turn round the downward trend of falling enrolments, falling completion rates, and poor learning outcomes within primary education in developing countries.

It was evident from the discussions in Jomtien that the economic indebtedness of the South to the North which culminated in the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP, left the poor countries in the South with very little money to spend on social services of the people as they spent most of the resources servicing the debts. NORRAG News, June 1990:7, in Brocke-Utne (2000, p.

6) states:

...Resources currently flowing from South to North in debt service, if reoriented to the service of education and development, could provide the debtor countries with an enhanced capacity to ensure the survival of children to school age, and release families, communities and nations from poverty which prevents universal participation in pre-school, school and adult education.

The Structural Adjustment Programme meant the government spending less money on education sector but imposing cost sharing principles on the community. Among the effects of SAP, Kelly (2010, p. 304) mentions “imposing fees in the health and education sectors, retrenching workers in public sector and privatizing the large government corporations (parastatals).” Cost sharing is one principle which EFA adopted from SAP and called it “community involvement in education.” The community involvement which EFA advocates derives from the premise that the first responsibility for the education of the child lies in the immediate family and later moves to the wider community where the family lives. The bigger society or the government then, too, takes a role in the delivery

of education. This implies that the provision of education is a task which cannot be wholly left to the government, and it should therefore, according to Kelly (2010, p. 167) be understood that “community involvement in education provision should be the rule and not the exception.”

Although moderate school fees were levied even prior to SAP, Kelly argues that the sudden upward increase which SAP dictated meant some parents failing to pay for their children in school thereby dropping out of school. Kelly (2010, p. 304) explains: “The steep increase has occurred at the same time that the income earning capacity of many has been reduced, through retrenchments, agriculture sector decline, etc.”

While SAP was blamed by developing countries and other agencies sympathetic and concerned about education, like African Association for Literacy and Adult Education, AALAE, for the decline in the enrolment in schools, IMF and World Bank thought otherwise. Brock-Utne (2000, p. 8) further posits:

...Banks and Aid agencies maintained that Structural Adjustment programme was for the large part not responsible for the general deterioration of the education sector in most of the South over the 1980s, arguing that Southern delegates were “confused” about the cause of their problem. Structural adjustment is the medicine, not the cause of the disease, and Africa’s economy will improve during the decade as a result of it.

This stance by the banks made Klees (2010, p. 20) heap the blame on the banks about the apparent failure of the EFA project:

I believe future historians will shake their collective head in wonder that the world today allowed a bank to be the global leader in developing and enforcing educational policy. What nonsense! We need to get rid of the Bank and the Fund. The Fund is perhaps the biggest obstacle to Education for All (EFA) in the world today as its narrow inflation targets lead it to require developing countries to cut their teaching force as a way of scaling back government.

The involvement of the Bank in the implementation of the global education policy has further adversely affected the realization of EFA in that it looks at profits and advocates that schools be run like corporate entities which strictly look at productivity. It is on this premise that Shiotani (2010, p. 5) asserts that education has been adversely affected in the Aid and Development scheme to the developing nations. He argues:

But however rhetorically committed the international aid community has been to the ideals of education's intrinsic worth, a notable consequence of these initiatives has been to sanction new forms of global governance- or to use Foucauldian term, governmentality- implemented through time-bound targets, indicators, and benchmarks that place developing countries under onerous burdens and perhaps unsustainable standards and expectations.

In the Zambian situation, the introduction of Education Boards to run schools is an example of the global governance influence, which in most cases, has failed to deliver the required results. For instance, one of the roles of the Education Boards is to make their institutions financially independent through their fundraising ventures but the reality is that many Education Boards have turned into liabilities as they draw more money through sitting allowances from the institutions they are supposed to sustain than what they bring in. To begin with, some Education Board members have nothing of value that they bring to the table because they lack the skills and experiences to run such corporate entities in the manner they are run in the developed world. However, such individuals find themselves on the Board because, according to the guidelines of membership, they are the only ones that are eligible, albeit without any skills.

As a consequence to these benchmarks, the many efforts that developing nations have made have been criticized as being insufficient or declared total failures because the development experts

engaged to evaluate the programme use global parameters to gauge progress rather than nationally or contextually driven standards or criteria (Shiotani, 2010, p. 5).

EFA has received further criticisms. Some educationists like Odora assert that the conference missed a golden opportunity of asserting an education for freedom and self-reliance, especially in Africa. She claims, “It was school education for all just being labelled ‘Education for All’” (Odora, 2000:177). Odora (2000, p. 18) further condemns the Western habit of coining their preferences or agendas as ‘universal’ (1998: 18). She interprets “universalism as the ideology of the West in confrontation with non-western cultures.”

Another negative observation on EFA is from Brocke-Utne (2000, p. 11) who is uncomfortable with EFA focusing on primary education. She questions:

Why did the great education jamboree target primary education, not vocational education which was in vogue with the World Bank some years ago and could have helped children earn a living, nor higher education, which could have made it possible for Africans to develop a counter-expertise, their own experts?

Furthermore, making reference to a study carried out by Jacques Hallak (1991) on some former French colonies in Africa, Brocke-Utne (2000, p. 15) amplifies that the social demands for education have a telling effect on how education is perceived by a community. Hallak argues that the demand for education is low firstly because of economic implications. He exemplifies that many poor communities see their children’s contributions to the family labour as being more important than the education that they would acquire from western schools. In addition, “the high cost incurred by poor families who have to contribute to construction and school facilities even before paying school fees for individual children” discourages many parents from sending their children to school.

Brock-Utne (2000, p. 15) summarises Hallak's views on demand for education that:

...for many parents the notion of quality encompasses more than simply a better school environment, more qualified teachers, and an adequate supply of text books. Quality also means relevance to local needs and adaptability to local cultural and economic conditions...Education, according to Hallak, must help children get on better in their daily lives. It must also help children adapt to other environments. If education is not perceived to be meeting such felt need, then parents, especially poor parents and those who need the labour of their children at home, may well withdraw their children from school.

This notion of relevance expressed by Hallak is shared by Serpell (1993). In this study, Serpell points out that when education does not add to the direct economic gain of an individual, family or society, it does not inspire the young ones to pursue it. Serpell's conversation with one of the school drop-outs brings out the general concept of education in many poor African societies (1993, p. 14):

Did you do a good thing to leave school?

Yes I think so: I did a good thing.

Why?

Because even those who finished Grade 7 and passed- they did not find jobs.

Are you telling the truth?

Yes, in fact, even those who leave school in Form 3 have not found jobs. And now we are together here in the fields growing sunflower and garlic together.

What has been covered this far is background literature which should help in the understanding of key elements of this study. In the next section of this Chapter, I review related literature on the studies made on similar subject as this present study.

4.6 Gender parity among pastoralist communities

Pastoralism is a way of life quite common in many developing countries. The search for pastures and water for their animals makes some pastoralists lead nomadic lives. However, the degree of nomadism varies. There are some pastoralist communities where the whole family is constantly on the move depending on the availability of pastures for their animals. Others like the Baila, in this study, have permanent homes but their animals are taken away from the villages to go and feed in the plains. In this case, it is the boys who take care of the cattle that lead semi nomadic lives in the plains. The need for education encompasses pastoralists too. This study, therefore found the research on EFA among the nomadic pastoralists in Kenya quite relevant to be reviewed.

In this study Orodho, *et.al* (2014) document the strategies that the Kenyan government put in place to domesticate and realize Education for All (EFA) and the MDGs among the nomadic pastoralists in the Mandera county of Kenya. The objective of this study was to explore how gender parity could be attained among the people under study.

Orodho's (2014) study stated that in spite of the good national progress towards the gender equity in education, the Mandera County in Kenya, which is basically a pastoralist area, lagged behind in all stages of education from Early Childhood Education to tertiary level. The study identified eight factors as challenges which inhibited the attainment of EFA for that county. These factors are cultural practices; teacher related factors; inadequate infrastructure and physical instructional resources; uncoordinated provision of religious and secular education modes of learning in the Muslim society; lack of child-friendly schools; and lastly the absence of role models for girls to emulate (2014, p. 111).

The Kenyan study made an observation that poverty made children be used as economic earners to households. Boys are excluded from school to herd cattle as a way of contributing to the family economy. For the same reasons, girls are married off in their tender ages as a way of bringing wealth, in form of cattle, in the family. Orodho's (2014) Mandera county study presents a paradox where it is mostly the intelligent and responsible boys who are kept out of school so that they could herd cattle. Orodho (2014, p. 114) explains that "the bright boys are used to look after livestock because they can count them accurately and look after them keenly." This practice of reserving the intelligent boys for cattle rearing implies that pastoralism is rated higher than formal education in this society. Reserving the best brains for pastoralism shows that that is where the best returns for the investment are found.

The findings of the Kenyan study bring out a general trend among pastoralist communities which I find true and relevant to the Ila tradition. The Orodho study (2014, p. 112) draws a point about pastoralist communities that:

Families do not view their livestock in monetary terms and are reluctant to sell them for education purposes. Above all, large herds are viewed as a symbol of prestige that cannot be sold to purchase education.

In addition, the Kenyan study points out that generally pastoralist communities regard girls as a form of investment by way of bride wealth which is paid in the form of cattle. The study further elucidates that the value of girls lay in their being married off before education spoiled them. The Mandera nomads believe that educating a girl is a waste of resources and a risky venture for their being educated may render them unmarriageable (p. 114).

While the study by Orodho (2014) was set to focus on the girls education in nomadic pastoralist society, the factors that it brought to the fore underpinned the fact that the cultural mentality of

pastoralist societies are similar in many ways, especially concerning parents' relationship with their children and their attitude to formal education. It is clear that in the pastoralist communities, the girl-child faces a more disadvantaged life than the boy in everyday life as well as in the prospects for formal education.

4.7 Education and Development: Elimination of poverty

A study by Suri (2014) pointed out the importance of education in uplifting the status of individuals and communities in pastoralists societies. This article is relevant to my study in that it makes reference to the importance of education in the elimination of societal poverty which was actually the basis of convening the World Conference on Education. The low levels of literacy and numeracy were linked to the underdevelopment in the global South.

Making reference to UNESCO, 2000, Suri (2014, p. 12) states that:

Education is a major instrument for change and social development which plays an important role in empowering the child economically and socially and assists the marginalized population out of poverty. Education also provides the children with means to participate fully in their communities.

Although this article deals with nomadic communities in India, it can be generalized to all pastoralist societies which practise transhumance. It is for this reason that Suri (2014, p. 17) succinctly summarises that “transhumance practice is the biggest impediment for those who want to ensure formal education for their children.”

Suri (2014, p. 13) further points out low school enrolment, attendance, classroom performance, low retention and continuity to higher education, gender disparity as the offshoots of the nomadic life style of the people under study.

The suggestions which Suri (2014, p. 18) outlines to mitigate the challenges which the nomads face to attain formal education seem to be applicable to the present study except the issue of mobile schools. It should also be pointed out that the Zambian government, according to the present study, appears to have addressed the concerns raised by Suri's study.

Suri's study suggested that the government improves the infrastructure in the education sector and provide at least a mid-day meal to the learners. It is clear that the issue of the mid-day meal is very crucial in the provision of education in poor societies. In Ethiopia, USAID (2008, p. 35) a Hamar pastoral elder is reported to have said to education providers, "Our food is with the cattle. But your education is in the urban cities. Either take your school where the food is, or bring the food to the school." The mobile school system is an answer to the first suggestion of "taking the school where the food is," while the school feeding programme according to the present study responds to the request of "bringing the food to the school." World Food Programme states that its intervention in Ethiopia increased girls rate of participation in school from 3.57 in 1998/9 to 39.17 in 2002/3 and that enrolment in 2002/3 school year increased by 9.37% in school feeding schools, while it increased by only 5.90% in schools which did not benefit from the feeding programme (USAID, 2008).

As a way of curbing the educational backwardness, Suri suggested that there was need to link the child's home language with the school language by using the mother tongue as a language of instruction. The Zambia Education Curriculum Framework of 2013 introduced familiar language as medium of instruction from Grade 1 to 4.

Since the thrust of Suri's study is access to education, he pointed out that government should encourage private sector participation in the provision of education so as to increase access to education for the nomadic society.

A major point of departure between this present study and Suri's is the over emphasis on access, in the case of the latter. It becomes clear that the issue of relevance is marginal in the scope of Suri's (2014, p. 18) study. On this issue, he posits:

While there is an important need to equip those who leave pastoralism to find employment in the wider economy, there is an equally urgent need for those children who are active pastoralists and will be responsible for tomorrow's animal production in the highlands, to have access to the same education as others.

Suri's study (2014), shows that Western formal education is required for every class of the society. He does not restrict it to those who would use it to be employed and divorced from the traditional life, but extends it to those whose lives depend on cattle. Suri gives the impression that pastoralism could be enriched by formal Western education.

4.8 Education and Development for transhumant societies

Dyer (2001, p. 135) explored links between education and development in the case of transhumant pastoral group in Western India and observed that EFA was an ideological notion which reflected values which contradicted those of nomadic groups and argued that the "value positions underlying this notion need to be articulated and further contextualized if it is simply to reflect existing, and inclusive, hegemonies."

Dyer (2001, p. 316) contended that nomads appreciate education too but qualifies their appreciation with conditions:

...their assessment of its relevance as a tool by which to adapt to the changing environment and their interpretations of the relationships between education and development differ strikingly from the assumptions made by those who are service providers or managers.

Dyer (2001) revealed that the underlying purpose of the government for providing education to the nomads was to make them abandon their way of life and make them opt for sedentary lifestyle. However, there is a contra argument which espouses that education should bring about development within a people's milieu and not otherwise. This is the notion which Gegeo (1998, p. 291) brings to the fore when he argues against the classic modernization theory which asserts that third world peoples should break free of their traditional institutional structures to embrace Western values and social formation if they have to develop. Gegeo (1998, p. 291) proposes a change from within: "The change that I mean is that which villagers themselves bring about. It may involve borrowing from outside knowledge or ideas, but in a very essential way it emerges from their own perspectives, cultures and languages."

Dyer (2001, p. 318) describes the Rabaris of Kutch as possessing a sentimental or spiritual attachment to their animals. She states:

Although to survive they are forced to turn a blind eye to the fate of their animals, most Rabaris regard the sale of animals for human consumption as a sacrilegious act and a moral outrage, tantamount to the selling of their own children.

Dyer (2001, p. 322) further states that the Rabaris "devoutly believe that their lives, and those of their animals, are in the hands of the Mother Goddess (*Mataji*); and that they are privileged to be the guardians of her animals during their mortal existence, rather than their owners." Such beliefs translate into inability to use cattle for economic purposes like selling some when in need of money to send children to school. Similarly, the desire or respect for a big herd of cattle at the expense of

the ability to use them for their social and economic development is common ground for pastoralists (Dyer, 2001, p. 322).

Dyer's (2001) study further discusses the relevance of formal education in relation to acquisition of formal employment. Her findings, which are similar to Serpell (1993), show that the inability of those who have been to school to find formal salaried employment negatively impacts on access to education on the part of those of school going age who see the 'educated' languishing without getting employed. This situation renders EFA as a failed project to a certain extent. About the relationship between access to education and ability to find employment in the formal sector, Dyer (2001, p. 323) posits:

These educated young men, however, do not always find the expected job in the stagnant rural economy of Kutch. Their unschooled peers see no benefit from the time invested in going to school if no job results, and tend to view people who have been to school as good for neither one thing nor the other- unwilling, and unable, to husband animals, and unable to find a job in the organised sector. Cultural dislocation, de-skilling and disaffection with schooling are all outcomes that make the Rabaris wonder about the relationships between formal education and development.

The study on the Rabaris indicates that the people regard formal education as completely divorced from their animal husbandry. The study also seems to imply that those who choose to embrace the Western formal education do so as a way of getting out of the pastoral life. On this premise Dyer (2001, p. 324) posits:

The demand for education is, however, quite specific: it is not linked with any notion of improving the productivity of pastoralism, but rather as instrumental in finding new economic and social opportunities in a world in which pastoralism, for various reasons, seems irrelevant.

This statement is in contrast with Suri (2014) who saw education as being relevant to both those whose lives hinged purely on pastoralism as well as those who would use it as a way of getting formal salaried employment. Dyer further raises three issues which while they refer to the people under her study could legitimately apply to many countries which have embraced EFA. Firstly, she points out that the fact that EFA is conceptualized within the framework of individual human rights pushes the EFA project at variance with the values and practices of many developing countries where the welfare of the family supersedes the individual's rights. Other pieces of literature reviewed in this study (Orodho, 2014; Suri, 2014; Banda, 2008) clearly demonstrate, for example, that access to education depends on the needs of the whole family. A child can, therefore, be withdrawn from school if and when the family needs her contribution to the household economy. Such a child cannot claim any individual right on this issue.

Secondly, Dyer (2001, p. 325) points out that EFA has little regard for the indigenous knowledges of the people it is offered to. This is in content, language of delivery and the mode of delivery. In the Zambian situation, as pointed out earlier, it is only in 2013 that curriculum was redesigned to accommodate the local and familiar languages as languages of instruction for the learners from pre-school to Grade 4. In addition, Dyer claims that leaving the traditional informal learning to embrace formal education creates a gap in the young peoples' cognitive acquisition and utilisation of the indigenous knowledges which are vital to their life. She demonstrates this by making reference to Galaty (1986) and Kratli (2000) who indicated that among the Masai boys, those who had never been to school had a higher cognitive skills drive applicable to cattle rearing, a vital component of their life, than those who had been to school. By implication, formal education disturbs the cognitive development of skills necessary in the ordinary survival of the indigenous people. This point is in tandem with Msango's (2000, p. 21) assertion that:

Schooling can interrupt a person's education, as it did in the case of Sir George Bernard of the UK who complained that he did not see

the relevance of learning how to define Mensa (table) to his overall education. The time he spent in the school, he argued, could have been profitably used in learning certain other aspects of the society's culture. So we see many of us who know how to read and write and are good in a variety of school subjects are not really educated; while those who have never been to school at all are more and better educated than most of us are.

The third point which she raises is connected to the second one. Dyer (2001, p. 325) questions "whether states which promote EFA are making similar commitments to generating employment opportunities if traditional occupations are edged out by development." She amplifies that when the youth concentrate on textbook education, it disturbs their indigenous knowledge acquisition which they may need for survival when formal education does not offer them employment. She further generalises that in the pastoral societies, the skills of maintaining grazing areas are constantly evolving to accommodate the most effective ways of adding life to the limited grazing areas. When one goes to school and thereby interrupts the acquisition of the current local knowledge of sustaining the pastures, his being reintroduced in the local way of life after failing to find employment could have telling effects to the community's limited arid areas. Those who go back to the land after some interruption through formal education sometimes engage in grazing practices which those who had continued with that life had discarded. Dyer (2001, p. 325) therefore suggests the inclusion of traditional knowledges of managing the ecology in the formal mainstream education so that there is no interruption in the knowledge acquisition. I concur with Dyer's ideas of including some of the local knowledges and practices in the mainstream education. This forms part of my argument for localised curriculum as a way of entrenching EFA.

4.9 African Indigenous Knowledges System and Formal education

It was deemed necessary to review a study by Dennis Banda (2008). Being a Zambian study, it was noticed that there was a lot of common ground between Banda's study and this present one. For

example, the position of cattle in the Chewa tradition, albeit in lesser proportion than among the Baila, the subjects of my study, draws a similarity in the traditional life styles of the two tribes and thus their perception of education.

Banda (2008) carried out his study among the Chewa people of Katete and using a Qualitative research design, he interviewed a cross section of participants categorised in two major groups. The first group was that of traditionists while the second was of educationists. The traditionists group comprised mainly the Chewa traditionists who included four Chewa Chiefs. The second category of participants was that of education experts at the Ministry of Education Headquarters, the Curriculum Development Centre and the University of Zambia.

Banda (2008, p. 17) argues that among the many reasons Zambia can give for failure to achieve the goals of EFA, quality, relevance and credibility of the education offered could be the main ones. Navigating around these three themes, Banda argues that AIKS could be the missing link in making formal education relevant and acceptable in the Chewa society and many more traditional societies in Zambia. Therefore, the main thrust of Banda's study is AIKS and how it can find its place in the promotion of EFA. He lays bare his intentions for gleaning the Chewa AIKS and states that other than just identifying important aspects of AIKS his study wanted to go further by examining how those aspects could be used as tools to enhance the achievement of EFA goals (p, 80). Banda (2008) narrows down his study to the Chewa AIKS and explores how some elements of the Chewa tradition could be integrated with the formal school curriculum to enhance the aspiration of EFA. He argues that drawing AIKS into the curriculum could partly take care of the maxim which states that learning should proceed from the known to the unknown so that the learners are not completely overwhelmed by unfamiliar stuff taught in schools. And since formal education mostly concentrates on academic subjects at the expense of practical subjects, Banda suggests that practical or occupational skills in

AIKS could add an economic relevance to the curriculum since these are mostly income generating. To this effect, Banda (2008, p. 259) proposes three forms of integration of AIKS into the curriculum and terms it “Hybridization” :

- a. Mainstreaming/ incorporation, integration or infusion of AIKS into the formal school curriculum.
- b. Establishing Indigenous knowledges as a core subject.
- c. Teaching AIKS as a component of the seven official Zambian languages taught in school.

He recommends the first one as the most effective one.

The question which can be asked at this stage is whether the hybridized curriculum would still pass as being part of the global architecture of education which is manifested in EFA. Furthermore, the complexity of the hybridized curriculum is noticed when the epistemological and ontological considerations are brought into perspective. Banda himself acknowledges that both the AIKS and formal education are rigid systems with some prescribed pieces of knowledge they consider to be “truths” (p. 280). Similarly, Banda (2008, p. 272) observes the polarity of the hybridized curriculum and suggests openness in accepting this reality:

Critical understanding of the weaknesses and strengths of both the Chewa AIKS and the formal schooling system by all stakeholders could be the prerequisite to the production of a negotiated curriculum that may be attractive to both parents and pupils and support EFA.

While the hybridization of the curriculum may be laudable by pupils and their parents, its being accepted as being in support of EFA is questionable as Banda himself regrets that some very educated people in his study were not in favour of AIKS (p. 215). This proposition of some educationists not being in favour of AIKS is echoed by Semali (1999, p. 307) who states that:

The transfer of indigenous knowledge from the learners' everyday life to school work is not always valued or encouraged by some teachers. These teachers simply find indigenous knowledge unimportant. They often harbour an intellectual authority that invalidates the indigenous knowledge that the young learners bring to the classroom.

Another factor which should not be glossed over in relation to the integration of AIKS into the school curriculum is that some pupils have a negative view of indigenous knowledges. They believe being conversant in the traditional beliefs and practices shows that they are primitive. Muma (2013, p. 114) shares this view in his study on how African Traditional Religion as a form of African indigenous knowledge was being taught in the two Senior secondary school Religious Education syllabuses in Zambia:

My observations and interactions with the pupil-informants showed that many of them actually pretend to be ignorant of Zambian indigenous traditions to show that they were modern people and were 'cool.' Those who demonstrated superior knowledge of tradition in the lessons were laughed at by their classmates as being rural and primitive. To be accepted by peers, many pupils feigned ignorance of the traditional beliefs and practices which they actually knew and practised at home, away from peer pressure.

Considering these stand points of some teachers and pupils concerning AIKS, it can be concluded that the wholesome inclusion of indigenous knowledges in the syllabuses and curriculum as a way of enhancing pupil appreciation of formal education may not be a very easy undertaking, especially considering the acceptability of the content by all concerned.

While Banda (2008) mostly focused on the positive aspects of the Chewa AIKS which he proposed to be integrated in the formal education curriculum, he, however, identified within the Chewa AIKS some practices and beliefs which he deemed to be inimical to formal school education. Banda

(2008, p. 250) lists some of these negative practices from which I picked three to be relevant to my study:

- The initiation ceremonies for the girls who have become of age and the teachings.
- Boys herding cattle for some time before being enrolled in school.
- Negative proverbs, taboos and sayings to girls' education.

Although Banda acknowledges that initiation ceremonies for girls are a good way of imparting indigenous knowledge to the initiates to make them fit in well with the society, he condemns the idea of giving marriage instructions to these small girls instead of just ending at instructing them on how to hygienically take care of themselves.

The present study differs with Banda's study mostly on the focus or the genesis. This study investigated the role tradition plays in promoting or inhibiting the promotion of EFA. The study highlighted those traditional beliefs and practices and proposed ways they could be negotiated and adapted to bring them in conformity with the dictates of Western formal education. While this present study acknowledges that EFA is a contested project, it, nevertheless, advocates for the change of mindset of the traditional Baila so that they could embrace and benefit from the formal education offered. Banda's study on the other hand exalts the traditional beliefs and practices of the local people and suggests that they be part of the curriculum offered in modern formal schools. This, he claims, would infuse in the quality, relevance and credibility of the education offered whose absence he attributes to the apparent failure of Zambia to meet the EFA goals.

4.10 Incorporation of culture in formal education

It cannot be denied that the Western hegemonic education depicts other cultures as being inferior. The lack of interest in Western formal education by some people is partly because of the power

differences it demonstrates between the implementers or advocates of this formal education and the indigenous recipients of this education. In his study of the Maori people in New Zealand, Bishop (2003) brings out how the perceived inferior culture of the indigenous Maori could be mainstreamed into the formal education offered to them.

In this study Bishop (2003) suggests how 'deficit' notions of Maori students could be addressed and replaced by an alternative model which emphasises empowerment and the notion which espouses that culture is an important element of a person's life and should be co-constructed by teachers who wedge power in the classroom together with the students who are mostly on the weak receiving end of the spectrum. To this end, Bishop (2003, p. 221) suggests a model which:

Constitutes the classroom as a place where young people's sense making processes (cultures) are incorporated and enhanced, where the existing knowledges of the young people- particularly Maori- are seen as 'acceptable' and 'official', and where the teacher interacts with students in such a way that new knowledge is co-created. Such a classroom will generate very different interactions and participation patterns and educational outcomes from a classroom where knowledge is seen as something that the teacher makes sense of and then passes on to the students.

The concept of labelling the indigenous people as being inferior is detrimental to their acceptance of the Western hegemonic education or indeed any developmental intervention for the local people which is portrayed within the Western discourse. This is the picture which Bishop (2003, p. 222) paints when he shares that within the education sphere, some theorists claim that Maori perform poorly in school because of 'cultural deficiency.' He cites a research by Lovegrove of 1966 (p.31) which concluded that "Maori problems at school were more to do with 'the general deprived nature of the Maori home conditions than to inherent intellectual inferiority'"

To underpin the principle of mainstreaming educational contexts, Bishop (2003, p. 229) suggests situations where:

Learners can safely bring what they know and who they are into the learning relationship. Teachers and community interact, and home and school aspirations are complimentary. Further, what students know- who they are and how they know what they know- forms the foundations of interaction patterns in the classroom. In short, where culture counts.

Bishop (2003) emphasises that learning is enhanced in situations where cultural identities are valued, valid and legitimate and learners are comfortable to be themselves.

4.11 Motivation for acquiring formal Western education

The taxonomies of educational purposes provided in Illich (1971) in Dore (1980, p. 137) form what can be termed as motivation for one to acquire formal education. However, most of them can be regarded as high level in nature. Hoppers (1981) provides a simplified way of the meaning of education. In his Mwinilunga study of rural primary pupils and school leavers, Hoppers (1981) states that all the pupils in the sample, for various reasons, considered education to be very important and they believed that not being educated was a very serious setback in their lives. Hoppers (1981, p. 88) explains:

The most important value of education is the plain reality that it is conditional for employment. The more education, the more chance one has, even if the ideal job does not necessarily require much schooling. A corollary is that pupils perceive little relationship between the content of education and a desired future job. What matters is the sheer fact of having been to school, not what was learned.

Hoppers (1981, p. 85) categorised and distinguished the pupils' motivation to continue with education into four meanings:

Four meanings of education

Scope

Purpose

Instrumental

Consummatory

Personal

Mobility

Knowledge

Social

Assistance

Citizenship

Source: Hoppers, W. (1981). Education in a Rural Society (P. 85).

With reference to Koff (1967) Hoppers (1981) explains that when education is taken as a form of ‘mobility’ it implies that a pupil acknowledges and appreciates education as being instrumental in his or her personal achievements in the economic, political or social arena. It is an understanding that without formal education, the pupil would remain stagnant in the spheres mentioned. For example, without formal education one would not have the money or means that would make him lead a comfortable life in the modern society. Without a certain standard of formal education one would be limited in the roles he or she can play in the political field. A case in point is that Article 190 (4) of the current Zambian Constitution stipulates that for one to be eligible to stand as a ward Councillor and represent his community in the Local council, he should have attained a minimum of Grade 12 academic qualification (Republic of Zambia, 2014).

‘Assistance’ implies the opportunity of helping others which education enables one through such professions as teaching, nursing and other professions which provide social services. In addition, ‘assistance’ means being able to assist one’s parents and other relatives because of the salaried employment which comes with formal Western education.

‘Consummatory’ meaning of education refers to education as an end in itself. This is acquiring knowledge just for the sake of it. According to Hoppers (1981, p. 85), this is “an appreciation of

education for its own sake, as a basic condition of being a ‘good’ man, or of really being able to participate in the world.”

‘Citizenship’ meaning of education refers to a situation where a pupil or learner views his individual education as a way of contributing to the improvement of the nation or society. This is where one believes that a society of educated people is a ‘good’ society.

Many pupils in Hoppers’ study stated that they needed secondary school education even for jobs such as being a driver, farmer or bricklayer which jobs can offer them better lives. Further, the study showed that the most important value of education was that it was conditional for employment and consequently for a better social and economic life. This realization made many boys and girls take formal education very seriously.

Hoppers (1981, pp. 91–92) further raises a very interesting point where he relates the learner’s home background and the social status of the parents to the support or encouragement he would receive to pursue formal education. Thus, when looking at the home-environment, one may conclude that the more parents of peasant background start participating in the cash economy and become more exposed to ‘modern’ ways of living, the more they are inclined to wish a different future for their children; a future to which secondary education is a stepping stone.

Following the ratification of the EFA goals, the Zambian government came up with a National policy on education called ‘Educating Our Future’. The policy has set goals which it intends to achieve from those who go through its education system. The same goals can be transformed into personal purposes for why some learners are in school. Ministry of Education (1996, p. 5) states that it aims at producing a learner capable of:

- i. being animated by a personally held set of civic, moral and spiritual values;
- ii. developing an analytical, innovative, creative and constructive mind;
- iii. appreciating the relationship between scientific thought, action and technology on the one hand, and sustenance of the quality of life on the other;
- iv. demonstrating free expression of one's own ideas and exercising tolerance for other people's views;
- v. cherishing and safeguarding individual liberties and human rights;
- vi. appreciating Zambia's ethnic cultures, customs and traditions, and upholding national pride, sovereignty, peace, freedom and independence;
- vii. participating in the preservation of the ecosystems in one's immediate and distant environments;
- viii. Maintaining and observing discipline and hard work as the cornerstones of personal and national development.

The motivation for attaining formal education varies according to individual's way of life and the society's influence. Equally the discourse on the relevance of education offered continues to rage on as times and conditions pass. Ministry of Education (2005, p. 8) gives a good summary of the magnitude and complexity of the challenge as it examines the missing link between schooling and society:

In order for education to make a positive impact on society, the knowledge, skills and attitudes acquired in school must have applications that are beneficial (within that society) to both the collective and individual involved. It should be stated at this point, however, that since independence in 1964, the relationship between school acquisitions and societal expectations has essentially been through formal employment. But given the widespread unemployment in the country, more and more citizens have a feeling that education is failing the nation. Yet, little is said about the fact that society could itself have been failing meaningful applications of school knowledge to the life situations.

4.12 Summary

The chapter has reviewed literature dealing with the concept of formal education and examined development in the light of formal Western education. Education for All (EFA) has been reviewed, looking at the reasons for its conception and the criticisms about it. The last part of the chapter was dedicated to reviewing studies which are related to this present one. Literature reviewed has left some gaps in the knowledge which this study has opted to further investigate. For example, Banda's (2008) study exalts AIKS and calls it the missing link in the appreciation of the relevance and credibility of Western formal education. His proposal of wholesome 'hybridization' of AIK to blend with Western epistemology raises questions of the acceptability of the former in the Western formal education discourse. Further, it has not been clarified whether cultures can actually be a hinderance or a catalyst to the attainment of Western formal education. So the present study elects to investigate this further.

In addition, some related literature has raised some assumptions about pastoralist in relation to education. Suri's study (2014) in Jammu and Kashmir, going by the set objectives, mainly focussed on issues of access to universal elementary education. The study was premised on the assumption that the nomadic people had been deprived of the education which was offered to others. What the study ignored to question is whether the affected people really needed or appreciated that education. There is probability that while the services of free formal education could have been available, the people may have just opted out. This present study, therefore, goes a step further by interrogating whether the affected people felt the need for the education offered. In other words, this study questions whether the Baila could not do things differently, *vis-a-vis*, their value for cattle and how it affects their attitude to formal education, if they valued or recognized the relevance of education in their worldview.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY

5.1 Overview

This chapter starts by presenting an outline of the research design used in the study and the justification for using it. This is followed by a description of the research sites and the target population involved in the study. The chapter then gives the justification for the study to have relied on purposive and random sampling procedures. Next, the chapter discusses the research instruments employed in the study before outlining the data collection procedures. The chapter then examines the validity and reliability of the study followed by ethical considerations. The summary concludes the chapter.

5.2 Research design

Bryman defines a research design as “a framework for the collection and analysis of data” which one employs in a study (2008, p. 698).

A research design most times is influenced by the epistemological and ontological assumptions one has. There are basically two research methodologies commonly employed in social research, namely quantitative and qualitative. These are sometimes referred to as positivism and interpretivism, respectively (Bryman, 2008, Seale, 1999). However, a third methodology called the Mixed methods is becoming popular. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p. 17) define Mixed method as “the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study.”

Positivism, according to Bryman (2008, p.13) is “an epistemological position that advocates the application of natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond.” Ontologically, a positivist researcher believes that social systems have structures which are independent of the individuals therein. These individuals however are affected by the natural world which they cannot influence but should learn to fit in. A positivist researcher starts from a hypothesis for which he collects data to either prove or refute. Positivism engages large numbers of participants, and thus the term quantitative. These figures are used to prove a fact.

On the other hand, qualitative research employs interpretivism which Bryman defines as “an epistemological position that requires the social scientists to grasp the subjective meaning of a social action” (Bryman, 2008: 694). On the ontological level interpretivists believe the social world is constructed by the people in it and is therefore different from the natural world. This being the case the interpretivists espouse that methods of research engaged by positivists need not be utilized in a social research. For example, whereas the quantitative researcher employs research instruments which make him be very remote to the participants, the qualitative researcher believes in getting very close to the people under study so that he could understand their behaviour and reasons for that. He believes in seeing the world through the eyes of the people in the study, or seeing things from their point of view. In qualitative research, theory is generated from the study carried out.

Arising from the above theories on research designs, I opted to use the qualitative approach for this study. The nature of the research topic called for in-depth information from participants which could only be obtained by intently listening from them and critically observing them in their natural environments.

There is a school of thought which describes quantitative research design as one which deals with figures or numbers while the qualitative one deals with words (Greene, et al, 1989). I have used some numbers in this study but I still confine it to the qualitative paradigm. In document analysis I have counted some variables and numbers have emerged. The academic performance of Grades 7 and 9 in the national examinations show how Namwala has fared in the province, and to assess Ila traditional influence in academic performance I have pitted the district's performance against the national mean using numbers. Another example where numbers have been used is in showing the picture of early pregnancies and how the re-entry policy has been embraced by the local Ila communities. Quantification of some variables in this study has been used as a way of enhancing the qualitative research. Seales (2000, p. 128) gives justification for use of numbers that:

Such counting is an important way of showing data to the reader as fully as possible, enabling readers to judge whether the writer has relied excessively on rare events to the exclusion of more common ones that might contradict the general line of argument. This can help readers gain a sense of how representative and widespread particular instances are.

5.3 Research Sites

It was earlier mentioned that the Baila are found in Namwala, Itezhi Tezhi and Mumbwa. I strategically chose and limited my study to Namwala district for ease of access and economic reasons. So the Baila of Namwala were the focus of the study. The site also confirmed the principle that "the decision to use a particular research site is tied closely to obtaining access to an appropriate population of potential subjects" (Berg, 2001, p. 29). Namwala provided the schools, communities and Chiefs who could provide answers to the main objective of the study.

5.4 Target Population

The study aimed at investigating how tradition impacts on the realization of education for All (EFA) among the Baila of Namwala district. To answer the three research questions I had set for myself, it was necessary to get the traditional views of the Chiefs. I regarded them as the custodians of the customs and beliefs. To understand the influence that tradition has on the education of the Baila children in schools, it was imperative that the study involve the Head teachers and teachers as these are the personnel on the ground who directly feel the undertones of tradition in the way pupils and their parents respond to the dictates of the Western hegemonic formal education. The views of the parents and NGOs involved in education in the district were of importance to the study. Lastly, it was deemed important that the study included the views of children in school and even of those who, for one reason or the other, had no chance of setting foot in school. These participants formed the target population which Bryman (2008, p. 697) defines as “the universe of units from which a sample is to be selected.”

5.5 Study sample

In any research, sampling is regarded as a very important component of the study because it affects the outcome of the research.

I opted to interview all the four Chiefs in the district. I regarded the number as quite manageable. I purposively picked on ten Head teachers, particularly those whose schools were not performing very well academically and those where teenage pregnancies and early marriages were rife. In addition, the study included 20 teachers, 10 females and 10 males, 20 pupils and three parents who had married off their daughters before completing school. In addition, I felt it was important to get views of those who had never been to school or had spent negligible number of days in school to the extent that they had forgotten all they had learned in school. I managed to secure interviews with 2

men and five ladies in this sample. Another category of participants is one I call ‘knowledgeable community members’ where I had two men and one lady. I planned to have four focus groups of six headmen per Chiefdom but I only managed two groups. The last category of participants was a representative from each of the two NGOs involved in education in Namwala. The size of the sample seems to be on the higher side because I wanted the research to cover the whole of Namwala, and so it was desirable that a sizeable number of participants was picked per Chiefdom.

Table 1: Summary of the study sample

Category	Male	Female	Total
Traditional Chiefs	4	0	4
Village headmen	12	0	12
Head teachers	6	4	10
Teachers	10	10	20
Pupils	10	10	20
Not been in school	2	5	7
Parents-married off daughters	2	1	3
Other community members	2	1	3
NGO representatives	1	1	2
Total	49	32	81

5.6 Sampling Procedure

The study primarily utilized purposive sampling procedure, which is picking participants who have characteristics which could enable the researcher answer the research questions (Patton, 2001). Random sampling of some participants was the secondary procedure employed as will be explained in the sections below.

5.6.1 Sampling of Chiefs

As earlier alluded to, all the four Chiefs in the district were purposively picked to be part of the study because of their position in society as custodians of tradition. While Ila is viewed as a homogeneous tradition by non- Baila, the truth is that there are variations of the language and the traditions themselves. Chief Nalubamba made this point very clear when he mentioned that his people are *Lundwe* and not 'pure' Baila, *per se*. It was also pointed out by some participants that the Baila from Chief Muchila have included in their midst a lot of immigrants from Zimbabwe to the extent that the Ila tradition there has been diluted. It is just in Maala which is in Chief Mungaila's Chiefdom and in Mukobela's Chiefdom that the pure Baila were said to reside. Chief Mukobela's proximity to the district headquarters, however, somehow also rendered his people to be a mixture of other traditions as there are a lot of *balumbu* in his Chiefdom doing fishing in the nearby Kafue and Namwala rivers. It is for this reason that I decided to include all the four Chiefs so that the various types of Ila tradition in Namwala would be represented in the study.

5.6.2 Sampling of Headmen

My inclusion of headmen in this study was specifically to use them in the Focus group discussions. Having had one to one interviews with the Chiefs, the original plan was to get more information

from them through Focus Group Discussions, but since it would be taboo and practically impossible to bring the Chiefs together for this purpose, I decided to go down the rung of the traditional ladder by settling for the village headmen to discuss on behalf of the Chiefs. Each Chieftdom was to have one discussion among the headmen. I requested the Chiefs to suggest the names of at least six headmen each who could be in the discussion group.

Whereas four focus group discussions according to the number of Chieftdoms were planned, only two were realised. The number of head men who turned up in the other two Chieftdoms was not enough to constitute a Focus Group Discussion. Only two headmen were found waiting in one Chieftdom, and in the other no one pitched up on the arranged day. It was learned that there was a funeral of a prominent member of the community on that day. It was deemed not necessary to arrange for another meeting for those that had failed to turn up because the data which was collected from the other two groups was regarded to be sufficient.

5.6.3 Sampling of Head teachers

Ten Head teachers were purposively picked. Although it was clear that the district was generally not performing well academically, there were some schools which were worse than the others. Furthermore, since the study could not accommodate all the schools in the district, three main categories of choosing the schools were employed. I chose to pick those which were very bad academically; I also considered those schools where absenteeism was high; and lastly those which had higher levels of teenage pregnancies as well as early marriages. The data at the District Education office enabled me to rank the schools. The bottom 40 schools out of the 86 schools in the district were isolated as possible participants in the study. Then ten schools were randomly picked from this number with their corresponding Head teachers. Since the aim of choosing these participants was to get in-depth data from them, ten schools was an adequate number for the study.

The variation in the number of females to males was not by design but chance since I simply interviewed the Head teacher I found as per my random choice of the schools.

5.6.4 Sampling of teachers

The teachers were picked from the randomly picked schools. Unlike in the sampling of Head teachers, an equal number of males and females was picked. In each of the selected schools I found both male and female teachers; and I purposively elected to involve both so that I could have balanced views from both sexes. In the case of male teachers, I found that all the schools had more than one and so I engaged simple random sampling to choose the one to be included in the study. For the female teachers I used this method in eight schools where there were more than one female teacher while in the other two schools I was lucky to have found at least one female teacher, and these two graciously accepted to take part in the study.

5.6.5 Sampling of Pupils

Pupils were randomly picked. At each of the ten schools I picked a boy and a girl. I put one 'Yes' paper in a box where boys were requested to pick the small pieces of paper. The one who picked that 'Yes' paper was invited to be in the study. The same was done for the girls. Those who picked the 'Yes' paper were told that they were at liberty to decline participating in the study if they so wished. This actually happened at one school where the girl, for reasons best known to her, declined to be interviewed. So the process of picking another girl was repeated.

5.6.6 Sampling those who had never been to school

For this category of participants, the study mostly used the snowball sampling process which according to Bryman is a process where “the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others” (2008, p. 699). During my stay in Namwala, I came to know a young man who had never set foot in school. I developed a good relationship with him and was willing to discuss with me his views about formal education. When I interviewed him, he introduced me to another young man who was willing to share his feelings about having never been to school. I identified the females in this category through the FAWEZA district group who gave me a list of those I could talk to. In this way I managed to interview five young ladies. While my intention was to have gender balance among the participants, I found it hard to find young men who had never been to school and were willing to discuss what they thought about education and how they felt about having never been to school. Many more women were ready to share with me their thoughts and feelings about formal education and their lack of it. I just restricted the number. The women were more willing and free to discuss this topic than the men. This group of participants is categorised as having never been to school although it includes some who had spent one to three years in school but had slipped into a state of illiteracy because of their inability to use the skills learnt in school over a long time.

5.6.7 Sampling of other community members

My interaction with the people of Namwala in many formal and informal ways made me pick on three residents of the community who I noticed passionately talked about the Ila tradition. These were one lady and two men. I have confined myself to these three as my formal participants although there were a lot of pieces of information that I informally collected from other people, and these have helped in the answering of the main objective of the study.

5.6.8 Sampling of NGO representatives

There were two NGOs which were involved in the improvement of education in Namwala. These are FAWEZA and World Vision Zambia. I picked on both these in line with expert sampling where participants are picked because of the technical knowledge they possess or the professional position they hold. While the former displayed a bias towards the education of the girl-child, the latter demonstrated a more inclusive approach. I was convinced the inclusion of these two would help me answer the main objective of the study.

5.7 Research Instruments

The study employed basically four research instruments, namely: Document analysis, Semi-structured interviews, Focus group discussions and Non-participant observation. The use of several research instruments and sources of information was supported by Patton (1990, p. 244) who states that:

Multiple sources of information are sought and used because no single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspective on the programme. By using a combination of observations, interviews, document analysis and focus group discussions, the field worker is able to use different data sources to validate and crosscheck findings.

5.7.1 Document analysis

Documents are written information on a subject which can be of use to a research. These take a form of statistics, periodicals, photographs or even narratives on a topic. Bryman, 2008 and Seales, 2001 argue that approaching any ethnographic research without paying particular attention to

document analysis could be an awkward undertaking. Document analysis has the advantage of providing quality information on the topic which can serve as a basis or background to the research to be undertaken. In addition, it gives the researcher chance to look at what has been written on the topic before.

In document analysis, I sought to establish some empirical evidence of the academic performance of the schools in Namwala in comparison with other districts in the province in Grade 7 and 9 national examinations. In addition, document analysis gave me a better picture of the rate of absenteeism from the national examination. Furthermore, this research instrument revealed more information about EFA and general development of education in Zambia. This information was gleaned from publications of the Examinations Council of Zambia, UNESCO journals on EFA, and other publications of the Ministry of Education.

5.7.2 Semi-structured interviews

The second research instrument used in the study was semi- structured interview. This research instrument is defined by Kvale and Brinkmann (2008, p. 2) as a professional conversation of daily life “where knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between the interviewer and the interviewee.” In a similar manner, McCracken (1988, p. 9) describes the interview strategy as:

...One of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armoury. For certain descriptive and analytic purposes, no instrument of inquiry is more revealing. The method can take us into the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he sees the world. It can also take us into the life world of the individual to see the content and pattern of daily experience. The long interview gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves.

As prescribed by Kvale and Brinkmann (2008) that the construction of knowledge through the interview bears desirable fruit when the interviewer maintains the focus through following a guide in the questioning, I conducted the semi-structured interview following an interview guide which I had earlier outlined according to themes and questions. I recorded most of the interviews while I just took notes for others. These were later analysed to realize the meaning. I asked for permission for those I was to tape record.

Although a study of this nature may have required a bit more participants than the number I have here, especially on the part of teachers and pupils, I restricted the semi-structured interview to 69 participants (excluding 12 headmen who were in the Focus Group discussion). I limited the number of participants in cognisance of McCracken's (1988, p. 17) views that:

The purpose of the qualitative interview is not to discover how many, and what kind of people share a certain characteristic. It is to gain access to the cultural categories and assumptions according to which one culture construes the world. How many and what kind of people hold the categories and assumptions is not, in fact, the compelling issue... in other words qualitative research does not survey the terrain, it mines it.

Semi-structured interview as a data collection tool has the advantage of giving the researcher the opportunity of making follow-up questions on responses given by participants which need clarity. In addition this tool enabled me to utilize body language of the participants as valuable data in the construction of meaning to what was being conveyed by the participants. For example, it was possible to tell the pain and discomfort that some of them felt through their facial expression and tone of their voices. Another advantage of the interview as data collection tool is that the rate of response is higher than, for example, the questionnaire. Whereas for the questionnaire some participants may choose to leave some questions unanswered and it is unlikely that the researcher

would go back to such participants to ask them to answer all questions, the situation is different with face-to-face interviews where participants usually, and naturally answer all the questions they are asked.

5.7.3 Focus Group Discussions

In this research instrument, the intention was to extract some meaning to the discussion of at least six members of the group on the effect of the Baila tradition on formal education. Bryman (2008:694) defines Focus group discussion as a group interview with several members discussing together a well-defined topic following structured questions by the facilitator. The essence of such a discussion group is to let people in the group interact so as to construct common meaning concerning the topic under discussion.

In a similar way, Sillitoe *et al* (2005, p. 177) defines a Focus group as

A tool of studying ideas in a group context and is based on the belief that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Its purpose is to generate new information, clarify further points of detail, validate information derived through other methods, and build consensus between group members. The goal is to get closer to participants understanding of the topic.

Although it was initially planned that four Focus group discussions would be held, that is one per Chiefdom, I only managed to have two. It was not possible to form a sizeable number to constitute a focus group in two Chiefdoms. This was after I had made very concrete arrangements concerning the day and time. And this was again, in spite of the respective Chiefs prevailing over the ones to be in the discussion group. This situation was just a manifestation of the nature of the Baila in relation to the position of the Chiefs in their lives.

My failure to have four focus group discussions just proved some limitations of the strategy some of which are that they take long to arrange and may in the end prove to be very expensive to execute. In addition, it was noticed that without firm control of the discussions, the direction of the discussion easily steep into dwelling on irrelevant points to the topic of discussion.

5.7.4 Non-Participant Observation

Observation is an invaluable data collection strategy mostly used in Qualitative research to record the actions of the participants. This strategy can either be participant or non-participant observation. In participant observation the researcher actively participates in the activities of the observed; and some of the members of that group know that this particular researcher is studying the group. Bryman (2008, p.257) defines non-participant observation as a situation where “the observer observes but does not participate in the social setting.” Non-participant observation can either be structured or unstructured. In structured non-participant observation there are strict rules and patterns which are followed in this process of collecting data but for unstructured there is no strict observation schedule to follow (Bryman, 2008, p. 257).

My strategy for data collection was non-participant unstructured observation. I stayed in Namwala for three years. And since the urge to study the Ila tradition in connection with education struck me almost immediately I got to the district, my eyes and ears were always open to get anything of value concerning the study. I observed and noted the happenings as and when situations presented themselves. For example, my office was just opposite the District Veterinary office and the crush pens. Occasionally, I took time to observe how the Baila young men proudly and with a lot of pomp as they beat their small drums, yelled and ululated, drove huge herds of cattle to the crush

pens for routine vaccination. People in nearby offices, bank and shops would stop their work and come out to watch this spectacle. One could not just ignore the show. It was clear cattle were a very important part of the Ila life.

Other times, as we drove on duty to some schools outside town, we would sometimes be suddenly blocked by two motor cars whose drivers would be carrying out a conversation blocking all the other road users from both sides. Trying to attract their attention by hooting would not yield any response. Our driver would then explain that it was typical of the Baila. “The two owners of the cars have many cattle and therefore have no regard for the other road users. I know they must have checked that we are ‘Nobodies’” he would expound. They would keep their conversations running as long as five minutes and then drive off without offering any apology to the ones they blocked.

These are some of the observations I made which were not planned or structured. I always kept a note book for field notes which I treasured and used. I was a non-participant observer because I am not Ila and did not understand some of the actions. I, therefore, remained objective on issues concerning the Ila tradition throughout the study.

5.8 Data collection procedure

I started the research with document analysis. As alluded to earlier, after getting the sweeping statement from Head teachers that the Baila were not interested in formal education, I decided to validate this claim with data in form of statistics and written discourses on Ila tradition in relation to education. This started in June 2014. More document analysis was done with data collected from

the Examinations Council of Zambia to establish how Namwala ranked in performance at the provincial and national level in grades 7 and 9 national examinations.

Document analysis was followed by semi- structured interviews with Head teachers, teachers, pupils and the three community members. The interviews with the four Chiefs were the last formal ones done. As mentioned earlier, I used every opportunity to informally get information whenever chance allowed. Whenever someone mentioned anything which I deemed essential to the study, I would record it and if further clarification was required, I would follow such people and ask them for more information on the issue. This process worked well most of the time. In this way, non-participant observation was a strategy that I employed throughout my stay in Namwala.

Focus group discussion with headmen in two Chiefdoms was the last data collection tool done. I should hasten to mention that I also conducted some debates with some pupils in some schools to get their views about early marriages, formal education and the role cattle play in the Ila tradition in relation to education. Since these discussions did not strictly follow the laid down procedure of conducting Focus group discussions, I do not include these debates with pupils on this mode of data collection but the information I got has been included in the study.

5.9 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a systematic way of evaluating data using analytical and logical reasons to examine the various pieces of data which have been collected through various data collection strategies. Kvale and Brinkmann (2008, p. 193) define analysis as a way of “separating something into parts or elements.”

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), there are four stages of qualitative analysis:

1. Data reduction- This is reducing and organizing the mass of qualitative data that has been collected. The data collection procedures bring about a lot of information some of which would not be necessary to the study. For instance, the semi-structured interviews I carried out sometimes brought about information which I did not require. This happened even when I tried to limit the conversation or steer the course of conversation to relevant shores.
2. Data display- The massive data collected has to be displayed in forms where it would be easily noticed to be used. I used tables and graphs especially for data involving numbers.
3. Conclusion drawing/ Verification- I started getting a picture of the direction of the study as data was being collected and stored. This is the stage when I did some cross examination and cross checking of the notes to verify their validity. When I collected data which seemed to be contrary to what had already been presented by another source, I endeavoured to cross check my sources so that valid conclusions could be drawn.
4. Selective coding- This is a stage of organising the raw data into conceptual categories or patterns. The themes of the study would have emerged by this time. So the data is assigned to the correct theme at this stage.

Likewise, Patton (1990) suggests that the data analysis in a qualitative research normally starts as soon as the data is collected. In other words, data analysis goes hand in hand with data collection. This suggests that as the data is being collected, patterns start to emerge. For example, after doing document analysis of the pattern of enrolment in the district I analysed that there were more girls in school than boys during that period. This phenomenon emerged as a theme to be discussed later.

The data collected was analysed and clustered in themes according to the objectives of the study and research questions. These findings will be presented in their own chapter and discussed in the chapter which will follow.

5.10 Reflexivity

Lincoln and Guba (1981) define reflexivity as awareness on the part of the researcher that she is a human instrument in the research being carried out. On the other hand, Berg (2001, p. 139) describes reflexivity as a characteristic which “implies that the researcher understands that he or she is part of the social world(s) that he or she is investigating.” Shulamit Reinharz (1997) amplifies the human element of the researcher by pointing out that there are three parts of the self which a researcher brings to the research project. Firstly, there is the research based self, secondly, the brought self which comprises all that which helps one create a stand point, and thirdly, the situationally created self. Reinharz concludes that it is by listening to the voices from the three selves and being aware of their influences that a researcher comes up with a balanced research. This means that a researcher does not get in the field with a blank mind but goes with his baggage of knowledge and experiences which he sometimes has to utilize or bracket in order to fully understand the world being described by the participants. In addition, it is acknowledging that as a researcher one has his or her own biases and presuppositions. McCracken (1988, p. 12) suggests a positive utilization of the researcher’s potential by stating that, “it is by drawing on the understanding of how they themselves see and experience the world that they can supplement and interpret data they generate from the long interview.”

As mentioned earlier, I went in the field with the knowledge I had been fed by the Head teachers that Baila were not interested in education. In addition, part of the baggage I carried to the study is my thirty years of service as a teacher, seventeen of which were spent as a Head teacher of secondary schools. So I knew quite a bit about education in terms of pupil performance and what influences it. But I bracketed this and chose to listen to what the participants in the study would share about the topic. The fore-knowledge I had as a researcher enriched my questioning the participants to clarify what was fuzzy so that the Ila world in relation to formal education and development would be made clear through the sharing of the lived experiences of these participants.

It can be concluded that reflexivity helps the researcher be aware of his world, knowledge and biases but choose to bracket them “in order to allow voices that are otherwise suppressed or contradicting to emerge” (Seale, 2000, p. 169). In this research I suppressed my knowledge or voice and allowed the voices of my informants to emerge so that they could paint their world as they saw it.

5.11 Validity and Reliability

In social sciences reliability deals with whether a study can be repeated and still yield the same results (Bryman, 2008; Kvale, 2009). This means that reliability is a measure of how stable or true a concept is. Sanders (1992, p. 33) explains that reliability is “concerned with error of measurement or whether the instruments or methods are giving you a stable reading.”

In this study the reliability principle was engaged by triangulation, which is ensuring that more than one method of data collection was used. By so doing data which could not be captured through

document analysis, for example, emerged through semi-structured interviews, in focus group discussion or through non-participant observations.

Validity is defined by Bryman (2008, p. 32) as “concern with the integrity of conclusions which are generated from a piece of research.” Seale (2000, p. 43) argues that while validity and reliability may be consigned to the Quantitative research, “criteria for judging good quality studies seems irrepressible, partly due to the requirement that qualitative and quantitative social researchers impress the worth of their efforts on sceptical audiences...”

Seale’s emphasis of the importance of both quantitative and qualitative researches meeting the confidence of readers and particularly the financiers of the research is shared by Lincoln and Guba (1985) who state that the trustworthiness of any research lies at the heart of validity and reliability, and so these two concepts should not just be limited to quantitative research. Lincoln and Guba, therefore propose that internal validity, or truth value, which is applied in Quantitative research, be replaced by credibility in qualitative research. The two propose long periods of observation of participants and triangulation of data collection as one way of enhancing credibility. In addition, Lincoln and Guba argue that the surest way of upholding credibility is by what they call “member checks” which is going back to the people researched on and showing them the data adduced from them so that they judge for themselves if they have been properly represented (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:314 in Seale, 2000, p.45). Bearing this in mind, I ensured that I double checked with my participants if what I had captured and recorded was really what they had said and meant. This is an expensive but sure way of ensuring the credibility of the study.

Lincoln and Guba further suggest that ‘transferability’ replaces ‘applicability’ which deals with external validity in Quantitative research. They propose that this be done by the researcher who should provide a detailed and rich description of the setting studied to enable readers have enough

information about the area so that the readers can compare with other settings they know and judge if what obtained in the studied scenario, described by the researcher, can apply in those places. I have, therefore, in Chapter One, endeavoured to be very detailed in providing the background information to this study.

According to Lincoln and Guba, reliability in Qualitative research is taken care of by what they term ‘dependability’ which is realized by proper documentation of the process of data collection and its product as well as all the discussions made in the process. With this principle in mind, I ensured that I did not take anything for granted during the data collection, analysis and reporting. During the interviews, for example, I made sure that I understood exactly what a participant meant in his or her responses by clarifying what was not clear. I sometimes faced some language problems when some Ila words used were not any close to the Tonga language which I had learnt to speak fairly well. This language barrier made me pay even more attention to cross checking of my understanding of the responses. I clarified what was not very clear by asking follow up questions or rephrasing their responses and asking them if that is what they meant. In addition, I ensured that the data I collected was trustworthy by recording my interviews and transcribing them at the earliest possible time afterwards.

5.12 Ethical issues

Ethical issues are very important in any social research. Berg (2001, p. 39) gives justification for attention to be paid to ethical issues because:

Social scientists delve into lives of other human beings. From such excursions into private social lives, various policies, practices and even laws may result. Thus researchers must ensure that the rights,

privacy, and welfare of people and communities that form the focus of their studies are respected.

It is for this reason that Bryman (2008, p. 118) gives a summary of ethical principles as per Diener and Crandall (1987). Among the principles are practices that ensure that no harm is made to the participant physically, emotionally or psychologically. The second principle is that participants should participate in the study out of their own volition. It, therefore, becomes imperative that the researcher gives as much information about the research to the would-be participants so that they make an informed choice. This principle describes covert observation as a transgression of the observed rights. Similar to this principle is a requirement that there should be no deception used to cajole the would-be participants in the research. Deception is where the researchers represent their work as something other than what it is. For instance, if a researcher goes to a hunger stricken community and informs them that the information he was collecting was data to make the government send relief food to them, many community members would present themselves to provide information. This would pass as deception and, therefore, unethical.

Similarly, Sanders (1992, p. 57) explains that ethical considerations deal with the protection of participants from embarrassment or harassment. He continues that if personal information is used it should only be done with permission of the owner. He reiterates that “participants should be treated with diplomacy and respect; they should not be subjected to any form of physical or psychological harm or even potential harm.”

With these views of the three scholars in mind, I ensured that before I started interviews with any of my participants, I explained what my research was all about and that the information I was asking for was going to be used purely for academic purposes. I told them that they had the right not to

answer any of the questions I posed if they were not comfortable about them. Consideration for privacy also made me seek for permission where I was going to use personal stories. However, there is one interesting personality who, upon learning about my project, offered his life story to contrast what I shared with him on my preliminary findings of some Baila's attitude to education. This young man, a non Ila, who runs very successful businesses in Lusaka, and can be rightly rated as a millionaire in the right sense, is currently doing his O-Levels in spite of being very rich. He formally dropped out of school in Grade Seven but has pushed himself to this present level of academic attainment because of his love for education. He stated he will not stop learning until he attained a Bachelor's degree. He urged me to use his life and even mention his name in this study.

The nature of the study where a people's culture was portrayed by some people as being detrimental to development of education made me tread cautiously the questioning process throughout the data collection process. In the same vein, I was very careful when I used some terminologies which the early researchers on the Ila tradition, that I have referred to in the Chapter on Literature Review, used to describe the Baila. I kept in mind the concept of 'Othering' which I believe can be detected in the manner in which the Ila culture and tradition has been described by the early missionary and colonial writers on the Baila which I have heavily relied on. Writing on the concept of 'othering', Breidlid (2013, p. 7), states:

It is one of the characteristics of colonialism that it denied diversity, epistemic diversity, and created instead inferiority. The production of the hegemonic epistemology necessitated the Other, which was characterised as uncivilized, irrational, and superstitious. This inferiorization or Othering was done in terms of race, gender, knowledges, and education systems, whereas hegemonic epistemology was, in the wake of modernity, hailed as the saviour and the only means with which to achieve progress and development.

From this description of Othering it is clear that the early missionaries looked at the Baila as being inferior to them. I had to minimise this notion in my questioning in order not to annoy my Baila participants, or they would not be cooperative in this study.

5.13 Summary

The chapter has demonstrated why the qualitative research design was preferred for this study. It has also outlined the study sample of 81 participants purposively and at times randomly chosen for the study. In addition, the chapter has explained the four research instruments used and triangulated to validate the findings of the study. The chapter has ended with discussing issues to do with validity, reliability and ethics of the study.

I now move on to the next Chapter where I present the findings of the research

CHAPTER SIX

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1 Overview

This Chapter deals with the findings of the research which are categorised according to the research questions. So the first section of the chapter deals with issues of the Ila traditions which influence access to formal education. The second part is about the Ila traditions which have a bearing on the academic performance of the Baila learners in Namwala. The third and last part is a synthesis of the study and examines the compatibility of the Ila traditions with modern formal education. In other words, the section looks at findings which conclude whether the Ila tradition plays a role in the way the Baila perceive formal Western education which EFA advocates.

6.2 Influence of Ila tradition on access to formal education

Access to formal education over the last six years has been very low as can be illustrated by the information in Table 2. This is from Grade 1 to 12.

Table 2: Enrolment figures in Namwala

Year	Girls	Boys	Total
2016	16 723	15 946	32 669
2015	14 879	14 395	29 275
2014	14 865	14 390	29 255
2013	14 116	14 431	28 547
2012	14 096	14 116	28 212
2011	13 885	13 246	27 131

Source: Namwala District Education Board, 2016

The table above shows that the highest increase in access to school was 2015-2016 where 11.5% was recorded. This is followed by 2011- 2012 where 3.98 % was registered. However, a negligible 0.06% growth was achieved during the period 2014- 2015. When compared to the projected population growth (Central Statistical Office, 2013) the period between 2011 to 2012 posited an increase which was even higher than the projected population growth of 1.98%. On the other hand the 2014 to 2015 period registered an increase which was way below the projected population growth of 4.5%.

It must be noted from the figures above that except for the years 2012 and 2013, there were more girls in schools in Namwala than boys during the years under review. This is unlike the normal trend in many districts where there are usually more boys enrolled in school than girls. This then is a peculiar situation for Namwala and could be indicative of the culture and traditions of the Baila.

Table 3 shows that the general population of boys between the ages of 5 years to 19 years, which is the school going age, indicates that there were more boys in Namwala than girls (Central Statistical Office, 2013). So the explanation which can be offered concerning the situation in Namwala where there are more girls in school than boys is that the boys dropped out of school or they did not even enrol, given the divided interest between spending time in a formal education institution and the herding of cattle in the *lutanga*.

Table 3: Population projection for Namwala

Age group	2011		2012		2013		2014		2015		2016	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
5 – 9 Years	8,587	8,543	8,888	8,822	9,242	9,168	9,627	9,526	9,997	9,868	10,326	10,163
10 – 15 years	7,110	7,087	7,168	7,085	7,245	7,095	7,356	7,144	7,719	7,255	7,740	7,435
15 – 19 year	5,841	5,875	5,964	5,971	6,049	6,045	6,113	6,095	6,169	6,123	6,222	6,132

Source: Central Statistical Office, 2017

Southern Province Examinations results analysis also shows that progression rate in Namwala is equally low. For example for the 2011-2012 period Grade 9 progression rate, the district posited the least at 14% while Livingstone with the highest rate stood at 62 %. The findings of this study show that the Ila tradition oscillates around the rearing of cattle. Consequently, the district has the highest number of cattle in a single district in Zambia. Records at the District Veterinary office show that the district has 135,000 herds of cattle and 1,000 herds are slaughtered or sold in a month. The person with the highest number of cattle has about 5,000 (Interview with District Veterinary officer on 18 th June, 2014). The study revealed that the pastoral tradition has an impact on how the Baila view formal education. This study discovered that the herding of cattle takes precedence over attending school among most rural Baila boys. In the case of the girls, they rather get married and earn their parents the much prized cattle in the form of bride price than go to school. It then follows that many Baila boys and girls in Namwala, especially the rural parts, do not go to school because they do not value it. If they enrol in school they are frequently absent. Their lack of interest in school is reflected in the way they absent themselves from national examinations as is exemplified in the figures of 2008-2012 in Table 4. The table shows that Namwala topped the list of absenteeism in the province except in 2012 when Siavonga had the highest number of absentees in the grade 9 examinations.

Table 4: Rate of absenteeism in Grade 7 and 9 National Examinations in Southern Province

Code	District	Grade 7					Grade 9				
		2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008
301	Choma	8.00	9.41	9.61	0.00	8.32	15.07	9.15	7.63	8.19	8.08
302	Gwembe	5.23	5.49	7.62	11.34	0.09	16.54	10.47	13.77	11.11	15.74
303	Kalomo	7.83	10.14	10.43	8.44	9.26	17.22	11.77	12.22	7.58	9.93
304	Livingstone	3.43	4.96	5.29	7.45	7.00	9.37	6.52	5.60	5.81	5.27
305	Mazabuka	6.84	8.79	8.02	5.63	6.11	11.86	8.91	8.90	8.33	9.44
306	Monze	8.99	7.18	7.83	6.92	9.21	17.71	8.70	8.88	11.41	9.91
307	Namwala	12.24	16.69	15.22	13.09	15.84	17.90	12.10	17.03	12.57	13.93
308	Siavonga	8.70	7.43	7.65	8.15	7.97	31.19	8.49	8.47	4.84	6.10
309	Sinazongwe	6.43	8.18	9.52	8.17	8.50	10.85	9.46	11.49	5.94	5.85
310	Kazungula	7.83	12.48	9.87	9.78	11.57	13.04	9.05	11.57	7.17	7.09

Source: Examinations Council of Zambia, 2013, p. 38.

6.2.1 Baila and formal education

Three quarters of the participants in the study agreed that there was little interest in formal education among the Baila partly because education offered did not seem to be relevant to the lives of the ordinary Baila. In addition, they doubted the credibility of the education offered because it did not appear to add much value to the lives of those who had acquired it.

6.2.1.1 Views of Chiefs

When the Chiefs were asked why their subjects generally appeared to be indifferent to formal Western education, one Chief offered four main reasons for the apparent apathy to formal education:

Education is not envied. It has no value because even the educated people who have gone to towns for work come back to the villages to get resources from the kraal whenever a calamity befalls them. It has become very common to hear the educated town dwellers coming back to ask for

some cattle to be sold when they want to send their children to school, to repay a debt or even to buy a car. It seems cattle have better currency than the money education brings through salaried employment. So the young villagers are not inspired by the educated.

With the advent of AIDS, it was mostly the educated that died. Education meant leaving home and getting into town where they got sick. Then these educated came back sick to die in villages. HIV/AIDS was not very prevalent in the villages. The villagers associated HIV/AIDS with education. So to avoid dying of AIDS, one had to stay away from education.

During the years following Zambia's independence, the educated left home and apparently neglected the village and their parents. In the colonial times when it was punishable not to send children to school, some Ila parents had their children educated. With independence, liberation and freedom when parents were not punished for not sending their children to school, many parents reverted to keeping their children home to attend to real wealth, cattle. In the colonial days, many parents sent their children to school out of fear, not out of conviction about the goodness of education.

Today education is not appreciated because it is not relevant to the Ila life. Academic education does not mean much. If vocational skills, especially those leading to good animal husbandry were taught in schools, all the classrooms in Namwala would always be full.

This first point that the Chief gave concerning the Baila's lack of interest in Western education is in line with the sharing of another participant. This participant narrated a discussion he had with his nephew some 30 years back when he asked him to go with him to the Copperbelt where he was working so that he could start school there. At this time the nephew was taking care of cattle for a prominent man in the society who had promised him a heifer for every two years that he worked for him. After a few days of serious reflection, the nephew turned down the offer of going to school and explained to the uncle that he was much better continuing with the project he had embarked on

as it would bring him more wealth than school. He based his answer on the calculations that he had made that it would take him about 15 years of schooling to start earning a salary which might not even be commensurate with the number of cattle he would acquire if he continued with the path he had chosen. He even challenged his uncle that even after twenty years of service and retirement as a civil servant, the uncle would never catch up with him in terms of the number of cattle he would acquire. He knew that after retirement the uncle would go back to the village to settle and use his retirement package to buy cattle, like a real Mwiila. This participant concluded that true to the projections of the nephew, when he retired from his employment twenty years later, he found the uneducated nephew with 600 heads of cattle and commanding a lot of respect from the community. The uncle only managed to buy 26 heads of cattle with the retirement money.

The second Chief attributed the apparent indifference to education among the Baila to lack of many educated Baila. He explained that:

Education has not penetrated into the Ila mentality in a fast way. Most of the Baila people are not educated and the mentality is to look after cattle. When a Mwiila has cattle, education is nothing. All children, especially boys, are sent to *lutanga*.

This Chief, however, mentioned that the trend was slowly changing and some people were now seeing the value of having educated children; for these are the ones who have the capacity to take care of their old parents in this modern economy. He used the Ila proverb, *yakula inyonka moombe* and translated it to mean that when a cow grows old it suckles from its calves. Similarly, the old people look forward to being taken care of by the children; and it is only an educated child with a good job who would have the capacity to take care of his old folks. While uneducated people who own cattle could equally take care of their parents in their old age, this Chief explained that the changing world placed an educated person in better standing to care for the old parents, particularly

when he even secures employment which gives him a salary. He further went on to explain that it was easier for one who gets a regular salary to constantly provide for the old parents than one who has a lot of cattle; particularly that the Baila traditionally rarely convert their cattle into cash except in desperate situations.

In addition, the second Chief blamed the *status quo* in Namwala, *vis-à-vis* education, on the initial resistance to acquiring education which was exhibited when the missionaries entered the land. He explained that the district had very few educated adults and so the power or essence of education was not appreciated. About this issue he said:

It is this lack of education which makes the Baila lack initiative. They want the churches, government and international NGOs to build schools for them and do everything for them. They do not want to take an active role in the initiation of construction of schools. Teachers' houses are in shambles and they just wait for outsiders to come and correct the situation.

The Chief narrated that a day before the interview I had with him, a delegation from one of the schools in the Chieftdom had gone to see him to request for his intervention in seeing to it that the school was connected to the Zesco power supply line. The delegation informed the Chief that a bill of K70 000 which Zesco wanted them to pay before electricity could be connected was beyond their means. The Chief narrated that he asked each member of the delegation how many heads of cattle he had. He said three members of that team had more than one hundred heads of cattle each. He challenged them to donate one each for that cause and approach some other individuals within the community to contribute something. He said he assured them that he would then give them even two heads of cattle from his kraal if that was all they needed to raise that amount. The Chief

lamented that his people did not know the economic value of the cattle they keep. He amplified his assertion in the following words:

What matters for the Baila is the number of animals one has but not the real value of the cattle. I have some of my subjects who have as many as 800 heads of cattle but they do not even have a bicycle and they walk bare foot and stay in ramshackle. I believe these stingy Baila are not grateful to God. How can you starve the development of your school when God has blessed you with so many heads of cattle? And indeed, how do you live a life of a pauper when you have been blessed with so many heads of cattle?

He concluded that it was because of such challenges that he was trying to change the mindset of the people in relation to education and the value of their cattle. “We are not succeeding. If we are, we are moving very slowly to change the mentality,” he lamented.

The Chief’s views about the Baila not regarding cattle as currency ties up with what I was told by one of the participants. At the 2012 *Shimunenga* traditional ceremony where Dr. Guy Scott, the then Vice President of Zambia, was guest of honour, it was reported that he got tired of watching the ‘match past’ of cattle being paraded and he requested to leave the arena before all the animals passed. (The climax of the *Shimunenga* ceremony is the showing off of the cattle some wealthy people of Maala have. After the Chief had shown off some of the cattle he has, prominent cattle ranchers then parade their cattle for the public to see and admire.) But the community wanted the Vice President to see the site for the proposed secondary school before leaving Maala. When they got to the proposed building site, the Vice President asked them why they had not started construction work. Their answer was that they were waiting for the government to fund the project. Guy Scott was reported to have responded, “What is the use of all those animals which were paraded at the ceremony? Don’t you know that is money? You people in Maala are very rich and you can do a lot on your own without looking up to the government.” The Vice President could have uttered these words in a joking manner but the point was driven home.

At the *Shimunenga* ceremony of the following year, which I personally attended, the local farmer who had paraded close to 700 herds of cattle was asked by a young veterinary doctor, within my earshot, if those animals he paraded showed that the community was rich. When the farmer responded in the affirmative, he was challenged to point at any institution or facility that those animals translated into for the benefit of the community. The farmer could not point at any structure. He was told that if he could not identify any, then the cattle did not bring much value to the people. This Veterinary doctor was trying to make the old traditional rancher see his cattle in the light of modern wealth and development.

The third Chief interviewed explained that the Baila generally had no value for formal education.

We Baila do not value this Western education because we have seen that it exposes people to crookedness. I can give several examples of young men and women who changed their characters after spending a lot of time in school. How many school going boys, especially those in secondary schools, do you see herding cattle at the *lutanga*? It is like the more educated they are the more distant they are to our traditions. It is this attitude which makes some old Baila reluctant about sending their children to school.

The Chief, however, pointed out that some people were slowly changing their attitude towards formal Western education and were starting to appreciate its value. He gave examples of some prominent people in his Chieftom that had sent their children to some very expensive private schools outside Namwala. He narrated that this group of individuals sold as many as ten heads of cattle every term to ensure that their children went to those expensive schools.

6.2.1.2 Views of Village headmen

As pointed out earlier, I could not bring Chiefs into a Focus group discussion because of the cultural impediments of doing so. I therefore went down a rung to the village headmen. It was clear from the two FGDs I had with the headmen that formal education was generally not held in high esteem. While it was evident that there was some change in the mindset concerning this issue, those who were for education were a minority. Some of the reasons given in support of education were:

We have seen how the lives of some of our friends who have sent their children to school have changed. I honestly envy my friend Shimukuni when his son drives home and the young man brings him good things from the town. Our friends with educated children working in Lusaka do not worry about lack of rains because when most of us are starving due to poor harvest, their children bring them the mealie meal they need.

I have come to believe that while having cattle is part of our heritage, it is also important that the children we have are given some education. When our children just depend on the cattle that we have, we give them problems when we die because the fights which occur as they try to share property are very bad. You will agree with me that in families where the children are educated we do not experience the enmity and fights as we have witnessed before with the family of the late Mr....

One of the FGDs members gave a moving testimony in support of education in spite of the number of cattle one may have. He reminded his FGD members how his own children wanted to kill him when they suspected he was the one turning into a hyena which was killing one head of cattle each day. He narrated that his herd of cattle was dwindling when a hyena got in the habit of daily killing a head of cattle, which it would not even consume but kill another one the following day. ZAWA officers were called in to kill this notorious hyena but they failed to find it. His children then suggested that they consulted a traditional medicine man to find a solution, but the father refused to

take that route since he was a Christian and did not believe in divination. It was upon this refusal that the children accused the father that he was the one turning into a hyena with a view of finishing his cattle before he died and leaving his children with no inheritance. One of his children got a gun and threatened to kill the father if he did not find a solution to the hyena problem. The young man was apprehended by the community and taken to the Police. This participant concluded:

If I had sent my children to school and made them independent from my cattle, they would not have been so desperate about preserving my cattle to the extent of suspecting me to be behind the wanton killing of my own cattle. Education would have made them see things differently. Can you imagine younger people thinking of witchcraft all because of their love for cattle?

Those who were not in support of formal education gave a lot of examples of young men and women who had spent some good years in school and just came back to the village without finding any employment. One of them had this to say:

How many heads of cattle did the father of Kaluma sell to take him up to Grade 12 at Namwala secondary school? What has the father gained in return? The young man has just turned into a very serious drunkard who has no respect for anybody in the village. And yet Kaluma was such a good boy before he went to secondary school.

Another member of the group lamented about the education system offered which did not bring any good returns to the family but just disappointments. He blamed the formal education offered for the deterioration of the Ila tradition. He linked formal education to the escalation of cattle rustling:

Look at the way we are losing our cattle. I am sure it is these same boys who have been to secondary school but fail to find employment who steal our cattle so that they can find money to spend and continue pretending that they are better than the other boys who have never been to school. Such young men connive with cattle rustlers from outside Namwala who come to steal our animals.

When queried why formal Western education was linked to crookedness or loss of the Ila traditions and values, most of the participants, particularly the elderly explained that formal education meant leaving home at some time, going to the big towns and mixing with all kinds of people who, somehow, negatively influence the usually “untravelling” or unexposed Baila. It was explained that in their quest for belonging or acceptance the Baila youths who travel outside their precincts normally go to the extremes of absorbing all the mannerisms or values of the so-called exposed peers. If one were to complete all his formal education in his or her village, many Baila would probably not despise Western formal education in the manner they do.

6.2.1.3 Views of teachers

The issue of the uneducated adult population contributing to the poor pupil attendance and general lack of interest in education among many rural Baila was expressed by one teacher in the study. She complained about the high absenteeism in her school and mentioned that the school had initiated an intervention of following up the children who were constantly absent from school to their homes but the system was yielding very little. She summed up her sharing saying:

When we follow up cases of pupils who are absent from school, we find that parents do not encourage their children to go to school because they do not see any value in it themselves. This is because although they are not educated they still live well, according to their standards. The Tonga say, “*menda azwa mukalonga*” meaning water comes from a stream. If the parents do not value education, there is no way the children would value it.

One non-Ila who completed her form Five at Namwala secondary school in the early 1980s and had come back to work in Namwala as a teacher narrated that during her school days she was amazed at

the rate the Baila stopped school. She said the Ila class mates stopped school at the slightest provocation, especially by teachers. She exemplified that when a teacher punished the whole class some Ila class mates would refuse to work or be caned and they just casually walked out of class, claiming they were rich with cattle and should not be subjected to such pain or humiliation. She said she was perplexed that that would be the end of education for such a Mwiila over what she called “flimsy excuses.”

Another teacher shared the following:

Teaching in my school is a very frustrating exercise. One who has never been in this part of the country cannot believe that there are days when you can go to school and you do not find a single pupil in your class. These people are not just serious with education. When there is a funeral in the community, many children choose not to come to school even when they are not very close to the person who has died. I learnt that the meat which is consumed at funerals make the school children stay away from school. But is this what a serious pupil can miss school for?

All the teachers, but one, who participated in this study testified that they faced very serious challenges inducing the Baila pupils to take education seriously. The teachers even shared that the Baila children were generally very rude to the teachers. One teacher shared an experience where he said he was embarrassed by a pupil:

I am usually very strict with time and want my pupils to be punctual for lessons. This particular day a big boy in my class came nearly one hour late. He knocked on the door once and walked in without my permission. I ordered him to go outside but he refused and said what had delayed him was equally very important and would not leave the class. I felt much challenged. So I asked him what had delayed him. His answer was that he was taking care of a calf which had broken its leg in a ditch. I responded that other people in the village could have taken care of that. His answer is what annoyed me most. He told me, “Real men understand such issues better,” and then walked out of the class with his hands in the pockets.

The only teacher who held a different view said:

I think the pupils I teach are not very different from the pupils elsewhere. What I have noticed here is that the teachers are generally not very serious with their work. Some of them spend a lot of their time doing their own businesses. I cannot blame the tradition of the Baila for the poor results which are produced in this school. Some teachers have contributed to the poor standards here. Of course there are also some pupils who are not interested in school.

When this teacher was asked if he had taught in any other traditional community apart from Namwala, he said he was just one year in the service and the school he was at was his first appointment but he had done Teaching practice when he was at college at some rural school in Choma.

6.2.1.4 Views of pupils

All the 20 pupils interviewed expressed their value for formal education. Six of them came from households with a lot of cattle but they still believed education was necessary in the modern life. Going by some of the reasons that they gave for trying to acquire as much education as they could, it was evident that they had come to realize the economic value of cattle better than most of their old parents. Some of the reasons given by the pupils in favour of formal education were:

Education is a personal treasure. We have seen fights over cattle when the head of the family dies. If you are educated, you would not rely on cattle for survival.

Education opens up your mind to utilize cattle well. Those who are educated and have cattle live better lives than those who have cattle but are not educated.

Cattle die, but the knowledge you gain through education remains forever.

Six boys, however, did not conceal the fact that they envied their friends who had never been to school or dropped out earlier but were leading comfortable lives because they owned cattle. They, nevertheless, described their going to school as a sacrifice which may bring them better lives in future.

The positive responses about formal education among the pupils in the study were understandable, for they would not have been in school if they did not have such views about formal education. One can then assume that those views could not have been shared by the many school-age boys and girls who had opted to be out of school or had never set foot in a classroom. The study, therefore, involved those that had never been to school or just spent a very short time in school to get their views on formal education.

6.2.1.5 Views of participants who had never been to school

The seven participants in the study who had never been to school shared very different feelings about their situations.

One male participant indicated that he did not have any regrets about having not gone to school:

What is the use of going to school? I did not go to school but I have more cattle than some of my friends who completed Grade 12. I stopped school in grade 2 but I am rich. I have three wives and twelve children. The people here respect me. I have helped some of my friends who are educated with money because they have no jobs. I can even employ some of them if I wanted. It is good I did not waste my time learning things which do not even help me.

However, the second male participant pointed out that while he had a good number of cattle, a good family and commanded respect in the society, he still felt inadequate in many ways because of his lack of education. He lamented in this way:

There are many times when I wish I had gone far in education. Sometimes this is what makes me drink more beer than I normally would like to. When I go to the bar and people are watching football on television I feel lost when they start discussing some of the foreign teams. I confuse the countries where those teams come from. It is worse when people I am with start discussing politics or the economy; things I do not understand. In such cases I resort to drinking a lot so that I forget about the shame or give the impression to those around me that I went to the bar to just drink and not to be engaged in discussions.

When this participant was asked if he could go to school if he was given another chance to begin his life, he affirmed that he would definitely do so. He did not blame his parents about the situation he was in, but said it was his own making for he chose to take care of cattle instead of being in school. He narrated that his father's voice was neither for nor against education but the community's voice or perception about formal education stirred him to shun education. Staying away from school made him more accepted in his community then. While adult education lessons were being offered at the nearest school, he felt too proud to publicly acknowledge his formal education inadequacy and join the programme. He stated that he would just reverse the trend through his children whom he would ensure they went to school at whatever cost. This pride which this participant expressed for not enrolling in school to at least acquire some basic education is in contrast with what a non- Ila that I met shared with me.

In contrast with the generally accepted notion among the many traditional Baila that when they have cattle, which is wealth, they do not need any formal Western education, I had an interesting

encounter with one young man while I was doing this study. When I met him at his business premises and I casually mentioned the study I was doing, he got interested and offered to share part of his life with me. This young man urged me to tell his story and even mention his name in my study. He is Clint Sichamba, a Namwanga from Isoka district of Muchinga Province. He is the prosperous owner of Ndozo Lodge in Chilanga. I have decided to use his words to tell the story.

Education is very important. It widens your horizon. I formally dropped out of school in Grade 7. It was not my intention to stop here except that I realized I was growing old and needed to be independent from my parents. I was relatively old by the time I reached Grade 7 because I started school late. I had the desire for school quite early in life but I could not start school at the right age because my turn had not come. The village school could not enrol all the eligible children in a particular year at once, so we had to wait for our turn. I think I started my Grade One when I was 12 years old and so by the time I reached Grade 7, I felt I was too old to continue living with my parents. So, I moved to Lusaka after Grade 7 and started trading in beans, second hand clothes and anything that I could sell. After struggling for some years, I saw my way becoming bright. I made substantial amounts of money and got a plot where I started building the first phase of the lodge.

Clint narrated that acquisition of money exposed him to many modern facilities and made him meet all sorts of people. He travelled to Tanzania, South Africa, India, France, the UK and China for business. His travels abroad and the business transactions exposed the inner inadequacy in him which made him go back to school. I asked him whether money and fame were not enough to make him happy. His response was:

I felt lost and inadequate when those around me discussed the economy, politics and other issues which were above me. I had a strong urge to go back to school, but how could I abandon all the responsibilities I had created for myself? Besides, going to school full time would adversely affect my businesses, so I decided to hire a teacher to teach me Grade 7 stuff. Yes I had to start from there. And I had the money to engage a teacher on part-time basis. I passed the Grade 7 examinations, and after some years I attempted Grade 9

examinations which I also passed. Then I started studying for my O-Levels. At this stage I saw that things were getting serious and difficult but I did not give up. To make learning easier, I decided to refurbish one of the upper rooms at my two storey building I had acquired in Kamwala into a classroom where I started taking my lessons from instead of bringing my teachers home for lessons. To break the monotony and make learning interesting, I sometimes invited my children with their friends who were preparing for their Grade 12 examinations to attend tuitions with me.

At the time Clint shared this story with me, he had sat and passed three O- levels and had registered for three more subjects that year. It was interesting that he narrated this story in the earshot of some of his workers who moved about to serve us as we chatted in one of his plush private eating places at the lodge. I thought he would be ashamed and pause until we were alone. I was uncomfortable, but he continued the story. I mentioned this to him but he told me he was not embarrassed to tell his story that he was doing his Grade 12 to his members of staff, some of whom even had university degrees. This man was not, at the same time, uncomfortable to learn with his children and their friends. I am very sure a proud Mwiila could not bring himself to such levels, especially that what he was aspiring for was not between life and death. He narrated that he had told this story to some of his workers who he encouraged to upgrade themselves in education. His aim was to attain a Bachelor's Degree. This is a man who was learning not because the education he wanted to achieve would assist him in getting a better job, but he was just learning for the sake of knowledge and self-actualization. He said there was more to life than just acquiring wealth. With the change in the Zambian constitution which now stipulates that a Grade 12 certificate was the minimum for one to aspire for any political position as either a Councillor or a Member of Parliament, I asked Clint if he did not have any political ambitions but he categorically stated that he did not harbour any such motives. In any case, he started his journey to improve his academic qualifications when such requirements of a Grade 12 certificate were not even on the debate stage.

The female participants in this category shared their regrets about not having been to school. They narrated that this happened because their parents never valued education. Three were forced into early marriage to elderly men who offered cattle ranging from eight to twelve as bride wealth. One of these three participants, who had actually at least gone up to Grade three but still regarded herself as having never been to school because she had forgotten all the little she had learnt, shared her story in the following words:

I wish things could be different. I am in this situation because I did not get any support from my parents. I was very intelligent. In Grade one there was no girl who could perform better than me in school. I wanted to be a nurse but I stopped school when I was in grade 3 because my father wanted me to be married. Since my father said he wanted to get cattle which could help him in the ploughing of fields I agreed to stop school because I did not want to offend him. Besides, a lot of my friends envied me when they heard that there was a man who was interested in marrying me. I felt special to have been picked.

These ladies shared that their marriages were sad ones as their husbands were very abusive. Two of them got pregnant before getting married at an early age of 14 years. The men responsible for their pregnancies did not accept responsibility especially that there was no father figure from their families who could fight for them. While they all regretted that it was too late for them to get an education which could enable them be employed, four had engaged fellow women to teach them how to read and write. Only one, the oldest of the five who was 40 years old, shared that it was too late for her to learn to read and write. She narrated:

I like education. I admire those who are educated. If I had chance to begin life again, nobody would stop me from going to school. But at my age now, I think it is too late to start learning to read and write. Besides, I have no time and my husband would not allow me to be leaving home to just go and learn to read and write. He would think I am just wasting time and meeting some other men. He is very jealous.

All the five ladies disclosed that all their school- age children were in school. Those who had enrolled for lessons shared that the quality of life had improved as they were now able to transact better at the market and this had given them a lot of personal confidence. When they were asked how the community looked at them for opting to take those lessons when they were mothers already, they all shared that many elderly people were laughing at them as wasting time. However, some younger women who had been to school encouraged them to continue with their lessons.

The paragraph above shows that some women had not seen the inside of a classroom because they got married early. Cases of early marriages were found to be rife. The study discovered that early pregnancies were detrimental to access to school. The study demonstrates the extent.

6.2.1.6 Views of other community members

As mentioned earlier, through my interactions with the local people, I identified three local community members who were Ila and spoke passionately about their culture and development of the Baila in the modern world. One was a lady who had spent some time working for an NGO concerned with agriculture in Namwala. The District Education Board had identified her influence and periodically requested her to perform advocacy work to encourage parents to send their children to school, particularly girls. When she was asked why the Baila did not seem to be interested in formal education, among other reasons she stressed the lack of role models as playing a crucial role. She shared her views in the following words:

These children who refuse to go to school do so because they have not seen anything special in school. They have no role models. They think these teachers who teach them are special people from another world. They have not seen anyone among themselves become a teacher. When they see a doctor or a nurse they believe those people were created that way by God and that they, themselves, can never be doctors or nurses.

If the educated Baila were to work in their localities, they would inspire a lot of the young ones to go to school. But we see in most cases, especially in the village schools are other tribes serving the Baila as teachers and nurses.

The other participant, a retired government worker, attributed the Baila indifference to formal education to their pride in their cattle. He lamented that it was unfortunate that the majority of the traditional Baila believed once they had their cattle there was no need for education. He regretted that the unfortunate thing was that even those who did not have any cattle deceived themselves and shared that pride by just being Ila. And having spent many years of his life outside Namwala, this participant condemned some of the Ila traditions and practices especially concerning the lifestyles of some of the prominent Baila with large herds of cattle. He poured scorn on some of them calling them stingy and backwards. “They have all these animals but look at where they stay and see what they eat...they eat charcoal” he angrily narrated. The same participant called many Ila cattle owners rich but uneducated who fail to diversify their wealth. He elucidated that those who were trying to ‘wake up’, and gave an example of one prominent man in Namwala, were doing things without any plans:

They are putting up housing structures haphazardly. They do not want to accept they have a deficiency, which is lack of education. Why should a person with 5000 cattle be running up and down like a poor labourer? Why can’t he employ some people to drive trucks instead of himself doing everything? These people have not married acquisition of wealth with how to manage it. If they used education to help them manage their wealth, they would be much better people. (Interview with Mr... on 13/8/14).

6.2.2 Teenage pregnancies and early marriages in schools

The head teachers in the study were asked how many girls in their schools fell pregnant in the previous year and how the parents reacted to the government’s re-entry policy. The study inquired

into the percentage of girls who returned to school after giving birth. Table 5 below provides a summary of the findings.

Table 5: Pregnancies in selected schools

<u>School</u>	<u>Pregnancies</u>	<u>Reaction to re-entry policy</u>	<u>Girls who re-entered</u>
1	3	Appreciate	2
2	0	Mixed feelings about it	N/A
3	10	Not welcome. It disturbs acquisition of wealth	1
4	21	Mixed. Some claim it promotes immorality	10
5	8	Mixed	4
6	14	Negative	2
7	26	Negative	7
8	15	Do not support it	3
9	24	Negative	6
10	12	Mixed	7

Explanatory note on the reaction to re-entry policy

Appreciate: This is where, according to the Head teachers, the parents stated that the policy was a good one. They amplified that the policy had helped a lot of girls get back to school and gave examples of those that had completed school and found themselves jobs as nurses or teachers, thereby alleviating the economic status of their families.

Mixed feelings: These did not have very strong feelings or stand about the policy. Some of them said it depended on how ‘lucky’ a parent was with his daughters. They gave examples of some girls who had been given another chance of getting back to school after delivery only to get pregnant shortly afterwards again while others had learnt from their first mistake and positively utilised their other chances.

Negative/ not welcome/ do not support: These are the parents who said that the re-entry policy promoted immorality and gave licence to girls to have children while at school. Within this category others claimed the policy disturbed the traditional flow of events. They said that if a child was in school but decided to get pregnant, it was a sign that she was ready for marriage and should be left to fulfil what she had chosen to do. They said taking back such girls to school was a waste of resources.

The study showed that teenage pregnancies and early marriages were in most cases still accepted as being normal in the Ila traditional life. Teachers testified that stopping parents from marrying off their teenage daughters was a task they struggled with. One teacher vividly shared his experience of being threatened with death for trying to stop a marriage of a school going girl:

Once Ila parents have decided that they would marry off their daughter, whatever age she was, trying to intervene is a risky undertaking. Whenever I think of the way I survived being killed I remind myself never to be a hero and try to stop them. When I heard that one of my girls in Grade Six was going to leave school and get married, I decided to pay the parents a visit and try and stop them from doing so. It is like the father had heard of my plans because immediately I got to his home he went inside the house and came out with a spear. He offered me a stool but remained standing over me as he admonished me while pointing the spear at me. He made it clear that he would not hesitate to use the weapon if I went ahead with interfering with his plans of marrying off his daughter.

I asked him if he reported the case to the Police. His response was that some people who had heard of this episode advised him not to take it any further because the parent that he had confronted was a well-known wizard and provoking him again in that manner could only make his stay very difficult. “It is his daughter. Let him do what he wants to do with her,” he said was the common advice he received.

But some parents saw sense in delaying the marriages of their teenage girls when talked to nicely. On two occasions I was called upon to intervene when a 13yr grade 4 and 15yrs grade 6 were to be married off. After cajoling the parents of the girls that the four heads of cattle that were offered for their daughters were just a quarter of what they would receive if the daughters persevered with school and married after some college education, we saw the wedding preparations being called off and the cattle which were meant for *lobola* returned to the families of the boys. I am not sure if the situation remained as pledged by the parents, for I was later told that the returning of the animals to the would-be suitors was only done to please me or to politely make me leave them alone.

All the Head teachers shared that the re-entry policy had been explained to the communities but the response was not as favourable as they would have loved it to be. It was explained that the stigma which went with being a mother and trying to be in school scared many girls to go back to school.

One Head teacher shared:

There was one very intelligent girl that I was sad fell pregnant when she was in grade 8. I took personal interest to ensure that she returned to school after giving birth. She did so after six months because her mother was ready to take care of the baby and the whole family supported the move. Unfortunately, her peers in school tormented her immediately she re-entered. Whenever she opened her mouth to answer a question the friends would be heard whispering “*muzyali musongo*” meaning “the parent is wise.” The girl could not bear this for long. Two weeks after she re-entered she stopped school.

But about early marriages and teenage pregnancies one Chief claimed these were untraditional:

Early marriages are because of poverty especially in this modern world of materialism. Many parents have turned their daughters as sources of wealth. In the Ila tradition, it is taboo to be pregnant without being married. Our tradition does not support early marriages

as we are seeing them now. I can also state that schools have contributed to early pregnancies and marriages.

When this Chief was asked to explain how he saw schools as contributing to teenage pregnancies and early marriages, he elaborated that schools gave a lot of opportunities for girls and boys to be on their own without the supervision or protection of the elders. He lamented that those were the times they involved themselves in sexual mischief. The same Chief attributed early marriages and teenage pregnancies to Human rights which the girls learnt from school and had made them very stubborn. He concluded that while formal education was being accepted in the Ila society, some of the offshoots of this education was what made some traditional Baila detest it. I must mention that the issue of pregnancy without being married being a taboo among the Baila was only mentioned by this one Chief.

6.2.2.1 Views of parents who married off school going daughters

Three parents who had married off their school going daughters agreed to share their views on this matter. These were two males and one female, the latter being a single mother. The two males shared reasons which were similar. They alleged that they did not want to waste a chance of getting some cattle when suiters for their daughters showed up. One of them shared:

The life of a girl is unpredictable. Today she may have a high value as a virgin but the following day you could hear she is pregnant. Her value goes down in this way especially when the boy she points out to be responsible for the pregnancy refuses to take responsibility. So it would be foolish to miss the chance when it presents itself for you to benefit from the daughter. Waiting until she finishes school is a waste of time. In any case, even the educated ones just end up being wives, so why delay the process?

The single mother narrated that giving off her school going child in marriage when she was only in grade five was something she did with a very 'heavy' heart:

My husband died leaving me with six children to raise, two girls and four boys. Life was very tough to provide for these children and send them to school. Mutinta was not doing very well in school but her brothers provided me the hope of a good future. So when there was no money to pay for all the children in school and this man with many animals came to ask for the hand of Mutinta, I saw it as an opportunity for the family to have a decent life. The eight heads of cattle which came as *lobola* managed to pay for the boys' education. But I see my daughter is not very happy. If I had another way, I would not have done it.

The two scenarios depict typical attitudes to education and the girl- child by males and females. Males generally focused on acquisition of cattle and saw their daughters as a source of this precious property. Females, on the other hand, tend to value education more and would even sacrifice what they hold as precious to make one of their own get educated. Many females believe education could transform a family's social status for the better.

Concerning the re-entry policy, it was generally agreed that there were very few girls who managed to do well after having a child and going back to school. One of the male parents shared his views:

Once a girl has voluntarily chosen to have a relationship with a boy and has a child, such a girl's mind and body is tuned to being a mother and a wife. So sending her back to school is sheer waste of time and money. These are the girls that you find falling pregnant again while still at school. Once a girl is pregnant while at school, she is telling you that she has chosen the mother way. Sending back to school children who have babies is equally a distraction to the other girls who want to concentrate on school.

6.3 Influence of Ila tradition on academic performance

Namwala has over the years ranked among the bottom three districts in Southern Province in terms of Grade 7 and 9 national examinations. For instance, in the 2013 grade 7 results, the district occupied the 8th position out of 10 districts. In 2014 it ranked number 11 out of 13 districts for the grade 7 results (3 more districts had been created in the province). It was number 10 in the grade 9 examinations in the same year. The grade 7 and 9 ratings over the past four years tell the story of how the district has featured. The study has opted to leave out the grade 12 results because the composition of pupils in senior classes, grades 10 to 12, tends to be a mixture of all tribes within the province. While it can be argued that the selection of pupils to grade 7 is also done on the regional level, the trend is that the grade seven pupils tend to choose schools near their homes. For example, very few grade 7 pupils in Namwala would choose to go to Mazabuka which is 330 kilometres from their home. In addition the primary schools are day schools and upper basic section of the primary schools, 8 and 9 are drawn from the local Ila territory.

Tables 6 and 7 show Namwala's performance in national examinations at Grade 7 and 9, respectively. The district has never performed above the national average.

Table 6: GRADE 7 DISTRICT PERFORMANCE RANKING

2012				2013			
Rank Provincial	Rank National	District	Mean	Rank Provincial	Rank national	District	Mean
1	2	Livingstone		1	2	Livingstone	658.52
2	7	Sinazongwe		2	12	Sinazongwe	628.36
3	16	Mazabuka		3	19	Mazabuka	619.13
4	27	Siavonga		4	20	Siavonga	616.28
5	29	Choma				National	609.23
6	39	Monze		5	31	Monze	606.34
7	53	Gwembe		6	34	Choma	604.95
8	67	Kalomo		7	43	Gwembe	598.55
9	68	Namwala		8	49	Namwala	594.65
10	69	Kazungula		9	52	Kalomo	593.83
				10	59	Kazungula	589.79

2014				2015			
Rank Provincial	Rank National	District	Mean	Rank Provincial	Rank National	District	Mean
1	5	Livingstone	653.25	1	1	Livingstone	647.20
2	17	Sinazongwe	626.79	2	10	Sinazongwe	628.42
3	19	Mazabuka	625.67	3	13	Mazabuka	624.39
4	20	Chikankata	625.38	4	17	Choma	621.12
5	23	Choma	622.39	5	31	Siavonga	611.58
		National	611.12			National	611.26
6	47	Monze	609.91	6	35	Chikankata	608.42
7	48	Kalomo	604.83	7	43	Monze	606.83
8	57	Siavonga	604.76	8	45	Kalomo	605.39
9	57	Gwembe	601.58	9	53	Gwembe	601.33
10	59	Zimba	600.74	10	61	Namwala	597.34
11	70	Namwala	594.93	11	72	Zimba	592.40
12	77	Pemba	592.32	12	77	Kazungula	588.74
13	94	Kazungula	580.84	13	86	Pemba	585.97

Source: Examinations Council of Zambia, 2016

Table 7: GRADE 9 DISTRICT PERFORMANCE RANKING

2012				2013			
Rank Provincial	Rank National	District	Mean	Rank Provincial	Rank National	District	Mean
1	5	Sinazongwe		1	8	Mazabuka	342.52
2	9	Livingstone		2	19	Monze	336.9
3	21	Choma				NATIONAL	335.14
4	25	Mazabuka		3	29	Choma	333.41
5	36	Siavonga		4	31	Livingstone	333.08
6	45	Monze		5	35	Sinazongwe	332.34
7	47	Gwembe		6	55	Namwala	322.7
8	53	Kazungula		7	56	Gwembe	321.97
9	59	Kalomo		8	60	Kalomo	320.82
10	64	Namwala		9	62	Siavonga	320.27
				10	73	Kazungula	310.28

2014				2015			
Rank Provincial	Rank National	District	Mean	Rank Provincial	Rank National	District	Mean
		National	300	1	12	Mazabuka	191.83
1	54	Mazabuka	293.08	2	24	Sinazongwe	191.63
2	55	Choma	292.54			National	184.14
3	56	Sinazongwe	292.44	3	49	Monze	179.57
4	60	Siavonga	291.64	4	55	Choma	177.68
5	69	Chikankata	289.32	5	59	Namwala	176.97
6	73	Monze	288.27	6	62	Livingstone	176.05
7	78	Livingstone	286.36	7	79	Chikankata	166.78
8	92	Kalomo	275.73	8	83	Siavonga	165.94
9	95	Pemba	271.42	9	84	Kalomo	164.90
10	97	Namwala	269.74	10	90	Zimba	157.54
11	98	Zimba	267.97	11	94	Gwembe	153.15
12	99	Gwembe	266.26	12	95	Kazungula	152.89
13	100	Kazungula	263.07	13	100	Pemba	139.94

Source: Examinations Council of Zambia, 2016

6.3.1 Views of Head teachers

All the Head teachers in the study shared that they were not happy with the academic results they produced in the national examinations for grades 7 and 9. Four of the Head teachers had taught in areas outside Namwala and so I relied on them to make comparisons between the Baila's performance in school and those of other tribes where they had taught. One who had taught in the rural part of Serenje district for ten years had this to say:

I enjoyed my teaching in Serenje. The communities I served were poor but I could see the people there valued education. Parents were interested in their children's education and showed it in the way they participated in the schools' activities. Parents happily participated in moulding bricks for teachers' houses, for example. The pupils who came from long distances became weekly boarders and never missed lessons. Consequently, their results were usually very good. I admired

but at the same time sympathised with the weekly boarders as they went out to work for food in nearby homes when they ran out of their rations especially towards the end of the week. These Baila children cannot bring themselves to doing that in order to remain in school.

A Head teacher who had taught in Gwembe during her first two years of her profession shared her experiences:

I see some similarities between the Baila and the Tonga people of the Gwembe valley where I spent my first two years of teaching. We struggled with absenteeism of the boys there because they were also made to take care of the family cattle. But unlike the Baila boys who go away for a long time, the Gwembe boys would be absent for not more than three days continuously. I did not notice as much pride about cattle among the Tonga of the Gwembe valley as is shown by the Ila; pride which even affects their academic performance. Early marriages were rife too in Gwembe because of some parents' love for cattle.

The third Head teacher had spent fifteen years teaching on the Copperbelt towns of Luanshya and Chingola. He moved to Namwala because he hails from there and had requested that he spends the last part of his service in his home district so that he could adequately prepare for his retirement. He confessed that although he was Ila he could not hide his frustration about the poor results that his school produced and the general lack of interest in school that the pupils exhibited. With nostalgia in his tone of voice, he shared his views:

I miss the spirit of hard work and competition which was exhibited by most pupils in the schools I taught on the Copperbelt. I knew that most of the pupils in the schools I taught, particularly in Luanshya, did not come from rich families but they valued education very much. Those who came from homes where there was no electricity or crowded compounds usually remained in school to study and only went back home around 1830hrs when we closed all the classrooms. If a teacher did not go prepared for class, he would be embarrassed by the kind of questions that the pupils would ask in class. I have not noticed this among the pupils here. The pupils on the Copperbelt were

a collection of all kinds of tribes in Zambia although they all spoke Bemba.

Similar views were shared by the fourth Head teacher who had spent five years teaching in the urban part of Mazabuka.

When I came to Namwala from Mazabuka, I did not think there would be such a big difference in the pupils' attitude to education. It has been a struggle to make these children take education seriously. To make matters worse, there is very little support that we get from their parents. I understand why some teachers, especially the young ones, easily lose the zeal to teach. You just feel your efforts are not being appreciated. I have not even received any praises from any one on Teachers' Day. In Mazabuka, apart from the good words of appreciation from some pupils and parents I used to receive even material gifts on that day. Not here!

6.3.2 Absenteeism

The study established that absenteeism was very pronounced in Namwala. This had an effect on the academic performance of pupils. The girls were absent from school mostly because they were required to perform some domestic chores at home. During the planting season, a girl could be requested to remain home to draw water and prepare meals for those in the fields. If there are young siblings in the family, a girl would be tasked to remain home and take care of these siblings if the mother, for one reason or the other, is not available. Boys were absent because they were required to plough during the planting season, or just to look after cattle. As mentioned earlier, life of a traditional Ila is influenced by cattle. There is a practice in Namwala of taking cattle for grazing in the plains for most of the months of the year. The plain provides the much needed rich grazing area as well as water for the good growth of cattle. The Baila call the plain as *lutanga*. So the study focused on how the *lutanga* affected the academic performance. Participants were asked if the *lutanga* affected academic performance.

6.3.3. *Lutanga* in the Ila tradition

All the participants attested to the fact that *lutanga* is a very important aspect in the Ila economics and cannot be done away with. In different ways some of them went further to suggest that there was need to revisit the practice and establish a more pupil friendly way of continuing with the trend.

Using their own words, some of them stated that:

- *Lutanga* cannot be avoided but parents should not be using school going children.
- Parents are just selfish to abuse their own children and deprive them of adequate schooling.
- As long as the Baila will have cattle, *lutanga* cannot be avoided.
- *Lutanga* is a source of income for them so it cannot be avoided, but parents must be sensitized on the value for education.
- *Lutanga* cannot be avoided for cattle-rearing has become a symbol of identity.
- Massive sensitization on the importance of education should be brought to reality- there may be behavioural change.
- *Lutanga* cannot be avoided for animals may die. Namwala has limited water sources for animals, so all people have to shift their animals to water sources according to seasons.
- *Lutanga* cannot be avoided because Baila trust and believe in keeping cattle as the only wealth a person can have. Without animals one is not counted among the real men. Animals are not only a source of wealth but kept for prestige.

The views of the head teachers on the *lutanga* were shared by all the four Chiefs in the district. Two of the Chiefs even went further to state that the *lutanga* and its impact on the education of the children was a phenomenon brought about by the individualistic life of today. They explained that

in the olden days cattle were reared in a communal way. There was only one big kraal for a particular village where individuals kept their animals which were identified by unique brand marks. Households took turns to take care of all the cattle in the village kraal. They stated that it was mostly young men, not the small boys as the practice today, who were assigned to take animals for grazing. But today every individual who has cattle has a kraal and has to take care of his animals as an individual. One Chief suggested that while the *lutanga* had taken this turn and had become such an important aspect of the Ila traditional life, it was imperative that the mindset concerning this practice was changed. He contended that many societies in the Ila land had a lot of unemployed out- of school young men. He suggested that such men should be employed to carry out this task instead of using school going children. He further pointed out that cattle owners should be prepared to spend some money in form of salaries for the cattle herders to ensure that their animals were kept well.

Further linking the issue of *lutanga* and education, one Chief expressed annoyance with the contradictions he had noticed in his chieftom where the same boys who spent a lot of their school time looking after the family's cattle did not even have the necessary school requirements when they had to get back to school. He wondered why a family could not sell one animal to take care of the school requirements of such a child. He lamented that the boys from the *lutanga* were punished twice; they lost school time because of taking care of the animals, and when conditions were conducive for them to get back to school they were sent away by the school authorities because they failed to pay the necessary school fees. He pointed out that the traditional notion of rearing cattle mostly for prestige had made the education facilities in Namwala that poor. He said if cattle were seen as money and people were generous enough to give from their plenty, the district would have the best schools in the country. He added that since nearly every household in Ilaland has cattle, if the cattle which were reared had the modern economic currency attached to them, no child would

drop out of school for failure of paying the fees. This would make Namwala the most educated population compared to societies which could not boast of cattle wealth as Namwala did.

The study further revealed that the *lutanga* could be eliminated from the Ila traditional life if the boys who were the active key players in the practice were not interested participants in the business. Most Ila boys love their cattle so much that they want to spend a lot of time with them. The *lutanga* provides these moments. One boy shared the joy of being at the *lutanga* in these words:

The beauty of being at the *lutanga* is that you are with the cattle all the time and you see them change and fatten in your eyes. It is so beautiful. There is also a lot of freedom at the *lutanga*. You wake up for one thing only, which is being with the animals, enjoying the milk and playing with your friends unlike the situation at home where you go to school, come back and be sent to do other things, and you are always controlled by your parents. At the *lutanga* we enjoy a lot of freedom. There is a lot of food and we learn a lot from each other.

6.3.3.1 *Lutanga* and poor academic performance

All the ten Head teachers agreed that *lutanga* had contributed to the poor academic performance particularly among the boys. Some of the participants even narrated that it was not only the boys who were adversely affected by the *lutanga* but girls as well. Those who shared this view explained that at the peak of the *lutanga* a teacher hardly had the same pupils for the whole week and so a concerned teacher kept on repeating the same lesson for the sake of those that were absent and had reappeared, thereby failing to complete the syllabus. The participants shared that sometimes boys went to the *lutanga* for as long as the whole term. It became very clear from the sharing of these participants that boys, in most cases, did not actually loathe the idea of being away from school to take care of animals but believed they were doing the family a great service because of the inborn value for cattle. The participants further stated that even though some boys may be in class, their

minds were at the *lutanga* for they derived more pleasure there than being in class. Some of the *Baila* Head teachers shared their personal experiences of *lutanga*. One of them had this to say:

Lutanga is a complex phenomenon among the *Baila*. I recall the pleasure I used to derive from taking care of cattle with my friends. Apart from the feeling of being useful to the family by being responsible for this very important part of the family economy, the *lutanga* is where many boys learn a lot of essential things about being a real man. The stories, plays and fights among boys at the *lutanga* all add to the growth of a *Mwila* boy.

When the same participant was asked whether schools were playing their role in making the communities change their mentality and ensure their children are accorded the quality time to be in school he responded:

The importance which is attached to the cattle rearing cannot be compared with the remote advantages that are found in having educated children or community. Formal education or school going seems to be facing very stiff competition from the cattle rearing industry. Apart from the problem coming from the parents who see their children as being valuable only when they are involved in the cattle rearing industry the issue is complicated further because most boys, who are the active participants in the *lutanga* business, seem to derive more joy in being away at the *lutanga* than being in school. So while many schools make it a point to discuss this issue at every PTA annual general meeting, the fruits of this crusade are very difficult to come by.

Having looked at how the *Ila* tradition affects access to formal education and academic performance, the study turned to the task of establishing the compatibility of the *Ila* tradition with modern formal education. Put differently, the study set to inquire whether EFA could be realized within the *Ila* traditional world view.

6.4 Compatibility of Ila tradition with modern formal education

As can be said about each ethnic group, most Baila participants, particularly the elderly chose to describe themselves as unique.

6.4.1 Uniqueness of the Baila

On the uniqueness of the Baila, three out of the four Chiefs interviewed described the people as being very self-reliant. One of them said the following.

A Mwiila is self-reliant. He believes he does not need any other person or thing to have a good life, as long as he has animals. With a good herd of cattle, an Ila believes the world is in his pocket. It is the self-reliance that has contributed to the failure of cooperatives in the Ila land. The members meet for a few days and then disband, believing they do not need each other.

This Chief related the self-reliance to the negative attitude to formal education in that the self-importance blocks one from being receptive, a quality which is required for a learner.

Nearly all the elderly Ila interviewed attributed the Ila subjugation by the Lozi to the individualistic life or exaggerated self-reliance of the Baila. The same Chief said the following:

We were defeated by the Lozi because of our self-reliance. We believed whoever was attacked or beaten had individually offended the Lozi and that it was his fault. We never came to the aid of each other. Even now an Ila would rarely come out to assist one who cries out for help at night. Baila believe in minding their own business.

One elderly participant put the issue in the following words:

The Baila are individualistic. They would rather do a communal task alone and later boast to the others that they have done it for them than to work in a group. This is how the Lozi defeated us. A nearby village would be attacked without the neighbours rendering any help, not realizing that the following day they would be attacked. They never assist.

The individualism among the Baila was, however, refuted by the second Chief interviewed who maintained that the Baila were community people and did a lot of work in common. He narrated that all major jobs like construction of a house were normally done with the help of other people. The Chief further gave an example of big villages with common kraals where cattle were taken care of by households taking turns in taking out cattle for grazing for everyone as a manifestation of the communal life that the Baila lived. Nevertheless, the same Chief conceded that the communal aspect of living was slowly diminishing as many people took to personalised lifestyles where the identity of the individual was paramount. He explained that this change of lifestyles manifests itself in the individualised or family kraals as opposed to the earlier village kraals. He concluded that the latter style of life was not of a traditional Ila.

The participant who first brought out the individualism of the Baila further described the Baila as being very stubborn. He said:

Baila are stubborn. They are just like the Kasama people. They have inborn stubbornness. Those who have gone to school try to hide this trait but when you provoke them beyond limit, they go back to their roots and you hear such utterances from the Kasama people as *“inshaba ifyo!”* and the Ila would say *“ulaubona bukabwangu kwasunu”*

He explained the two terms to mean, “I am not the way you see me. My real self has been disguised, and since you have provoked me, I will show you who I really am.”

A lady participant seconded the issue of Baila being individualistic and further described the Baila as being very proud. She exemplified this claim in these words:

If the Baila have to do communal work, they first, tactfully, check who else is available at the place of work before getting to the site. If it is

people below their status, they would not go and join the group. The Baila rarely participate in community work. An Ila would construct his house or kraal alone than call for support from the neighbours... the Baila have never got into any kind of suffering which would compel them to work with anybody for anything.

This last statement ties up with what another participant who shared that Chief Chiinda and Chief Shaloba lost their recognition as Chiefs by the colonial government because they did not want their subjects to do communal work dictated by the colonial government for those who could not pay poll tax. Chief Shaloba is said to have presented a few Shillings to the District Commissioner so that his people would never be called upon to do any communal work, which he called “molestation”. This infuriated the District Commissioner who withdrew the recognition of the two ‘troublesome’ Chiefs.

6.4.2 Ila tradition and school administration

The study wished to find out if there was something inherent in the Ila tradition which adversely affected the way schools were run in Namwala. The views of stakeholders in the education system were sought.

6.4.2.1 Views of Head teachers

Ten head teachers were asked if the Ila tradition affects the way their schools were run. Three indicated that the tradition and culture of the Baila did not, in any way, affect the operations of the schools. One indicated that the influence was not particular to Ila only. He amplified that all cultures in some way influence the way schools operate in a particular cultural area. Six head teachers, however, had strong reasons for blaming the Ila tradition for the negative impact it had on the pupils’ interest in education. In their own words, they explained that:

- Most times pupils are assigned to herd cattle instead of being in school. Sometimes they even go for as long as the whole term.
- Cattle just roam around the school campus disturbing plants, crops and lawns because it is believed in the Ila culture that cattle should be free to move about.
- Learning is disrupted as learners are sent to chase animals away.
- The Baila are stakeholders since they are owners of the children. Traditionally, an Ila does not show true colours. During PTA general meetings issues can be discussed and they pretend to agree with the discussion but when it comes to implementation they do exactly the opposite. In addition, an Ila has no respect for another person, hence the behaviour of their children.
- Girls are treated as sources of wealth and married off early so that their *lobola* would bring some heads of cattle in the kraal. As for boys, they take turns to look after cattle in the plains.
- The priority of the Ila tradition is wealth accumulation, basically in cattle rearing, and other businesses.
- Since Ila parents value wealth through cattle rearing, those who are poor end up marrying off their daughters before they even complete grade seven so as to accumulate wealth in cattle.

6.4.2.2 Views of Chiefs

One Chief saw the Ila tradition, especially concerning the rearing of cattle, as negatively affecting education in that even the non- Ila, *balumbu* teachers have embraced this tradition of rearing cattle so much that they want to serve only where it would be easier for them to get rich through cattle rearing. He qualified his claim by stating that some teachers have made cattle rearing their core business and relegated teaching to a part time job. This concern was raised in one District Council meeting I attended where the District Agricultural Coordinator confirmed that whenever there was common vaccination of animals in camps, the majority of the animals attended to belonged to teachers. The same was the case at all communal dip tanks. He wondered how the teachers found time to teach with such commitment to cattle rearing.

The research took interest in what some Non-governmental organizations who had a stake in education would say about the issue. Views of World Vision Zambia and Faweza were sought.

6.4.2.3 Views of World Vision Zambia representative

World Vision Zambia has a presence in two Chiefdoms of Namwala, Muchila and Nalubamba. The organization works in partnership with the poor, underprivileged and oppressed in communities to promote their physical and spiritual transformation towards an improved quality of life. In doing so, they partner with the Ministries of Education, Health and Agriculture.

In the education sector, World Vision supplements the DEBS' office on identified and agreed upon activities such as supporting interventions in improving learner performance in schools. This is done by provision of transport to officers from the DEBS' office, supplying of training materials, Early Childhood Education materials and other forms of support. The organization also plays a role

in advocacy through the outreach programmes where they educate communities to take an active role in the affairs of their societies in the areas of health and education provision. Traditional leaders have, for example, been sensitized in education and have taken an active role in handing down such messages to their subjects. At the time of this research, World Vision was involved in training Parents Teachers Associations in their catchment areas in their roles as active participants in the provision of quality education. In addition, they had programmes which aimed at promotion of girl-child education and elimination of early marriages. In some isolated cases, the organization directly sponsored individual pupils by providing them with school fees and uniforms. In the infrastructure sector, they have rehabilitated some classrooms especially in Community schools, and constructed some improved pit latrines to enhance sanitation.

I asked a representative of World Vision if the various interventions in the education sector were bearing fruit. His answer was in the negative:

If one is a non- Ila who does not understand their tradition, he would be very frustrated working with and for these people; but once you understand them then you learn to be patient with the pace at which things move here. To begin with, the Baila believe that formal education is for people who have no wealth, *ba pushi*, which literally means ‘beggars’. And the wealth they refer to is cattle. So anybody with a good number of cattle thinks education is not necessary for themselves and their children.

In addition, he narrated that the traditional attitude that many Ila parents have of the girl child as a means of acquiring cattle through early marriages does not favour their emancipation through education. He explained that this was the reason their organization was partnering with the District Education Board to sensitize parents on the advantages of sending their daughters to school and ensuring that early marriages were discouraged in society. And since distance to school was one of the reasons some parents gave for not sending their daughters to school, World Vision had interventions of promoting community schools so that they had adequate facilities to attract girls to

school. The official conceded that there was a shift in the way the Baila consider formal education now compared to some ten years ago but that the change was very gradual and frustrating at times. The views of World Vision representative were shared by the FAWEZA personnel.

6.4.2.4 Views of FAWEZA representative

FAWEZA is a Zambian owned organization established by Zambian educationists to foster collaborative efforts to campaign for the gender responsive educational policies and interventions. It was established in 1996 as an affiliate of Forum for African Women Educationists, FAWE. FAWE is a network of leading African women educationalists who decided after the Beijing Conference of 1985 to change the bad and negative state of girls' education in Africa (FAWEZA, 2010).

FAWEZA aims at promoting a gender responsive education system which works to eliminate gender disparities in education. This is done by advocating for a shift in the education delivery to embrace beliefs and practices which positively support the education of girls and women in order to uplift their status in society. In collaboration with other stakeholders in education like Time To Learn (TTL) FAWEZA has managed to provide full sponsorship to some girls from Grade 8 onwards by paying their fees and giving stipend to the learners to enable them purchase some essential requirements like soap and body lotion. In addition, they teach life skills to the girls through the SAFE clubs which they have established in schools and also provide shelter for some girls in some Day schools who have no relatives near the schools to take care of them. FAWEZA rents some houses in some schools which they call SAFE houses and pay an allowance for a matron to take care of the girls there (FAWEZA, 2009).

Although the organisation is mostly about women, FAWEZA has incorporated within its operational ranks some men who share its aspirations. Other men are members by virtue of the positions they occupy in the Ministry of Education. For example, the Minister of Education, whether male or female is the National Patron. Likewise, the Provincial Education Officer and District Education Board Secretary automatically become the Provincial and District Patron, respectively.

FAWEZA operates through its district committee in Namwala which is composed of mostly female teachers and a few males who have a passion for girls' education. Funding for the activities of the district committee and the funding for the girls and a few boys comes from the National committee through the Provincial focal point person.

When the District Chairperson was asked about the impact FAWEZA had made in the education of the girl-child in Namwala, her response was:

There is a slight improvement in the way the girls are accessing and remaining in school compared to some five years ago. It is an upward battle that we are fighting. The Ila tradition does not favour girls' education and so we still have a lot of girls who have never set foot in a classroom. What is annoying and sad is that we see a lot of potential in some of these girls who have been denied chance to be in school.

The FAWEZA representative was further asked if the organization's interventions were being appreciated by the communities they served. Her response was a lamentation:

The advocacy part of our interventions is bearing some fruit but not good enough. We face a lot of resistance from the traditionists who harbour the old ways of life where they believe education is not necessary especially for a girl. Some of our members who have tried to champion the education of the girl-child have even experienced personal attacks from some parents. At times, some parents want to blame their lack of support of the education of their children on poverty. So within our limited financial resources, we try to sponsor

some girls by paying their school fees and buying them basic toiletries.

When she was asked if the parents of those girls were really too poor to pay the fees for their daughters, she admitted that some were genuinely poor but a good number of them had a lot of cattle which they could sell to meet this need but they never saw the need to do so.

Another challenge to the girls' education which she cited was the rise in school girls' pregnancies, early marriages, high absenteeism rate and general poor academic performance. She attributed this to the role that cattle play in the Ila culture where girls are married off early so that families could benefit through the receiving of cattle as bride wealth. The Chairperson shared some of the interventions they had embarked upon as an organization to curb early marriages among the girls. Together with the Victims Support Unit of the Zambia Police Service, they had stopped some weddings where under age school girls were forced into marriage and the culprits had been taken to court where some convictions were secured. She, however, confessed that such undertakings were really risky as the concerned parents took issues very personal and could physically hurt those trying to thwart their intentions. A less risky intervention was when they went to educate communities about the dangers of early marriages through sketches, songs and dance.

6.4.3 Involvement of parents in the education of their children

The study inquired into the ways parents show commitment to the education of their children. Apart from ensuring that their children were enrolled in school, stakeholders were asked what roles parents played in the school system.

6.4.3.1 Views of Head teachers.

Two out of the ten head teachers in the study were happy with the involvement of parents in their children's education. They stated that parents took an active part in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of the projects in the school. They amplified that parents were responsible for the construction of teachers' houses and toilets for the pupils. The two, in conclusion explained that the fact that the parents paid school fees for their children showed that they were active participants in the education of their children. However, eight Head teachers argued that most parents in their schools did not play any significant role in the education of their children. In their own words, they stated that;

Most of the parents are not interested in the education of their children because they feel that it is just a sheer waste of time. Hence they do not value it and just concentrate on rearing cattle.

Very little involvement is seen; mostly by just sending their children to school. However, supporting education is done with a lot of challenges for the community thinks education is free.

Very few parents are seriously involved because many believe that as long as one has a kraal, education is useless. Moreover, they are involved less because the benefits of educating a child take long to be realized.

Most of them play a very low profile. The polygamous nature of many males leaves the responsibility of educating the children to their wives only. This has a negative impact in the running of schools because many women do not have economic power to support schools.

6.4.3.2 Views of teachers

The teachers' views were in agreement with their supervisors in connection with parents' involvement in the education of their children and they even went deeper to mention that they had noticed that there were very few parents who took interest in checking their children's books to see

how they were performing in school. With the introduction of the Homework policy in schools which dictates that teachers give weekly homework to pupils which they should do at home with the help of the parents or other members of the community parents refuse to cooperate in this matter. Some teachers shared that whenever they challenged some parents on this matter, they have received responses such as:

We send pupils to school so that the teachers who have the mandate to teach could teach them. Why are teachers now failing to do the work for which they are paid and want us the parents to be teaching? The teachers are just lazy and now want us to be doing their work

The teachers argued that the levels of illiteracy on the part of many parents render them unworthy of assisting their children in academic work.

However, one teacher attributed the poor academic results partly to the frustration and disillusionment of some teachers who feel not cared for by the communities they serve.

These people do not appreciate us as professionals. When we complain that the small structures they put up as our houses are not suitable for us, they quickly refer to themselves that if they can live in the small houses that they have built for themselves, why should a teacher complain? Some of us who have taught in other places apart from Namwala know how some communities go out of their way to improve school infrastructure so that their children learn in a conducive environment and the teachers are properly accommodated. These people are just difficult.

6.4.3.3 Views of parents and pupils

On the side-line of doing this research, I was privileged that Monze Catholic Diocese requested Namwala District Education Board to assist them carry out gender awareness training in three schools in Namwala Parish. The approach of this Caritas sponsored training was participatory. The pupils, with the help of the teachers prepared a sketch after which parents and pupils were separated

and asked to identify themselves with what they saw. The discussions which followed brought out the following issues which, in a way, confirmed some of the earlier findings:

- Boys drop out of school early because of the *lutanga*
- Girls are married off early so that the parents can benefit from the animals paid as dowry.
- Children are asked to do house chores before going to school, like milking animals and collecting water.
- Pupils claimed that their parents refused to pay the school fees when they refuse to look after cattle during school time.
- There is a negative attitude among many parents towards education. They discourage the young ones to put their mind on education but encourage them to marry and look after cattle.
- Many women claimed it was mostly the men who were against education. Many mothers are left to struggle to raise money for their children's fees. Male parents stated that they were not eager to support their children in school because the children tend to support their mothers more than their fathers when they start formal salaried employment.
- The culture of building a separate hut for a girl who becomes of age makes her vulnerable to early pregnancies.

The assertion that children tend to give more material and financial support to their mothers rather than their fathers raised curiosity in me. So I probed this issue further. One male participant offered this explanation.

I personally feel inclined to support my nephews and nieces, the children of my sister; because I am very sure they are my sister's children. Only a mother can be completely sure the children she has are really hers. In our case as men, we can claim the children we call ours are really ours when in the actual sense they belong to the other man. You cannot be very sure about such things, and it is very painful when you discover that you had been spending resources on a child

who belongs to another man. So it is better that the mothers, who have no doubts about the parenthood, do take care of their children.

But one woman came in with another explanation and accused the men of just being irresponsible.

Some of our men are just lazy and irresponsible. The problem does not only start with school fees or ensuring that the children go to school but even feeding the children. Because of their having many wives, they only instruct their wives to ensure that they grow enough food. All they do is provide the seed and fertilizer and let each wife till the land with her own children. If they have five wives they cannot afford to work in each wife's field. But then, they have this field which they call the main one where all the wives and children take turns to work although what comes out of it is used by the man alone. It is from this field that they manage to pay the fees for their sisters' children.

In the discussion which continued among the elders, it was established that the Ila matrilineal arrangement plays a big role in the way they treat their children. Matrilineal societies are those where the inheritance is taken from the mother's side. In situations where clans define a family, the child in a matrilineal society is identified by the clan of the mother, and so the maternal uncles, brothers of the mother, have a bigger say on the affairs of the child than the father. This is unlike a patrilineal society where inheritance is passed on from the father to the child and the father is responsible for his children. In the case of the Baila, it is the maternal uncles who are expected to pay the school fees for their nieces or nephews. *Lobola* is given or received in a similar way. The system disadvantages the education of the children because some uncles may not be as close to the children as they are traditionally supposed to be or they may not value education as much as the children's father may.

6.4.3.4 PTA participation in the school administration

All the ten Head teachers claimed that as per Ministry of Education requirement, they call for the annual Parents Teachers Association general meetings but their effectiveness vary. Only one Head teacher from a girls' boarding school claimed 80 percent with attendance and effectiveness of the meetings. The rest were negative about the effects of PTA meetings and expressed their disappointments in a variety of ways. One of the Head teachers stated:

We call for the meetings as per requirement but very few, especially men attend. Discussions are made following one or two people who are influential in the negative or positive way. Issues of community participation in the school projects and money issues stir a lot of discussion because they always want very low contributions towards school projects.

When this Head teacher was asked what he meant by “discussions are made following one or two people who are influential...” he explained that in the Ila setup the influential people are those with many heads of cattle and that these are the ones who have a voice in the society. He further amplified that if these influential people happen not to favour an idea, it would not go through no matter how good or progressive it may be. This head teacher even revealed his tact that he has a habit of courting those with a lot of cattle to buy into the aspirations of the school before the meetings so that when he is sure they are on his side, or the progressive side, then he is confident they would help the school by speaking in support of the innovation or plan. He claimed this has worked for him.

Another head teacher said, “No PTA Annual General Meeting has ever been successful as the turnout has always been very poor. Only two or three Executive committee members come when called upon.”

All the Head teachers in the study stated that finances, absenteeism of teachers and pupils, distances children had to walk to school, teenage pregnancies and early marriages were the most common

topics that stirred spirited discussions in the PTA Annual General meetings. When asked to elucidate on the financial aspect, the Head teachers explained that most parents did not want to pay anything towards the education of their children. They elaborated that many parents believed that it was the duty of the government to provide education for the children. It came out very strongly from the discussion with these Head teachers that in the rural parts of Namwala, it was mostly the mothers who sourced for money to pay the fees for their children. The fathers did not seem to care. They further opened up that there was a general suspicion among many rural parents that the teachers mismanaged finances which was a claim they failed to prove.

On the absenteeism of teachers and pupils, the Head teachers explained that it was very clear that the absenteeism of a teacher was a more evil one in the eyes of most parents as compared to the absence of pupils. They amplified their assertion that since a teacher was paid to attend to the pupils his absence from class was equivalent to theft. On the other hand, while the teachers blamed the parents for the absence of their children from school, parents did not seem to see much harm in a child being away from school when his services or presence was required in the village especially during the planting or harvesting period or just to take care of cattle, in the case of boys. Absence of the pupils was at the same time blamed on the distances the children had to cover especially in rural areas.

As concerns early pregnancies and marriages, all the Head teachers shared that they had problems in convincing parents to partner with them to end these vices. Four out of the ten stated that there was a lot of improvement in this area especially that there were now some NGOs like FAWEZA and World Vision helping with the sensitization of parents against this common traditional practice of condoning early pregnancies and marrying off young girls. The rest of the Head teachers in the study said they did not see much improvement in the two scourges. They explained that while

many parents would publicly profess they would stop this system; in practice they did not do anything positive. One Head teacher shared

It is very disappointing that a parent who emotionally condemned early marriages at a public meeting is the following week reported to be hosting a wedding ceremony of his grade six daughter. The Baila claim they have the right to marry off their children without fear from anyone.

While parents were blamed for early marriages of their daughters, one Head teacher was of the view that the girls were also to blame. He gave several examples of where parents were against the marriages of their underage daughters but the girls themselves chose to elope with their boyfriends. He said that on two occasions the girls were adamant about not going back to school after elopement because they claimed they were just wasting time in school as they would not pass anyway. In time, the hitherto strongly opposed parents to the early marriages of their daughters softened and demanded for the traditional bride wealth when they noticed that their daughters had made up their mind. He blamed the trend of the young girls rushing for marriage on their early exposure to sexual activities and their desire for material things like cell phones which their boyfriends offered them in exchange for sex.

6.4.3.5 Head teachers' recommendations on the issue

At the end of the interview each head teacher was asked if he or she had anything to share in a form of conclusion to the discussion. All of them suggested that it was necessary that the Ila parents be sensitized on the importance of education. They indicated that the District Education Board Secretary's office could play a pivotal role in this task. They suggested that role models, particularly prominent Baila who had excelled in education and were living very good lives, be invited to speak to those who did not see value in education. They further suggested that without

necessarily downplaying the importance of cattle in the Ila world, the Baila should, however be made to understand that at some time all their animals may perish but if they had educated children they would find ways of cushioning the poverty. They intimated that the Baila should be made to understand that education was also an investment which was even greater than cattle. One of the Head teachers even went further to say, “in the spirit of Lubanga Shabongwe who built a school as a way of enhancing cattle rearing, the Baila of today should know that education can actually help even in the maintenance and management of their animals”

Two of the participants suggested that schools be encouraged to have study tours for pupils and some members of the Parents Teachers Association to places outside Namwala to expose them to some realities of life today. These two, in different ways explained that Namwala was a rural district and some pupils had never gone outside their villages, so it was important that they saw the world outside Namwala and how some people who do not even own cattle survive and lead normal lives.

In addition to sensitization, some head teachers suggested that law enforcement agencies be involved in ensuring that those who married off under- age girls be prosecuted according to the laws of Zambia. Belief in witchcraft, however, scared the would-be whistle blowers. It was mentioned that anybody who reported to the Police vices to do with early marriages or teenage pregnancies did not last long. Such a person died mysteriously. Therefore, fear to report such cases makes the vice thrive.

6.5 Summary

The Chapter has presented the findings of the study which have been categorised according to the three research questions. The findings have been mostly the views of the key participants in the study, namely the Chiefs, Head teachers, teachers, parents, pupils and other notable citizens of Namwala who have interest in education and the Ila culture.

The next Chapter discusses the findings from the research and relates them to literature revealed in this study as well as to the theories which underpinned the study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

7.1 Overview

This chapter analyses the findings of the study and discusses them in the light of the theories and literature which relates to the events and facts herein. This discussion is guided by the three research objectives of the study. Under the first objective which assessed the Baila traditional influence on access to formal education, the chapter discusses the positive steps that the government has taken to improve access and how the Baila in Namwala have responded to this. In addition sexual morality of the Baila and how it affects access to formal education is discussed. The sexual morality is further discussed under the umbrella of academic performance objective. Under the guidance of the objective on the compatibility of the Ila tradition and modern formal education, the chapter discusses the importance of cattle in the Ila tradition and the role that cattle play in the education sphere. It must be noted from the outset that there is an overlap on the findings of the study concerning the objectives. For example, the traditional practice of *lutanga* does not only affect access to formal education but also has an effect on the academic performance of learners in Namwala. Similarly, sexual immorality is detrimental to both access as well as academic performance. To avoid duplication in the discussion of the findings some elements are given more weight under one objective and glossed over under the other though they apply in both situations. The researcher ends this chapter by examining how Zambia, in general, and Namwala, in particular, have fared on the Six EFA goals.

7.2 The Ila traditional influence on access to formal education

It has been mentioned in the introduction that what prompted me to carry out this research was the general perception among teachers in Namwala that the district performed comparatively worse than all the other districts in the Southern province because the Baila, the traditional inhabitants of the district, were not interested in formal education.

7.2.1 The Baila's lack of interest in formal education

Records at Namwala District Education Board office indicate that access to school is steadily improving in Namwala. For example, the enrolment growth from 2013 to 2014 posited a 10 percent growth. The completion rate, however still remains low especially in Grade 9. In 2014 the completion rate in Grade 7 stood at 73.7 percent while it was a meagre 32.6 percent for Grade 9. This low completion rate in grade 9 can be attributed to loss of interest in school as the pupils grow older. It was evident that as the boys grew up they started questioning the essence of remaining in school as they compared school going with cattle rearing and the setting up of their own families. Similarly, the girls opted to get married than remain in school. This phenomenon of lower completion rate at Grade 9 level could be a sign of the realisation of the futility of formal education as the route for a fulfilled life among the Baila youths. It seems at this stage the Baila youths start to question if formal education would lead to a fulfilled life according to their social milieu. The indigenous knowledge system seems to override the principles of the Human capital theory which exalts Western formal education as the most reliable vehicle for development. If formal education was giving immediate gratification in form of a good job and a good salary, it could have managed to erase the deep rooted traditional belief in animal husbandry among the Baila.

The improvement in access to school is a recent development in Namwala. Until ten years ago, access to school was so bad in the district that the government, in conjunction with World Food programme, initiated the School Feeding Programme in 2011 as a way of encouraging children to go to school, stay there and concentrate on their studies. The commencement of the School Feeding Programme in 2011 in Namwala offers the explanation to the highest access to formal education which the period between 2011 and 2012 posited (Table 2). It can be noted from Table 2 that the period from 2011 to 2012 posited the highest increase in access to school (3.98 percent) while the period from 2014 to 2015 had the lowest percentage increase of 0.06. It can be presumed that the initiation of this programme brought about so much excitement in the communities that even over age children who had never been to school decided to enrol, and thus the enrolment increase even surpassed the projected population growth of 1.98 percent (Refer to Table 3). The school feeding programme was piloted in four rural districts of Southern province, namely Siavonga, Sinazongwe, Kazungula and Namwala. While the programme was phased out in Sinazongwe two years ago, it still continues in the other three districts. In Namwala the programme has proved to be one of the major reasons attendances in school, especially from grade 1 to 9, have improved. It is worth noting that among the Baila, the feeding programme was one way the early missionaries attracted the learners to school (Butt, 1910, p. 192). One would, therefore, conclude that appreciation of education among many traditional Baila is still, to a certain extent, at the level where intrinsic desire for Western education is not enough to spur one to go to school just as it was when missionaries introduced Western education and had to cajole children to go to school by offering them free material things like food to whet their interest for learning.

It should further be noted that it is not only in Namwala that the School Feeding Programme as an intervention to promote access to school has been used. Literature reviewed has shown that this intervention has been used in other pastoralist communities like Ethiopia and Asia (USAID, 2008).

The question that may be asked at this stage is why the school feeding programme is a factor among pastoralist communities.

The positive outcomes of the SFP has even compelled the government of the Republic of Zambia to scout for more resources so that the programme can be extended to all poor rural communities where poverty has affected attendance to school (2017 National Budget). According to the 2018 Budget speech by the Minister of Finance the government budgeted for 1.2 million learners in 2017 to benefit from the School Feeding Programme and by end of June of the same year, 956,000 pupils were on SFP. For 2018, government's focus is to put 1.5 million pupils on SFP.

The school feeding programme, however, does not always serve the intended purpose. Some naughty learners still miss lessons but since they know the feeding times in school, they arrive in school just when food is ready at the feeding shelters (Figure 5) and join those who had attended lessons only to eat and go back home. This has forced some schools to device ways where teachers take food right in the classroom and share it among those who are in class instead of releasing pupils to go to the feeding shelter where even those who had not been in class join the queues to feed.

Furthermore, it was noted during the research that while the SFP had its noble outcomes of improving access to school and mental concentration among the learners, it contributed to the negative mushrooming of Community schools in Namwala. During my service at the District Education Board office, it was noticed that the office was faced with many requests from communities to open Community Schools. As soon as authority was granted, the next question from those spearheading the establishment of the school was when food rations would be sent to such schools. When such community schools were informed that inclusion on the ration distribution lists would take some time to allow for budgeting, the pioneers of those schools got disillusioned and lost interest in the schools. Many such schools died in their infancy. It is like some people

believed opening a Community school was synonymous with getting some free food for their children from the government.

It must be acknowledged that the School Feeding Programme has had a positive impact on access to formal education among the Baila. However, absenteeism among the boys due to *lutanga* practice still remains a challenge. While the governments in Jammu and Kashmir (Suri, 2014) mooted mobile schools as mitigation to the loss of school time for the nomadic children, the present study does not see this option to be workable in the Baila situation. Unlike the situation where the whole family moves with their animals to find better grazing areas in the Jammu and Kashmir case, in the Baila scenario, as alluded to earlier, it is only the boys assigned to take care of cattle who move to the plains with the cattle while their parents remain in the villages. It is highly improbable that the lads that go to the plains to take care of cattle would find time to attend to their education if schools were to follow them at the *lutanga* without the watchful eyes of their parents. In fact, some participants from this study even pointed out that most of the boys who went to the *lutanga* derived more joy looking after the cattle than being in school. It then follows that if schools were to go after these boys in the plains, it is most likely that they would not yield the intended goals. The boys would shun them.

Although the intention of the SFP is to improve on access, retention and mental concentration of learners in school so that their academic performance would be improved, the study has noted that these intentions are far from being realised. The Human capital theory states that for formal education to have a positive effect on the learners that education should be qualitative and should span over a reasonable time of being in school (Machlup, 1981). While the national average of access is 98 percent of the school going age, in Namwala, it is around 68 percent and retention is still low (Ministry of Education, 2016). When the Baila children stop school in Grade 4 or even Grade 7, one would wonder what effect the little education they could have acquired would have on their lives. It is questionable if they would have the mental ability to; for example, interrogate some

of the cultural practices in relation to what had been introduced to them in the formal education discourse or *vice versa*. It can, therefore, be argued that this is why the *status quo* still remains the same in Namwala in relation to appreciation of education. A good number of Baila children have gone to school but not long enough for the school to change their worldview.

The common traits among pastoralists concerning their cattle, access to school and the role of children in the family *vis-à-vis* their contribution to the family economy and attendance to school seem to indicate the power of indigenous knowledges in impacting the value formation of the indigeneous people.

It is worth mentioning, again, that while the government's initiative of creating an enabling environment for the private sector to participate in the provision of education (Ministry of Education, 1996) has resulted into increased access to education in some parts of Zambia, there has been no such effect in Namwala because up to the end of 2014 there was no private school in the entire district. Two small church-run Early Education centres were in operation. And while Southern Province boasts of many grant-aided Church run schools, Namwala is one of the three districts without a single Church-run school. Even the ones reported in Smith and Dale (1920) are no longer in operation. It can be assumed that the Missionaries got discouraged by the low turnout and closed the schools. At the time of the research the United Church of Zambia expressed to the District Education Board their intention of taking over the running of Kasenga Girls Secondary school which they claimed was situated on Church land. The lack of private schools in Namwala is not very surprising. If the people do not value education, they would not expect it to be a viable business venture to invest in. It also follows that there would be very few parents who would send their children to schools where they would be required to pay more than was asked for in government schools where free education is supposed to be offered from Grade 1 to 7.

Whereas the 'Free education policy' from Grade 1-7 was being re-examined in some school communities thereby prompting some PTAs to resolve to levy themselves some small amounts of money to, for example, improve the infrastructure in the school, such innovations were non-existent in many Namwala schools. This was confirmed by most of the Head teachers in the study who attested that many parents were against fundraising ventures because they believed the government should provide everything needed in the school. This mentality is against the principles of EFA which compel parents to play a pivotal role in the education of their children. On this matter, Kelly (2010, p. 167) states:

The first responsibility for the education of a child rests on the parents who have conferred life in that child...But while belonging primarily to the family and community, the task of education requires the help of society as a whole which has the responsibility of overseeing the duties and rights of parents and communities and of assisting them to discharge their duties by providing educational services which are beyond the resources of the family or the other local providers of education. The acceptance of these principles implies that the provision of education is a responsibility which cannot be left to the government alone or to any of its ministries.

When infrastructure in schools remains poor children feel demotivated to go to such schools. This is made worse particularly for the girls especially when sanitation is not up to the standard required. Sanitation has been cited as one reason many teenage girls are regularly absent from school, or even stop school completely (UNICEF, 2014, p. 29). Likewise, teachers are frustrated and do not put in their best when they are compelled to stay in sub-standard houses and teach in structures which do not conform to the current requirement of a classroom.

So, such attitudes of frustration by teachers which they blame on the communities' lack of commitment to improving the teaching and learning environment, ultimately affect not only the pupils' access to education but their academic performance as well. It is a fact that there is very

little teaching and learning that take place in many rural schools in Namwala. This is confirmed by the poor academic results which rural schools produce compared to the urban ones. The other reason for the poor results in rural Namwala is that many teachers have abandoned their core duties of teaching and have become pastoral farmers and traders as per submission of one Chief and the District Agricultural Coordinator. Such teachers have no fear of being challenged by the parents who they know are not, in fact, interested in education.

The issue of parenting which is raised in this section would prompt one to examine it in the light of the Human capital theory which states that formal education makes a remarkable improvement in the art of parenting. The question which can be asked is, “What is good parenting?” I suppose this question could have as many answers as the variety of value formations that the people asked hold. It cannot be argued that what the Western values hold as good parenting would not, by any means, pass as being so in the African traditional way of parenting. And so it follows that when the Western values state that giving one’s child a good formal education is a manifestation of good parenting, some traditional Baila would not see it that way because they do not see any value or benefits of such education. Good parenting in their case may be ensuring that a daughter is traditionally groomed in issues of motherhood and how to be a good wife so that she could be properly married. For the son, issues of manliness are stressed. In addition a son is empowered with the means to sustain his family through the possession of cattle. This is what would constitute good parenting among the traditional Baila.



Figure 5: Pupils having lunch at school under the School Feeding Programme

Courtesy of Namwala District Education Board, 2013

7.2.2 Teenage pregnancies and early marriages

Another factor which this study established as contributing to the low access to education is the traditional attitude of condoning early marriages and teenage pregnancies. I have already argued that this phenomenon is indirectly connected to the traditional way the Baila value cattle. If an early pregnancy means cattle moving early in the kraal of the girl's family then it does not constitute as a problem to them. This is why the re-entry policy is not utilised in many cases in Namwala and many parents are comfortable with withdrawing their daughters from school so that they could be married early.

Apart from the Baila's traditional inclination towards acquiring cattle as playing a role in promoting teenage pregnancies and early marriages, it is worth noting that the children themselves have a role to play in this vice. UNICEF (2014, p. 27) refers to the 2010 Population Reference Bureau and states that in Zambia young people start having sex at a very young age, sometimes as early as 12 years. I agree with UNICEF (2014, p. 28) when it states that:

The adverse effects of early sexual activity, whether occurring within or outside of an early marriage, have a direct bearing on access to and participation in education especially for girls. Early marriage and childbearing almost ensure that young women will not advance in their education.

The arguments advanced by some parents in the study who were against the Re-entry policy seem to find some ground with a decree by Dr. John Magufuli, the President of Tanzania (Sunday Nation of 25th June, 2017). President Magufuli, a former teacher and an industrial chemist with a doctorate degree in Chemistry, is reported to have vowed that his administration would not allow any school girl who fell pregnant to get back to school as this would only encourage other school girls to indulge in premarital sex and get pregnant. He further argued that young mothers would be distracted if they were allowed to get back to school, for they would constantly be thinking of breastfeeding their babies. He termed this as a waste of government resources. Such views coming from an educated and well placed person in society shows the power of indigenous knowledges over the acquired Western education and its value formation. In addition, such traditional value-packed views demonstrate that changing people's inborn values or traditions need to be taken cautiously. At times, Western education or values only scratch a small layer of what people traditionally believe in. This, then, has an effect on how Western interventions in such people's lives would be perceived.

7.3 Influence of Ila tradition on academic performance

The study noted that the poor academic performance in Namwala among the Ila speaking people is a product of several factors, some of which have nothing to do with the local people. For example, while lack of teaching and learning materials in some schools can be blamed on the inability of the parents to play their role in supplementing what the government is unable to provide, this responsibility does not squarely lie on their shoulders but on other factors which this study elects not

to delve in. This section of the discussion looks at the role sexual immorality plays in negatively affecting the academic performance of the learners in a traditional Ila set-up. To avoid duplicity I discuss the other factors that play a role in academic performance under the third objective of the study.

7.3.1 Sexual morality and influence on academic performance

The early missionaries' writings have portrayed the Baila as a very promiscuous tribe (Smith and Dale, 1920; Butt, 1910). Some teenage girls drop out of school because they want to get married or they are pregnant. While teenage pregnancies and early marriages cannot be entirely blamed on the Ila cultures, some Ila traditional practices, however seem to condone these vices. For example, the traditional practice of building a separate hut for a girl who attains the age of puberty, as was noticed in the Namusonde and Maala areas of Namwala, just point to the conclusion that the mature girl is given liberty to entertain men in the privacy of her hut. It is, consequently, no surprise that more than half of the girls who are given such traditional treatment seldom continue with their education. The sexual maturity emanates into lack of concentration in school as Snelson alluded to when he claimed that scholastic performance is hampered by the unrestrained sexual licence which the Baila children are traditionally handed through the tolerance of sexual impropriety of the youth by their elders (Snelson, 1974, p. 54). It is worth noting that the minimum condition for marriage under customary law is puberty. A girl can attain puberty as early as at the age of 12. According to the Ila traditional practice, such a girl could be married, and some have been. Statutory Law raises the minimum age to 16 years, which still does not help the situation very much because at this age some girls are just in grade 8.

In addition, the fact that sexual impropriety is atoned by giving cattle to the offended party, cattle which even some young boys own, somehow makes sexual immorality among the Baila not a very serious offence which one can fail to easily amend. Furthermore, the love for cattle makes many parents condone sexual immorality among their daughters, especially, knowing very well that it is

the quickest way of accumulating wealth rather than waiting for the right age to marry, which may take a longer time. The role that sexual impropriety plays in the Ila teenagers' retention in school is better posited by the *Zambia: 2008 District profile for Namwala* (Central Statistical Office, 2009).

Zambia: 2008 District Profile for Namwala gives five reasons why learners in grades 5-9 drop out before completing basic school. For girls, pregnancy topped the list at 38 percent, followed by other reasons (unknown) at 36 percent. Marriage was third at 16 percent while economic reasons followed at 7 percent. Being orphaned was the last reason at 1 percent.

For boys, other reasons were top at 60 percent, economic problems at 27 percent while marriage was third at 7 percent followed by illnesses at 3 percent. In a similar way to girls, being orphaned was the last reason for boys at 2 percent.

It is clear from these statistics that 54 percent of the girls who drop out of school do so because of sexually related reasons while it is only 7 percent for the boys. This shows how traditionally disadvantaged the girls are over boys. Although it is sometimes argued that girls usually fall prey to teenage pregnancies and early marriages because of economic reasons, this study, *Zambia 2008*, opted to isolate economic reasons to stand on their own and made sexual reasons stand on their own too. It then follows that since marriage in the Ila tradition goes with the payment of cattle as bride wealth, one can conclude that cattle play a pivotal role in the girls' failure to complete school and thereby perpetuating illiteracy among the Ila female, especially.

Although early marriages and teenage pregnancies are rampant among school going girls in Namwala, it is hard to wholly consign this phenomenon to the Ila acclaimed sexual immorality by the early missionary writers on the Ila tradition. Many modern Baila object to the old assertion that the Baila are sexually immoral. Their arguments are based on the fact that the Ila culture has evolved over time and has discarded some of its traditions and practices. For example, some immoral practices like *Lubambo*, which is a form of polyandry, are no longer practised. *Lubambo* is

an old tradition among the Baila where a married woman would have another lover apart from the husband. The encounter is concretized when the two lovers exchange gifts publicly. In this relationship, a woman can choose to go and have sexual encounter with another man with the full knowledge of the husband, or vice versa. In this way, a married woman could be said to have more than one husband (Smith, E and Dale, 1920b, pp. 67–68).

Most of the elderly Baila participants in this study asserted that *Lubambo* is no longer practised among the Baila today. My findings are in tandem with an earlier research by Heinzer (2011, p. 88) who states that:

The Baila people of this day do not accept this kind of arrangement- it is not recognized. In fact most Baila people of today will display ignorance of such barbaric behaviour- they will find it to be backward. However, this does not rule out the promiscuity, that is unfaithfulness between wives and husbands among the Baila people- but doesn't this happen in all societies?

And as alluded to earlier, while sexual licence is traditionally tolerated among the Baila, modern materialism among school going girls can equally be blamed for the many teenage pregnancies. Some teachers argued that the materialism of attraction to cell phones and money, for example, which make some girls have premarital sex, is just exacerbated by the fertile ground it finds in the implanted traditional practices of sexual permissiveness which shroud the Baila.

In his study, Banda (2008, P. 250) asserted that negative proverbs, taboos and sayings to girls' education were some of the negative practices which hindered the Chewa girls' access to education. This study has also discovered that within the Baila tradition, there, too, are some proverbs, sayings and taboos which do not promote the education of the girl-child. For example, there is a belief among the Baila that a menstruating girl should not make any physical contact with a boy or her

periods would be prolonged. A girl who believes in such a taboo would find herself absent at least five days in a month. This is a hindrance to the education of the girl. Similarly, there are some sayings within the Ila tradition which give the impression that girls are only there for marriage. For example:

Kamwali ngwakutwalwa- a girl is for marriage.

Mukaintu ngwaang'anda- a woman should be at home.

Musimbi ngwakweeta lubono- a girl is meant to bring riches (cattle).

Such sayings do not motivate a girl to excel in education, for doing so is going against the prescribed role of a girl. Some parents who encourage their daughters to progress in education are called derogatory names by some Baila traditionists.

Having discussed the perceived sexual permissiveness of the Baila and how it affects the attainment of EFA, I now wish to discuss some traditional attributes of the Baila and how they impact on the realisation of Education for All.

7.4 Compatibility of the Ila tradition with modern formal education

To synthesize the study, this section looks at some cultural practices and beliefs which form part of the lenses through which the traditional Baila see the world. This section commences by looking at the personal attributes of a traditional Mwiila as described by the early Missionary anthropologists and the way the Baila described themselves in the interviews. Here, I look at the Baila's conservative nature, their being proud and individualistic, their alleged sexual immorality and their being liars and end with their nature of being hard working and self-reliant. These traits are

discussed in the light of how they have influenced the attainment of the EFA goals. Since cattle play a major role in the value formation of a traditional Mwiila, I then examine the relationship that the Baila have with their cattle and the impact this causes on formal education.

7.4.1 Uniqueness of the Baila and the effect on formal education

Literature on the Baila which has been cited in this study and confirmed by some participants portrays the fact that the Baila are conservative, proud and individualistic. In addition, the Baila are depicted to be sexually immoral and liars by some early missionary anthropologists. Further more, some participants described the Baila as hardworking and self-reliant. These claims are examined and their authenticity discussed to see whether they affect the Zambian government's interventions of promoting Education for All, particularly in Namwala.

7.4.1.1 The conservative nature

The Baila are purported to be highly conservative (Smith and Dale, 1920; Smith, 1946; Nkumbula, 1961). This nature of sticking to tradition and questioning any innovation has proved to be detrimental to the development of education in the Ilaland. The early missionaries introduced formal education as soon as they reached the area in the early part of the 19th Century (Fowler Dennis and Ena, 2015) and one would have expected the people to be educated or at least be able to appreciate the advantages of formal education, but as the situation is, the contrary prevails.

Access to education has remained low in Namwala partly because the conservative nature of the people reminds them that their forefathers led good, comfortable and respectable lives without attaining any formal Western education. So a good number of the Baila, particularly the old ones still believe they do not need this formal education. The views of the third Chief in the study who linked formal education to the crookedness he noticed among the educated youth in his Chiefdom

could have been influenced by the general conservativeness of the Baila. If a Chief, who commands a lot of authority, could harbour such views, it is then no wonder that a good number of the rural Baila do not value formal education. Consequently, we have many people in Namwala who have never set foot in a classroom. This truth about the Baila exemplifies how difficult it is for a very deeply enshrined value to be erased and replaced with another overnight. The caution by Maalouf (2003) concerning globalisation in relation to identity becomes alive here.

The conservative nature, similarly, strikes a negative cord on those who have embraced formal education and have sent their children to school. Namwala has some parents who believe that as things were when they enrolled their children in school, so should they be until they completed school. This study has noted that many Head teachers face a lot of challenges convincing some parents to actively participate in the affairs of the school. The issue of user fees, for instance, which some PTA have introduced in the schools in spite of the government policy of free education in the primary schools has brought about despondency in the school communities. Very few parents willingly pay these fees. Many argue and use the ‘free education policy’ as a reason not to pay. However, the reality in the Zambian schools today is that if parents did not contribute financially in the running of the schools, there would be no money to buy teaching and learning materials and the infrastructure would be in a deplorable condition. The conservative Baila cannot comprehend this. There have been times when schools have received only a tenth of the funding they were supposed to get from government and the parents are expected to cushion the rest. On Saturday 18th March, 2017 the *Daily Nation* newspaper (Vol.3. Issue 1613) published a letter from a Kasempa district reader who bemoaned the lack of funding from the government and how parents are made to finance school operations:

Government’s free education policy has put government primary schools in an awkward financial position as they no longer receive grants or basic school requisites. To make matters agonisingly worse in Kasempa, schools are ordered to contribute between K500 and

K5000 towards Youth Day, Women's Day and Independence celebrations in addition to what they contributed towards athletics in the first term and ball games in the second term and asked to fend for teachers attending educational workshops. All from the meagre pockets of poor parents.

Although this reader restricted his complaint to Kasempa, his argument is valid in many Zambian government schools where, without the fees charged on the parents in the name of 'User fees' or 'project fees', schools would not operate effectively.

I argue that the schools in Namwala would have been the best run in the country in terms of infrastructure and learning materials if the indigenous people were not so conservative in the use of the resources they have in abundance, their cattle. If one considers the real value of cattle on the modern market, it would not be a far-fetched argument to conclude that Namwala is one of the richest districts in the country. But the riches are not given the full perspective and utilisation because cattle are reared with the old traditional mindset which the conservative nature of the people continues to perpetuate. Many conservative Baila cannot sell one head of cattle to pay for the fees of the child and provide for the other needs. I further argue that the school feeding programme would have been a community driven exercise if the local people were not as conservative as they are. Currently, all the food stuffs for the intervention are provided by the government, and when there is some delay in the provision of the food rations, the children go hungry and consequently, school attendance is affected negatively. Another disturbing issue about the school feeding programme is that some communities think they should benefit from the rations that are given to the pupils. The study revealed that some Community schools in Namwala have been instigated as a way of benefiting from the School feeding programme. Namwala is too rich with resources to let its people subdue themselves to such machinations. The people have to be dynamic and let go some of the old beliefs and practices so that they move with the current trends.

However, on the issue of pastoralists being indifferent to formal education, Bishop (2007) has a different view. She argues that the perceived reluctance of pastoralists to embrace formal education should not be attributed to their conservatism. To support her assertion, Bishop (2007, p. 20) cites Purkipung (1975: 44) who argued that the Tanzanian Masai have felt that formal education erodes pastoral values: “It is not school that they hate but the effects of such education in the culture, integrity and values of the society.” This statement resonates well with what Chief Mukobela said about education when he asserted that Western formal education had done the Baila children little good except to teach them to be rude to the elders (Lawman, 1958, p. 137). In addition, Bishop’s statement further emphasises the dominance of the indigenous values over modern Western epistemology among pastoralists, of which the Baila are. This means that as long as Western formal education will be seen as not respecting the indigenous values or knowledge systems, it will continue being regarded as irrelevant to the local people, especially that its economic benefits seem to be difficult to be seen with the traditional lenses.

Bishop (2007, p. 20) further blames the indifference of the pastoralists to formal education on the irrelevance of the curriculum offered, “... school curricula are largely irrelevant to pastoralists’ experience and concerns. Low relevance generates low interest and lowers motivation, causing low enrolment figures and high dropout rates.” The issue of the irrelevance of the curriculum as mostly contributing to the lack of interest in the Western formal education by many indigenous people is echoed by Banda (2008) in his study of the Chewa people of the Eastern province of Zambia.

It has been noted that the conservative nature of the Baila has negatively affected their perception of formal education. Smith and Dale (1920b, p. 345) explained that the Baila give two reasons to justify their conservatism. Firstly, that their traditions were handed down to them by God; and

secondly that other additional traditional practices were coined by their forefathers who have now become Spirits, *mizhimo*, whose teachings or dictates cannot be questioned. It can, then, be assumed that the fact that the Baila have accepted some traditions other than the ones God originally gave their ancestors means that the people before them were open to some changes in their knowledges. This assumption points to the fact that the Baila today have to be open to recrafting their knowledge. It can be presumed that the knowledge or traditions they want to cling to as having been passed on to them by their ancestors were not always in that state or mode but have gone through some adaption to be what they are today. In any case, it can be deduced that the Baila ancestors decided to formulate some new traditions because the ones that *Leza* had originally given them were no longer sufficient or relevant for their changed status in life. This is the nature of indigenous knowledge.

Gegeo (1998) defines Indigenous knowledge as a collection and modification of knowledge and practices collected from different sources but have been appropriated as truths for those people. This statement supports the argument that the Baila have to be open to reconstructing their knowledge. The key principle in indigenous knowledge is reformulation of knowledge and values as one social group of people comes in contact with other groups, and as their environments change. This is the dynamic nature of indigenous knowledge which Semali and Kincheole (1999) assert too. The need for the indigenes to be flexible in the manner they adhere to indigenous knowledges with the change of time is similarly echoed by Ntuli (1999) when he advocates for interfacing of knowledges. Ntuli (1999) posits that interaction of African indigenous knowledges with other knowledge systems enables the indigenous people understand the differences in the values so as to reconstruct their own knowledge system after examining and concluding which knowledge or tradition would be appropriate for their sustainable future. This, then, is a call to the Baila to objectively examine the Western knowledge and borrow some of the practices from there which could add value to their lives. For the Baila to cling to their culture for the sake of it without

positively looking at what is going on in the outer world is suicidal. As Wiredu (1980, p. 41) asserts, “...uncritical exhortations to Africans to preserve their indigenous culture are not particularly useful- indeed they can be counter-productive.” This view is also shared by Makumba (2011, p. 31) who urges Africa to move with the rest of the world and condemns clinging to Africanness at all cost as an attempt to retard the development of thought.

7.4.1.2 Proud and individualistic

Literature referred to in the study indicates that the Baila are individualistic (Lawman, 1958; Smith & Dale, 1920). The latter out rightly make a claim that the Baila have never been a united people (1920a, p. 22). Similarly, all the traditional leaders who were interviewed consented that the Baila were generally a very proud people. This pride is said to emanate from their cattle which they keep in very large numbers, as alluded to earlier. Odora Hoppers (2002, p. 15) asserts that pride is an important ingredient in development of a people. She amplifies that a society which believes it is superior to all the others around it enjoys endogenous development which is sustained as long as that pride exists. The unfortunate predicament of the Baila’s form of development is that it is challenged by the Western narratives of development, thereby throwing into disarray the pride they enjoy. So, as long as the indigenous knowledge of the Baila is not accepted and respected in the universal space of knowledge formation, their pride, which Hoppers terms as essential in endogenous development, will be regarded as a hinderance to the attainment of the Western hegemonic narratives of development. In specific terms, the Baila are told through the Human Capital theory which promotes Western formal education as a vehicle to the ‘universal’ development, that if they do not have the formal Western education, they have no right to be proud because the pride which emanates from their cattle-grounded form of development is not recognised as being real. The solution lies in the Baila reasserting themselves by reclaiming their indigenous

way of knowing (Emeagwali & Dei, 2014, pp. ix–x) and by regarding their culture as a development resource as opposed to regarding it as a hinderance (Claxton, 2010).

The individualistic nature was, however, not accepted by all the participants in this study. More than half of the participants stated that the Baila are individualistic as exemplified by their lifestyles of isolation from each other. While big villages like Baambwe and Maala still exist in Namwala, the Baila prefer to have their own homesteads a good distance from each other. This could be because of the space they need to graze their cattle. However, one Chief strongly disagreed with the assertion that Baila were individualistic. He gave examples of some Baila taking turns to plough each other's fields as a manifestation of their value for communal life. Another way which shows their communal life styles, according to this Chief, is the manner they take care of their cattle in teams at the *lutanga* where cattle are mixed and graze together but are only distinguished or identified by their brand marks that they belong to different people. The views of this Chief who disagreed with the assertion that the Baila were individualistic could be right in the sense that African indigenous knowledge, by nature, is communal. The sense of community overrides the individual needs in African tradition and competition is kept very much to the minimum. It can be concluded that it is mostly the pride, more than the individualism, which is much at play in the Baila perception of life and their altitude to communal life.

The perceived individualism of the Baila affects the execution of modern education negatively because community participation in school which Education for All advocates (Kelly, 2010, p. 167) is very minimal. The apathy in attending PTA meetings which many Head teachers alluded to, most likely springs from the fact that the Baila do not like working together. One participant attributed this nature to the Ila pride. This participant amplified that before joining communal work, a Mwiila tactfully checks who else is at the site where communal work is to be done. If it is people of low

status, one with a higher standing in society would not join them. The participant who stressed the individualistic and proud nature of many traditional Baila amplified that a typical *Mwiila* would rather perform alone a task which was supposed to be done by the whole community, like clearing a bad patch of the village road, and then boast to the whole community that he did it for them (interview with Ellie Mweetwa). Strange enough, no rich *Mwiila* cattle owner has adopted this nature as to build a classroom block or a staff house at a school and then boast to the community that he had done it for them. Even with the attraction that a classroom block built in this manner would be named after the one who had done it, the rich Baila cattle owners do not want to direct their pride in the direction of promoting quality formal education.

7.4.1.3 Sexually immoral

While the early missionary anthropologists described the Baila as being sexually immoral, it is very hard to prove that the immorality is particular to the Baila. But it is also worth mentioning that this myth is quite active even today and it is peddled by mostly non-Baila and even some Baila. Stories are told that visitors to Namwala should be very careful in the manner they interacted with the local people because Ila women, single or married, could just approach them and declare that they were in love with them. They would say, “*Wenzu nguwangu*” which means the visitor is mine. It is said that once that declaration was made, the chosen man would not find ways of running away from the Ila ladies’ demands. Whether these relationships were consensual or could be blamed on the Ila ladies is neither here nor there. However, still on the issue of sexual immorality, some people joke about losing one’s senses when they get to Namwala. Twenty Kilometres before Namwala town, there is a big plain where the government has constructed five bridges for one to cross the plain. I heard a story in some quarters that crossing the five bridges meant losing the five senses and one

would then be swallowed in the sexual immorality of the locals. I contend that these myths have no grain of truth but they portray a message about the nature of the Baila people of Namwala.

The myth is connected to the way marriage is preferred over formal education. If indeed the Baila do not frown over the rampant sexual promiscuity which is commonly expressed in their communities, it can be argued that this has become part of their traditional nature. And since marriage, sexual relationships and the bearing of children are linked to their value for cattle, the sexual immorality may be concluded as part of the Baila traditional practices which negatively affects the realisation of EFA goals in Namwala.

7.4.1.4 Baila as liars

Smith & Dale (1920, p.379) and later Jordan (1962, p. 30) describe the Baila as liars. This was a claim which this study found very difficult to prove. As stated earlier, it may be because of their conservative nature that their lack of prompt openness to offer information to strangers was misconstrued to be an act of telling lies. Many participants in this study did not agree with this assertion by Smith and Dale and later Jordan. It was, of course, acknowledged by most participants that Europeans generally misunderstood Africans as being liars because they traditionally never looked one in the eyes as they spoke, which in the Western culture was a requirement in any honest conversation.

Concerning the assertion by Smith and Dale that one did not listen long to a conversation among the Baila without one exclaiming “*Wabea...*” (P. 329) which literally translates as, “You are telling lies!” one participant strongly refuted that this exclamation was a true accusation of telling lies. This participant maintained that “*Wabea*” is just a figure of speech among peers- an exclamation like “No!” or “Don’t tell me” which you hear when one among peers shares something which fascinates the others. For example, a friend may share how he finished a task in half the time

expected upon which the friend may exclaim any of these: No! Don't tell me! That cannot be true! This participant said that is the way the *Wabea* in Smith and Dale should be understood. There was only one participant who took this route to defuse the Ila lying nature as alleged by the early Missionary writers.

There has been no evidence of the lying nature of the Baila playing a role in their indifference to modern education, except that when the pupils are absent from school, they rarely state the actual reason, like taking care of cattle, but would rather claim they were sick. This is common to many teenagers irrespective of the tribe.

7.4.1.5 Hardworking and self-reliant

These are traits of the Baila which came out mostly from the Baila participants. In themselves, these traits are positive and progressive. Developed countries today like China and the United States of America claim that they have reached their state of economic development because their citizens have embraced these two traits in their lives. However, the amplification of the term 'self-reliant' as one Chief explained it gives it a negative connotation in the modern world of cooperation. The Chief expounded on the term: "An Ila is self-reliant. He believes he does not need any other person or thing to have a good life, as long as he has animals..." In the same breath, the same Chief narrated that cooperatives have failed in Namwala partly because of this self-reliance. So, herein lies the negative part of a trait which on face value is supposed to be positive. The self-reliance in this case has some shades of individualism which has been discussed above. Modern formal education, while promoting the personal aspiration of an individual calls for community participation in its delivery, especially in infrastructure development and provision of teaching and learning materials, as alluded to earlier. So, an exaggerated self-reliance by many traditional Ila has hampered the actualization of Education for All in Namwala. This situation is further exacerbated by the Ila stubbornness which

makes them a very difficult people to change and convince to follow things or ideas they do not believe in.

It is worth noting that times have changed in Namwala and the many heads of cattle that some families and individuals had, which gave them the basis for their self-reliance, have perished due to corridor diseases. The sooner this reality dawned on most of the affected, the better so that they could adjust their mindset to the fact that things are no longer the way they used to be.

7.4.2 The Baila and their cattle

As established in the literature presented in this study and my own findings, cattle play a very vital role in the life and economy of the Baila. One cannot discuss education and development in the Ila society without dwelling at length on cattle and what they mean in the Ila family and society. So this section of the discussion focuses on how cattle in the Ila milieu has hampered the attainment of Education for All.

It is a fact that the Baila are an ethnic group with the highest skills and love for their cattle. The statement which Smith and Dale made in 1920 (p. 132) about this subject still holds true. Currently, the two traditional ceremonies in Namwala, *Shimunenga* in Maala under Chief Mungaila and *Shikaumpa* in Baambwe under Chief Mukobela attest to the fact that the Baila have these ceremonies which have cattle display as the peak of the ceremonies. Chief Mungaila described *Shimunenga* as a ceremony which exalts cattle and encourages those who do not possess any to get cattle (Shimunenga of 17th October, 2015). This is why the third day of the ceremony is dedicated to cattle display. It was pointed out by some of the participants that because of the excitement that these ceremonies exude in the community their preparation take a lot of time and some boys even skip going to school so that they could adequately prepare for them.

It should, in addition, be pointed out from the onset that the cattle that the Baila rear are not without mysteries, most of the time. There are a lot of stories and myths about cattle rearing, a situation which points to the suspicion that Ila cattle are not reared in the same manner that a commercial farmer does. There is a common belief among the Baila of *Shambwi* which is medicine to get rich overnight, and many Baila use cattle-rearing as a form of *shambwi*. Cattle, is therefore associated with blood. This is why one hears of people talking of *ng'ombe cha kalowa*. 'Kalowa' means blood. This blood can be of other animals mixed with some roots to make a charm or it could be of human beings. Some Baila with a lot of cattle are said to have killed some close relative or their own child and used the blood as portion to mix in the multiplication of cattle. Some families have imbecile children, *hiyanga* in Tonga or *mulimbushi* as the Baila call such, who the communities believe are the ones that have been sacrificed to be custodians of the cattle in the kraal of their parents and ensure that the cattle multiply. I, one time, came across one such a boy who I found gazing at the cattle with full concentration. My source narrated that that particular boy sometimes went in the kraal and mounted cows which were on heat. He could do so to as many as five in a day. When I asked why he had not been reported to the police for bestiality I was told the people knew that the boy was not responsible for what he was doing and so there was no need of making him suffer unnecessarily. Similarly, there are some cattle keepers who have wounds which never heal. When the wound starts producing maggots, the cows in their kraals would be dropping calves as many as the maggots on the wound. So, there are a lot of strange practices among some cattle owners. For instance, I came across some Baila cattle owners with as many as a thousand heads of cattle who claimed that they knew each of their animals individually and they could detect if one of them was missing from the herd. This cannot pass to be an ordinary claim.

Another strange practice concerning cattle rearing among the Baila is that it precludes women from transacting in cattle. An exception is only where there are no adult males in the family. Closely related to this is that women, particularly those who have not reached menopause are not allowed to enter the kraal. It is believed that a woman who is menstruating would contaminate the kraal, which is a sacred place, and render all the active spirits or charms therein, impotent. This practice relegates women to a lower position in society when compared to men. If women cannot actively and freely participate in this very important industry in the Ila society, it then follows that they would be discriminated against even in education. As confirmed by some participants, many families would rather send a boy to school than a girl.

Another peculiarity in the cattle rearing tradition of the Baila is the rituals one has to follow to release cattle from one's kraal for sell or slaughter. Before selling an animal, a Mwiila man enters the kraal and walks about to select the ones to be sold. Once the selection has been made, the man beats the chosen beast on the back to indicate that that particular animal had been chosen. The beating on the back is also a signal that the animal would not give any problems wherever it went for rearing or slaughter. Once an animal has been chosen in that way, the decision is irreversible. This means that if a particular animal was on the mind of the owner to go but he fails to locate it among the many and selects one similar to it, he would not change his mind once he locates this particular one in his original plan even if the alternative animal has not yet been driven out of the kraal. When asked why he cannot revert to the animal in the original plan, such a man would say, "I have already touched this one so I cannot change my decision." Sometimes the Baila literally speak to their cattle the way one speaks to a person. For example, some Veterinary officers narrated to me that they never got close to any cattle that had not been given instructions by the owner. A Mwiila traditional cattle keeper would go in his kraal and address his animals in words like, "The Veterinary officers are here to take care of your health, so behave well and do not give them any problems." And true to the instructions, the veterinary officers shared that such animals would then

fall in line and are jabbed very peacefully. Other times when one wants to buy cattle for rearing, the seller would go in the kraal, select those to be sold and address them in words like, “I have decided to sell you to my friend who wants to keep you. Go and be his property, you are no longer mine. Give him calves and plough his fields.” It is said that if such words are not said, the sold animals would find their way back to the original owner even over a distance of 200 Kilometres.

Similarly, it is said that some cattle owned by Baila cannot be tied using a rope when one wants to lead it out of the kraal to the slaughter or to be reared by another person. A rope would just make them not move. Words said to such animals are enough to make them move.

Chief Mukobela’s statement in Smith and Dale (1920a, pp. 137–138) that the Baila do not regard cattle as wealth in the European sense and his amplification that the Baila live and die with their cattle adds to the mystery about cattle rearing among the traditional Baila. One who has lived among the Baila and listened to their stories and observed their way of life would conclude that when Chief Mukobela said, “we live and we die with our cattle and when we are no more their spirits join us,” he literally meant what he said. Namwala is abound with stories of some people who had a lot of cattle and hardly a year after their death all their cattle, sometimes as many as six hundred all died. While some people may argue that the cattle die because the people who inherit them lack proper care, the practice among the Baila is that it is the very sons who could have been taking care of the father’s cattle while he was alive who inherit them. The argument would then be that why do they neglect those animals when they are now theirs? It is not a far-fetched conclusion to state that many Baila use charms to rear their cattle and these charms are not disclosed to other members of the family who later inherit the cattle. So when the real owner dies he takes all the animals with him- “their spirits join ours” (Smith and Dale, 1920a, p. 138). During my stay in Namwala I met some young men who confessed that their late fathers had a lot of cattle and they led very comfortable lives, by Ila standards, but when their fathers died they could not understand how all the animals died too within a short time.

Then there seems to be a mismatch between the number of cattle one has and the kind of life he leads. The apparent poverty of most of the Baila who own large herds of cattle adds to the mystery of cattle rearing in the Ila traditional setup. A non-Ila would fail to understand why someone with as many cattle as seven hundred would fail to build a decent house and live a relatively comfortable life. This is why some liberal Baila like one of the participants in this study poured scorn on such Baila calling them ‘stingy and backwards.’

While the Baila claim cattle are their wealth one questions their understanding of ‘wealth’. As one Chief pointed out, there is need for change of mindset among many Baila for their cattle to be converted into real wealth which would be seen and appreciated by many people, non-Baila included. The comment which Dr Guy Scott made at the 2012 *Shimunenga* becomes appropriate in the transformation of the mindset. The fact that many Baila even fail to convert their cattle into money which they can use to send their children to school begs the question as to whether such Baila understand ‘wealth’ in the common way many people do. The assertion by Jaspan (1953, p. 28) that the economic value of cattle is mostly demonstrated in marriage as bride wealth and funerals where cattle are slaughtered in their numbers remains real in many ways among Baila today.

It must be pointed out here that Hoppers’ (1981, pp.91-92) statement that the more exposed to the cash economy and modernity the parents are, the more they wish some good education for their children is valid in this study. The validity of this statement can be explained in two ways. Some parents who changed their mindset about cattle rearing and periodically sold some of their cattle for cash became exposed to the modern world as they mingled with other people. These parents also

realised that it was not only those who sold cattle that could enjoy the modern good life that they embraced through the cash economy. They realised that education could open doors to such good life. So they encouraged their children to take education seriously. The other scenario is where some parents saw the struggles they went through in the rearing of cattle, such as loss of many heads of cattle at one time through diseases. Such parents came to a realisation that it was possible to lose a whole big herd of cattle and be a 'Nobody' in society. Such parents did not want their children to pass through the same frustrations and anxiety of relying on the traditional way of rearing cattle for life, so they encouraged their children to follow the formal education route as a way of sustaining their lives through salaried employment.

With the foregone mysteries and beliefs concerning cattle rearing, one would then understand why most Baila do not use their cattle in the manner many non-Baila would use them. The witchcraft element in the cattle rearing business has restrictions which rob them of the freedom to use their cattle in the way they would love to. It is like the cattle belong to some other invisible person and they are only custodians. Cattle are their wealth and rank above acquisition of education but they do not add a lot of value to the development of their society in the manner the global world defines development. But if one were to ask a traditional Mwiila if he or she felt fully human and developed in their current state without comparing themselves to other cultures, the answer would be in the affirmative. So Mondin's definition of the objective of culture in the anthropological sense confirms that formal education for the traditional Baila is not the only route to human development as it is defined in the modern Western understanding. Cattle are their education and development. I argue that many Baila believe that they do not need Western education to develop themselves and be full human beings. This then begs the question of what human and economic development really is.

At a micro level the interpretation of economic development seems to be relative. At one level, economic development may mean eradication of the situation of suffering want, which can be seen as basically having something to eat and a roof over one's head. On the other hand, economic development cannot be seen without industrialization and high per capita income. It is from this premise that Street (1999) in Crossley and Watson (2003, p. 87) criticises the global agenda on education which is summarised by World Bank's "One size fits all." Street (1999) argues that "global agendas relating to literacy have distorted people's thinking because they have overlooked the fact that within any culture there are many different 'literacies,' each with its own code and validity." It can then be deduced that the Ila development in their cattle realm is different from what other cultures pass as development. The human satisfaction or contentment with life which some societies and cultures find in formal education is taken care of in the acquisition of cattle in the Ila traditional society. The Baila enjoy and understand the cattle literacy, and forcing them to validate and appropriate other literacies would not be accepted by many Baila. So, herein lies the fallacy of the Human capital theory which regards Western epistemology as being 'universal.' It is also on this premise that in discussing the Human capital theory, Machlup (1981) asserts that education is not a homogeneous good. The resentment of Western formal education by some traditional Baila only shows that appreciation of anything to be good depends on the values and tastes that one has. Indeed, Western epistemology seems to portray domination (Breidlid, 2013, p 31). So, could the indifference to Western Education by some Baila be a reaction or resistance to being manipulated by the Western value formation?

In addition, it can be stated that the Ila mode of development is in tandem with Nyasani's view (2010:6) where he argued that development is just about taking care of the basic needs of a locality and need not be measured through other parameters extrapolated by other cultures or transnational determinants. This is why the economic attraction of industrialisation which the Human capital

advocates as coming through formal education does not excite the Baila whose real joy and economic development is in other ways. The study has shown that the traditional Baila's knowledge about development is unique to them and has been sustained by their thoughts and values as their society interacts with their cultures and nature.

7.4.3 The role cattle play in education

The statement made by a participant in Heinzer (2011, p. 46) that education is a form of wealth, wealth which the Baila already possessed in their cattle, still defines where most Baila stand in terms of education. This statement seems to underpin all the opinions and realities about education among most Baila in Namwala.

As mentioned in Chapter One, the life of a traditional Mwiila in Namwala hinges on possession of cattle. Cattle define what a man is in society. A Mwiila is heard and respected when he has cattle. The larger the number of cattle one has the more influence he enjoys in the community. As narrated by some head teachers in the study, when they want to introduce a project in the school they know that they would need the men with a lot of cattle to support them so that the community can accept the project and finance it. So they start by selling the idea to men with a lot of cattle. It follows then that if education is to be valued by the Baila, the starting point should be the change of mindset of the people of influence. When those who own many heads of cattle start speaking positively about modern formal education and actualise this by their actions, education will be valued in Ila tradition. This, however, is not an easy transition, particularly that the Baila seem to be very sceptical about change because of their conservative nature. As Smith and Dale (1920b, p. 344) state, an Ila "grows up to fear and resent change; from the cradle to the grave he is ruled by

tradition.” Their perception of western formal education in relation to cattle, their real wealth, appears to be traditional and thus cannot be changed overnight.

Smith and Dale (1920a, p. 2) further state that the relationship which parents have with their children has something to do with cattle. Apart from sons being regarded as channels through which the family lineage is promulgated, sons are the ones who take care of cattle at the *lutanga*. This role is very important in the Ila milieu. Girls, on the other hand, are valued as a means through which cattle would come in the family’s kraal through bride wealth. The Baila say “*mukaintu ni ntesho ya lubono*” which literally translates that a woman is a source of wealth. And when the Baila talk about *lubono* (wealth) it is cattle which they refer to. This relationship that parents have with their children made one Chief state that in terms of education, a boy would be preferred to go to school rather than a girl because a girl does not ‘build’ a family. He explained that apart from the girls being the source of cattle, they are believed to be the ones trusted for ‘they keep cattle.’ A brand mark for the family’s cattle is usually bought in the name of a girl than a boy. The Chief explained that girls never claim cattle from their parents but some boys or men have even killed their parents over cattle. This part of some boys killing their parents over the inheritance of cattle confirms the sharing in the FGD of one man who was nearly killed by his son over cattle.

Literature which has been reviewed indicates that girls’ education is not valued, and so one would not invest in it. The study by Orodho (2014) showed that the value of a girl is mostly quantified in terms of the cattle that would be paid in form of dowry. Similarly, the pastoralist communities in Jammu and Kashmir (Suri, 2014) harbour a belief that if a girl is more educated than the man who intends to marry her, the marriage would never work. So they deliberately keep the formal education of the girls as basic as possible so that their chances of getting married would be higher.

The present study on the Baila has similarly revealed that the issue of cattle being exchanged in the marriage arrangement has negatively impacted on the girls' access to education or their retention in the system. Early marriages are attributed to the girl's parent's strong desire to acquire cattle, and so as soon as the girl attains her puberty, which may be around 12 years of age, she is given away in marriage so that the family can acquire the much prized cattle.

Education is then seen as an impediment to the traditionally ordained purpose of having children. If school requires the son to be away from the *lutanga*, then it does not add value to the Ila traditional way of life. In the same vein, if a son who has been sent to school comes back with the mentality that makes him despise going to the *lutanga* then education disturbs the traditional set up of the Baila. Similarly, if a daughter cannot be married off at the time parents want and a suitor is prepared to bring in the *chiko* in form of cattle, then western education disturbs the traditional aspect of having daughters. This situation is in line with Hallak's argument cited by Brocke-Utne that parents see the children's contribution to the family's labour as being more important than Western education offered in schools (Brock-Utne, B, 2000, p. 15).

The socio-economic situation of the country where education does not give immediate palpable reward in terms of a job with a good salary negatively pits formal education with the traditional view of owning cattle. Put differently, the idea of viewing education as a channel for economic gain and not a means of just being enlightened and for self-actualisation makes formal education remain second to traditional custom of rearing cattle. This situation resonates well with Banda's (2008, p. 158) study of the Chewa where he states that "to the majority of the participants in this research (parents), the quality of school education is measured by the ability to reward pupils with white-collar jobs at completion. However, the findings have shown that EFA does not give jobs." Since

the Human capital theory states that formal education unlocks the potential in man to see possibilities and think outside the box, it can be deduced that the potential in most of the Baila in the study has not been unlocked because formal education has not had an effect on them to the extent where they start looking at life and their environment differently. But then, it can inversely be argued that ability to see and recognise potential depends on the values or the worldview one has. If the Baila were seeing the world with Western lenses, the cattle they have would be converted into wealth which could improve their lives according to the modern understanding of development. The situation in Namwala, according to this study, shows the power of the indigenous knowledge of the Baila and the fact that the transformation of this knowledge to embrace the modern Western values has not yet been at a pace which could make them change their values in the way modernity would like them. This creates a challenge in the realisation of Education for all.

However, the notion that formal education gives one some self-esteem is becoming a norm among many urbanized youths. Consequently, the acquisition of advanced formal education beyond Grade 9 seems to be a necessity among some young Zambians. The *Sunday Post* of March 6, 2016 carried a story of a Zambian Body Builder, Emmanuel Nkonde, who was the reigning Mr Ironman Junior and Mr Matero going back to school after six years of being out of school. *The Sunday Post* reported that Nkonde decided not to write his Grade 12 examinations because he was frustrated when he discovered that he was omitted on the list of candidates. Six years later, after even earning himself a name as a celebrated Body Builder, he realized he needed more than his fame to be a happy person. In his own words, he summarised that, “school is very important in life. Without education, you cannot go anywhere. That simply means you are nothing.”

Similarly, Dyer’s(2001) claim that the nomadic Rabaris resourcefulness was waning and forcing them to turn to schooling and literacy as their means for survival in modern society (2001, p. 318) is

in line with the findings of the current study where some Baila youngsters, while acknowledging the important role cattle play in their lives, have turned to education as a back-up system for their survival in the modern world. Some participants in this study stated that cattle can all die but if they were educated they could look for a salaried job for their sustenance. This situation justifies the need for the two worldviews, indigenous and Western, to co-exist and complement each other (Smith, 1946; Breidlid, 2013).

When many celebrities and young rich people like Clint Sichamba, I referred to earlier, add their voices to the promotion of Education for All, more young people would see the need to be serious with formal education. There are some very educated Baila performing very notable functions in the development of Zambia. Namwala could benefit from some of those notable people going to give motivational talks to the Baila young people to raise their interest in formal education.

It must, further, be noted that the reason one Chief gave that villagers are not inspired to send their children to school when they see that educated people run back to their villages to ask for some cattle when they need some finances is a compelling reason education is not valued by the traditional Baila. This is the reason that young people who have never been to school also gave. They compared that some people who had never been to school but owned cattle led better and respectable lives, according to the Baila tradition, than those who were educated; even when they had jobs. This status quo confirms the notion that for education to be appreciated the beneficiaries should see its relevance to their lives. Serpel's (1993) assertion on relevance of education is applicable here. I, therefore, argue that the traditional belief of owning cattle outpoints education and renders it irrelevant to the life of the traditional Baila. A question one would ask is that when the educated town dwellers go to their villages to ask for some cattle to sell to meet their financial

and material needs in towns, why do the villagers not learn that with cattle they can also lead comfortable modern lives which the educated town people lead?

This study has demonstrated that access to formal education in the Baila situation is linked to the economic gains that are accrued to one who is educated. Within the group of the Baila who had embraced formal education, the education was linked to economic or social gain and that if these were absent, then there was no value in investing in education. So with the scarcity of employment related to formal education, it was imperative that the education offered did not create false hope as to distance learners from their everyday traditional means of livelihood like cattle rearing. This situation then begs the question as to whether the education offered to the Baila offers the possibilities that are open in the realm of Human Capital theory. The promptings of Machlup (1981) concerning the efficacy of education for development in the Human capital discourse become relevant here. For instance, when Machlup (1981) calls education which produces people unfit for work which was needed by their community as being harmful, I relate this to the Baila situation. The harm that formal education has caused to some sections of the Baila can be linked to the statement by Chief Mukobela who reminisced that in the olden days the young men of his tribe knew all about the skills and art of cattle rearing but with their acquisition of a lot of formal education, they had no time for the cattle. Chief Mukobela lamented that it would be a disgrace if foreigners were employed to do the traditional work of the Baila (Lawman, 1958, p. 137).

To further underscore the fact that cattle played a vital role in the life of the Baila the present Chief Mukobela speculated that if animal husbandry, which many people saw as being relevant to their lives, were to be taught in schools all the classrooms in Namwala would be full all the time. Chief Mukobela's conclusion provides a solution to making formal education be appreciated by the local

Baila. And this is what forms the basis of my thesis. When learning is made meaningful and relevant by grounding it in locally accepted and valued content and delivery methodology, learners would be attracted to school. The relevance which Chief Mukobela emphasises is in line with what Banda (2008) raises in his discussion on why formal education seems to be shunned by the Chewa. Among the reasons for the Chewa's indifference to modern formal education which ultimately impinge on the attainment of EFA, Banda (2008, p. 183) lists:

- Lack of practical and occupational skills and traditional wisdom embedded in the Chewa AIKS.
- Lack of career building.
- Non-use of the Chewa AIKS or the local knowledge pupils bring along to the classroom.
- Use of text books perceived unrelated to pupils' world view.

It is evident that the points raised by Banda are relevant to the Baila set up as well. For example, the first point corroborates with the Baila adults' blame of indiscipline of the youth on Western formal education. When Chief Mukobela, then, was asked what good Western education had brought to the Ila society, he responded that it had not brought any good but indiscipline on the part of the youths (Lawman, 1958, p. 137). The implication is that Western education's lack of respect for the traditional knowledges has made the youths in the formal Western schools revolt against the traditional wisdom and discipline of the Baila. Consequently, Baila traditionists who want to preserve the discipline and norms of the Baila are threatened by the turn of events and are reluctant to send their children to school. In addition, there is very little attention paid to what the learners do at home. In other words, indigenous African knowledges are not appreciated. For example, teachers rarely say any positive things about *lutanga* in class. This creates an impression that the traditional way of life is in conflict with modern life or education. Teachers could do better by bringing out the advantages of *lutanga* and point out how its negative practices could be improved

on. Demanding a sudden complete value-change or mindset shift which demonises the inborn or traditional values can face resistance from the traditionalists. The creation of dichotomy in the school curriculum between tradition and modern knowledges is equally condemned by Semali and Stambach (1997, p. 4) who posit that creation of a division between indigenous knowledge and modern knowledge is failing to teach students to appreciate how cultural patterns play a role in the development of social worlds. They amplify that what is called ‘modern’ cultural beliefs and practices actually draws from folk and indigenous ways of life.

This section of the discussion has demonstrated how the Baila traditional view on cattle adversely affects education and ultimately the realisation of EFA in Namwala. For example, boys who are supposed to be in school find themselves herding cattle as Figure 6 below shows. This confirms Snelson’s claim (1974, p. 54) that, “If there was no cattle in the Ila land the work of missionary educationists would have been much easier.” The section also amplifies the apparent struggle or competition between Indigenous Knowledges and Western epistemology which in this study is demonstrated in the Human capital theory.



Figure 6: Picture of a boy herding cattle

Courtesy of Namwala District Education Board, 2012

Having discussed the research findings in the light of the related literature that has been reviewed and the two theoretical frame works that guided the study, it is important that the EFA goals are examined to ascertain how Zambia, in general, has performed in her quest to actualize the six goals. The discussion is then brought home to the Namwala, the base of the study.

7.5 Indicators on the Six EFA goals

The expiration of the EFA period and the MDGs era gave birth to the Sustainable Development Goals, SDG, which reaffirmed the Education for All goals to provide inclusive and quality education to all children by 2030. On 27th March, 2014, the Ministry of Education held a stakeholders' consultative meeting dubbed 'EFA, Post 2015 and Education Policy Agenda

Discussion Meeting.’ At this meeting, the Minister of Education highlighted the important role education plays in the social and economic development of the country. He reminded the gathering that Zambia was a signatory to the Education for All goals which the government had prioritized in the Ministry’s National Implementation Framework (NIF III). He boasted about the all-time high allocation to the Education sector in the 2014 National budget from 17.5 percent in 2013 to 20.2 percent in 2014. He further outlined the other innovations in the Ministry like the annexing of Early Childhood Education to government primary schools. However, when he moved on to discussing the wholesome actualization of the EFA goals, he had this to say:

Ladies and gentlemen, considering the short timeframe left before the EFA target year of 2015 and looking at the efforts made so far, it is with a heavy heart that I admit that achieving the EFA goals is a toll order for Zambia. This has been worsened by the moratorium placed on public service employment for the next two years, which in effect means that my ministry will not be able to employ teachers, putting a strain on an already under-capacitated sector.

Speaking earlier at the same consultative meeting, the Chairperson of Zambia National Education Coalition, ZANEC, bemoaned the many challenges that hindered the delivery of quality education. She outlined some of them as inadequate teachers, poor and inadequate infrastructure, insufficient teaching and learning materials, insufficient teachers’ houses and poor sanitation, especially in rural schools. And commenting on the 2015 Global Action Week which was commemorated from July 12 to 17, ZANEC Board Chairperson commended the government for the 20.2 percent allocated to the Ministry of Education in 2014 and 2015 but regretted that since 68 percent of this block goes for personal emoluments, the 32 percent which remains for the actual service delivery was not enough to jack up the quality of education (Post Newspaper, 19th July, 2015.) On the same occasion it was acknowledged that “according to the 2014 EFA Progress Report, Zambia had only made headway with increasing enrolment rates at primary school level to 98 percent.” (Post Newspaper, 19th July, 2015).

From the aforementioned, it is abundantly clear that the EFA goals have not been satisfactorily achieved in Zambia. So in this section of the Chapter, I examine how each goal has been treated by the Ministry of Education and then narrow it down to how Namwala has featured on the same.

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.

Early Childhood Care and Education is enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the UN convention on the Rights of the Child. It is believed that the ECE programmes contribute immensely to the children's physical, mental, social and emotional development and form a basis for whatever the children would learn later when they start their Grade 1 (Global Monitoring Report, 2007). While the 2007 Global Monitoring Report acknowledges the fundamental role ECE plays in the development of the child in terms of education, it regrets that this EFA goal is grossly neglected. The Report outlines that it is only the developed Western countries, Latin America and the Caribbean, East Asia and the Pacific that actively participate in ECE and have robust programmes to promote this sector. The Sub-Sahara countries are cited to be at 14 percent participation while the Arab states are at 17 percent.

In Zambia ECE was for a long time not taken as an integral part of the education system. It was treated as an independent sub-sector divorced from the mainstream system. Therefore, access to ECE in Zambia has been very low. According to 2014 Statistical Bulletin (Ministry of Education, 2016), only 14.7 percent of Zambia's young children of 3 years to 6 years have access to ECE services before they start their Grade One. It is worth noting that Early Childhood Education in Zambia has for a long time been dominated by the private sector. This means that only those who could afford it accessed it. And because of the cost tied to it, only those in the urban areas who had a steady salary or income could send their children to nursery schools, as they are popularly called

in Zambia. A study carried out by Matafwali and Munsaka (2011) revealed that out of 764 ECE centres surveyed, 632 (81%) were privately owned, 127 (16%) were operated by Faith based organizations or NGOs and only 25 (3%) were government run.

In 2011, with the coming in of a new government, the policy on education changed to make it possible for nearly all the children aged 3 to 6 years to access ECE. Consequently, the government adopted an active stance in the provision of ECE facilities. In 2012 an ECE curriculum was developed to ensure that there was uniformity in the service delivery among all players in the sector. The Zambia Education Curriculum Framework of 2013 mandated primary schools to open ECE centres as part of their operational path so that attendance to ECE would be a prerequisite for one to be enrolled to Grade 1. According to Patriotic Front (2016), so far 1, 526 ECE centres have been established with a total of 1, 025 teachers deployed there. These centres cater for over 70,000 children. Another improvement in this sector has been the establishment of a Directorate at the Ministry of General Education Headquarters in 2015 to take care of the needs of this department. Currently, the Ministry of Education has four modes of operationalisation of ECE, namely the annexed mode where ECE centres are part of the existing primary school structure; Stand- alone centres in situations where the existing primary school does not have adequate infrastructure to accommodate the ECE component. The third mode is the low cost community based satellite centres which may operate in similar manner as the Community Schools. The last mode, which, at the time of the research was only regarded as a possibility but not yet operational anywhere in Zambia, is the mobile concept. It was envisaged that some ECE centres could be following children where they were, like in fishing camps and market places.

However, up to 2013, Namwala district had only two Church-run ECE centres; one by the Catholic Church and the other one by the Salvation Army. These were in the town centre. There was nothing in the outskirts of the district. The fees charged by these two institutions were at a minimal

rate so as to accommodate as many children as possible but the proprietors still complained that the response was lower than their expectation.

In 2013, each district in Southern province had ten ECE teachers deployed there to kick-start the programme. But Namwala district, for whatever reason, did not receive any. So the few ambitious primary schools which opened the ECE centres had to do it at their own expense by employing untrained teachers or trained ones who had not yet secured employment with government. Each parent who sent their child to these facilities contributed a small amount of money through PTA of the respective schools to cater for the wages of those teachers. Understandably, this became an impediment to the access of ECE by the majority of the children because their parents could not afford to pay these fees. So while the policy, on one hand, stated that every child could access Early Childhood Education at the government's expense, or free of charge, the reality, on the other hand, was that parents had to pay something, little as it was. With the negative view that many traditional Baila allegedly have about formal education, starting to spend money for the education of a child earlier than Grade 1 could not be fathomed by many parents. So while the new policy on ECE was blossoming well in some other parts of the country, Namwala started on a slow and sceptical pace. Consequently, at the end of 2013, this first goal was very far from being achieved. However, 23 ECE centres were opened in the district in 2014. When the latest district statistics were consulted (September, 2016) it was noted that 44 ECE centres were operational. The enrolment figures were 1, 118 boys and 1, 228 girls, bringing the total enrolment to 2, 346. This was a great leap. But the issue of parents contributing some money towards the ECE teachers' wages still persisted because not enough teachers had been deployed for this sector. This is a phenomenon many parents have failed to understand. On one hand the government advocates for free education from Grade 1 to 7 but parents are forced to pay for children in a sector lower than grade 1. It is clear that if the parents were not to pay for the children doing ECE, many more children would have been enrolled. However, the paradox continues. The latest teacher recruitment (2016) did not consider the

promotion of the policy on ECE as only 4 teachers were sent to Southern province for this sector. Namwala managed to get only one.

The low access to ECE in Namwala demonstrates the value that the traditional Baila have on formal education. Their values which are mostly traditional based do not recognise the advantages or returns that Western formal education brings to their lives.

2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

According to Ministry of Education's National Review of the performance of the country in the attainment of the EFA goals (Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education, 2014) the country recorded the best achievement in this goal. This is in spite of the three challenges or lacunas which are identified in this goal. The first lacuna is in relation to *All children*, the second is *free and compulsory* and the last lacuna is *good quality education*.

In the early years of implementing EFA the issue of 'all children' accessing education proved to be a challenge because infrastructure facilities could not march up to the rapid growth of the population. But even when the infrastructure could allow every child to be enrolled in school at the appropriate age, it was not every family or society that saw this as a priority in life. And so, as has been observed in the Ila tradition, for example, it is not every child that can be offered chance by the family to access primary education. However, as years rolled by the government put in more political will to improve the infrastructure to accommodate more school going age children into the formal school. With assistance from the donor community, Zambia soon boasted that universal access to basic education was attainable. As the National Assembly report (2010) states, all children of 7 years and above had chance to get into formal school system from 2008 onwards. At this time, the government even introduced the policy of enrolling children aged 7 years and above without any

preconditions. In 2014, the Ministry of Education registered over 1.2 million more learners which translated into Zambia growing its net enrolment from 71 percent in 1999 to 94.3 percent in 2014 (Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education, 2014).

The attainment of access to primary school by the majority of the Zambian children would not have been a reality without the coming on board of Community schools. Community schools, according to Frischkorn and Falconer-Stout (2016, p. 1), are “a grassroots strategy to serve disadvantaged populations, seeking to meet education needs in low-income urban areas and isolated rural locations, as well as for families struggling to meet the costs of their children attending school.” Community schools form 30 percent of the school types in Zambia while 63 percent are Government and Grant-aided school with seven percent being Private and/or Church schools (Frischkorn and Falconer-Stout, 2016). But while community schools have played a vital role in enabling many children access primary school education, they have in most cases contributed to the lowering of the quality of education that is offered in Zambia. This is because most community schools do not have trained government employed teachers but untrained volunteer teachers. If they are trained they are demotivated by the low salaries that the communities offer them. Apart from the poor calibre of teachers found in Community schools, these institutions are hampered by non-availability of adequate and necessary teaching and learning materials. While the policy of the government is that 30 percent of the funding to primary schools should go for the provision of teaching and learning materials in community schools, in reality such funding rarely reaches these schools. Consequently, the poor communities which manage most of these facilities are left to provide the much needed materials. Inadequate and inappropriate infrastructure adds to the compromising of quality education in Community schools. Most community schools in rural areas are pole and mud structures because that is what such communities can afford. At times classes are conducted under trees.

In Namwala Community schools catered for about a third of the pupil population in primary schools in 2014 as Table 8 below shows.

Table 8: Schools type and enrolment in Namwala

S/N	SCHOOL TYPE	NUMBER	ENROLMENT
1	Secondary	5	3,133
2	E.C.E	23	1,284
3	Primary	43	21,905
4	Community	38	7,339
TOTAL		109	33,661

Source: Namwala District Education Board

Empirical evidence shows that there are more girls than boys in school in Namwala. Unlike the general trends in many parts of the country where there are more boys than girls in schools, the Namwala situation appears to be different. At the secondary school level this is justifiable because, as indicated earlier, there are two girls' only secondary schools in Namwala and the remaining three are co-education, thereby giving the girls an advantage. On this basis this EFA goal can be claimed to have been achieved. Table 9 below shows the School enrolment by sex in 2014.

Table 9: School Enrolment by sex

S/N	SCHOOL TYPE	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1	Secondary	1,459	1,674	3,133
2	Regular Primary	10,557	11,048	21,905
3	Community	3,521	3,818	7,339
4	E.C.E	620	664	1,284
TOTAL		15,537	16,540	33,661

Gender Parity = 0.94

Another aspect which the EFA 2015 National Review attributes to the apparent success of the second goal is the enactment of the 2011 Education Act which states that education is a right. In addition, the Act included the aspect of compulsory attendance of primary education for all children of school going age. The idea of ‘free and compulsory’ primary education is what proved to be problematic. Although the Zambian government has ratified and pronounced that education in Grade 1 to 7 be free, the reality is that the concept has proved to be unattainable. Due to economic constraints that the government is passing through, funding to the education sector has been dwindling, and so nearly all schools have been compelled to levy the parents some money through PTA to procure learning and teaching materials as well as to maintain or improve infrastructure. National funding to the education sector has not been constant. In 2013, it was 17.5 percent of the national budget. This was increased to 20.2 percent in 2014 and 2015 which is recorded as the highest in the recent past; In 2016 it dropped down to 17 percent. For 2017 the allocation has gone further down to 16.5 percent (National Budgets for the years 2013-2017).

Furthermore, the ‘compulsory’ aspect has proved to be unattainable because there is no law in Zambia which classifies failure to enrol a child in primary school an illegality. Nobody has been fined or sent to prison for failure to send his or her child to school. Certain conditions will have to be met by the government to make education compulsory. Firstly, while there has been great improvement in the infrastructure sector, the distribution of the same is not equitable. In rural areas distances to schools from home are still very long for the young children. So, adequate school infrastructure has to be put up in good proximity to school going children before education can be declared compulsory. Secondly, the government should improve funding to the schools such that school administrations and their PTAs would no longer be compelled to levy any parent for running costs of the school. As long as enrolling in school goes with a cost, it would be immoral to declare education as compulsory because not everybody has money to pay for that education.

Finally, the ‘good quality education’ is a challenged condition because quality seems to be a relative term which sometimes depends on such variables as locations, exposure of the people in that locality and the values they hold. It is worth noting too that the quality of education has a lot to do with the availability of well trained and motivated teachers. As a way of improving the supply of teachers and at the same time mitigating the teacher attrition, the government in 2015 started the deployment of 5,000 teachers annually. However, even with this annual injection of 5,000 teachers in the field, the general experience is that rural areas fail to attract and sustain well qualified teachers.

While the Zambia government has taken very bold steps to attain this goal, the route has not been without challenges. Although table 9 shows that there are more girls than boys in school, the reality is that education for the girl child among the people in this study is not a priority. If a family can only afford to send one child to school, it is most likely the boy who would be given the preference over the girl. The mentality of offering the girl child equal chances and now preferential treatment for accessing formal education, as suggested or dictated by this goal is still far-fetched in the Ila traditional society. It seems the traditional views concerning the role of a girl-child in the Ila setup are stronger than the principles of the Human capital theory over the same. It still remains unclear in the minds of many traditional Baila if investment in the education of a girl would bring desirable returns as marrying them off would do.

The idealistic concept of free education has contributed to poor standards of education in Namwala and, to a certain extent, the high drop-out rate in school. The ‘free education’ mantra has not only reached the people as an EFA goal but has appeared like a political ploy. It is this latter view which has made many parents reluctant to make any financial or material contributions to the schools where they send their children. Some parents have even withdrawn their children from schools when the school authorities have insisted that fees be paid for the smooth running of the schools as

per their PTA resolutions. Furthermore, some school Head teachers who have insisted on collecting such fees have been labelled as thieves working against the government. The study has established that issues of the community waiting for the government to do everything in schools, in the spirit of free education, is very pronounced among the Baila in Namwala and has contributed to the apparent failure of realizing the EFA goals. The idea of expecting the government to do everything in the education sector is exacerbated by Namwala being bedrock of opposition political parties since the reintroduction of multiparty democracy in Zambia. Some parents think that when they support the government's call to cost sharing principles in the delivery of education, they would indirectly be legitimising the ruling party, and so, as a way of frustrating the government of the day, they would rather not even pay the fees for their children so that they have ammunition to criticise the government as having failed to deliver quality education to all the citizens.

3. Ensuring that all learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes

Learning needs, according to World Conference on Education for All in (Kelly, 2010, p. 160) entails the provision of essential learning tools and learning content which enable one live according to their full potential with dignity and participate fully in their societal development and at the same time continue with the learning process. This learning is what Torres (2001, p. 1) calls:

an education which includes learning to know, to do, to live together and to be. It is an education geared to tapping each person's talents and potential, and developing learner personalities, so that they can improve their lives and transform their societies.

Kelly (2010, p. 160) asserts that "the scope of basic learning needs and how they should be met varies with individual countries and cultures, and inevitably, changes with the passage of time." This statement resonates well with the findings of this study. For example, the Ila perception of

formal education today is quite different from the way the Baila of the 19th Century saw it. Today some young Baila, while appreciating the role cattle play in their lives, acknowledge that education can make a very big difference in their lives. This shows that the cultural view of cattle has evolved with time. This is also an indication that the gap between Indigenous knowledges and modern knowledge is narrowing, which according to the variables in the conceptual frame work of this study means that the intersection space between indigenous knowledge and modern knowledge is widening, thereby accepting more values and practices from the two value stand points.

Statistics from Ministry of General Education (2014) show that youth literacy increased from 70.1 percent in 2000 to 88.7 percent in 2010. During the same period adult male literacy rate moved up by 15.8 percent while that of females was 21 percent. These national averages on adult literacy show that females generally are more eager to improve their literacy levels than their male counterparts. So this is not only a Baila phenomenon. While Zambia has made significant strides to enable young people access appropriate learning and life skills programmes through the formal school mode, the same cannot be said about adults. In the Namwala case, it has been established that the dismal interest in formal education is partly because the adult population does not favour formal education. Snelson (1974, p. 20) puts the Baila among the subservient tribes which did not want to take advantage of the schools which were opened in their areas by the early missionaries. If the Baila had responded positively to the education offered by the early missionaries, like their Lozi tribal cousins had done, a culture of appreciating formal education would have developed.

The Ministry of Education has endeavoured to promote adult education through the Directorate of Open and Distance Education (DODE). Currently, adult literacy, according to Ministry of Education (2013, p. 55) has a curriculum which consists of the following learning area:

1. Literacy
2. Numeracy
3. Entrepreneurship and ICT
4. Civic Education
5. Environmental and Health education

It can be noted from the curriculum that learning areas 3 to 5 take care of mastering necessary life skills programmes. The essence of adult literacy programmes is not only to offer basic literacy and numeracy skills but to enable one continue into formal education even up to tertiary level. The challenge that this EFA goal faces is that formal education among the Baila is regarded as being relevant for those who want a job. Being educated just for the sake of it or for personal gratification is regarded as a waste of financial resources and time. There is still the belief that one goes to school if they have nothing of economic value to do (Snelson, 1974, p. 20). An adult who spends his valuable time to go for adult literacy lessons would be perceived as having failed to run his life in the traditional Ila way.

4. Achieving a 50 percent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

Literacy levels in Zambia are very low. As alluded to in the third goal, very little can be said to have been achieved in the area of adult education in Zambia. Adult education, according to Mwanakatwe (2013, p. 137) is “the further academic education of adults in courses leading to recognized education standards.” During the years just after independence, the Zambian government deliberately put in place a programme to educate the adult population. This was done because the colonial masters had neglected the education of Africans. In addition, the new

government bore in mind that for manpower challenges that the young nation was facing to be alleviated, an educated citizenry was essential. Waiting for the young ones to take up the tasks after their formal education would delay development. So the adult population, some of whom were even in formal employment, albeit in non- strategic positions, had to be capacity-built through formal adult education. According to the National Assembly Report on education (2010), adult education in Zambia was first introduced as basic literacy in 1966 under the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services. Mwanakatwe (2013, p. 138) explains that “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.” So the early years following independence saw adult literacy groups even in rural areas. Such groups were given local names such as *Shibukeni* in Bemba, which literally means, “Wake up.” The understanding here was that education was going to make people rise from their ignorance which comes with illiteracy, and start to see things differently and be capacitated to contribute to the development of the country. It can be noted that the advocates of Adult Education here were alive to the dictates of the Human capital theory that education would make people wake up and open their potential to perform better in their economic and human endeavours. In Ila such adult education groups were called *Chikolo cha muzenge*, translated as “school of darkness” a term which emphasised the evening times when it was conducive for the adult learners to meet for lessons after their daily chores. Apart from the 3Rs, reading, arithmetic and writing, adult literacy groups taught good agricultural practices, which was a component of life skills.

Unfortunately, the zeal that the government had in the early years of independence of promoting adult literacy waned in the early 1970s (Mwanakatwe, 2013). The organized adult literacy groups which existed in the rural areas run by the Ministry of Community development no longer existed.

What remained to be called adult education comprised of young adults who were trying to improve on their Form 2 results or their Ordinary School level certificates so that they could enhance their chances of entering colleges or being employed. The reduction in the number of those who accessed Adult education again demonstrates the disillusionment that these people suffered when they realised that the Western formal education would not change their lives overnight, or that the human and economic development that was purported to come with Western formal education was a façade. And the fact that Adult education remained only for those who wanted to improve their Form 2 or Ordinary School level results to enter Colleges or be employed seems to imply that the advantages of the Western formal education as advocated by the Human capital theory seem to be realised, in some cultures, only when one has got salaried employment.

In 1972 Adult education was relaunched as functional literacy education. At this time 25 different organizations, civil societies and Faith based organizations were mandated to carry out programmes of adult education. These organisations did this in collaboration with three government ministries, namely; the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives and the Ministry of Local government and Housing. These organisations and the government ministries conducted adult literacy programmes as basic literacy or functional literacy or both (National Assembly, 2010).

Up to 2009, there was no policy on Adult literacy. So the government mandated the Ministry of Education, under whose jurisdiction the function of adult education was solely placed as per gazette notice of 2004, to formulate a national policy which was called “Policy on Youth and Adult Literacy” (National Assembly, p. 3). The policy included the youth because it was understood that there were still a lot of youths who had never been to any formal school but would need some basic literacy or functional literacy.

The attainment of this goal has been a total disaster at national level. The worst affected are rural areas. Comparatively, more female adults are illiterate than their male counterparts. The cultural beliefs and practices which have been mentioned earlier are responsible for this disparity. It is hoped that policies such as Free education and Re-entry will, in due course, mitigate this gender disparity in literacy levels.

According to Namwala District Education Board statistics (2014), the district currently has only one Adult literacy centre with 23 females and 9 males. This shows that this sector is a total disaster in Namwala. The enrolment figures also show that females are more ready to learn in their old age than their male counterparts.

5. Ensuring gender parity in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus of ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

Zambia has not successfully achieved this goal. Statistics show that gender parity is almost achieved in the lower part of primary schools, that is Grade 1-4 but the imbalance grows in favour of boys from Grade 5 onwards. The Ministry of Education in (Kelly, 2010, p. 245) states that:

For every 100 girls who begin primary school, only 70 complete the full primary course, 23 proceed into junior secondary school, 9 into senior secondary, and 7 sit for the School Certificate Examination in Grade 12. Opportunities for boys are considerably better, with 87 out of every 100 Grade 1 entrants completing the primary course, 37 entering junior secondary classes, 16 going to senior secondary level, and 15 sitting for the School Certificate Examination.

The reasons for this imbalance are mostly imbedded in the cultural practices which do not favour girls' education. Kelly (2010, p. 247) summarises a girl's predicament in connection with education in the following words:

The ideal and almost only role that is envisaged for a girl is that she becomes a wife and mother. She is expected to devote herself, from an early age, to chores and children so as to prepare herself for this role. Many regard schooling as little more than a tolerable interlude in this preparation for life and one that has little or no relevance once the girl reaches puberty.

To mitigate the gender disparity which, according to Ministry of General Education (2014), stands at 0.98 in primary schools, the government is vigorously enforcing the Re-entry policy; constructing boarding schools for girls and disbursing bursaries in favour of girls at 60percent for girls and 40 percent for boys. The construction of Boarding secondary schools for girls as opposed to Day secondary schools is a deliberate move by the government to rescue the girls from the traditional chores at home. If girls have to go to school, remain there and concentrate on their studies, it is imperative that they move away from their homes for the whole duration of the school term so that they would not have to be compelled to act like the traditional women while they are at the same time expected to spend time on their studies. The advantages for this arrangement can be contested. If the girls would go all the way in their education and change their mindset according to the dictates of Western values, their isolation from their traditional set up would be a laudable move. On the other hand, if these girls who are set apart do not grow in their Western education and reap one of its benefits by getting a salaried job, they would be forced to go back to their traditional set up where they may be seen to be out of touch and be declared misfits. This is similar to the Masai situation in Dyer (2001) where the Masai boys who had never been to school had a cognitive advantage in matters of cattle rearing than those who had been to school.

The gender situation in Namwala, as has been exemplified under Goal number 2, is that there are more girls in schools than boys. At the secondary school level the explanation which can be offered is that there are two secondary schools which are for girls only, Kasenga Girls' Secondary school and Niko Girls' Technical Secondary school. On the other hand, there is no secondary school which is for boys only. So the girls here already have an advantage. But, be it as it may, the Baila boys have a tendency of shunning school in preference to herding cattle.

6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

It has been acknowledged that Zambia has performed well in realizing EFA goal number 2 on access to primary education (National Assembly, 2010), but the quality of education offered is what is in contention.

The Global Monitoring Report (2008), states that the quality in education cannot be achieved in the absence of consideration of “teacher recruitment, their working conditions, their appropriate remuneration, as well as the quality of their initial and continuous education.” Inasmuch as Zambia cannot boast of having adequate teachers for all the schools, it must be mentioned that considerable improvement has been made in the recruitment and deployment of teachers. For example, in 2015 and 2016, the Ministry of Education employed 5 000 teachers each year. But, the distribution of teachers to schools is what needs to be improved. The urban areas always have more teachers than the rural areas. Consequently, the Pupil Teacher Ratio is higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas. Table 10 below shows the current Pupil teacher Ratio.

Table 10: Pupil Teacher Ratio in All Schools by Class Range and Province

	Grades Ranges					
	G 1-4	G 5-7	G 1-7	G 1-9	G 8-9	G 10-12
National	56.9	52.7	55.3	47.2	23.7	36.0
Province						
CENTRAL	55.1	50.6	53.4	45.3	22.8	31.1
COPPERBELT	39.6	49.1	42.9	37.8	25.0	42.5
EASTERN	73.3	55.2	66.1	58.3	28.6	32.0
LUAPULA	104.9	96.3	101.8	85.9	38.0	40.2
LUSAKA	42.4	48.3	44.7	37.7	20.4	39.0
MUCHINGA	74.3	53.1	65.5	57.3	23.8	24.4
N/WESTERN	59.5	46.9	54.6	46.7	24.6	38.8
NORTHERN	74.6	53.3	66.0	54.6	14.4	26.7
SOUTHERN	53.5	53.9	53.6	45.0	21.9	31.7
WESTERN	58.1	48.5	54.5	48.5	27.1	39.3

Source: Ministry of Education: *Zambia Educational Statistical Bulletin, 2014*

Table 10 shows that Luapula province has the highest Pupil-Teacher ratio while Lusaka and the Copperbelt; the two urban provinces, have the lowest Pupil-Teacher ratio. However, it must be noted that because of double class arrangements where a single teacher has two shifts of teaching, and the multi-grade classes where learners of different grades, ages and abilities are taught at the same time in one room by a single teacher, Pupil-Teacher ratio does not give a measure of typical classroom circumstances (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 53).

In 2016, as a measure to maintain teachers in the rural areas the government increased the bonding period for the teachers who were recruited to four years before they could move from their initial station of first appointment. In the past they were bonded for only two years. The bonding of new

entrants in the teaching profession has proved to be problematic. It has been observed that the move has forced many young married couples to live apart when duty dictates that one of the spouses works several hundred kilometres away from the partner. This is where some offshoots of the Human capital theory, like getting a job, come in conflict with the indigenous knowledges system. In a society where the institution of marriage is respected and regarded as an integral part of livelihood and a form of status symbol, anything that separates married couples is deemed alien to the lives of the local people. It is then no surprise that there has been serious outcry that the government has no respect for the institution of marriage if it can let married couples live separately.

In addition, to improve the quality of education, bearing in mind that the quality of teachers plays a vital role in this area, the government of the Republic of Zambia undertook the following initiatives:

- Started Fast track training of teachers with Diplomas to Degrees, particularly those in the Natural Sciences and Mathematics who were generally in short supply. Under this programme serving teachers attend holiday lectures in designated universities so that they could attain degrees in fewer years than the four years it normally takes.
- Three Colleges of Education, namely, Chalimbana, Nkrumah and the Copperbelt Secondary Teachers College have been transformed into Universities of Teachers Education so that more teachers with university degrees would be available in the schools.
- Introduced Education Leadership and Management training for school administrators so that they can improve the quality of teaching through their administration skills. It has been noted that there was very little teaching and learning that took place in some schools because of lack of supervision by some school administrators. The Education Leadership and Management training was designed to equip the administrators with skills to address this weakness.

- Established the Teaching Council of Zambia in 2014 to regulate the teaching profession. Prior to the establishment of the Teaching Council, teaching was not regarded as a profession in the real sense. The Teaching Council now regulates the qualifications and the code of conduct of teachers through registration of all teachers and the issuing of practising licences to those who qualify to be teachers. The fear of being deregistered as a teacher compels teachers to act professionally in all ways, whether in class or outside. This, ultimately, adds to the quality of education offered.

7.6 Summary

The chapter has discussed the findings of the study under the three research questions and with reference to the literature that has been reviewed. The two theories, Human capital theory and the Indigenous knowledges theory, have also been employed to interrogate the data which has been discussed. The chapter has ended with examining how Zambia has fared in the realization of the six goals of EFA. The country's performance in the six EFA goals has been described and cascaded down to Namwala, the focal point of this study.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Conclusions

Education is believed to be one of the interventions which bring about accelerated development in a society. An educated citizenry actively and positively participates in the social, economic and political wellbeing of a society. Poverty is mainly attributed to illiteracy.

Literacy levels in the 1980s particularly in the global South plummeted mainly due to the economic recession which compelled governments to spend less on social services like education due to the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which was forced on the developing and indebted countries of the South. Zambia's expenditure on education, for instance, fell by 67 percent. The declining levels of literacy prompted the World Bank and other multilateral organizations to organize the 1990 World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) in Jomtien, Thailand from 5-9 March 1990 (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 4). The Conference came up with six goals on the improvement of education which goals were envisaged to be attained by the year 2000. The mid-term review was done in Amman, Jordan. The third Conference, which was held in Dakar, Senegal in 2000 shifted the attainment of the EFA goals to 2015.

Zambia is a signatory to the WCEFA and has taken considerable strides to realize the six goals. It has, however, been noticed that the interventions that the Zambian government has put in place to actualize the EFA goals have not been appreciated in the same way in all the regions of the country.

This present study set out to investigate how the culture and traditions of a people can play a role in accelerating or thwarting the realization of the EFA goals. The purpose of this study was to

investigate how the beliefs, traditions and attitudes of the Baila people of Namwala have affected the realization of EFA in the district.

The findings of the study show that most of the traditions and beliefs of the Baila people, which hinge on the rearing of cattle, have negatively affected the realization of EFA in Namwala. This is manifested firstly in the low access to education. Many parents do not see the value for education and would rather have their sons take care of their cattle than go to school. Similarly, many parents prefer marrying off their daughters as early as possible so that the family could benefit from the cattle that are paid in the form of *lobola*. The study also established that the low access to formal education could not entirely be blamed on the parents only. Some children, too, did not have the desire for education. Absenteeism among boys was mostly because of taking care of cattle. Apart from the knowledge of being useful members of the family by carrying out this traditional chore many boys testified that they derived more personal joy or satisfaction from being at the *lutanga* than in school. In the same vein, the study noted that not all early marriages were instigated by parents, but the girls themselves decided to leave school to become wives and mothers in some cases against the wishes of their parents.

Secondly, the study has established that absenteeism, which is linked to the reasons stated in the paragraph above, made it difficult for some teachers to complete their syllabuses because those teachers who were serious with their work and wanted their pupils to understand the content taught and perform well in their examinations claimed that they had to repeat some lessons whenever they noticed that a good number of boys had returned from the *lutanga*. Consequently, the rampant absenteeism led to the poor academic results which Namwala has been known for. Likewise, the proliferation of teenage pregnancies and early marriages could be attributed to the culture of valuing

cattle as these vices are condoned in society because of their being sources of cattle for the families of the affected girls. In addition, the girls' and boys' early exposure to sexual activities made them lose concentration in school, thereby leading to poor academic performance.

Thirdly, the study has established that some traditional traits of the Baila, like being hard working and self-reliant; individualistic and proud and their being conservative set them apart and defined them as a people. While these traits have a positive side of the persona of the Baila, in their extreme exertion, they negatively affect the actualization of EFA. The study has observed that the conservative nature of the Baila, for instance, has inhibited their change in the perception of the purpose of rearing cattle. While cattle can be transformed into real wealth, in the modern understanding of wealth, which can improve the education sector in Namwala and bring about economic and social development at personal and societal level, the animals are reared simply for prestige. The district has not effectively and visibly benefited from the large herds of cattle reared by the traditional Baila. In addition, their conservative nature has made some Baila be fixated in the belief that it is the government's role to provide all the learning and teaching materials in addition to the provision and maintenance of infrastructure. Although some communities outside Namwala no longer hold on to the 'popular' slogan of free education for primary schools and have started making considerable financial contributions for their children in this sector, most Baila parents were still very reluctant to grasp this change. Consequently, many schools in Namwala had poor infrastructure and lacked teaching and learning materials. This led to a situation where many teachers in Namwala, particularly the very remote areas, felt demotivated and unappreciated and thereby put in only the minimum in their teaching.

Community participation in the running and improvement of schools was, likewise, hampered by the general individualistic spirit and exaggerated self-reliance which made many Baila believe they did not need others for them to lead a good life. Those with many heads of cattle shunned communal work because they believed they were too important to mix with the poor, *bapushi*. Communities where PTA members are socially divided over their personal material possessions, like cattle, lack the spirit of cohesion which propels parents to drive school projects to improve the teaching and learning environments.

Furthermore, the study has established that while the Human Capital theory espouses that investment in the education of citizens leads to accelerated development, the theory only holds true depending on the understanding of ‘development’ by the affected citizens. The study has also shown that economic returns to education are not appreciated in the same way but that their impact are dependent on the individual’s or societal worldview of which cultural values play a pivotal role. So the study contrasted the Human Capital theory with the Indigenous knowledges theory which puts the cultural beliefs and values at the centre of every human development. It is through the cultural values lenses that local people mostly see and interpret the meaning of development. The study, therefore, established that although many Baila people have not appreciated the education offered through the formal Western mode, they, nevertheless, regard themselves as developed in their own way because their cattle, according to their understanding, provide them with all the economic needs which those who strive to be educated crave for. With their cattle they feel fully human, happy and complete within their value system. I, therefore, argue that when a community or tribe has a deep rooted theory or value system which is wealth- generating, it can impact negatively on their appreciation of formal education. The Baila’s values, of which cattle form the basis, have negatively impacted on the realization of Education for All (EFA).

In conclusion, EFA has not been realized in Namwala because Western formal education is not valued. Most traditional Baila believe that if education is a form of wealth, then they do not need it for they already have that wealth in the cattle they rear. In addition, it is worth noting that the Human capital theory which emphasises Western formal education as the fastest way to improve the status of individual and society is challenged by the Indigenous Knowledges theory which recognises traditions and cultures as treasures which can contribute to human development. The application of the two theories in this study prompted the following questions:

- Do the Baila appreciate the value or potential in man which formal education unlocks in him?
- Has the Western formal education produced the labour force relevant to the development of the Baila in their traditional context?
- Can Indigenous knowledges be integrated into Western formal education to produce an Ila who is both modern and traditional?
- Is human development synonymous with modern formal education?
- Can there be human development outside the Western hegemony?

The findings of the study, when analysed in the light of the two theoretical frameworks employed in this study, suggest that there is need for the interface of the two theories for the desired development to be realised at a personal as well as the community level. It has been established in this study that co-existence of the Western knowledge production and the indigenous knowledges systems should not be an option. The hegemonic Western knowledge production should accommodate the African indigenous knowledges, and vice versa.

8.2 Recommendations

The study has two main recommendations:

The first recommendation deals with the epistemology of the theoretical frameworks which underpinned the study. This study has demonstrated that the two epistemological foundations, the indigenous on one hand, and the Western Eurocentric on the other hand, seem to be pulling against each other in the Baila's predisposition to appreciation of modern formal education. However, Breidlid (2013, p. 32) suggests that there is need for the two epistemological positions to co-exist. He states that "although the binary divide between the two knowledge systems is based on different epistemological foundations, there is reason to question the view of the two competing knowledge systems where dialogue is completely precluded." (p. 32). This view is in line with an earlier assertion by Edwin Smith who saw the inevitability of the two knowledge systems working together. Smith (1946, p. 145) questioned, "How can we conserve the values of the old indigenous education and unite them with the values of modern schooling? Africa needs them both- needs a real marriage of the two, with a resulting *tertium quid*." These views have necessitated this study to come up with a model which would accommodate the two epistemologies and in some way make formal education attractive to many traditional Baila.

The study has demonstrated that the rearing of cattle plays a vital role in the life of the Baila. This is reflected in their socio-economic life. I, therefore, propose that if education has to be relevant to the lives of the Baila, it should include animal husbandry. I have earlier alluded to the fact that Chief Mukobela built the present Lubanga Shabongwe Primary school with his own personal resources partly because he was told that education would, among other things, ensure that animal husbandry did not die in his Chieftdom. Over the time, animal husbandry seems to be divorced from the school curriculum except in cases where Agricultural science is taught as a subject. So how then will the present education in its content and delivery be relevant to the average traditional Ila in Namwala?

How will the traditional Ila child be attracted to the formal Western education without feeling alienated?

Taylor (2004, pp. 2–3) defines localization of the curriculum as “freedom for schools or local education authorities to adopt the curriculum to local conditions...it is relating the content of the curriculum and the process of teaching and learning to the local environment.” Similarly, Thesia (2012, p. 1) states that localization of the curriculum should be “associated with the natural environment, social environment as well as the cultural and environmental needs of the region.”

The idea of localizing the curriculum to make it relevant to the local needs is supported by the model proposed by Bishop (2003:221) where the classroom is used as a place where knowledge brought by the children from their homes could be accepted and reconstructed with that which the teacher offers from the Western discourses within the formal education. The appreciation of the knowledge which the children bring from home can only happen if there is mutual respect of the knowledges that are produced by the two epistemologies. In particular, the teacher who has been initiated in the Western knowledge production should keep in mind that the child from the village can also bring some valuable knowledge. Bishop (2003) observed that the Maori performed poorly in formal education allegedly because their culture was regarded as inferior. To remedy the situation Bishop (2003) suggests the acceptance of the Maori cultures by mainstreaming it into the formal education system. The Maori situation reflects well on the Baila scenario. My observations were that the traditional knowledge which the pupils brought to the classroom was given very little attention by the teachers. I have argued in this study that the traditional notion of cattle rearing, for example, could have a different impact on education if the teachers in Namwala took time to positively discuss the traditional view of pastoralism and reconstructed it in such a way that the

modern socio-economic aspect of cattle was implanted in the pupils without necessarily watering down the traditional beliefs concerning the same.

I admit that wholesome localization of the curriculum content may not be the best intervention for Namwala because this may risk rendering the education offered there inferior or unacceptable in other parts of the country or the larger global village. The fear of acceptability of the localized curriculum presents a paradox and confirms the unfortunate position that Indigenous knowledges occupy when pitted against the hegemonic Western knowledge production which regards the former as inferior. What is advocated here in the localization process is the recognition of the dominant way of life of the Baila and letting it resonate with the school life offered. It has earlier been pointed out that there seems to be a dichotomy between what the learners know and value at home and what they are taught at school. Breidlid (2013, pp. 98–99) calls this predicament as the crossing of boundaries each day that an African school child goes to school. At home he believes in something which is repudiated when he goes to school, and vice versa. By so doing the learner is forced to live in two worlds whose borders he has to cross each day. A situation where the school deliberately cares for and uplifts what the learners value at home would be a starting point for the localization of the curriculum and making it relevant to the learners and thereby igniting or bellowing air into the fire of interest they have in formal education. It is for this reason that Breidlid (2013, P.197) calls for creation of space in the curricula to include history, culture and traditional epistemological orientations familiar to the learners as one way of maximising the learning outcomes and reducing the gap which usually exists between what is learnt at school and what the learners know and believe in at home. The school should respect and be interested in the *lutanga*, for example. It would be important that teachers point out the positive part of the *lutanga* while gently advocating for change in what is perceived to be the negative aspects of the practice, as far as education is concerned.

In addition, localization could take the route of flexibility in the teaching process by infusing in the school programme some elements of the pastoral life of the Baila. If, for instance, veterinary officers are vaccinating cattle around where the school is situated, it would not be a bad idea and loss of teaching and learning time if learning in school was suspended for that one day or two when cattle are being treated in the locality. Apart from the assumption that most boys would be required by their families to drive the cattle to those points of dipping or treatment the gesture would demonstrate that Western formal education respects the values of the local people. Furthermore, on the day of the traditional ceremonies of *Shimunenga* and *Shikaumpa* school children could be encouraged to attend by declaring the days local school holidays. Schools could even do better by playing noticeable roles at the celebrations. They could perform some sketches and put up some displays which depict the integration of good Ila traditional practices with the modern education system.

While the words of a Hamar pastoral leader (USAID, 2008, p. 35) where he said that since their food was in the cattle, the providers of education should either take the food to the school or the school to the food, is a statement about the School Feeding programme, in the strict sense, it could have an underlying meaning. I find this statement to support the localisation of the curriculum. When cattle, in the pastoralist society, become part of the school curriculum, the learners would find a lot of relevance in getting to school. Cattle are not only food but life itself.

I agree with Taylor (2004, p. 3) when he points out the hurdles of localization. He submits that: “Admittedly, such practice depends a great deal on the capacity and interest of individual teachers, since national education systems seem rarely able to support the development of such ability on a large scale.” In the case of the Namwala situation, however, I would raise the focus of interest from individual teachers to the District Education administration. While the initiative and interest of

individual teachers is key to this transformation the impact in the community could only be noticed when such individual interest is backed by the support of the DEBS office.

I believe the localised curriculum, in a way, takes care of the two knowledge formations working in synergy for the sustainability of humanity and its ecosystem. The co-existence of the two is a matter of necessity as Breidlid (2013, p. 47) puts it:

It is, in today's world, necessary for indigenous and Western knowledge systems to co-exist. By co-existence I mean, in particular, a situation where the hegemonic knowledge system talks to the dominated one and acknowledges the urgency of addressing issues that the dominant epistemology seems unable or unwilling to tackle. Its superiority complex must be disbanded in the quest for a sustainable future. Concomitantly, indigenous knowledges should be given space; or rather they must create and demand space, to query hegemonic epistemology.

The localisation of the curriculum as proposed takes care of the interfacing of the two knowledge formation systems, the Western and the Indigenous. It is only through this process that the Baila can appropriate some of the Western values into their systems so that their survival as a people could be sustained.

The second recommendation the study makes is that a serious programme of sensitizing parents and communities on the importance of education should be carried out among the Baila. This could effectively be done by prominent Baila who are educated and can demonstrate what education has done to change their life in the modern world. There is a good number of Baila who have excelled in the formal Western education and are leading very successful lives and making very important contributions to the development of the country. The Ministry of Education, particularly through Namwala District Education Board can contact these personalities and request them to speak to the

parents. This can be done in clusters of zones which can bring parents where these notable sons and daughters of Namwala can speak.

8.3 Further studies

This study has recommended that cattle rearing be part of the localized curriculum in Namwala but has not exhausted how this cultural practice can be exploited to promote formal education in Namwala. I therefore recommend that further studies be done to ascertain the extent to which the Baila can go to transform what many non-Ila perceive to be negative practices concerning the rearing of cattle, into a trade and life which can go with the modern trends of development.

8.4. Contributions of the study

There has not been any recent sustained ethnographical or anthropological study of the Baila, unlike their Tonga neighbours who were studied by Elizabeth Colson from pre-independence times to her time of death in 2016. This study, therefore, adds to the body of knowledge about the Baila which was mostly recorded by the early missionaries and British colonial officers. The study particularly builds on the knowledge of how the Baila tradition affects their perception of Western formal education which the World Conference on Education For All intends to spread to all developing countries in the global South. In addition, the study has endeavoured to correct some of the inaccurate facts the early missionaries and colonial government officials presented about the Baila, especially those that have a bearing on their appreciation of formal Western education.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TRADITIONAL CHIEFS

1. What qualities/ values identify an Ila person?
2. How do the Baila value their children? Are sons and daughters treated in the same way?

Explain.
3. What do cattle mean to an Ila? Explain.
4. What are your views about the *lutanga* in connection with formal education?
5. How do the Baila view formal Western education? Explain.
6. How involved are your subjects in the promotion of education? Give examples.
7. What are your views about infrastructure development in schools? What role do local communities play in the improvement of learning environments? Explain.
8. What are your views about girls leaving school to be married? Explain.

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR HEAD TEACHERS

1. What tribe are you?
2. For how long have you been teaching in Namwala?
3. Have you taught in other districts before?
4. How do you compare the academic performance or attitude to education among the learners in Namwala and the other places where you have taught? Explain.
5. Does the Ila tradition influence the way your school is run? In which way?
6. Do you hold PTA Annual General Meetings? How is the attendance and participation of parents in those meetings?
7. What issues stir a lot of participation or emotions in the PTA meetings? Please explain.
8. How many girls in your school became pregnant? How many re-entered?
9. It is said that the *lutanga* has contributed to the low academic performance in schools. Do you agree? If so, how?
10. Do you have anything else to say about education in your school in relation to the Baila tradition?

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TEACHERS

1. What tribe are you?
2. For how long have you been teaching in Namwala?
3. Have you taught anywhere else outside Namwala? If so, how do you compare the Ila children's attitude to education with other predominant ethnic groups where you have taught before? Explain.
4. Does the Ila tradition have any influence on the way the pupils and parents view education? Explain. What do you think can be done?

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PUPILS

1. Why do you want to be educated?
2. Do your parents own cattle?
3. If the family has a lot of cattle, is it necessary to go to school? Explain.
4. Do you go to the *lutanga*? What do you like and dislike about the *lutanga*? Explain. (The question is for boys).
5. How do you look at your friends who stopped school but are leading very good and happy lives because of the cattle they own?
6. What is the right age for marriage?
7. How do you look at your friends who stopped school to get married?

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THOSE WHO HAD NEVER BEEN TO SCHOOL

1. How old are you?
2. Have you ever enrolled in school? How far did you go?
3. How do you feel about not being educated? Do you admire those who are educated?
4. How is your relationship with your husband? (For ladies)
5. Would you go to school if you had another chance?
6. Are your children in school?
7. What are the advantages of being educated?

APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OTHER COMMUNITY MEMBERS

1. What are the characteristics of a traditional Mwiila?
2. What do the Baila think about formal education?
3. Do you the views of some people who think that the Baila do not value formal education?
4. How do you look at the rearing of cattle in connection with formal education?
5. Can *lutanga* be done away with in the Ila traditional set up?
6. What are your views about education and marriage?
7. Do you have any other views about education and the Baila?

APPENDIX 7: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FAWEZA/ WORLD VISION OFFICIALS

1. What role does your organization play in the education sector in the district?
2. What has been your experience about the general attitude to education among the Baila?
3. You have encouraged some pupils to attend school by offering them sponsorship. In some cases you have provided infrastructure, learning and teaching materials for some communities. Has this gesture been appreciated by the beneficiaries? Explain
4. Has your advocacy for education made any impact on the general perception of education among the Baila? Explain.
5. Does tradition play any role in the way the Baila regard formal education? In which way?
6. Do you have anything else to say about formal education among the Baila?

**APPENDIX 8: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARENTS WHO MARRIED OFF SCHOOL
GOING CHILDREN**

1. How many children do you have? How many boys and girls?
2. Why did you decide to marry off your daughter before she completed school?
3. What are your views about education of a girl? Explain.
4. How beneficial is formal education? Explain.

APPENDIX 9: DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP- TRADITIONAL LEADERS

1. What developmental projects would you like to see in your village?
2. What role do the villagers play in realising developmental projects in your area?
3. Does education add any value to a person's life? Explain.
4. What differences have you noticed between those who have been to school and those whose
who have never been?
5. What role do cattle play in the life of a Mwiila?
6. Is it necessary to go to school when you have a lot of cattle?
7. What is your community's reaction to the government's call to cost sharing in the provision
of education?
8. How involved are the members of your community in PTA?
9. What is the reaction of your community when one school girl falls pregnant?
10. How do community members react to early marriages?

