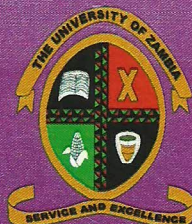


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The Withdrawal of European Missionaries from St. Antony's Catholic Secondary School: What are the Implications?

by

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Abstract

For some years, the Catholic Church has attempted to develop a policy of inculturation. Along with this policy, and perhaps inevitably, there has been an increasing indigenisation of the personnel running Catholic institutions such as hospitals and schools. This turn of events has been driven, at least in part, by the inexorable diminishing of European vocations and increasing numbers of African Priests, Brothers or Sisters. Our research recognises the urgent need to document this transition as a significant episode in the history of Christianity in Africa. What happens when an international system of education is placed in the full charge of local people? We are going to examine this phenomenon with a particular example of one mission school in Zambia, St. Antony's.

Introduction

The first Marian Brothers in Africa arrived at Cape Town in 1867. They also went to Algeria (1891), Madagascar (1911), Congo (1911) and Zimbabwe (1939). After the Second World War, the congregation spread to fourteen other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. There are currently slightly over 500 Marian Brothers in Africa. This group of laymen with vows of poverty, chastity and obedience came to Zambia in the 1950s, and built two schools. From St. Antony's, the Brothers expanded to the north. They built a Youth Centre and a secondary school. From the beginning of Marian schooling, St. Antony's' lay teaching staff was largely *Abasungu* (the English or white men from England) as the local people and the pupils called them. The Brothers were French Canadian (also referred to as *Abasungu*).

The picture of excellence attained at St. Antony's has been challenged by the changes in the Zambian society over the years. Nationwide standards in education have generally dropped and private schools have mushroomed everywhere. The Marian Brothers had come to Zambia to convert young

men to Catholicism and to form them into good citizens through Christian education. The Brothers' hard work exemplified their sincere concern for the Africans' welfare.

There has been research done on Catholic schools in Zambia. Brendan Carmody (1992, 1999a and 1999b) and Anthony Simpson (1990 & 2003) have each undertaken research and published their findings on a Catholic school. Their research was mainly related to social change and conversion. Carmody and Simpson stimulated us to go further into the question of the religious climates and outcomes of Catholic schools. Carmody's work was both missiological and historical. Basically, Carmody's main interest has been conversion. Did the Jesuits bring about conversion in their pupils? Or to put it differently; did the Zambian boys at Canisius convert to Catholicism? Carmody does not deal at great depth with the post-colonial situation, but he does point to the diminishing Jesuits' control of their school because of government interference and policies. He also highlights the change of policy by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) government from 1991 - inviting Catholic congregations to take back from the government their schools and run them themselves.

Simpson's work is ethnographic. He uses anthropological methodologies to explore a school he calls 'St. Antony's'. He focuses on the post-colonial period, especially the 1990s when the Brothers' founder's vision to form good citizens through 'Christian education' became problematic for a number of reasons which he went on to explore.

This study used a mixed-method approach. We interviewed some local people, one of whom had been at St. Antony's in the very early days in the 1960s. We also interviewed some African teachers, former boys of the school and we asked ninety-two boys and girls who had experienced the presence of the European Brothers, their withdrawal and the takeover by the African Brothers. Other than the interviews, we spent a week at St. Antony's to observe what was going on and record the discourse around the African Brothers.

The Marian Brothers

The Marian Brothers Congregation, the proprietor of St. Antony's Secondary School, was founded in France, at La Valla near Lyon in 1817. The aim of the Marian Brothers was to teach catechism, help missionaries in their evangelisation work and running schools. It was the experience the founder had with the dying Jean Baptiste Montage at the end of October 1817 that

led him to found the Congregation. At the age of seventeen; and at the point of death, Montage had not heard anything much about God. The founder of the Marians was moved by this experience and vowed to form a Congregation that would, through schools, teach young people to become 'Good Christians' and 'Good citizens' (Baptist, 1947).

The founding of the Marian Brothers should be understood in the context of the French society of the founder's time. France had just gone through the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Much of the rural population was poor and uneducated. Furthermore, the French Revolution had brought with it secularism. In the process, the Church had been stripped of the powers she had over the populace. It is this background that challenged the founder of the Marian Brothers to build his schools to meet the challenges the French Revolution had brought, especially of not offering quality education to the rural population (*ibid*). The vision of the founder's school was not necessarily to 'educate and give secular knowledge to the young. He wanted to give the youth of his day something different':

But we aim at something better; we want to educate the children, that is, to instruct them in their duty, to teach them to practice it, to give them a Christian spirit and Christian attitudes and to form them in religious habits and the virtues possessed by a good Christian and a good citizen. If we need to do these things, we must be teachers; we must live in the midst of the children; we must have them with us over a long period (*ibid*, 535).

To achieve this, the founder of the Marians wanted all his schools to be run in a special way. He called on and instructed the Brothers to practice the virtues of presence; family spirit, humility and master of the subject content in the schools where they worked.

It is these Marian virtues which the Brothers came with to Northern Rhodesia. They came to make 'Good Christians and Good citizens' out of the Africans. They opened schools which were educational hybrids of the French Catholic ideas of the founder and of the English public school. One of the first Brothers who was present at the time of opening St. Antony's Secondary School wrote back during the 25th anniversary of the school.

It is written in the Bible that 'If you say you love God and do not help your neighbour, you are a liar.' The Marian Brothers as well as the Lay missionaries came to St. Antony's with the intention of helping.

Naturally, they brought with them the knowledge and the know-how they had acquired in their own respective countries.

Some were very young with very little experience. Others were speaking Pidgin English. But they all came full of energy, ready to serve wherever they were needed. These missionaries and the Zambian people, that is to say, the daily workers, the drivers, the bricklayers, the carpenters, the plumbers, the painters, the cooks, the gardeners, the students, the teachers... built the school physically, intellectually and spiritually.

The list would be too long if someone wanted to name each person who gave a part of himself at St. Antony's. They all came with their good will and made out of St. Antony's children a great family. I am proud to have contributed a little in bringing up this big family (25 years of presence in Zambia, 1985 School Magazine).

Missionaries did not just bring about a different education, religion and culture but wanted an African to acquire European education and behave like a European as everything African was considered uncivilised (Snelson, 1994; O'Brien, 2006). The new mission education, therefore, entailed a change either at individual or community level from the traditional way of looking at life, to acquiring Western forms of thought and behaviour.

Right from the beginning of the school, there were hardly any pupil from the local people around. Bob recalls that his class had a limited number of pupils coming within a radius of twenty kilometres of the school. Most of the boys came from the Copperbelt, Lusaka and Kabwe.

I remember Jere, he retired as the first Zambia Air Force Commander. He was coming from Lusaka, I think. It is a long time.... There were not many of us local pupils here. The time of Bro. Peter, this place had only two villages. Things have changed now, in our time, there were few people here. Many people have now come and settled here.

By January 1965, a year after Zambia gained her political independence, enrolment figures had swelled to 320. All the boys were from urban towns (Community Diary). A decade later, the enrolment scenario had not changed much as Simpson (2003: 54) recounts.

In 1974, the European Brothers officially took over control of the School from their North American counterparts. The school continued to be

successful, both on the sports field and in the examinations room, which added to the pressure on enrolment, especially from better-off Zambians, and created a great gap between the school and local people, very few of whose children were admitted as students.

Twelve years later, the school started accepting pupils from local primary schools to attend as day pupils (Simpson, *ibid*).

In 1998, the Brothers undertook the task of sensitising local people, parents, male pupils as well as girls that, girls could learn with boys at the same school and perform well in their studies. Previously, local girls had to find boarding places in schools more than 100 kilometres away. The nearest day schools, about 40 kilometres from St. Antony's, were in a nearby town. JJ and TK both recall how the Brothers went around telling people about the need to have local girls at the school instead of letting them go to distant places or staying at home altogether due to lack of finances. TK said:

Brothers came around and asked us questions on what to do about our daughters. Our daughters could not go to those schools in town because of money and sometimes distance. Some parents were afraid that boys and girls could not learn together. Our girls would just get pregnant and that would be the end of it. We suggested that some Sisters open a boarding school for girls. But the Sisters had their own preference and some of us suggested that we try to have girls at the school. I was particularly happy because I knew my daughter, like me, would learn at the same school I was and receive good education.

The point is that the Brothers became dissatisfied with the status quo of only having boys receive quality education offered at St. Antony's while girls dropped out of school in grade seven and became wives at tender ages. Some Brothers felt that something needed to change to improve the situation for girls. According to Simpson (2003: 28):

The Brothers noticed that Zambian women carried a greater burden in the daily struggle for survival and yet their contribution often went unrecognised. The missionaries sought to alleviate this burden and encouraged young women's potential through offering them mission education.

By 2007, enrolment figures of local pupils, both boys and girls had risen to almost 95 per cent at junior level and 97 per cent at senior level. Musi told us that there were more and more local people gaining access to the school than the time it was opened. The table that follows illustrates this dramatic increase.

Table 1: 2007 School Enrolments

Section	Day			Boarding		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Junior (Grades 8 - 9)	51	51	102	332	-	332
Senior (Grades 10 - 12)	43	39	82	48	-	48

Table 2 below shows a breakdown of results as obtained from 2002 to 2005 from the school archives.

Table 2: Local Pupils' Performance at Grade Twelve between 2002 and 2005

Year	Division 1	Division 2	Division 3	Division 4	GCE	Absent	Total
2002	10	6	1	10	0	0	27
2003	9	3	5	4	2	8	31
2004	10	4	1	0	0	4	19
2005	6	7	1	2	3	4	23

The Brothers had knowledge and skills of bringing the girls to an all male school and used the same skills to help parents and guardians understand that girls could perform as well as boys, even better if given the chance. Since the Brothers wanted the project to succeed, they asked parents to commit themselves to change and support all girls who would be enrolled at St. Antony's. A former pupil, Lucky, recounts:

After failing to pay high schools fees at Kasisi Girls Secondary School, my hopes to a better future were dashed. At the same time, my elder sister invited me to stay with her in the village. I thought to myself, here is the end of my academic life. Well, St. Antony's had just started accepting girls and my sister

suggested that I continue schooling at the school. While I would have loved to be in a boarding school at Kasisi, I have had a chance to continue with my academic life as a day pupil at St. Antony's. I worked hard, harder than the boys who were laughing at us and got a division one and found myself at the University Teaching Hospital School of Nursing. I love nursing.

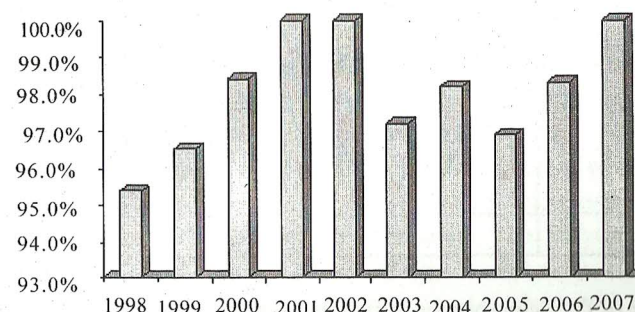
It was not an easy task for the girl child to be fully accepted in an all male environment. Gladys recalls some of her worst days at school.

These boys told us that we were prostitutes and our only use was at home in bedrooms and in the kitchen. We found it difficult to complain because nearly all the administrative staff was male and we feared teachers would support boys. We told the administration about the problem but there was nothing done about it.

Despite the presence of day scholars - boys and girls, grade twelve results from 1998 to 2007 continued to be very good. See Figure 1 below. This probably could be attributed to the growing acceptance that local girls had the capacity to compete at the same front as boys in the boarding and that girls had come to stay in the school.

It should be pointed out that St. Antony's is the only catholic mission school in Zambia that changed its status from a single sex to a co-education school.

Figure 1: 1998-2007 Grade Twelve Results Analysis



Adapted from the School Records (1998-2007)

Mission education is highly honoured and prized in Zambia. 'To have entered a mission secondary school was, in the eyes of many students and their parents, to have already achieved considerable measures of success' (Simpson, 2003: 85). The Head teacher told us:

I have to deal with hundreds of applications for Grade Eight places each year. Right now, I have more than one thousand applications for twenty places in Grade Eight, he narrated.

Many parents especially the elite want their children to receive mission education for varied reasons. In order to show the local people that the Brothers were committed to the educational needs of the local community and to increase confidence in the local people, the Brothers opened a primary school. The idea was to prepare local pupils to compete favourably with pupils coming from elite families who received extra tuitions at home before they came to the high school. The primary school was finally opened in 1995.

Table 3: St. Antony's Mulungushi Primary School Enrolment in 2007

Grade	Boys	Girls
One	22	19
Two	20	21
Three	22	18
Four	18	22
Five	24	11
Six	20	18
Seven	11	16
Total	137	125

The presence of the Primary school explains, for example, the large numbers of day pupils enrolled at Junior section from 2000 to 2007.

As already alluded to, the research engaged pupils finishing their secondary education at St. Antony's as well as those who had finished a year earlier. These pupils had experienced the transition (2002-2006) of the school from Europeans to Africans. The thematic responses of the pupils are tabulated below. In Table 4, pupils (eighty who were completing grade twelve and twelve who had completed grade twelve the previous year) were asked whether or not the European brothers were wanted or needed at St. Antony's and the pattern of responses were as follows:

Table 4: Are the brothers wanted or needed at St. Antony's? Explain your answer

Response	Frequency	%
Yes, they contribute a lot to education and religious matters	27	29.3
Yes, because they are the founders of the school	27	29.3
Yes, they help the vulnerable in the community in many ways	20	21.7
Yes, they are dedicated to their work	9	9.8
Yes, they supplement government teachers who are not serious with their work	4	4.3
No, they no longer behave like brothers	4	4.3
No response	1	1.1
Total	92	100.0

In face-to-face interviews with some of the respondents, we received explicit statements such as, 'the European Brothers had resources in terms of money.' Most respondents also reported that they feared that the African Brothers tended to leave Brotherhood slightly more than the Europeans do, so that there could be a day when there would be no Brother left. In the interview, we were not informed much of religious help as much as education. Our interviewees recalled when local pupils received bicycles from the Brothers to help them arrive early at school and at home. The Bicycle Project, we learnt, ended even before the European Brothers went away.

In Table 5 below, our respondents were asked to share with us who they thought were more respected than the other between the European Brothers and the African Brothers.

Table 5: Are African Brothers Respected More than the Spanish by Local Swaka and Others

Response	Frequency	%
No, the Europeans received more respect	57	62.0
No difference at all. They receive the same respect	28	30.4
Yes, they are very much respected more than the Europeans	6	6.5
No response	1	1.1
Total	92	100.0

We realised that 'respect' was value laden and in our face-to-face interviews we requested our interviewees to volunteer what they understood by 'respect'. Most of our boys' respondents reported that they appreciated the Brothers' dedication to duty and all our interviewees reported that they respected the Brother who lived up to their 'duties of Brotherhood' [implying faithfulness to celibacy, poverty and community life].

In Table 6, the ninety-two respondents were asked to state what they found attractive about the local Marian Brothers. Their responses are shown in the table below.

Table 6: What do You Find Most Attractive About the Local Brothers?

Response	Frequency	%
Prayers and way of life, basically the relationship they have with the people	32	34.8
Their unity as a family	28	30.4
The way they assist the vulnerable school children	6	6.5
They are influential and understanding	6	6.5
Nothing	6	6.5
Their Brilliant teaching	5	5.4
No response	9	9.8
Total	92	100.0

In Table 7 below, the responses to the question, what do you find attractive about the local Marian Brothers, overshadowed all that was attractive about them.

Table 7: What do You Find Unattractive About the Local Brothers?

Response	Frequency	%
Pride/boasting	21	22.8
Selfishness/segregation	17	18.5
Pretence	14	15.2
Unfriendliness	14	15.2
Not marrying to have their own children	5	5.4
Drinking and going out with young girls	3	3.3
Nothing	2	2.2
Lack of respect for each other	1	1.1
No response	13	14.1
Total	92	100.0

Fourteen of our respondents said 'pretence'; Seventeen said selfishness and segregativeness and fourteen said unfriendly; and twenty-one said the Brothers were 'full of themselves', proud and boastful. In the focus group interview of a group that had already completed High School and were at a university, we were given insight into these responses. The group highlighted problems of selfishness, segregation and unfriendliness. Supported by the group one former student said that:

It surprised me to see that some local brothers openly favoured some pupils, would go to town frequently unlike before without a clear agenda. This we perceived as abuse of school and community resources. Some are just difficult to approach and are unfriendly.

One perennial problem at St. Antony's has to do with the relationship between teachers and the Brothers in the school. The Brothers have been perceived as being aloof, keeping to their community. When we asked our respondents to tell us what they think about the relationship since the departure of the European Brothers; this is how they responded in Table 8.

Table 8: Is There Now a Better Relationship between the Brothers and the Teachers?

Response	Frequency	%
Just slightly better	42	45.7
No, it is the same	31	33.7
A lot better now	17	18.5
No response	2	2.2
Total	92	100.0

Indeed, the responses in Table 8 above were supported by the responses in Table 9.

Table 9: Concerning Mixing between Brothers and the Teachers, What would You Say?

Response	Frequency	%
The African Brothers are mixing with the teachers more	58	63.0
The European Brothers do not at all mix with the teachers	16	17.4
There is no difference at all	16	17.4
No response	2	2.2
Total	92	100.0

Our problem was to figure out how exactly the brothers and the teachers should relate. In our interviews, pupils reported that they didn't see much interaction between teachers and the Brothers. The Brothers hardly spent time in the staff room and did not visit the teachers in their homes. However, we were told that one brother was seen visiting a female teacher quite

frequently and that the Brother ended up marrying the lady. Our respondents suggested a middle-way relationship whereby the two communities were keeping their 'boundaries', but strive to be a solid community.

A related question illustrated in Table 10 was to find out whether the European Brothers kept their 'presence' more than the African Brothers.

Table 10: Did the European Brothers Mix with the Pupils in the School More than the African Brothers?

Response	Frequency	%
No	33	35.9
Yes	31	33.7
There is just a slight improvement	20	21.7
There is no difference at all	8	8.7
Total	92	100.0

From the responses, there was a slight improvement except that the nature of pupil-Brother relationship was not enhanced. At close scrutiny, pupils appreciated a Brother who visited them in their dormitories, during their meals in the dining halls and at the sports fields. The founder of the Brothers had wished that the Brothers keep their presence among the boys.

Moving away from social life of our site, we wanted to find out the academic side of St. Antony's. In terms of teaching, as can be seen in Table 11 below, the African Brothers had 46.7 per cent against 51.1 per cent although they spoke better English.

Table 11: Who do You Think are Better Teachers between the African Brothers and the European Brothers?

Response	Frequency	%
Obviously the European Brothers because the African Brothers do not know how to deliver their lessons	47	51.1
Obviously the African Brothers because of their better English	43	46.7
No response	2	2.2
Total	92	100.0

However, the African Brothers were deemed deficient in teaching methods or strategies. In our inquiry into this, we interviewed some African Brothers to tell us about their training and this is what we were told: 'We had a "micro teaching" course, we also had "school experience" or "teaching practice" and we had a one credit course called "teaching practice integration".' But there was no significant difference between the European and the local Brothers in teaching styles. Connected to academic life of the school was the question of governance of the school. Table 12 below speaks for itself.

Table 12: Who do You Think are Better Administrators between the African Brothers and European Brothers?

Response	Frequency	%
European Brothers because they had the money to run such schools	72	78.3
The African Brothers because they are understanding	20	21.7
Total	92	100.0

As can be seen, good governance was connected to resources. Table 13 shows that while it did not matter who was the Head of the school, the European Brother was preferred.

Table 13: Who would You Like to be Head Teacher between an African Brother, a European Brother and an African Teacher and Why?

Response	Frequency	%
It does not matter	60	65.2
European Brother	23	25.0
An African Brother	4	4.3
An African teacher	4	4.3
No response	1	1.1
Total	92	100.0

Governance was also related to boarding matters such as diet, school ethos and identity, physical appearance of the school up to the use of school mobile and immobile properties. In what sense the African Brothers gave the school the Catholic identity was fascinating. Reasons were not reported, but one former pupil living within the vicinity of the school had this to say:

We have been conditioned to thinking that a mission school should have whites running it. But I personally think that we should rate mission stations by the number of indigenous people it has because these give it the identity.

This research aimed at finding out what happens when the Europeans leave and the African takes over? Without buying into hamitic notions that denigrate the African, the researchers recorded what they were told as it was told to them. In other words, epistemologically, the data emerged as it did from interviewees, who, themselves, may have carried certain assumptions about the African and the European. We were also aware of the widespread belief that the African only destroys the good works of earlier Europeans.

The European Brothers left St. Antony's and built St. Charles in the north of the country. St. Charles, we were told, was a replica of St. Antony's in terms of architecture. It is as if the Brothers could not do away with St. Antony's. Why did the Brothers leave St. Antony's? First of all we need to go back to the history of the Brothers in question. These Brothers had initially wanted to work in a neighbouring country because there were European priests in that country from their own country. However, a group of other Marian Brothers from another country was also there and had also St. Antony's from which they were withdrawing. Thus, St. Antony's was offered to these new Brothers. Once in Zambia, the new Brothers sought those of their own nationality working in the country. They found some missionaries of their own kind on the Copperbelt. Not long, they opened a community in a town next to where they built St. Charles. They ran a skills centre close to missionaries from their own country. In 2004 the brothers started building St. Charles. It would be unfair to brand these missionaries as racist because in their community at St. Charles there are one or two African Brothers. In fact, the Head teacher of St. Charles is an African.

In any event, asked to comment on the departure of the Brothers from St. Antony's, our respondents answered in this manner illustrated in Table 14.

Table 14: In the 1970s and Early 1980s Pupils of St. Antony's Used to Call Their School 'Half London'. If it is No Longer the Case, is it because of the Departure of the European Brothers?

Response	Frequency	%
Yes, because standards have gone down	63	68.5
No, St. Antony's still remains 'half London'	26	28.3
No response	3	3.3
Total	92	100.0

We may probably rule out racial motives though not completely. But we suspect the Brothers were fatigued from running a boarding school.

There was a general feeling of pessimism about the future of St. Antony's. In Table 15 below 55.4% (51) of our respondents said they were pessimistic. In the face-to-face interview our respondents informed us that the African Brothers did not have the capacity in terms of financial resources and they went on to suggest that academic achievements would plummet.

Table 15: What would You Say About the Future of St. Antony's? Are You Pessimistic or Optimistic?

Response	Frequency	%
Pessimistic	51	55.4
Optimistic	34	37.0
No response	7	7.6
Total	92	100.0

Observations to Consider

When respondents were asked whether or not it is good that the local Brothers who are indigenous Zambians have taken over St Antony's. Various reasons

were given to us both in the questionnaire and in the face-to-face interviews. An increase in corruption in admitting pupils of the rich even when they did not qualify to St. Antony's was reported.

St. Antony's will go on under the direction and leadership of the local Brothers if, first of all, the Brothers have a clear vision of what they want to do at St. Antony's. This vision is that of their founder, interpreted in 21st century Zambia at St. Antony's. The first Brothers came in 1959, but it took them twenty-four years to 'convert' some Africans to Marianism. Since then, there has been a steady number of local Zambian Brothers. We argue that the first thing the local Brothers have to embark on is economically viable projects to support themselves, the school and the recruitment of their fellow locals to Marianism. This is not easy and it is easier proposed than done. We know that the Brothers' core business or charism is not business. They are a charity. We also appreciate the local Brothers' challenges of supporting themselves from their meagre salaries. The stark reality is that times have changed.

Economically viable projects for the local Zambian clergy and indeed other Catholic congregations were emphasised by the Vatican Ambassador to Zambia, Nicola Girasoli, who was also the Apostolic Nuncio for Zambia and Malawi. He told a meeting of Zambian diocesan priests the following:

'Priests should initiate projects that are directly aimed at their own sustainability. I shall do my best to support these projects and also to claim more attention of our institutions in Rome and world-wide to the fact that sustainability of our priests should be a priority because without priests, there is no Catholic Church' (*Saturday Post*, 9 August 2008).

A local Marian at St Antony's made this appeal when the European Brothers left St Antony's:

Let us see how we can support our own local missionaries. Having taken the example from foreign missionaries already, priests and Diocesan priests, local missionaries now need the support of the local people, their families and local parishes.

This was a cry of anguish. The local Brothers had come to terms with reality. Before the departure of the Europeans, they were hardly responsible for positions in the school that had to do with money, maintenance and planning. If they held such positions, they had European Brothers to assist in fund raising.

There is one serious question that the local Brothers need to answer in 21st century Zambia. Should young people joining the Brothers all become teachers? Or should they all train as teachers and later train in other areas such as farming, press and publishing, etc? What are the signs of the times? We realise the value of education and we encourage the Brothers to remain true and faithful to the founder's spirit. In fact, the people around St. Antony's badly need education. Thus, we argue that boarding facilities must be made available to those who come from very far, but within St. Antony's catchment area. This will be a comprehensive response to the educational needs of the people around St. Antony's.

We propose that the local people should have a different cut-off point at both Grade 7 and 9. We do not subscribe to the notion that, as long as a pupil has a full certificate, they should proceed to the next stage. The Brothers too do not subscribe to the notion of mere schooling. Their founder aimed at education as we understand it today. Overall, we think that more and more vocations will come from the community; from the boys who would have been nurtured in the spirit of the founder of the Marian Brothers. These are boys who will have grown up as altar boys and will have interacted with the Brothers from the primary to the secondary school. The foregoing inevitably brings us to the recommendation that more needs to be done in the primary school. The presence of the Brothers there is required just as it is required in the secondary school section.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we propose that St. Antony's should move from being a national school to a local school to serve the local people. The European Brothers actually went away to start a school to serve the local people around the church, St. Charles. But we were told by some local observers that the St. Charles is in fact helping more of girls and boys from rich parents who can afford bus fares and food during lunch break. The European Brothers' departure from St. Antony's was, among other things necessitated by an increase in the local Brothers, which made the European Brothers who had advanced in age uncomfortable. St. Antony's was also too demanding in terms of finances and time because it is a grant-aided boarding school, which in real terms means that the school has to depend on the government grant and boarding fees.

We also argue that the local Brothers have been accorded the opportunity to prove their vocation among their own people. All of them were not at St. Antony's for their secondary education. They only picked up the Marian ethos during their training. We further argue that the transition from European

to local Brothers has been helpful to the local Brothers. The local people will wait to see what home grown Marian life at St. Antony's will be. From our side, we can only ask the following questions: How will these Zambian men attract Zambian youths to a life of poverty, chastity and obedience? How will these young men ensure academic excellence and their founder's values in the school? What will be attractive about the local Marian Brothers to the Zambian youth? How will they forge a community in the true sense of Zambian traditional life? How will they themselves nourish their own academic and spiritual lives?

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