I do hereby declare and affirm that all the contents of this research paper are wholesomely based on my own findings. I have not in any way used the work of another person without acknowledging the same to be so.
I therefore bear the complete responsibility for all the contents, defects and any omission that may be found to be there.

Signed.....

Date.....

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The dissertation is dedicated to my husband Mr. Kyson Mtepa Banda, my Sons Kondwani, Chisomo, Mekani, Dabson, Kwenje and my Daughters Nsiku, Charity and to all my Grandchildren. It is also dedicated to my parents Edina and Clement Phiri including my brothers and sisters. Thank you. This is for you all.

This dissertation of Margaret Phiri is approved as fulfilling the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History by the University of Zambia.

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The study was set to explore the establishment of Islam in Chipata district. Chipata in particular, being the provincial headquarters attracted more Indian families than any other town in the region and played a key role in founding and shaping various Muslim communities. It is noted in the study that Islam was introduced to Chipata by Muslim traders from India and by Yao Muslims from Malawi. The study also showed that Muslims found in Chipata are Sunnis. The study argues that Islam failed to spread during the colonial period because of the failure of the Indian Muslim traders to propagate their faith. It is also noted that during this period Islam had no missionaries and no itinerant preachers. In addition the hostile policies of the colonial government which restricted the activities of the Indian Muslim traders also contributed to the slow process of Islamization in Chipata district.

The study highlighted the categories of people converting to Islam in Chipata. These include the orphans the poor, the widows and widowers, the youth and subsistence farmers. The study also examined reasons that led the people of Chipata to embrace Islam. These include employment the Islamic practice of alms giving (Zakat), Islamic tolerance of polygamy, extended family system, Islamic festivals such as breaking the fast and promotion of good health, as well as personal conviction. The study further established the extent of Islam in Chipata. Islam in Chipata has reached Chief Chanje, Misholo, Kapatamoyo, Chinunda, Mafuta, Mkanda, Mwanya and Chief Mshawa.

Finally, the study assessed the influence of Islam on the indigenous people of Chipata. The manifestation of Islamic activity in Chipata is the building of Mosques in various Chiefdoms and construction of Islamic schools like Chongololo and Maôhal al-Rashid and giving Islamic names to converted Muslims such as Abdullah, Fatima, Ali, Aisha and Daud. In Chipata, it is common to see indigenous Zambians wearing the Jarabiya (cassock) and the Fez (head cap) women veiled in Islamic dresses (hijab) to cover their head. On Fridays, local Muslim men go for prayers at Jami mosque and the poor walk back home with parcels containing food and clothing.

Key words: Influence, Conversion, Manifestation, Islamisation and Propagate.

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AMA	African Muslim agency
CMA	Chipata Muslim Association
CODISEZA	Corporative Daôwa and Islamic Educational of Zambia
DEIC	Dutch East Indian Company
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
FENZA	Faith and Encounter Centre of Zambia
IFANIZA	Islam for All Nations in Zambia
IWCTZ	Islamic Welfare Centre Trust Zambia
KIS	Katete Islamic Society
MIST	Makeni Islamic Society Trust
MSC	Muslim Sports Club
NAZ	National Achieves of Zambia
PKMA	Petauke Kawere Muslim Association
TJ	Tablighi Jamaôat
UMCA	Universities Mission to Central Africa
ZAMHA	Zambia Haalal Authority

The word óIslamô means voluntary submission of oneôs own free will to Allah. Muslim is an Arabic word meaning one who submits to God. According to Jomier, Islam is one of the major world religions which was founded by the Prophet Muhammad Bin Abdullah in the early seventh century A.D. near the western edge of the Arabian Peninsula in Mecca[1]. The history of Islam involves the religion of Islam and its followers the Muslims. Jomier further mentions that Muslims and their religion have greatly influenced the political, social, economic and military history of the worldview, especially the Middle East, where its roots are based.[2] The impact has revolutionized the worldview especially in sharing of resources, distribution of development and reducing the marginal barriers between the poor and the rich.

During the religious life, islamic women are expected to behave in a humble manner demostrating the charateristics of submission to the faith. Submission is one of the requirements ofIslamic religious life.[3]According to Islam a woman as a muslim enjoys more recognition and higher honor in the sight of God. Below is a picture of a woman in a submisive position as a symble of her faith.

[1] Jaques Jomier *How to understand Islam(New York*: Crossroads Publishing Company, 1989), p.6
[2]Maroe, Johnson *Islam youth and Modernity in Gambia:* (London University Press, 2014), p.457.
[3]Abdalati, Hammudah. Islam in focus,(Beirut: Maktaba Parussalan Publishers,1995), pp. 79.

Muslims usuallay gather for prayers in a bulding called a mosque. The mosque is managed by a leader known as the Mwalimu. These are strictly males and they are recruilted by the association that established the mosque. For instance, Chipata has three associations that establish mosques namely Chipata Islamic Association, Maôhad al Rashid and various individuls. The most important holy book of Muslims is called the Quran. It is originary written in Arabic. Nevertheless, it has been translated into local languages. For Chipata District , the Quran has been translated into local language which is *Nyanja.* Below is a picture of a quran which is a holy scrow for muslims.

Source: Aljazeera media files

The presence of Muslim settlers in Zambia is associated with the arrival of Indians; in particular the Indians in the beginning of the twentieth century.[4] During that period Muslim slave merchants extended their business to the interior regions reaching Zambia in the period of the Omani dynasty Al Bu Said. These Arab slave traders entered Zambia from their trading bases on the coasts of Tanzania, Malawi and Mozambique. They involved themselves in the business of slave trading. More than hundred years ago, about four million (4,000,000) slaves were taken from Zambia and surrounding countries and later exported from Swahili ports by the Arab traders to India and Arabia. In more recent times, some Muslims from Somalia and Kenya have settled in Zambia.[5]All

[4]Charles. Hanjoomo, *Islamization of Liteta in Chibombo District Central Province of Zambia*, M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2014, p. 17.
[5]Hanjoomo, *Islamisation of Liteta in Chibombo District Central Province of Zambia*, pp. 17.

the Islamic settlers are traders in most of the cases. Trade being the main driver of industry, has been dominated by the Muslims making them grow steadily in the recent times.

According to Austin Cheyeka, the history of Islam in Zambia begins with the establishment of Fort Jameson (Chipata) in 1899 as an administrative town for the British South African Company (BSA). Within ten years of its establishment an influx of Indian traders began.[3]Chipata District as a colonial administrative headquarters before 1911 was one of the major entry points for most Indian settlers including Muslims in Zambia. Within the past few decades, Islam has undoubtedly gained remarkable momentum in all parts of the world.[6] Just like the colonization drivers which entered through traditional leaders, *Islamization* was also perpetuated through strong linkages between chiefs and Headmen. Through bilateral agreements, Indian settlers succeeded in establishing ties that cohersed Islamic principles that influenced the local people to adopt and adapt Islam.

In spite of representing a small minority of the population, about 0.5% according to the National Census of 2000, Islam has become an important component of both the religious and socioï political landscape of Zambia for the past four decades.[7]Mahdi notes that the majority of Muslims in Zambia are Sunni, and by 1960 there were about 50,000 Sunni Muslims in Zambia. The number of Muslims had increased in the 1970s because the Muslim community became active and involved themselves in the construction of Mosques, schools (religious and secular), orphanages, Islamic developmental projects and the propagation of Islamic literature, indicating both the resurgence of the preïexisting community and its expansion through new converts.[8]

The spread of local Muslim associations has drown momentum to the transmission of Islam and has also contributed significantly to the strengthening of the already existing Muslim community. Their influence on society has opened up new horizons for the understanding of existing Islamic enthusiasm. In this respect, local and transïnational Muslim organizations have become fundamental to understanding the contemporary growth of Islam in countries like Zambia.[9]

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[6] Austin Cheyeka, *Towards a History of Islam in Zambia*, In B. Henze (ed.),*Basic of Religious Education in Zambia*, (Ndola: Mission Press, 2007), pp. 76-95.

[7]*Zambia 2010 Census of Population and Housing National Analytical Repor*t. Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, December 2012.

[8]A. A. Mahdi, *Secular Education of Muslim Children*. *Journal of the Institute of the Muslim Minority Affairs, 3* (1981), pp. 86.

[9]Cheyeka, *Towards a History of Islam in Zambia*, p. 76.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Despite the fact that Islam has been spreading in Zambia today not much has been written about it. A number of scholars point to the fact that the history of Muslims in Zambia is a subject largely ignored by historians of religion in Zambia despite the recognition that there are many Zambians who profess Islam[10]. In particular, there has not been much research conducted in Chipata district of the Eastern Zambia to establish the history and influence of Islam. Yet the influence is quite evident as many local people have converted to Islam. This knowledge gap needs to be explored and studied in the religious history of Zambia, in order to develop inclusive integration of Muslims in the Zambian society at large.

1.2 Aim

To understand the history and influence of Islam in Chipata District of Eastern Province

1.2 Objectives

1. To explore the history of Islam in Chipata District of Eastern Province.
2. To investigate the extent of Islamization in Chipata district.
3. To understand the main drivers of Islam in Chipata district among local people converting to Islam.
4. To Assess the influence of Islam on the indigenous people of Chipata district.

1.3 Research

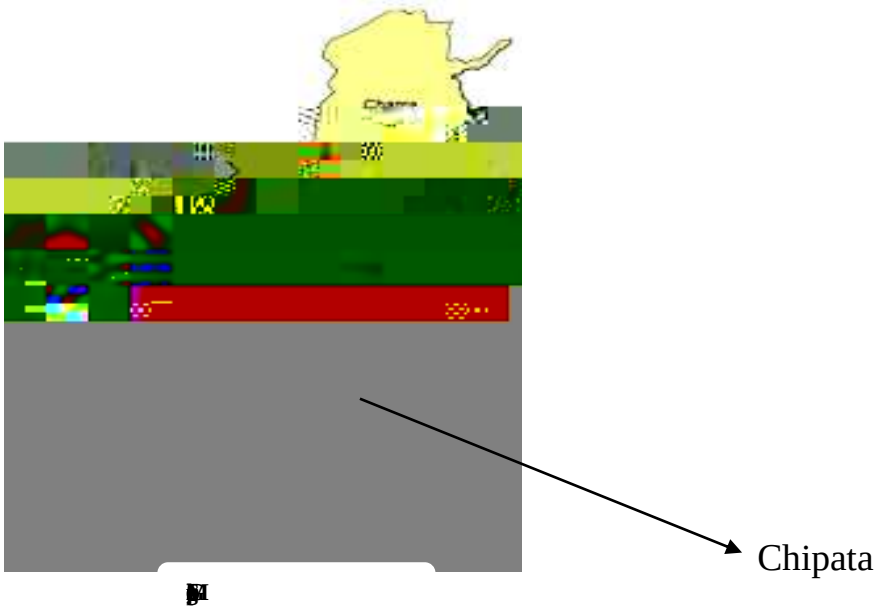
This research is to study the history and influence of Islam in Chipata district of Eastern province. The study of religious history is important as a tool for understanding aspects o fhuman history which has a positive bearing often on the social well being of the community. The study will contribute to the emerging knowledge of Islam, it is hoped that the study will stimulate further research on the subject in other parts of the country.

1.4 Study Area

Chipata District is located in Eastern Province of Zambia. As of the 2010 Zambian Census, the district had a population of 436,894 people. Chipata Town Centre is located about 600 km from Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia, while it is only 110 km from Lilongwe, the capital city of

[10]Felix Phiri, *Islam in Post-Colonial Zambia*, in Jan Gewald, MarjiHinfelaai and Giacomo Macula (eds.,), *One Zambia many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Africa*. (Netherlands: MartinusNijhuff Publishers, 2008), pp. 164 184.

Malawi. Thus, Chipata accesses its imports mainly from Nacala and Dar es Salaam ports in Mozambique and Tanzania respectively, all routes passing through Malawi to *Mwami* Border. These routes are predominantly populated by Islamic settlers who control 90 percent of trade. Since, Chipata is just shaping up from a rural area; it is still populated largely by peasant farmers, such that most traders are Indian. The District has a firm foundation of being a trade Centre dating back to the colonial era of the current Zambia, when it was called Fort Jameson. This cornerstone has left the town as the hub of Eastern Province, by maintaining its position as a Provincial Headquarters.



5 [illegible]

The challenges faced during the research included difficulties in getting hold of respondents for interviews and suspicion from Muslims. Nonetheless, the researcher made maximum use of those who took part in the study to achieve the objectives of the study. The researcher could not access the correct statistics due to poor recording keeping and degree of privacy by Islamic leaders.

6 [illegible]

It is important to note that the topic on lslam in Zambia has been scantly documented. Several literatures were revealed relevant to this research on lslam in Chipata district. A study by Bizeck Jube Phiri, states that the history of Indians in Eastern Province began with the establishment of

Fort Jameson (present day Chipata) in 1899. The first migration of Indians took place in 1904 in Chipata. By 1960 there were close to three hundred Indians in the town involved in commerce and trade. Phiri quotes Prithvish who notes that Indian community in Zambia probably owes its presence to historical accident. Most of these worked for the British Colonial administration as traders and clerks. [11]

In the past four decades, the Muslims settler communities in Zambia have expanded due to increased immigration of more Muslims mainly from West Africa. This is because of the natural expansion of pre-existing communities and also local conversations.[12] Felix J. Phiri further notes that in Zambia, Islam is mainly a tendency of the Eastern and Lusaka provinces. The works of Felix J. Phiri also reveal that up until recently, Islam was almost an unknown religious phenomenon in Western, North Western and Luapula provinces but southern and the central provinces have always had significant Muslim presence boosted mainly by the Yao.

A study by Felix J. Phiri on óMuslim Associations and the Resurgence of Zambiaô notes that Eastern province is one of the regions of Zambia where Islam has been present and influential for a long time. At the turn of the nineteenth century coastal traders were extending their sphere of influence along the *Luangwa* valley by the intermediary of the *Chewa* Kingdom from present day Malawi. Islam has implanted itself throughout the whole of the Eastern province due to such ethnic communities as the Indians, the *Bisa* and the *Yao*. Phiri further adds that Indian mercantile and the *Yao* have greatly contributed to the spread of Islam and provided a framework within which thousands of indigenous converts have entered Islam within the past four decades most of the converts being of Christian background.[13] Phiri's work does not mention reasons on why Muslims in colonial times were not as active as they are today, however it provided useful background information for the study.

Felix J. Phiri in a study entitled óAfrican *Conversion: Entering the Fold of Islam* ódemonstrates that Islam first came to Zambia through Arab traders and the Swahili partners from the east coast of Africa who made several inroads into the continent. He notes that in reviewing the introduction of Islam to Zambia it has been observed that most of the areas that were touched by the first Muslim

[11] B.J. Phiri, *A History of Indians in Eastern province of Zambia*, (Lusaka: 2000), pp. 3.
[12]Phiri, *A History of Indians in Eastern Province of Zambia*, p. 3.
[13] Phiri, *Muslim Associations and the Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*, (Lusaka: Fenza Publication with Lembani Trust, 2008), pp. 129.

incursions into Zambia had not yet been exposed to Christianity but were practitioners of traditional religion or tribal cults.[14]

In another study by Felix J. Phiri entitled ó*Islam in post-colonial Zambia*ô most significant moment in the development of Islam in Zambia was associated with the countryôs post-colonial period. He notes that the main reasons for coming to Zambia were economic and had very little to do with the propagation of Islam. Secondly, the possibility to form government-recognized associations proved instrumental in providing organizational structures to the community. Thus, faith communities to supplement government effort to deal with social- economic problems helped the spread of lslam.[15] The study is vital to our work as it relates to the influence of Muslims in Zambia.

Austin M. Cheyeka notes that the presence of Islam in Zambia is real and there are more and more Zambians converting to the religion. He observes that what is lacking in Zambia is real dialogue between the Christian majority and Muslim minority so that lslam does not so easily become a threat leading to such defensive actions as declaring Zambia a óChristian nation. Zambiaôs policy toward religion accommodates all religions in the country, but most citizens are quite unaware of the nature, extent and influence of Islam in their midst. [16]Cheyeka's work looked at dialogue between Muslims and Christians however the study did not discuss the differences in terms of their beliefs in order to appreciate one another.

Charles Hanjoomoôs study explores reasons for conversion to Islam by the people of Liteta in *Chibombo* District in Central Province of Zambiaô. It aimed at establishing the people who brought Islam in *Liteta,* identifying the people converting to Islam, and establishing the extent of Islamization of *Liteta* area. The study was guided by Humphrey Fisherôs theory of African Conversion. The study revealed seven reasons that led the people of *Liteta* to embrace Islam. These include; poverty, Islamôs tolerance of polygamy, extended family system, and Islamic dress, promotion of good diet and good health as well as Islamic religious festivals.[16] Hanjoomo's study did not mention the Indian traders or the Yao as having contributed to the spread of Islam in Liteta however .it provided useful background information for the study.

[14] Felix Phiri, *Entering the Fold of Islam*, In Brendan Carmody (ed.,),*Religious Conversion an African Perspective,* (Lusaka: Gadsden Publishers, 2015), pp.224 ï 226.
[15] Felix Phiri, *Islam in Post-Colonial Zambia*, pp. 164 ï 184.
[16]Austin Cheyeka, *The Islamic Presence in Zambia*, In Brendan Carmody (ed.,), *Religion and Education in Zambia*, (Ndola: Mission Press, 2004), p. 142.

The presence of Muslims in the country has had its own effects on the members or residents of areas that have Muslims in it. The works of Felix Phiri show that there are four types of people that convert to Islam in Zambia. These include the men, women the youth and the children. Different methods are used to convert these people on individual basis which are in line with the conversion patterns. There is a tendency by adults to join Islam if they work for Muslims.

The research conducted by Charles Hanjoomo shows that employees of Indian Muslims businessmen have converted to Islam partly through indirect compulsion and partly through contact with Muslims who manifest their desire to see them become Islam.[17] The same research reveal that the youth are motivated to join Islam because of the scholarships being provided by the Muslim associations to the youth with the desire to study abroad in Islamic countries like the Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Egypt and other countries. Charles Hanjoomo cites Mertens, (1980) saying that these students, when they graduate are actively inserted in to the Islamic community usually in Lusaka. For women, they are made to join Islam when they get married to a man who is a Muslim[18]. The research by Phiri and Hanjoomo discussed more on the reasons of conversion to Islam but it did not discuss the activities of the people who brought Islam to the districts mentioned.

Felix J. Phiri notes that the Islamic communities have now been given formal recognition because they have formed associations which are registered by the Registrar of societies as per requirement by the government law. These include Islamic Welfare Centre Trust (IWCTZ), Comparative *Da'wa* and Islamic Education in Zambia (CODISEZA), Islam for All Nations in Zambia (IFANIZA), Chipata Muslim Association (CMA) *Katete* Muslim Society (KMS) and *Petauke Kawere* Muslim Association (PKMA). These associations have ensured that Mosques have been in these areas and other community works are done.[18] Educational facilities have also been built in the areas where these associations are. Phiri's work gives us an insight on how the Islamic community through its associations has gained formal recognition and how they are impacting the society through the building of Educational facilities. However Phiri's work did not look at numbers of Muslims attending prayers at each mosque in the districts mentioned.

According to the 2010 census of population and housing, out of the recorded total population of 1,525,123 people in Eastern province, 18,518 were Muslims while 4,788 Muslims were recorded

[17] Hanjoomo, Islamization *of Liteta in Chibombo District*, pp. 17.
[18]Hanjoomo, *Islamization of Liteta in Chibombo District*, pp. 17.

in Chipata district a number which has obviously increased six years down the line. Phiri echoes that in the sixties, Indian families came and settled in Chadiza and Katete districts as farmers and traders but because of the economic reforms of 1968 and 1969, practically all of them relocated to Chipata and Lusaka districts. This has made Chipata and Lusaka become the two major towns with significant Indian communities and also with important religious development. Phiri goes on to add that the Indian community of Chipata and that of Lusaka have played a pivotal role in the spread of Islam in the countryside of the two districts. Other districts mentioned in the province are Katete, Petauke and Nyimba among others.[41] The statistics are important to this study but Phiri's work did not discuss the impact of Islam on the indigenous peopleof the districts mentioned such as Chipata, Lusaka, Katete and Chadiza.

Haghnaz indicates that, the complexity of Islam in Africa is revealed in the various schools of thought, traditions, and voices in many African countries. African Islam is not static and is constantly being reshaped by prevalent social, economic and political conditions. Haghnaz adds that Islam in Africa often adapted to African cultural contexts and belief systems forming Africa's own orthodoxies.[19] This study is vital to our work because it provides an insight on the foundations and spread of Islam in Africa as a whole.

Jomier records that by the year 700, all the southern shores of the Mediterranean were occupied. This happened after Egypt was conquered in less than ten years after the death of the prophet Muhammad.[20] Abdullahi An-

many converts in Africa. He adds that with the arrival of oil wealth in Saudi, Iran, Libya, and other parts of the Muslim world, it became highly possible, for the cause of Islam in Africa, to support considerable projects in Africa. Thus schools and mosques were built; clinics were subsidized and scholarships to study abroad were offered. An-Naôim and Joinerôs studies are relevant as they give us as picture on how Islam contributed to Africa through creation of various projects such as construction of schools Mosques and clinics.[23]However Jomier and An-Na'im's work discussed much on the impact of Islam in Africa while this study looks at Islam as a minority striving to position itself as an alternative to the long standing Christian denominations.

Islam spread to the rest of Eastern and Central Africa during the nineteenth century through teachers, religious leaders from Yemen and Comoro Islands and through slave trade expansion inland from the coast .Viera Pawlikova Vilhanovaôs work also supports this by revealing that the process of Islamization in expansion up-country, away from the long Islamized towns of the East African coast, only began in the nineteenth-century. Islam advanced slowly and gradually along a network of caravan routes through trading contacts with some African peoples, spread by ordinary adherents, Kiswahili-speaking merchants, who penetrated the interior of Eastern Africa in search of ivory and slaves. Economic and trading interest activities also played a role in the spread of Islam at the southernmost tip of the African continent. Many slaves and political prisoners sent to the Cape during the period 1652 to 1795 were Muslims.[24]

Today, the population of Kenya and Uganda is dominated by Muslims who represent 20 and 10 per cent of the total population respectively. However, the Muslim population in Tanzania is significantly higher, constituting 35-40 percent of the total population. An-Naôim attributes this to the concentration of trade centers in Tanzania and the importance of Zanzibar in African ï Arab trading[25].

Scholars like Vilhanova argue that one of the most significant areas of Islamic penetration in Eastern Africa was the Lacustrane area namely the kingdom of *Buganda* where Islam secured a strong foothold. At the time of the visit of the famous traveler and explorer Henry Morton Stanley

[23] Jomier, *How to Understand Islam*, pp. 1-3.
[24] Viera Pawlikova Vilhanova, *Rethinking the Spread of Islam in Eastern and Southern Africa*. *Journal of AfricanStudies, 19* (2010),pp. 134 ï 167.
[25] An-Naôim, *Islamic Family Law in a Changing World*, pp. 37-40.

in the country in 1875 the initial process of Islamization in *Buganda* reached a climax.[26] The findings of Abdullahi and Vilhanova are related to this study because they give us an understanding on how Islam came and spread in Eastern, Western and Northern parts of Africa. Nevertheless Southern Africa does not have many followers, but it is home to several long established and influential Muslims communities.

An-Naôim, notes that Mozambique has the largest Muslim population. Over four million of Mozambiqueôs nineteen million people follow Islam. An-Naôim further records that Islam entered Mozambique through traders and religious clergy from the Swahili coast. He notes that Islam entered many countries or regions in Africa through trade and religious leaders.[27] The works of Morier Genoud add that the pre-colonial port of *Sofala,* located near the modern port city of Beira, was an important trading centre until the Portuguese subjugated the *Sofala* Sultanate in 1525. Genoud states that today, Muslims constitute a significant political and social minority.[28]

The history of Islam in South Africa has not been until recently well studied in contrast to other regions of Africa that have been well researched and documented. The racial preoccupation formerly evident in South African historiography and society was reflected in much of the historical research and writing on Islam in South Africa and the South African Muslim community. It largely focused on the Cape Muslim community. Viera observed that economic and trading interest as well as the trade in slavery also played a role in the spread of Islam. He adds that it was colonization that brought Islam to the Cape and later to other parts of South Africa. He further notes that the period from 1652 to 1975 which was, the first phase in the white settlement of South Africa when the policies and the actions of the Dutch East Indian Company (DEIC) shaped the history of the Cape Colony. In 1658, free Muslims were brought to the Cape as mercenaries to protect the Dutch against the *San* and *KhoiKhoi* and also provided labour for the Dutch Colony at the Cape.[29] The works by Viera though discusses Southern Africa is vital to the present study because it highlights important historical happenings in South Africa that contributed to the spread

[26] Vilhanova, *Rethinking the Spread of Islam in Eastern and Southern Africa. Journal of African studies, 19* (2010),pp. 134 ï 167.
[27] A An-Naôim, *Islamic Family Law In A Changing World*, pp. 39-40.
[28]Morier Genoud, E.The 1996 *Muslim Holidays A fair Religious Competition and State Mediation in Contemporary Mozambique, Journal of Southern African Studies, 26*(2002),pp. 409-428.
[29] Villanova, *Rethinking the Spread of Islam in Eastern and Southern Africa*. *Journal of African Studies, 19* (2010),pp. 134 ï 167.

of Islam in that country. Nevertheless this study focus much more on the contribution made by Indian traders and the Yao on the establishment of Islam in Chipata district.

David Bones work show that, the Malawiôs Muslim communities emerged as a result of the influences from the coast of East Africa. He observes that from pre-Islamic time part of the Indian Ocean trade circuit, the interactions there between the Arabs and Africans had given rise to the Swahili language, culture and civilization with Islam as the religion of its people. David Bone further adds that over the centuries, the Swahili built up various forms of contact with people of the interior around the Great Lakes for purposes of trade. By, at least as early as 1700 C.E. one of the tribal groups most involved were the Yao.[30] Abdullahai echoes that the Muslim Yao of Malawi originated in Mozambique, then known as Portuguese East Africa.

In Malawi, Bone goes on to add that before the second half of the 19thCentury, contact with the Swahili does not seem to have left more than faint traces of communities having been touched by Islamic influences. Bone observed that the catalyst for the eventual establishment of Muslim communities in Malawi may well have been the flowering in the early 19th Century of the *Umani* dynasty in Zanzibar and concluded that with more finance available to the traders in this part of their empire they began to mount their own expeditions into the interior of Eastern Africa, still tending to co-operate with the partners they had already known there.

The planting and growth of Muslim communities in Malawi followed two patterns. The first was where coastal traders established areas of control on the shores of Lake Malawi and influenced local people to adopt their religion, as was the case in *Nkhotakota* in the Central region and to a lesser extent in *Karonga* in the North. Bone mentions that the key players in the initial stage of people identifying with Islam in Malawi were the chiefs and one of the instruments they used was their control of the traditional initiation ceremonies, which included circumcision for boys. By incorporating certain Islamic elements into the ceremonies they succeeded in making them the gateway for their young men into both Yao adulthood and into identification with Islam.[31]

R.C. Greenstein suggests that another contribution to the development, vitality and perhaps the eventual fragmentation of Malawiôs Muslim communities came from within the world of Islam

[30] David Bone, *Islam in Malawi Journal of Religion in Africa xiii, 2* (1982), pp. 127-135.
[31] Bone, Islam in Malawi pp127.

but from outside of Malawi and this was the introduction of the ideas and practices of two Sufi Brotherhoods the *Shadhiliyya* and the *Qadiriyya*. Both were introduced from the coast by returning Malawian Sheikhs in the early decades of the 20th Century. As well as the energy and enthusiasm they brought to the dissemination of Islam they also introduced certain Sufi practices, happily accepted by the Muslim communities, such as the carrying of flags at funerals, the observance of the Prophetôs birthday and a form of dhikr, in the Yao language sikiri, widely practiced at weddings and festivals. Relations between adherents of the two brotherhoods were often characterized by disputes over whose practices were allowable.[32]This work is important to this study on the background of the Islamic religion and its influence.

Greenstein argues that, the Indian Muslim population aided the establishment of Islam in Malawi. Greenstein notes that in the country from even before colonial times, while remaining socially separate from their African co-religionists, they supported their religious endeavors by financing the construction of mosques and Madrassa. As they spread throughout the country, often taking their Malawian Muslim workers with them, they were also responsible for building mosques and for planting small Muslim communities in many trading centres.[33]David and Greenstein discussed the establishment of Islam in Malawi with emphasis on the reformers, Indian Muslims and the Yao. However this study goes further to discuss the extent of Islamization in Chipata district.

Islam has had a profound global impact since it was founded in the seventh century. According to Jomier, Islam is one of the major world religions which was founded by the Prophet Muhammad Bin Abdullah in the early seventh century A.D. Jomier further mentions that Muslims and their religion have greatly influenced the political, social, economic and military history of the World view, especially the Middle East, where its roots are based. During what is known as the Golden Age of Islam, which lasted roughly between the mid-Thirteenth centuries until the Eighteenth century, the Muslim world was the centre of intellectual activity, with Bagdad serving as the capital for philosophers, mathematicians and scientists. Mathematics, language, astronomy and medicine were particularly influenced by this culture and its effects can still be seen today.

Jacques Jomier, in his book entitled ñHow to Understand Islam,ò states that Islam emerged in the seventh century in Arabia. Islam was both a political and religious movement by propagating itself

[32] R.C. Greenstein, *The Nyasaland Government's Policy Towards African Muslims* 1900-1927, In R.J. MacDonald (ed.)*From Nyasaland to Malawi*, (Nairobi; East African Publishing House, 1975),pp. I45-247.
[33] Greenstein, *The Nyasaland Government's Policy Towards African Muslims* 1900-1927, p 145,247

through preaching and engaging in military activity.[34] The first Muslim armies benefited from the political situation. One of the great cultural contact experiences in world history involved the spread of Islam, from its initial base in the Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East to a host of areas in Africa, Asia, and Europe. Islam appealed to people in a variety of societies and cultures, bringing important changes as a result of contact while often in some respects merging with the established local belief systems. Muslims compelled new cultural contacts from about 700 CE onward as a result of conquests, far-reaching trade, and, increasingly, missionary activity.[35] The study by Jomier is important as it looks at the contribution of Islam in the Middle East where it spread from in the field of Science, Medicine and Mathematics. However Jomier did not discuss the impact of Islam on countries with few Muslim population.

military conquest, even though the religion was tolerant of other beliefs. Muslims rarely forced people to convert to their religion, often preferring to levy a special tax on minority communities instead. He argues that the famous jihad or holy war described by the prophet Muhammad was mainly used for defence of the faith, not forced conversion, though there were exceptions. But the success of Muslim armies could create a context in which other people found it prudent to convert, or in which they were attracted to the religion simply because of its manifestation of power and triumph. He notes that in other instances, Islam spread through more spontaneous conversions as people learned of it through trade and missionary activity.[40]

The religion, according to Lapidus shows that it was clearly attractive, with an explicit set of beliefs about what to do and what not to do in order to win access to heaven and avoid a lamentable eternity in hell. Lapidus adds that the religion appealed to lower-class groups because of its commitment to charity and spiritual equality. He further observed that it also legitimated merchant activity more than what most belief systems did at the time, and so could attract traders.[41]Lapidusô work is important to the study because it gives an understanding on the spread of Islam globally. However this study goes further to discuss the conversion to Islam by the people of Chipata district.

Michalopoulos, Stelio et al examine the economic origins and spread of Islam in the Old World and uncover two empirical regularities. First, Muslim countries and ethnic groups exhibit highly unequal re

Consulted. The National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) was consulted for documents such as district notebooks, Eastern Province Tour Reports and district Annual reports on the history and establishment of Islam in Chipata District and Zambia in general. Dawa section at Makeni Islamic society was consulted on the study of Islam. The Faith and Encounter Centre in Lusaka was used to gather secondary data on the religion of Islamic.

Data was also collected at the National Islamic Centre in Lusaka on various projects undertaken by Shia Muslims. In addition, oral interviews in Chipata district in Eastern Province was conducted for information on Islam. Interviews involved chiefs, Mwalimus in charge of mosques, leaders of Islamic associations such as Chipata Muslim Association (CMA) and Umodzi Kumômawa Islamic Trust, Africa Muslim Agency (AMA), missionary priests from Catholic Church who worked among Muslims communities especially in rural areas. Interviews conducted involved ordinary members including men and women. All the data collected from the various sources is vital to the understanding of the history and influence of Islam in Chipata district.

[redacted]

This chapter looks at the coming of Indians and establishment of Islam in *Chipata*. It will also discuss the religious groups which set up mission stations in *Chipata* before Indian settlements; the chapter will also look at factors inhibiting a more extensive growth of Islam in *Chipata*, and it also covers the role played by the *Yao* in the establishment and the growth of Islamic Religion in *Chipata* District. In Zambia there are three branches of Islam namely Sunni, *Ahamadiyya* and Shia, and the type of Islam practiced in *Chipata* district is Sunni.

The history of Islam in Eastern Province begun with the establishment of Fort Jameson now called *Chipata* in 1899.[1] The birth of Islam or the Muslim community in the district can best be traced by exploring the coming of the Indian community in the area. Harry Johnson observed that in North Eastern Rhodesia, the pioneer Indian settlers arrived in *Chipata* in 1905 as requested by Condrington who was in charge of the district .The administrator held the view that Indians would develop native trade in wax, grain and oil seed.[2] According to Ishmael Citizen the early Indian immigrants in *Chipata* were the *Khamisa* brothers Osman and Mohamed.[3] Ishmael further mentioned that the first contingent of Indian traders, the *Khamisa* brothers and their retainers, were escorted into town upon their arrival by a brass band sent out by the Governor and it was believed that these pioneers came specifically under his invitation.[4]

He explained that by 1908 Osman Adam had established three stores in *Chipata* as an extension of his Blantyre business. Ishmael mentioned that by 1920 Indian Muslim traders established trading outlets in the remotest parts of the district such as *Kazimule, Mgubudu, Kalichero* and *Jumbe*.[5]Father Henk Vankessel added that when he arrived in *Chikowa Jumbe* area in 1952, Indianshad already set up their shops in the area.[6]He remembers an incidence where one of the

[1]Felix Phiri, *Muslim Association and Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*, (Lusaka: Fenza Publication with Lembani, Trust), pp. 60.

[2]Harry H Johnson, *British in Central Africa*, (London: Methuen and Company, 1897), pp. 15.

[3]Floyd Dotson and Lillian Dotson, *The Asian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, (Yale University Press: ,1968), pp.54

[4]Ishmael Citizen, Chipata, Zambia, *Interviewed on 30th November, 2016.*

[5]Ishmael Citizen, Chipata, Zambia, *Interviewed on 30th November, 2016.*

Indian traders by the name of Malik used to drink a lot of beer that his fellow Muslims disowned him and suggested to Vankessel that he be converted to Christianity as he was a disgrace to Muslim community because according to Islam beer is haram.[7]

It is important to understand that before the establishment of Islam in *Chipata*, other religious groups had already set up their mission stations in the district. For example the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) under Revelands P.J Smit and J.M Hofmeryr established a church center at *Magwero* in 1899 and another station at *Madzimoyo* in 1903. According to Chuluchaminga Nkhata in the book entitled. "Chipata Congregation Attains 100 years1913 to 2013" mentioned that at that time a few converted Christians in *Chipata* were a section of Magwero until 1913 when the congregation was established in *Chipata* by Reverand C.P Pawl.[8]

In addition the Roman Catholic set up their mission station in Nyasaland in 1889. However, the territory was so huge as a result communication became difficult, later Rome divided it. Thus in 1937 *Chipata* diocese became independent ecclesiastical unity under father Martin Hannecart observed that *Kachebere* station was opened in 1903 under father Mathurin Guilleme. According to father K. Hannecart the evangelization of what was to become the diocese of *Chipata* started from *Kachebere.* He further mentioned that the *Kachebere* priests were working more in Zambia than they were in Malawi.[9]

Another religious mission that established itself in *Chipata* in the early 1900 is St Paulôs church for the Anglican which was built in 1905. It was constructed in the style of an English Parish church for a chaplaincy to the European congregation of the colonial administration and local farmers and tradersô priest came from *Nkotakota* mission, serving also the local African community. According to Bishop John Oamers in the book "Celebrating 100 years of the Anglican Church in Zambian Universities Mission to Central African (UMCA)" mission priest met the needs of the European settler community as well as building the African churches. Osmers noted that in the colonial era, segregation in the church mirrored segregation in the wider society, St Barnabas

[7]Father Henk Vankessel, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 08th January, 2017.*

[8]Chuluchaminga Nkhata, (ed.), Chipata Congregation Attains *100 years 1913-2013,* (Kolbe Press, 2013), pp. 1.

[9] Karel Hannecart, Intrepid *Sowers from Nyasa to Chipata 1889-2012,* (Chipata Diocese, 2012), pp.163.

church was built for local Africans Christians in 1912. It was not until 1961 that Paul European congregation would share worship with St. Barnabas African congregation.[10]

The arrival of Indian Muslim found already missionary activities in the district. According to Dotson and Dotson although most of the Indians who came to Chipata were Muslim, religion was not their major motivation for coming to Central Africa. Whilst they carried out their trade, they practiced their religion. However they had no intentions of converting indigenous people to Islam.[11]Phiri observed that during their earlier years most of the Indians contented themselves with praying in their private homes or rooms in the backyards of the shops while going about their own businesses. Phiri pointed out that the necessity of building a mosque for common worship was not immediately felt by the Muslim settler community mainly because creation of religious community was secondary to the main objective of coming to the country.[12] Until 1919 Phiri observed that there were only three Indian Muslim traders in fort Jameson Osman Adam, Mohamed Osman and Hassan Khamisa. The majority of Indians came to fort Jameson as assistant store keepers and only established themselves as independent traders later after establishing their own shops they invited their families and friends.[13]

This move resulted in the increasing number of Muslim settling in fort James in the colonial period. An example is that of I.S Jasat who came to fort Jameson in 1938 as an assistant storekeeper but by 1948 he owned several tobacco estates and had fourteen General dealersô licenses. He had also established several stores in most of the areas where Indian Muslims had opened their businesses. By 1939, apart from his family members Jasat had introduced twenty nine people from India to Fort Jameson. Elias Banda observed that the first generations of Muslims in Chipata were not just a trading community, they were also a religious community in that they were practicing Muslim. According to Veronica Mwale the social and economic activities were guided by the spirit of Islam which demanded total submission to the will of Allah. It is for this reason that many Muslims never neglected their Islamic duties.[14] According to Elias, devoted Muslims performed regularly their daily and Friday prayers, gave alms to the poor (Zakat) which is the third of the pillar of

[10] Bishop John Osmers, *Celebrating 100 Years of The Anglican Church in Zambia 1910-2010*, (Lusaka: , 2010), pp. 13.

[11]Dotson and Dotson, *The **Indian** Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, pp. 3

[12]Phiri, *Muslim Association and Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*, (Lusaka: Fenza a Publication), p.167.

[13]B.J. Phiri, *A History of Indians in Eastern Province of Zambia*, (Lusaka: 2000), pp.120.

[14], Elias I, Chipata Zambia. Interviewed on 17th May, 2017.

Islam, observed Ramadan and went on pilgrimage to Mecca. As time went on Islam began to take root in various parts of *Chipata* such as *Kazimule, Kalichero, Mgubudu* and *Sindamisale.* Muslim communities grew in size at various trading centers and the Islamic cell become very active. Elias also noted that Muslims began to meet regularly for Friday prayers not in a mosque but in private houses.[15]

Lewis noted that in tropical Africa Muslim traders and craftsmen seemed to have quite often been the bearers of Islam and to have at least prepared the ground for a letter expansion of their faith even where they made no effort at direct proselytizing. According to Elias during the early years of Indian settlement in *Chipata* the Muslims had no trained religious leaders. However this did not hamper their spirituality as a religious community. In order to maintain their faith Muslims both the Indians and the Yao ministered among themselves. This was in line with Muslim traditions that every Muslim is eligible to lead in prayer during communal acts of worship such as Friday prayers and Eid celebrations. At this early stage of Islamic development due to its strategic position *Chipata* town only saved as a political administrative center but also a center for Islamic activities for Muslims living in the province.[16]J.S Trimingham supported the importance of a town in Islam. He indicated that towns play a significant role in the development of Islam the role of town he

to cohabiting with abundantly available African women. This resulted in the springing up of coloured race which the colonial administration did not like. The presence of abandoned coloured children in *Chipata* became one of the social problems that required the governmentós attention after 1948.[19] B.J. Phiri mentioned that Indian men refused to acknowledge the coloured children for fear of ridicule from their communities which were still very conservative in the colonial period.[20] On the same related topic *Mufuzi* made similar observations on his study on ñThe history of the Indian trading community in Livingstone. 'He noted that Livingstone which had a Hindu population unlike *Chipata* whose population was predominantly Muslims had problems of illegitimate children born between Indian men and African women because Hindu norms forbids sex before marriage and only allowed monogamous marriages.[21]

He further noted that those who went against the employed codes and were found guilty faced severe punishment such as ostracism from the community. *Mufuzi* maintained that whether Hindu or Muslim Indian exclusive nature did not allow marriages with members of any race more worse Africans who were considered to be inferiors to them.[22] The growth in Indian population led to the expansion of Islam as a religion in *Chipata*. By 1952 the first mosque was constructed in *Chipata* with the contributions from Indian traders such as Jasat, Kamoto, Daya, Patel, Osman and others. As a result most of the Indians and Yao members within Chipata used to congregate at *Chipata* mosque every Friday as it became the central mosque of the town. According to Amina, Indian families in the fifties travelled all the way from areas like *Kalichero, Mgubudu, Sindamisale, Kazimule* and *Chadiza* to *Chipata* mosque to attend Friday prayers. As the number of Indians increased in *Chipata* financial resources also increased and there was need to construct permanent structures and also increase the number of mosques.

To fulfill the Islamic duty of praying, five times a day, required that there should be a mosque close to the adherents and as earlier stated more mosques were constructed and old ones renovated and expanded to include other facilities such as the Madrassa and the resident for the mosque staff which included the *Mwalimus* and *mu'addin*. The `*Yao* from Malawi were teachers in the Madrassa

[19] Ishmael Citizen, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 8th February, 2017*.0
[20]B.J Phiri, *A History of Indian's in Eastern province of Zambia*,pp.27.
[21]Friday Mufuzi, *A History of the Asian Trading community in Livingstone* M.A Dissertation University of Zambia 2002,pp.55.
[22] Mufuzi, *A History of the Asia Trading Community*. pp. 56.

classes for Africans while priests from India and Pakistan were in charge of religious activities and gave religious instructions to the Indian children in the Madrassa classes.[23]

By early 1943 just after the Second World War ended in 1945 Indians in *Chipata* had begun to organize themselves politically under the Muslim and Indian community later called the Fort Jameson Muslim Association. The organization was involved in businesses of trade in the sense that it worked in the interest of the Indian business men. It was also a political association in so far as it is cultivated Indian interests in politics in *Chipata*. The formation of the association was spearheaded by Jasat whose education, wealth and political interest might have enhanced his rise to the leadership of the Indian community in the district. In 1949 the association also wrote to the colonial administration to expedite the question of erecting a school for Indians in the district and in 1950 Norman Price which is today, Kanjala was constructed. As a result of these achievements Indians became proud of the fact that their leadership succeeded in various ways such as political, religious and economic in presenting their grievances to the colonial administration.[24]

Through the *Chipata* Islamic Association (CIA), Indian traders formed another Islamic organization known as the Muslim Sports Club (MSC),whose main objective was to encourage and promote all club branches of sport in *Chipata*. The club was officially opened on 21 April, 1959. All members of the Association were Muslims of Indian origin.[25] Mkunga noted that the Islamic community in the township found it relatively easy to unite under a religious umbrella because of homogeneity in occupation, religion and origin and therefore the two organizations helped and strengthened the unity of the Indian Muslim community in *Chipata*.[26]The association helped the Indian community to get permission to make use of the broadcasting hailer of muezzin. On 18 May 1964 the association also applied to the council to change the site of a tavern in *Kapata* which was close to the mosque.[27]

[23]Amina Baluwa, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 19th September, 2016.*
[24] NAZ, KDG 5/1 District Note book Provincial Committee Chairman 1943.
[25] NAZ, KDG 5/1 District Note book Provincial Committee Chairman 1943.
[26] Chibomba Tembo Môkunga, *The Development of the Asia Trading Class in Chipata, Zambia 1900-1964* MA Dissertation, the University of Zambia, 1992, pp. 20.
[27]Bone, *Islam in Malawi Journal of Religion in Africa xiii,2(1992),*pp. 128.

2

Apart from the Indians, the Yao made substantial contribution to the establishment of Islam in*Chipata.* They originally came from Malawi and Mozambique. The *Yao* Muslim communitiesô trace their earliest beginnings to influences from the coast of East Africa.[28]David Bone noted that over the centuries the *Swahili* built up various forms of contact with the peoples of the interior around the Great lakes for purposes of trade. The coming of the Arabs and *Swahili* into the interior was perceived with mixed feelings by the indigenous people who feared the possibility of being caught in the slave trade. To some extent Islam came to be associated with slavery but not to the point where the indigenous people completely developed a dislike of the religion.[29]

The *Yao* had converted to Islam in significant numbers in the eighteenth century and served as middlemen for the inland trade which included slaves and ivory. The type of Islam propagated by Safi brotherhood struck a common chord with African traditional religious practices. The toleration of indigenous practices enabled the new converts to embrace Islam without being forced to abandon most of their former traditional practices.[30]Colonialism and famine forced the *Yao* to migrate and find new sources of income and as such many men became migrant labor or travelling salesmen which still continues today.

Ephraim Mandivenga mentioned that Nyasaland being endowed with fewer natural resources was affected by the trend of labour migration. He noted that during the Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia together with Nyasaland from 1953 to 1963 there was free movement of labour among the three countries and the *Yao* families entered present day Zambia mostly as farm workers, shop attendants or tailors outside Indian shops. Malawian immigrant workers were not all Muslims. Those among them who were adherents of Islam, distinguished themselves from others from either by way of dressing or by ritualistic practices such as circumcision and burial ceremonies. In spite of being minority communities, they firmly preserved their religious identity,

[28] Bone, *Islam in Malawi*, pp. 129.
[29]NAZ, EP 4/12 1952 to 1972 *Muslim Association and Mfuwe Organization* pp. 127-35
[30]Ephraim Mandivenga Chikakano, *Islam in Zimbabwe a Study of Religious Development from 16th to 20 century* 1986, PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, pp.88.

even in case of marriages between a *Yao* man and an indigenous woman; children would often be brought up as Muslims.[31]

According to Bone the long association with the coast which came to represent the outside world and the source of wealth and status had given many in Yao society a predisposition to admire and emulate the ways of its people. Bone further noted that when David Livingstone visited their area in 1868 he commented on how the *Yao* chose to copy the coast listin their style of building and even the crops they planted.[32]

Bone noted that by incorporating certain Islamic elements into their ceremonies, the *Yao* succeeded in making them the gateway into adulthood and into identification with Islam.[33] However, V.Pawlikova mentioned that it was not until 1878 that the first conversion began in about 1870 that the Yao chief *Makanjila* 111*Banali* adopted Islam and became the first Yao chief to be converted to Islam and by nineteenth century mass conversion among the Yao to Islam took place.[34]Vilhanova observed that among the *Yao* the conversion to Islam did not take on any scale for nearly two hundred years after the *Yao* contacts with the coast had been established. Key players in the initial stage of identifying the *Yao* with Islam were the chiefs and one of the instruments they used was the control of the tradition al ceremonies which included the circumcision for the boys.[35]

The *Yao* Muslim who had come to settle in Zambia specifically in *Chipata* District, from Malawi had long been Islamized whilst still in their country of origin and their commitment to Islam has made them formidable agents of Islamization wherever they settled. Despite being a minority they have remained resolute in their practices of Islam and ensured as earlier mentioned that their children born of marriages between indigenous women followed the religion of their father.[36]Phiri observed that in some cases the mosque based communities which recently came up have long existed as *Yao* communities for example the *Kapata* mosque was built as an improvement of an

[31] Mandivenga, *Islam in Zimbabwe*, pp. 89.
[32]Bone, *Islam in Malawi*, pp. 138.
[33]Bone, *Islam in Malawi*, pp.138.
[34]Viera Pawlikova , *Vilhanova Rethinking the spread of Islam in Eastern and Southern Africa ,Journal of African* studies 19(2010) pp. 140
[35]Viera Pawlikova, *Vilhanova Rethinking the spread of Islam in Eastern and Southern Africa Journal of African studies 19*(2010), pp. 140.
[36]F. *Phiri Muslim Associations Resurgence of Islam in Zambia,* pp. 200.

old mud grass thatched mosque initially built by the Yao, the same applies to *Navutika* Magazine and *Munga* mosques.[37]

Kolya Yunnis added that a Muslim benevolent fund was created as early as 1966 to take care of the welfare of Muslims especially providing food, clothing and blankets for the needy.[38] F. Phiri added that the benevolent fund collected alms from the well to do Muslims in *Chipata* and the money was spent on the indigenous Muslims of *Chipata* and other towns within the province. In addition, Phiri mentioned that projects were initiated to help in improving the living conditions of the people, special attention was given to health institutions such as Mwami hospital and Chipata general hospital.[39]

The Muslim community did not play an active role in Zambian politics. Father Vankessel indicated that although Indians supported the United National Independent Party through the association, not every Muslim did that because Father they did not want to get involved in activities which would put their businesses at risk.[40]However, Vankessel observed that few Indians who supported United National Independent Party towards independence were later rewarded for example Mohammed and *Khansaheb* were elected as members of *Chipata* township council, while in 1969 *Skur Ahend* became the chairman portfolio of the council.[41]

2

During colonial period Islam in *Chipata* was somewhat dormant Muslims were not as active as they are today. During this period Islam remained essentially the religion of the Indian community. Several reasons have been advanced to explain this state of affairs. In the first place it has been indicated that during this period Islam had no missionaries, no itinerant preaches and no mosques. This meant that very few local people in the district were aware of the presence of Islam in their midst as a universal religion.

The local people in *Chipata* understood Islam as an ethnic or tribal Indian religion of which they could not became part of the members. In addition, the first traders did not take an active role in the propagation of Islam. Members of the Indian community considered themselves as

[37] Phiri, *Muslim Associations Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*, pp. 200.
[38]Kolya Yunnis, Chipata, Zambia. Interviewed on 9th January, 2017.
[39]F. Phiri, *Muslim Associations and Resurgence of Islam of Zambia*, pp. 200.
[40]Father Henk Vankessel, Chipata, Zambia Interviewed on *Monday, 09th January, 2017.*
[41]Father Henk Vankessel, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 10th January, 2017.*

businessmen and not propagators of Islam, their primary concern was essentially to make a living by means of trade. This attitude denied Islam the chances of spreading outside the India community as it became entirely inward looking.[42] Vankessel revealed that the first groups of Muslims in Chipata district were basically simple minded people with very little formal education. They had very limited theological understanding of their faith. In most cases may come to Fort Jameson with just basic qualifications which gave them only the skill of counting for business purposes. Moreover even their core-religionist the Yao were also not educated. Lack of theological knowledge of their faith meant that many Muslims were hesitant to propagate Islam and to share with others the tenets of their faith.[43]

In addition Indian Muslim traders spoke *Urdu* and the *Yao* spoke *Chewa* but the fact that they both lacked knowledge of the Arabic language meant that the task of interpreting the Arabic Quran was an arduous mission which required Islamic scholars which were nonexistent.

Apart from these factors it has been observed that the British colonial policy towards Muslim traders was another contributory factor in the slow pace of Islamic growth in the country. This is because Indian traders faced certain restrictions in their social, economic, political and religious life. Socially, the British introduced a policy of residential segregation, designed to isolate the Indian traders who settled in densely populated areas. They were confined to sparsely populated areas. In the same vein Indians were prohibited from settling in built up towns with Europeans and consequently they were forced to settle in remote isolated areas where they traded under difficult conditions. Generally the implication of this policy of residential segregation was that India traders were isolated from the indigenous Zambians a situation that denied them the opportunity of propagating Islam among them. In order to curb their economic success the colonial Administrators adopted a protectionist policy in granting trading licenses to Indians.[44]

There were few, if not none, intermarriages between Indian Muslim traders and the Zambian women in which the women and their children would have become Muslims, thus increasing the Muslim population. However such types of marriages were not encouraged because Indian Muslims preferred to marry Indian woman belonging to their own tribe from India. Amanze noted

[42]James Amaze, *History of Islam in Botswana during Colonial* Period 1882-1966 Botswana Society Vol 30 (1998) PP. 67.
[43]Father Henk Vankessel Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 9th January, 2017.*
[44] Father Henk Vankessel Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 9th January, 2017.*

that it was only the intermarriages between the Muslim Yao and the local women which resulted into indigenous Zambians entering the fold of Islam that is their wives and children became Muslims.[45]

In addition to this, it has been observed that failure by early Muslims to proselytize should be attributed to their narrow view of what constitutes being a Muslim. To them success in business life especially trade was authentic mark of being truly a Muslim. The implication of this understanding of the Islamic faith was that it generated a feeling of complacent among Mus
who saw no gTc[(bn)-11(bn)-11(7(ted)-7(g)10(Tc-5()10(Tin)-11(g)10( )-9(thems(a)4lves)-8(bn)-11(a)4(c)4(ti

groups. He added that lack of proper representation in statutory bodies enhanced the isolation of the Indian community and deprived them of badly needed channels of communication to express their social, economic, political and religious wishes Ghai and Ghai pointed out that this type of arrangement prevented a meaningful involvement of Indians with the indigenous people and as such converting indigenous Africans to Islam became very difficult.[50]

In addition Phiri observed that the first communities of Indians that brought Islam to Zambia kept very much to themselves and only interacted with the indigenous population out of practical necessities. Apart from the Yao who were deeply involved with the Zambians through marriages and closer cultural ties, the Indians remained extremely isolated even from indigenous converts themselves because

In 1964 twenty six Indian traders were fined at Fort Jameson for offences in connection with price control. It was also mention that if Africans were less apathetic at that time and more ready to come forward and gave evidence there would have been many more prosecutions. One Indian was quoted to have told the secretary of the township management board that ñYou Europeans do not understand us. We are not like you. We Indians are blood canningôô[54]

Furthermore an extract from African representative council on the debate on Indian immigration, one of the speakers observed that Indians have been in Fort Jameson for a long time and Africans have learnt nothing from them. He mentioned that Europeans had given them education and hadalso taught them Christianity while Indians had given them nothing and as such should prohibit all Indian immigration since Indians brought nothing good to them apart from cheating when they bought goods from their shops and did not pay then well when they worked for them.[55]

According to indigenous Africans this was contrary to the teachings of Islam. Their sentiments showed that the Africans did not like their activities which were not inspiring. This could have led the indigenous Zambians not to have interest in converting to their religion though it could have been a few Indians whose activities were not in line with the teachings of their religion. Africans concluded that Indians were bad people and such developed negative feelings towards their religion as well. However Phiri justified the negative sentiments uttered by the Africans against the Indian traders. He argued that since Indian stores were closer to the African consumers, they not only captured much of the trade but also received a lot of the criticism from them.[56]

Abdalati Hammudah confirmed that in Islam all business deals should be concluded with frankness and honest. He cited Cheating, hiding defects of merchandise from the dealers, exploiting the needs of customers, monopoly of stocks to force oneôs own prices as sinful acts of which are punishable by the Islamic law.[57]

On the other hand Ghai and Ghai argued that the

African and their leaders to rise against colonial authority. According to Ghai and Ghai lacking the above mentioned aspiration made the religion of Islam mysterious to the Africans.[58]

3 P P

After Independence in 1964 freedom of worship which is enshrine in the Zambian constitution led to the transformation of Islam. This meant that freedom of worship was guaranteed in the constitution and as such Muslims were free to propagate and practice their religion. According to Phiri a faith community that was docile since its inception turned into a dynamic religious movement in the post-colonial period. One of the most important reasons in the growth of Islam in *Chipata* is the creation and revamping of local Muslim associations. In *Chipata* the *Chipata* Muslim Association is the oldest local Muslim association in Zambia.[59]

The association was first named Muslim Indian Community later it became known as Fort Jameson Muslim association. It was first established under the leadership of Jasat. During the earlier years of the establishment, the association was much involved in serving the Indian businesses and articulated their interest in political terms. It was in the later years that the association attached itself so much on the religious interest of its members. However some of the objectives of the association were to look after the religious and secular interest of its members.[60]

It also administered various institutions under its jurisdiction. The association initiated a program of religious education in their Madrassa where children were taught Islamic knowledge. The association has carried a lot of projects in the district such as the expansion of *Kapata* mosque and itôs Madrassa in 1961. It has also collected Zakat from wealth Indians in *Chipata* and to help the poor indigenous Muslims of the district and neighboring towns like *Katete, Petauke* and *Lundazi*.[61]

The association made monetary and material contributions to the health institutions such as *Chipata* and *Mwami* hospitals including other organizations like the Red Cross Society and Cheshire Homes. The association also raised some funds to help the venerable members of the community by donating various items such as food, clothing, blankets and groceries. To provide clean drinking water Boreholes were sunk in various chiefdoms. The association also distributed seeds and fertilizer to their members before each farming season.[62]

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[58]Ghai and Ghai,*The Asian Minority of East and Central Africa*, pp.100.
[59] Phiri, *Muslim Association and Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*, pp. 130
[60]NAZ KDG 5/1 *District Notebook Provincial Committee to Chairmen* 1943
[61]Kolya Yunnis, Chipata. *Interviewed on 4th June, 2016*.
[62]Kolya Yunnis, Chipata, Interviewed on 4th June, 2016.

The local Muslim associations have helped Islam to find a voice in the public sphere and have encouraged an ever growing number of Zambians most of whom come from a Christian background to overcome their biasness and to seek Islam that has for a long time been considered to be exclusively for the Indians to a possible alternative to Christianity. Through sponsorship of students by the local Muslim associations to study in pronounced Islamic environments abroad, the potential indigenous converts have connected with global Islam. Studying in prestigious Arab centers of learning like the Azhar in Cairo and other Islamic Universities have helped the students to gain enough knowledge about their religion.[63]

During the post-colonial period the Muslim associations initiated networks outside the country. The initiative of net working with the outside world helped to give a more global orientation to local Islam. In addition the exercise exerted influence on the development of Islam in Zambia through close collaboration with local associations and endowment of spiritual and material resources to local Muslims. One of the organizations which was established in Zambia as a result of such initiatives is the Tablighi Jamaat. The organization was introduced by Indians from Delhi in India. Kolya states that, the religious organization is sometimes referred to as a moving Madrassa. Tablighi Jamaat is a practice within Sunni Islam inspired by Deoband school of thought that invites Muslims into active Islamic propagation through Safi inspired method.[64]Marloe Janson noted that the Tablighi Jamaat which was established in by Mawlana Ilyas in Delhi in India has its origins in the reformist tradition that emerged in India in the mid-nineteenth century. The founder Ilyas believed that Muslims had abandoned the correct path of Islam, hence he stressed that they should go back to their faith which alone would move God to grant them success in this world and hereafter. To make Muslims true believers, Ilyas insisted that it was the duty not just of a learned scholar, but all Muslims to carry out Tablighi or missionary work.[65]

The Jamaat evolved out of the teachings and practices of the foundersô Orthodox Dar-ulôUlum Madrasa in Deoband, a town near the Indian Capital of Delhi. The scholars learning in Islamic science affiliated with this school saw themselves as crusaders against Hindu and Christian conversion movements and popular expressions of Islam. However the Tablighi Jama'at did not

[63]F. Phiri, *Islam in Postal-colonial Zambia*, in Jan Gewald Marjihinfelaal and Giacomo (eds.,) *One Zambia Many Histories: Towards a history of Postal colonial Africa, (*Netherlands: Martinus: Wijhuff Publication, 2008), pp.186.
[64]Koyla Yunnis Chipata, Zambia .*Interviewed on 4th June, 2016*.
[65]Marloe Janson, *Islam, youth and Modernity in the Gambia*. (London: London University Press, 2014) pp.456.

engage in diatribe with Hindus, nor did if try to convert them to Islam. It went only so far as to reclaim Muslims who had converted to Hinduism and Christianity.[66] Ahmad added that the movement aspired to bring Islam to life again as it had been lived in the days of the prophetôs companions.[67]

Despite the fact that he established more than one hundred Madrassa in the Mewat region, Ilyas soon became disillusioned with his teaching approach, realizing that Islamic schools were producing religions functionaries but not zealous preachers who were willing to go from door to door to remind people of the key values and practices of Islam. According to Sikand Ilyas then quit his teaching position to begin missionary work through itinerant preaching. To make Muslims better believers, that are self-conscious Muslims strictly abiding by the dictates of the faith, llyas insisted that it was the duty of not just a few learned scholars but all Muslims to carry out Tablighi and as such the missionary tours by lay preachers became the hall mark of the Tablighi Jamaat.[68]

During British colonial rule, Johnson noted that English became the national language of Zambia a factor that has undoubtedly facilitated the spread of the Tablighi ideology by English speaking south Indian preachers. In addition to language, another factors that explained the expansion of the Tablighi Jamaat in *Chipata* is the presence of the community of south Indian origin.[69]Gaborieau mentioned that before reaching a local population Tablighi missionaries aimed at a move accessible target in the form of migrant Indian populations. Consequently, Tablighi are sometimes known as Indian Muslims.[70]Indian Muslims make up one of the largest groups within the Zambian Muslim population, which explains according to Kolya why the Jamaat has a considerable following in the district. Moosa added that in South Africa, Jamaat visit neighboring countries regularly and have been instrumental in the success of the movement in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi.[71]

[66]Marloe Janson, *Islam Youth and Modernity*, pp.170.
[67]Ahmed Mumtaz Tablight Jamaôat *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Modern Islamic World* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 165.
[68]Yoginder. Sikanda*The origin and development of Tublight Jama'at* (Dehli: Longman, 2002), pp.160.
[69]John, *Islam, youth and modernity in the Gambia*, pp.170.
[70]Marc Gaborieau, *Transnational Islam Movement Tab light Jamaat in Politics*, (Islam Newsletter 1990, pp. 22.
[71]Ephraim Moosa, *World Apart, Tab light Jamaat in South Africa under 1963-1993*, (London: Laiden Press, 2000), pp.201.

Growth of Tablighi Jamaôat

Members of Tablighi Jamaat travel the world over visiting Muslims country after country and mosque after mosque for a fixed number of days or months even years following a clearly defined methodology. Kolya mentioned that the movement is active in the district and that the visits within the Province have been going on for a long time.[72] Moosa noted that the movement has a considerable following in South Africa. Their affluence allowed the South African branch of Jamaat to engage in international missionary work. Moosa further added that South Africa Jamaat visit neighboring countries regularly and have been instrumental in the success of the movement in Zambia, Malawi, Mauritius and Mozambique.[73]

He added that the interactions have also taken place from neighboring countries such as Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania. Kolya further added that overseas visitors coming for Jamaat usually arrive in Lusaka and are then sent to Chipata central mosque where they are distributed to other mosques in the district. However due to language barrier the visitors are usually accompanied by a translator. In Zambia overseas visitors mostly come from countries like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.[74]

The researcher came across the visitors at *Navutika* mosque where Muslims from *Petauke* paid them a visit. At *Abelo* mosque the community had visitors from India and Damview mosque people from Malawi had visited them. In all the mosques mentioned above visitors had come for Jamaat. Janson observed that during Jamaat Muslims live their homes to visit families for a given number of days in small groups propagating Islam, headed by Amir a group leader appointed for the occasion.[75]

Each member has to foresee personal contribution to his or her upkeep during the whole pre-set duration of the exercise and also made sure his household does not suffer want during his absence. Amina stated that the Amir is not necessary expected to be a learned person in matters of religion. In fact every participant is expected to fully take part in teaching one another in matters of religion at the mosque or in their homes. Amina further added that the objectives of TablighiJamaat are to see to it that all classes of Muslims participate in the exercise and also to consider the temporary

[72]Kolya Yunnis, Chipata, Zambia. Interviewed on *6th May, 2017*.
[73]Moosa, *Worlds apart Tab light Jamaat in South Africa*, pp. 201.
[74]Kolya Yunnis, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 4th November, 2016*.
[75]Janson, *Youth and Modernity in Gambia*, pp. 432.

migration from oneôs native place as a religious obligation. In addition the movement is action oriented and focuses on promoting the religion as a way of life.[76]

3 6

The history of Islam is established on the activities of the Yao, Arab and Swahili traders. These contributed to the emergence of the internal and external factors over the years. It is undeniably true that poverty, trade and intermarriage contributed largely to the development of Islamic settlements in Chipata. The chapter further points to the fact that the factors outlined have resulted into the transformation of the district.

[76]Amina Baluwa, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 19th September, 2016.*

C [redacted] : [redacted] ï0

The Chapter will discuss the state of Islam after colonial period. It will also look at activities of the early traders in areas where they settled such as Kalichero and also discuss the negative impact of Economic Reforms.

In the early 1968 Indian Muslims had settled in most parts of rural *Chipata* district as traders. Indian Muslims traders like Dallala and Ibrahim established a religious school at *Kalichero* with a group of about 40 students used to meet at one area close to the Indian residents. According to Pascal Mwale one of the pupils who attended the Islamic school mentioned that teachers who used to teach them the basics in Islam came from Malawi and he remembers one of the teachersô name as Said. Most of the Pupils were children of the *Yao* from *Caphas* village. According to Pascal, Dallala made sure that all the students were dressed in an Islamic attire. His tailor was a Yao and a Muslim. He did the tailoring for Islamic uniforms for the school.[77]

There were a lot of incentives given to the students who did well, some were given a packet of sugar, books or a pair of shoes. Nason Phiri who was 11 years old at that time noted that it was difficult for those who were not born Muslims to join the school because they feared the Islamic practice of circumcision which was a prerequisite for one to become a Muslim. Phiri Nason further observed that in those days circumcision was not widely practiced among most tribes in Chipata district.[78]Veronica Mwale also a resident of *Kalichero* added that most of the parents in the neighborhood did not favor the idea of their children joining Islam because of certain Islamic practices of which were too demanding for them to follow. For example there were diet prohibitions where as a Muslim one was not allowed to eat mice, pork and had forbidden people to eat meat killed through strangulation.[79] Pascal noted that among their workers only committed circumcised men were given the responsibility of slaughtering cows, goats and fowl according to Islamic law. He also observed that if any ordinary worker had killed a goat or a chicken, the Indians could not eat the meat because it was killed by none Muslim who was not circumcised and as such the meat was not purified.

[77]Pascal Mwale, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 4th June, 2017*.
[78]Nason Phiri, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 4th June, 2017*.
[79]Veronica Mwale, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed, on 12th June, 2017*.

For the *Yao* circumcision was an important part of oneôs life and at *Kalichero* most of the young Muslim boys were sent to *Mphongwe* area at a hidden place for circumcision exercise. For the boys to heal it used to take one week. For Indian Muslims the circumcision used to take place at the hospital when the baby was just seven months.[80]

Nason Phiri noted that as a *Chewa* young boys were initiated to join *Nyau* secret society and that he found Islam to be too challenging. He never joined the Islamic school because of the role he played in the secret society. The *Nyau* society even in the early years regarded colonialism and Christianity as a threat to their tradition for which their society stood for.[81]

The status of neighbors is very high in the viewpoint of Islam. Neighbors of all kinds enjoy a great number of privileges conferred on them by Islam. To emphasize on the Qurianic teachings relevant to this point Prophet Muhammad is reported as saying that nobody can be a true believer unless his neighbors feel secure and safe from his side, he added that nobody can be a believer, if his neighbors pass the night hungry while he has his belly full. He further added that he who is good to his neighbors will enjoy in the neighborhood of God on the day of resurrection. The prophet advised that nurse a neighbor when he is sick and show him concern if he is distressed.[82]

Veronica of *Kalichero* and *Chulu* of *Mgubudu* argues that, the virtues of true Islam was shown in the lives of early Muslims who settled in their communities. Veronica mentioned that they were able to ask for necessities which they did not have from them for example salt, candle, matches and were ready to give them for free as neighbors. In times of sickness they were able to offer transport to take the sick to the clinic and whenever they were going into town they were able to offer transport to those who needed it. They allowed their workers to attend funerals and sicknesses of their relatives. According to veronica the Indian Muslim traders were very good and dependable neighbors who attended to their needs and understood the African way of life. As Muslims they lived simple lives and their children spoke the local language as they interacted with local children. They did not live a high class type of life where people considered them as very rich people.

Veronica further noted that Indian traders provided all the goods the Africans required and price of commodities were not strictly fixed, people used to negotiate the price and bought goods

[80]Pascal Mwale, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed, on 12th May, 2017*.
[81]Nason Phiri, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed, on 12th May, 2017*.
[82]Abdalati, Islam in Focus *.pp.122*

according to the amount of money one had. The Indian traders won the good with of the people by offering *Mbasela* in form of matches, niddles, candles and salt. During their Islamic festivals like the Eid and Ramadan local people were given food such as rice, meal mill, cooking oil and sugar. Animals like goats, chickens and cattle were killed and meat distributed to the local people.[83] Nason mentioned that the sharing of food did not only involve their fellows Muslim, even those who were not Muslims benefited. The spirit of sharing and supporting the need in society is still happening even now during Islamic festivals.

However Brighton Kataba who had worked with Indians since 1968 as a house boy later a driver pointed out that the salaries of Indian workers such as garden boys, house boys, nannies, cooks, tailors and watch men were very low. He added that most of the times they used to get items from the store on credit and suffered deductions at the end of the month. He further mentioned that as a result they remained with little money to even support their relatives. Pascal observed that *Kalichero* and *Mgubudu* did not close their shops immediately after the pronouncement of the economic reforms, they continued operating to up to 1970.[84] Veronica noted that there was a big gap in terms of supplies of essential goods at *Kalichero* after the Indian traders had left. They found themselves walking long distances to the main town which is *Chipata* to buy commodities which previously could be purchased from an Indian store within. Moyo mentioned that one needed to ride a bicycle and travel a long distance to go to town only to buy small items like salt, razor and niddles.

The *Yao* was another group which was practicing Islam in the early sixties. According to Elias a teacher at Maôhad al-Rashid Islamic school in *Chipata*, the *Yao* identified each other through the way they conducted themselves for example their prayer schedule, their diet prohibitions and the way they dressed. Elias further added that after realizing they were all Muslims those who stayed within the same area identified a place where they could all meet for their daily prayers. In certain cases the *Yao* lived in isolated places but they could still pray under a tree close to their homes. Elias observed that regardless of whether the wife is a Muslim or non-Muslim, the *Yao* remained faithful to the religion of their father. Thus, in spite of lacking a wider supporting community they remained conscious of their religious difference from non-Muslims. As most of the *Yao* were foreigners it was difficult for them to carry out *Dawa* activities for fear of being deported to

[83]Veronica Mwale, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed on 11th June, 2017*.
[84]Brighton Kataba, Chipata, Zambia. *Interviewed, on 11th June, 2017*.

Malawi. In the seventies it was difficult for young men and women to dress publicly as Muslims for fear of being mocked and called names like *Chimchawa* ca kuMalawi.[85] (A Muslim from Malawi) Amina mentioned that being born to a father who was *Yao* and a Zambian mother growing up as a Muslim was difficult. Veiling was only done at home. She further noted that many Muslim girls avoided veiling in public places. At school veiling was not considered part of the uniform especially in government schools. Amina mentioned that *Yao* dominated mosques have been constructed with main prayer room portioned off so as to allow the women to come and pray in the rear room at the same time as men if they so wished but she was quick to mention that such a practice is not encouraged in the Indian dominated mosques. According to Amina Islam in itself does not prevent women from attending prayers at the mosque.

However, in spite of such provisions Amina stated that women scarcely go to pray in the mosque on Fridays and even less so during the rest of the week. Amina added that of late the mosques have gradually developed into meeting places for the women mainly for activities related to religious instructions conducted in the mosque twice per week on Saturdays and Sundays and these activities are aimed at strengthening womenôs solidarity. The major setback for the *Yao* women and indeed for the Yao community all along has been their lack of interest in secular education. Amina noted that they opposed western type of education with the perception that Islamic education answered all of their needs, they reacted against western education because they felt it was alien to them and considered it as being part of Christianity. They preferred the religious instructions offered by the local *Mwalimu* to secular education.[86]

Amina observed that girls attended religious instructions when they are young because as soon as they reach maturity the lessons stop. The establishment of private Islamic educational institutions in the eighties gave chance to Muslim children to continue with education among the Yao. This is because most of the Muslim families entrusted their children to Muslim institutions that offered both religious and secular education. In spite of such provisions girls remained uneducated and most of them did not go beyond grade seven levels. Indian women are very discreet as far as public appearance is concerned. Most of the men married their wives in India.[87]Phiri noted that when they arrived in *Chipata* Indian women joined an Indian community which was largely influenced

[85]Elisa, Chipata, Zambia, Interweaved on 14th April, 2017.
[86]Amina, Chipata, Zambia, Interviewed on 10th May, 2017.
[87]Amina, Chipata, Zambia, Interviewed on 11th May, 2017.

by Indian customs, traditions and religious norms. They insured the smooth running of their homes and they did not participate in business publicly except within a family set-up.[88] Unlike the Yao children, the Indian children attended school and in the second Republic they were compelled to attend education in schools with Africans because they never build secondary schools for their children. In Eastern Province most of the Indians took their children to schools like *Chizongwe* for boys and St Monicaôs for girls. Phiri noted that after successful completion of their tertiary education India children worked as doctors, teachers and others as lecturers at the University of Zambia.[89]Amina noted that in the late eighties Indians identified gaps in Yao education and have encouraged African Muslims to go to school by establishing Islamic schools which offered religious and secular education such as Anusa in *Petauke Chongololo* in *Chipata* and Islamic Welfare Centre Zambia Trust in *Lundazi*.[90]

3 [redacted]

The Mulungushi declaration of 1968 had a major impact on Indians in Zambia because the Economic reforms were designed to empower Zambians economically. Most Indians did not heed suggestions to take up Zambian citizenship, as a result they lost business after Economic reforms. From 1965 up to 1971 only 298 Indians out of a total of eleven thousand became citizens.

Phiri mentioned that what began as a program me to economically empower Zambians in the rural areas through the take over's turned out to be a disaster in the Indian trading areas. A number of shops taken over by Zambians briefly opened but were soon closed by the new owners who became bankrupt. Around 1970 the economic centers which developed in the trading zones sites along Great East road and in areas around *Mgubudu, Kazimule* deteriorated and fell into a state of disrepair and eventually collapsed. During this period, Indian traders became frustrated due to this uncertainty. As most of the Indians relocated to towns like *Chipata, Lundazi* and Lusaka, some went to live in South Africa while others left for America.[91]

According to Ayubu Banda the economic reforms impacted not only on the economic aspect of Eastern Province but also on Islam as a religion. Ayubu added that Islam spread through these economic centers especially the indigenous Indian workers who were converted to Islam and also

[88] Felix Phiri, *Muslim Association and Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*, pp. 120 ï 140.
[89]Phiri, *History of Indian in Eastern Province of Zambia*. pp.77.
[90]Amina, Chipata, Zambia, Interviewed on 17/04/17.
[91]Phiri, *History of Indian in Eastern Province of Zambia*, pp. 60.

the *Yao* who were tailors and had sawing machines along the corridors of the Indian shops, lost their livelihood. Mosques that were built to carter for Muslims around these areas became part of the dilapidated Indian buildings in the rural areas. Ayubu gave an example of mosques which collapsed at Kazimule, Katete stores, Kabere and another one at Kalichero. The indigenous Zambians who had been converted to Islam had no resources to organize their fellow Muslims after Indians had left. The new converts had no financial muscle to rehabilitate the dilapidated collapsed mosques.[92] In order to continue with Madrassa Classes, they also lacked trained personnel to lead them into prayer. The few indigenous Muslims relocated to other towns to look for employment. Ayubu further mentioned that even to date there are few Muslims in the rural areas where Indians first settled. Most of the indigenous Muslims are found in major towns like Petauke, Katete, Lundazi and Chipata. Had Indians remained in the rural areas where they first settled Islam as a religion would have also flourished in the rural areas.[93]

In addition the period between 1967 and 1970 was a difficult one for the economy of Zambia. The economic challenges also affected the organization of Islam because during this period Indians also went through a period of uncertainty as a result, much was not done in terms of Dawa activities[94]

3 6

This chapter has outlined the methodology comprising of the data collection methods being interview and discussions. The whole outline has presented the development and establishment of the Islamic communities from the pre-colonial era to date. The development of Islam has been perpetuated by both internal and external drivers. These factors have been building up over the years thereby resulting into multiple growth of Islam in Chipata. For instance, the Yao and Swahili traders have contributed largely to the Islamization process as earlier alluded.

[92]Ayubu Banda Chipata, Zambia *Interviewed on 15/06/17*
[93]Ayubu Chipata, Zambia *Interviewed on 15/06/17*
[94]Ayubu Banda Chipata, Zambia *Interviewed on 15/06/17*

[illegible]

The Chapter will discuss the impact of Islam in Chipata District and explores how indigenous people were converted to Islam. It also identifies categories of people converting to the Religion. Furthermore the chapter will look at the extent of Islamic Religion in Chipata District.

The manifestation of Islamic activities in Chipata starts with the establishment of mosques. In Chipata district there are more than twenty mosques and nearly each chiefdom has a mosque. According to Phiri a mosque is a very symbolic place for Muslims to recreate pure divine presence on earth. He observed that the primary purpose of the mosque is to serve as a place where Muslims can come together for prayers.[1]Kolya noted that some mosques have libraries which offer a variety of books on Islamic teachings. In Chipata there are community based mosques which were built by individual families such as Chisitu mosque built by Adam Kawee and Mgubudu mosque which was constructed by Yusuf Shifa.

In Chipata a Kuwait based Muslim nongovernmental organization known as Africa Muslim Agency (AMA) has constructed more than ten impressive mosques and Madrasas beside them situated along the main roads in Eastern Province such as Abelo, Kapatamoyo, Seleman and others. The organization has also refurbished a number of existing mosques, a move to give confidence and strength of the religion in the district. The Maôhadal al-Rashid institute has also embarked on supporting the emerging mosque communities and the beneficiaries are the Magazine, Kaulembe and Kanyenda mosques. The Chipata Muslim Association also runs programmersô of religious education in mosques under its jurisdiction. The religious program in the Madrassa involves pupilôs learning about their religion.[2]The discussion below shows the number of members each mosque has and thier chief.

[1]Phiri Felix, *Muslim Association and Resurgence in Zambia*. pp.126.
[2]Kolya Yunnis, Chipata Zambia, *Interviewed on 4/06/2016*

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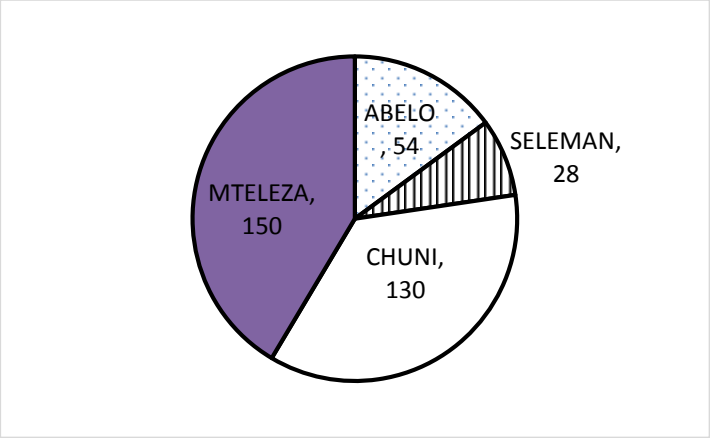
4 Mosques in Chief Mpezeniôs Area

In Mpezeniôs chiefdom there are four mosques namely Abelo, Seleman, Chuni and Mteleza mosque. Mteleza mosque has more members that is 150 members followed by Chuni with 130 members, Abelo has 54 members while Seleman has only 28 members, this is shown in figure 4 above.



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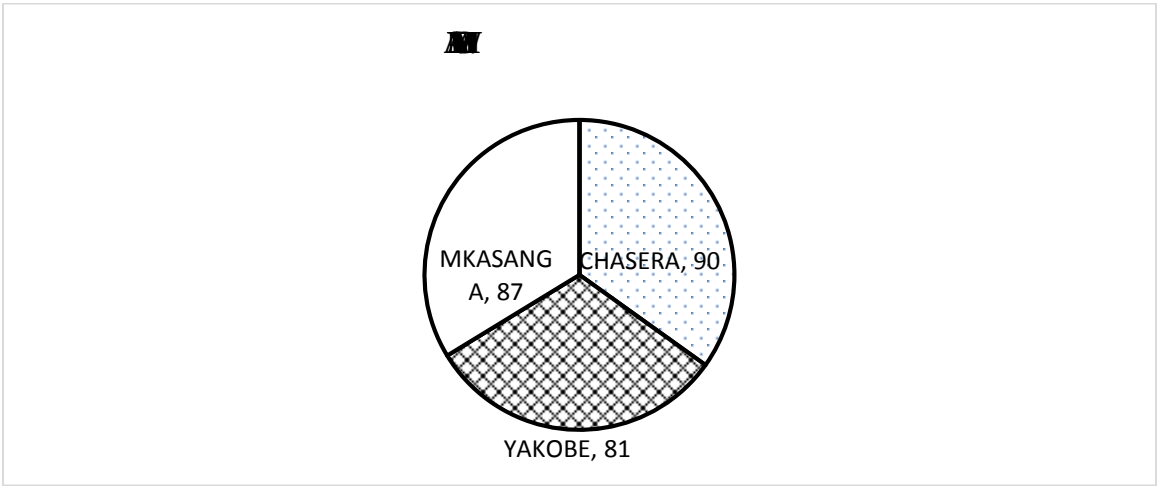
In Mwanya chiefdom there are three mosques namely Chasera, Yakobe, Mukasanga, Chasera has 90 members, Mukasanga with 87 members and Yakobe, recorded 81 members. Below is a figure showing mosques and its membership in Chief Mwanya.



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The study shows that in chief Mshawa there are two mosques namely Kaulembe and Mtela. Mtela has a membership of 105 and Kaulembe with 74 members. This is presented graphically in figure 6.

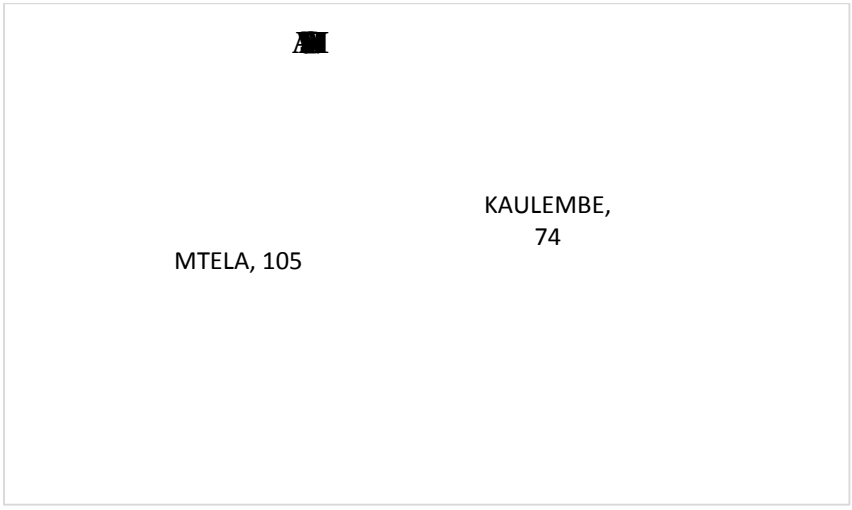
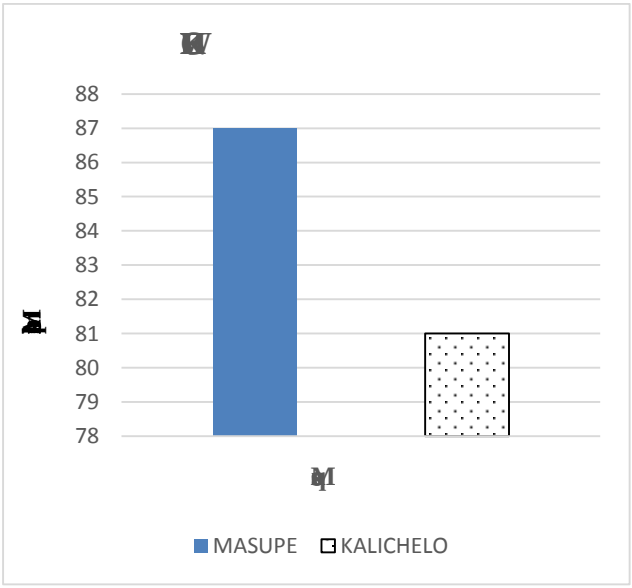
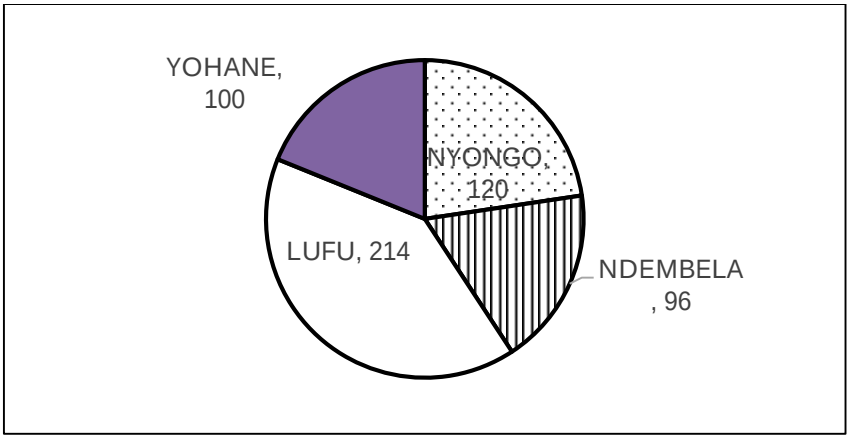


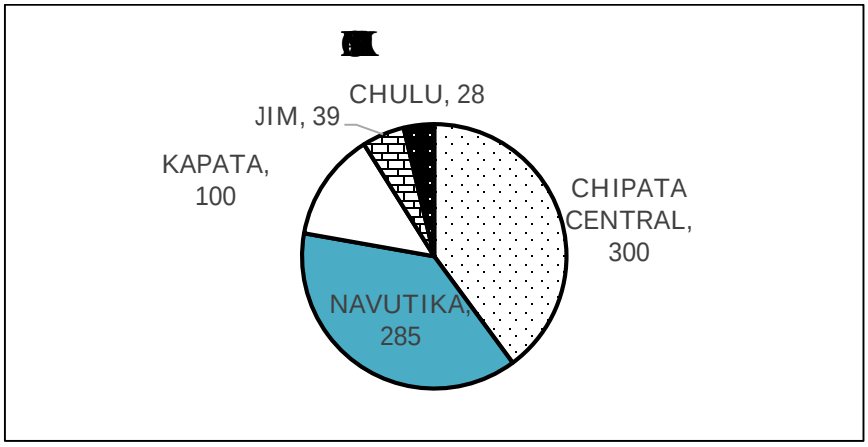
Figure 7, below shows Islamic membership in chief Chikuwe's Chiefdom. The Chiefdom has two mosques namely Kalichelo and Masupe, Kalichelo has a smaller number which is 81 and Masupe has 87 followers.



In Misholo's chiefdom there are Four (4) mosques namely Yohane, Ndembela, Lufu and Nyongo mosque. In chief Misholo Lufu has the highest membership with 214 followers, followed by Nyongo with 120 members then yohane 100 followers lastly Ndembela has the smallest number of congregants which is 96.This is shown in figure 10 below.



In Kapatamoyoôs Chiefdom there are five Mosques (5) namely Chipata Central with 300 members, Navutika with 285 members, Kapata which has 100 members, Jim has 39 members while Chulu recorded 28 members. Most of the mosques in chief Kapatamoyo are located within the township and they have recorded the highest number of followers because of the concentration of Indians Muslims and the Yao. This is shown in Figure 9 below.



According to the data that was given to the researcher, some chiefdoms have recorded one mosque each, thus chief Mkanda and chief Chinyaku. Mkanda mosque has 100 members while Kagunda mosque has 74 members, chief Chanje has one mosque which is Mugubudu with 90 followers, Chief Mafuta has one Mosque which is Mgombe with 15 members, Chief Chinunda has Kaphainzi mosque with 150 members, lastly chief Mazimabe has Madzimoyo mosque with 69 members. This is shown in table 1 below.

Names of Chiefdoms	Mosque	No. of Members each Mosques has
	Mkanda	
	Kaphainzi	
	Mugubudu	
	Kagunda	
	Madzimoyo	
	Mgombe	

Historically Madrassa emerged in the mid-nineteenth century in India. It was founded by Darul Uloom and was run by contributions and donations from Mughal courts and Muslim nobles. According to David King following the establishment of British rule in India all Islamic education institutes were closed. It was during this period that it was decided that each Islamic community should fund the activities of Madrassa. In Chipata nearly every mosque runs Madrassa where children learn Islamic knowledge.[3]

The Madrassa education is offered to Muslim children only. According to Hassan Mwanza, pupils attend Madrassa education before going to government schools.[4]F. Phiri added that the children who attend Madrassa often invite friends from neighboring households and sometimes non-

[3] David King *The Role of Muezzin in Wuwaqit In Medieval Islamic Society* (Oklahoma University press ,2000), pp.466
[4]Hassan Mwanza, Chipata, Zambia, *Interviewed 8/11/2016*

Muslim parents encourage children to participate and acquire extra knowledge not offered in the secular schools such as reading and writing in Arabic.[5]

Another Islamic activity is the part played by a muezzin. According to Ibrahim Baluwa his Father was a muezzin at Chipata Central mosque. He mentioned that when calling for prayers the muezzin faces the Qiblah the direction of the Kaôbah in Mecca while reciting the adhan. Baluwa further noted that the institution of muezzin existed since the time of Muhammad and the first muezzin was Bilal Ibn Rabah, a black ex-slave from Ethiopia who walked along the streets to call the believers to come for prayers. Today Mosques often have loudspeakers mounted on top of the minaret and the muezzin use a microphone, or the recording is played, allowing the call to prayer be heard at great distances without climbing the minaret.[6]

Mwanza mentioned that Muezzin is a person appointed at the mosque to lead and recite the call to prayer for every event of prayer and worship in the mosque. The muezzin position is an important one and that the community depends on him for an accurate prayer schedule. In most of the mosques visited in Chipata Mwalimus acted as muezzin. Mwanza added that the professional of Muezzin is chosen for his good character, voice and skill to serve at the mosque.[7]

Women enjoy certain privileges in Islam of which man is deprived. She is exempted from some religious duties such as prayers and fasting in her regular periods and at times of confinement, for example the forty days after child birth she is also exempted from all financial liabilities. As a mother she enjoys more recognition and higher honor in the sight of God. Abdalati noted that the prophet acknowledged this honor when he declared that paradise is under the feet of the mother. According to the Quran a woman is not blamed for Adamôs first mistakes. Badawi added that both were jointly wrong in their disobedience to God both repented and were both forgiven. According to Abdalati Islam is most concerned with the integrity of a woman with safeguarding of her morals and protection of her character and personality.

The hijab is another manifestation of Islamic activity in Chipata. According to Cheyeka every Friday it is very common to see indigenous Zambia wearing Jarabiya (Cassock) and the Fez (head

[5] F. Phiri *Muslim Associations and Resurgence of Islam in Zambia, pp.45.*
[6]Ibrahim Baluwa, *Chipata, Zambia interview on 12/10/2016*
[7]Hassan Mwanza, *Chipata, Zambia, interviewed 7/30/17*

cap) and women veiled wearing a Hijab to cover their heads.[8] Almphlet Hilda stated that clothing of the women is very conservative as they usually wear long dresses and cover their hair and part of their face. According to Islam a womanôs hair is regarded as her greatest beauty asset and should only be seen by her husband. Hilda observed that proper Hijab is to dress up modestly and appropriately covering all parts of the body except the face and the forearms without showing ones figure or curves and without using any sort of makeup.[9]

4 2.1 In W ô

On the other hand Jirousek noted that the Hijab is a test for Muslim women. It is clear from the Quran and the hadith that the hijab is a religious obligation which a woman has to undertake.[10]Tomaida Milingo noted that the wearing of Hijab is not a custom that was started by the prophet but a custom that was adopted on the wives of the prophet and later on all Muslim women. She argued that women seem to have varying views on veiling. While some are happy wearing a hijab others have abandoned it. According to Milingo the general movement towards unveiling began in the mid-1920s when the Egyptian feminist Huda Sha'rawi threw away the veil after arriving in Egypt from an international meeting of women. In the subsequent years, other women followed and adopted western dress. Milingo further added that women who have cast off

[8] Chiyeka Austin, *Islamic Presence in Zambia*ò in Brendon Carmody ed Religion and Education in Zambia) Ndola Mission, Press, 2004), pp.132
[9] Hilda Almphlet, *A History of Fashion in Headwear* (Mineola York courier,2003), pp.401
[10] Jirousek Charlotte, *Islamic Clothing Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (New York McMillan, 2005), pp. 41

the veil see this as a symbol of liberation that women should not be secluded from public life and that they are free to study and work in the main stream.[11]

In Iran for example, national honor is secured by women covering themselves from top to bottom at all times, except in the privacy of the husbandôs bedroom and within the circle of relatives. Nevertheless Mahmood glosses over the internal struggles Muslim women face when adopting the veil such as not willing to give up their previous youthful style altogether, many young women in modern times especially in the western world veil only during special occasions such as Ramadan and wear tight jeans and tops when attending beach picnics and dance parties. Others who have adopted the hijab fully, try to stand out by wearing fashionable veils in the same colours on their outfit. Sometimes rounded off with high-heeled shoes and handbags in a matching colour.[12]Several young Muslim women interviewed in *Chipata* said that they experienced great difficulty in adjusting their behavior to their dress code agreeing that it is not easy to veil.

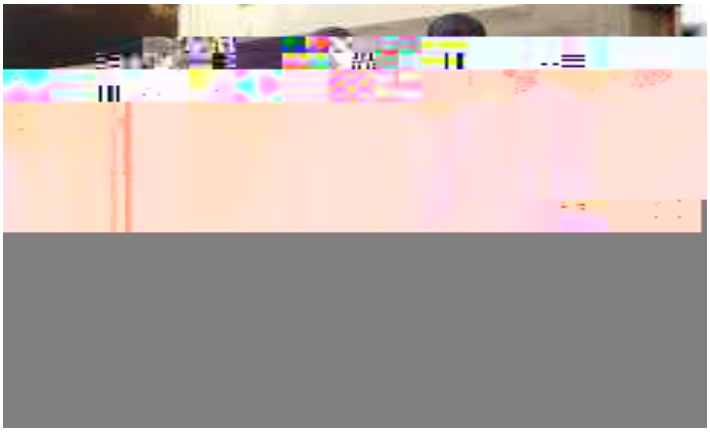
Farida, mentioned that she found it difficult to veil because of the heat and the reactions from her relatives and friends. During hot days, the skin, under her hijab becomes irritated. At times, she felt tempted to remove the hijab, but because she did not want to be a hypocrite she persevered, which for her was the proof of her moral worth because it showed to the outside world that she was strong in her religious convictions. Farida derived self-esteem from her decision to veil. Gradually, the hijab became so integrated in her attire that she felt naked without it.[13]

However men are also advised to dress decently, Jirousek mentioned that menôs dress should provide adornment, it should provide for decent appearance and should not be an eye sore for decent human beings. In addition Menôs dress must avoid three deadly sins such as showing off, arrogance and self-indulgence and that menôs dress should establish Islamic Identity as on the page below.[14]

[11]Tomaida Milingo, *Veiling and Seclusion of Women in Islam*,pp. 66.
[12]Mahmood Saba, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and Feminist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 2005. pp.40

[13]Farida, Chipata, Zambia Interviewed on 13/03/2017
[14]Jirousek Charlotte, Islamic Clothing Encyclopaedia of Islam. pp. 42

4.2.2 Islamic Menôs Attire



6 M timbas ô

g 1M

Haroon Zulu reported that Muslim men wear skull ï cap and Arabic dress to emulate Muhammad.He added that the companions of Muhammad were never without their heads being covered. In order to emulate their action some Muslims throughout the world wear a variety of scull-caps. Quoting from the Quran it says, òO:children of Adam; We have indeed sent down to you clothing to cover your shame and clothing for beauty and clothing that guards against evil that is best, this is for communications be mindful.ôô Zulu mentioned that the modern ways of dressing that include short skirts which are associated with indecent dressing is not part of African way of dressing.[15] Zulu further observed that both men and women interviewed mentioned that they were comfortable with Islamic dresses because it promotes decent dressing. In addition most Zambians wear Islamic attire on Fridays while attending prayers at the mosque and due to poverty most of the dresses are given to them for free as gifts from well to do Muslims from Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

The existence of Islam in Chipata is noticeable by the establishment of institutions of learning such as Chongololo School which is run by Chipata Islamic Association. The school offers secular education based on government syllabus and the school employs local Muslim and non-Muslim teachers. The position of head teacher at the school is advertised and interviews are conducted.

[15] Haron Zulu, Chipata, *Zambia Interviewed on 05/4/2017.*

According to Mr. Nyirenda a teacher at Chongololo the position is left to an indigenous one who can either be a Muslim or a non-Muslim.[16]

Another Islamic institution of learning in Chipata district is Maôhadal-Rashid. The institution is a center of religious training for young Muslims from different parts of Zambia and even from neighboring countries such as Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Phiri pointed out that the objective of the institution is to offer Muslim children the possibility of attaining a level of Islamic knowledge higher than what is obtainable in the Madrassa.[17]Kolya mentioned that the students also learn the Indian Urdu language for communication purposes and Arabic for lessons or lectures. Other instructions offered at the school are based on issues such as morality, cleanliness and piety. At Maôhadal al-Rashid institute the dress code is purely Islamic and some of the graduates from this college become Hafiz and eventually Sheikhs or Imams, while others are employed by Indian businessmen.[18]

In addition other institutions of learning that combine both secular and religious education are schools run by Islamic Welfare Centre of Zambia Trust (IWCZT) in Lundazi and Petauke Kawere Muslim Association (PKMA) in Petauke. The two institutions mentioned above offer both religious education in line with Islamic teaching and secular education based on the government syllabus.

4 3 [illegible] [illegible]

Alms giving is one of the manifestations of Islam in Chipata district. The richer members of the Islamic community come to the aid of the poor inform of Zakat which is one of the pillars of Islam. However, in fulfilling the religious act of Zakat the Indian community, in Chipata district, has provided substantial assistance to their African counterparts for personal material needs as well as for constructing mosques and educating Muslim children. Some of the aid also come from countries such as Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. Cheyeka observed that every Friday afternoon Muslim are seen heading towards their respective mosques to pray and the poor walk back none with parcels containing food and clothes which they may have been given at the mosque.[19]

[16]Westone Nyirenda, Chipata, *Zambia, Interviewed on 05/03/2017*.

[17]Phiri Felix, *Muslim Associations and Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*. pp. 56.

[18]Kolya Yunnis, Chipata, *Zambia, Interviewed on 4/06/2016.*

[19] Cheyeka A. M, *Islamic Presence in Zambia*. P.P 132-143.

Charity is not just recommended by Islam, it is required of every financially stable Muslim. Giving charity to those who deserve it is part of Muslim character and one of the five pillars of Islamic practice, it is an obligation for those who have received their wealth from God to respond to those members of the community in need. Islam encourages the sharing of wealth with others and helps people to stand on their own and become productive members of the society. Shifa noted that in Arabic charity is known as Zakat which literally means purification, because Zakat is considered to purify ones heart of greed. Love of wealth is natural and it takes firm belief in God for a person to part with some of his wealth. Zakat must be paid on different categories of property such as gold, silver, money, livestock, agricultural produce and business commodities and is payable each year after one yearôs possession. It requires an annual contribution of 2.5 percent of an individualôs wealth and assets.[20]

Like prayer, which is both an individual and communal responsibility, Zakat expresses a Muslims worship of thanksgiving to God by supporting those in need. In Islam, the true owner of things is not man but God. Islam teaches that people should acquire wealth with the intention of spending it on their own needs and the needs of others. Zakat reminds Muslims that everything they have belongs to God. People are given their wealth as a trust from God, and Zakat is intended to free Muslims from the love of money. The money paid for Zakat is not something God needs or receives. He is above any type of dependency. Furthermore, helping oneôs neighbours is frequently praised in the Quran. For example Quran 93, 3-10 saysò did he not find you poor and enrich you. Therefore do not wrong the orphan, nor chide away the beggar. But proclaim the goodness of your *lord*.ò[21]

Apart from Zakat, the Quran and Hadith also stress sadaqah or voluntary alms giving which is intended for the needy. The Quran emphasizes feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, helping those who are in need, and the more one helps, the more God helps the person and the more one gives, the more God gives the person. One feels he is taking care of others and God is taking care of him. However, Tasleen Shawa argued that in some cases people have identified themselves with Muslims in order to benefit from Zakat, not with the really intention of becoming a committed

[20] Yusuf Shifa, Chipata, *Zambia Interviewed on 20/11/2016*

[21] Quran 93,3-10

Muslim but once the material assistance does not come on their way they stop attending religious gatherings.[22]

4 4 [redacted]

Another manifestation of Islamic activity in Chipata is that of Islamic names. It is common in Chipata nowadays to be called or registered by Islamic names such as Fatima, Amina, Zaynab, Farida, Aôisha, Rashid, Musa and Abu-Bakr. Jomier Jacques noted that According to Islam the child is considered to be born pure by nature. A hadith says that he or she is by nature a Muslim, and it is the parents who make him or her a Christian, Jew or a Hindu.[23]He further explained that the cause of birth takes place in accordance with the will of God in realization of his plans and in submission to his commands. He further, added that every person is endowed with spiritual potentialities and intellectual inclinations that can make him a good Muslim if he or she has the right access to Islam. Jomier observed that a series of these names is derived from names of the prophet of Islam for example Muhammad, Ahmed, Mustapha and Mahmud or his first Companions like Abu Bakr, Others, recall the great figures of the past mentioned in the Quran such as Ibrahim, Ishmael and Yusuf. For girls the names are often those of the first Muslim women such as, Amina, Khadija, Umm, Kulthum, Aisha and Zaynab. There could be others who might be converted to Islam as adults and as such choose Islamic names for themselves while some have maintained their traditional or Christian names.[24]

The visibility of Islamic activity in Chipata are a series of observances especially in ritual prayers and the fast during Ramadan. Prayer constitutes one pillar of Islam and is considered the foundation of religion. Any Muslim who fails to observe his prayers and has no reasonable excuse is committing a grave offense and a heinous sin. One unique moral and spiritual characteristic of Islam is the prescribed institution of Fasting. It means to abstain completely from food, drinks, intimate intercourses and smoking, before the break of down till sunset and during the entire month of Ramadan. Shifa mentioned that Ramadan is the best month of the year for Muslims and whoever was reluctant in saying prayers during the year makes it a point to perform them regularly in the month of Ramadan. Fasting during the month of Ramadan imbues man with a genuine virtue of effective devotion, honest, dedication and closeness to God because when one participate in

[22] Tasleen Shawa, Chipata, *Zambia, interviewed on 7/11/2016.*

[23] Jomier Jacques, *How to Understand Islam* (New York: Cross Roads Publishing Company, 1989) , pp.69.

[24] Jacques, *How to Understand Islam*. pp.69.

fasting, he does so for God and his sake alone.[25]During prayers, women are not allowed to sit next to men, as it can be seen in the figure 12 below. Men worship by lowering their heads while bowing down.

The performance of Salat that is the five compulsory daily prayers is the second pillar of Islam, starts with the early morning prayer (Fajr),the noon prayer (Zuhr), the mid-afternoon prayer (Asr), the sunset prayer (Maghrib) and the evening prayer (Isha). Salat constitutes the physical, mental and spiritual submission to Allah which starts by pronouncing Allahôs greatness and ends with Salam (salutation of peace), the performance of Salat serves as the foundation of Islam without it there is no Islam. Agadem Diara noted that in the tradition of Islam, Muslims usually assemble at the mosque on Friday afternoon for what is called Juma or congregational service and on the same Friday, not only are supplications offered to Allah but all aspects concerning the progress and security of the community are also discussed The Friday prayers at noon are spread out, the first two are performed by believers individually on arrival and the other two are performed communally.[26]In addition to daily prayers and those on Friday, there are special prayers for certain events such as funerals and public disasters like excessive rain, the time of drought and shortage of rain. Women also enter the mosque on Friday and sit separately from men as they also take time to listen to the sermon. After the sermon the women meet outside and share the word of God from the Quran. The poor are given food and clothes, later they conclude the program me of the day.

[25] Yusuf Shifa, Chipata, *Zambia Interviewed on 14/6/2016.*

[26] Agadem Diara, *Islam, and Pan African* (Detroit: Agascha Production, 1973), pp. 20.

According to Ibrahim Baluwa the communal Friday prayer takes a long public recitation of the Quran before prayer, a sermon further stresses the Qurianic character of the liturgy.[27]

In addition to an increased visibility activity of Islam in public is the use of the Quran. It is a direct literal word of God for the Muslim, a book of about the same length as the New Testament is one of the most remarkable scriptures in history. It has molded the lives of millions of people and gave birt

its complete preservation is beyond doubt.[30]Mufti Qasmi the head teacher at Anusa Islamic School in Petauke mentioned that he was able recite the whole Quran when he was eleven year old. He mentioned that unlike the Bible which has so many versions the Quran has never been revised.[31]Qasmi presented two boys Issa and Ishmael who are about to finish memorizing the whole Quran by heart so as to become hafiz. Mr. Qasmi presented the Quran as a gift to the researcher at the end of the interview. Below is a type of a Quran the researcher was given at Anusa Islamic school in Petauke district.

Figure 3: The Quran, a holy book for Muslims

A. Hammudah identified three characteristics of the Quran. One of the major characteristics of the Qurianic wisdom is that it is not static or dry type. It is the kind of dynamic wisdom that provokes the mind and quickens the heart. A significant characteristics of the Quran is its practicability. It doesnôt indulge in wishful thinking nor does it demand the impossible or float on rosy streams of unattainable ideas. The second characteristic of the Quran is that it accepts man for what he is and exhorts him to become what he can be, it does not brand man as a helpless or hopeless creature condemned from birth to death and drowned in sin from womb to tomb, but it portrays him as a noble honorable and dignified being. The third characteristic is moderation or harmony between the divine and the human, spiritual and the material. Hammudah observed that Quran pay due attention to all aspects of life and all needs of man and deals with them in such a way as to help man to realize the noble objectives of his being.

[30]Abdalati Hammudah, *Islam in Focus.* pp.126.
[31]Mufti Qasmi, Petauke, *Zambia, Interviewed on 17/6/17*.

The Qurianic wisdom functions in three principle dimensions such as inwardly, outwardly and upwardly. In worldly it penetrates into the innermost recesses of the heart and the furthest depth of the mind. It is aimed at the health of the individual from within. The outward function of the Quran empresses all works of life and covers the entire field of human affairs from the most personal matters to the complex international relations. In addition the Quran reaches areas unknown to any secular system or law and codes of ethics and inaccessible to any popular doctrine of religion. In its upward function the Quran focuses on the one supreme God. Everything that was and is or that will be must be channeled into and seen through this focus, the active presence of God in the universe. Abdalati observed that Man is merely a trustee into vast domain of God and the sole purpose of his creation is to worship God.[32]

4 5 P

Another visibility of Islam in public life in Chipata is dietary prohibitions. According to Ronzan and Ajus all living beings are divided into clean and unclean, Pigs and dogs are unclean while cats are not, blood must be left to drain from meat hence the need for Haalal butcheries.[33]

In Chipata district the oldest Haalal butchery called the Eastern Islamic butchery is located at down shops. Amina noted that Zambia Haalal Authority (ZAMHA) established itself as an Islamic Representative authority whose main objective is to monitor the food industry by issuing certification of Haalal food and other related products in accordance with Qurianic teachings.[34] The figure below shows meat products under Halal

[32] Abdalati Hammudah, Islam in Focus. P. 132.
[33]R Ronzani and P Ajus,*What Christian Should Know About Islam* (Nariobi:Paulineôs Publications Africa,2003), pp.89
[34] Amina Baluwa, Chipata, Zambia Interviewed on 23/6/2016.

Ghulam Khan mentioned that Muslims believe in Al-Zabah which in itôs literally sense means the act of cutting the throat. In the language of Islamic law (Sharia) it denotes the act of slaying an animal agreeable to the prescribed norms, without which it is not considered as eatable. In Qurianic terminology it is also used to signify purification of the flesh of animals (of blood) disposed before eating. Al- Zabah or the Muslim method of slaying animals for food is an embodiment of Muslim conception of food, hygiene and humanness towards animals. According to Khan a Muslim is forbidden to eat that which has been strangulated or killed by a blow or by the horns of another animal except what has been killed and purified by a Muslim. In addition it is also unlawful to eat meat of animals beaten to death.[35]Shifa mentioned that alcoholic beverages are also prohibited, they are considered to have a negative effect on the person who under their influence, cannot serve God.[36]

4 6 [illegible]

Manifestation of Islamic activity in Chipata is the Islamic religious festivals. In Chipata there are two celebrated Islamic festivals. Jomier noted that the festivals included the feast of fast breaking of the month of Ramadan (Eid AL-fitr) which marks the end of the pilgrimage to Mecca and the feast of sacrifice (Eid AL- Adha) recalls Abrahamôs sacrifice of Ishmael. Shifa added that during these occasions, all Muslims throughout the whole world including Chipata offer sacrifices and part of the meat is given to the needy. Muslims greatly value generosity and as such during these feasts they give alms to the poor.[37]Tasleen of Kapatamoyo mosque pointed out that there is always good attendance during these festivals seasons because of the meat and other gifts distributed during this period. She added that because of this new laws have been formulated where by anyone who does not attend religious meetings and prayers at the mosque is not allowed to receive Zakat. According to Tasleen this has resulted in very few committed members.[38]

4 7 [illegible]

4 71 Б

It is becoming increasingly evident that Islam in Zambia is gaining a firm foot hold and already a religious force to reckon with and yet very little has been written about it in Zambia and Chipata in particular. The rapid expansion or growth of the religion in the country, particularly Eastern Province can not only be attributed to the arrival and settlement of the Muslims from Islamic states such as India, Pakistan, Iran etc., or the Muslims settling in that province from the neighboring Malawi and Mozambique but the indigenous people converting to the religion as well. In Zambia the Islamic revival began in the 1990ôs and was given much attention by transition from one part rule to multi-party politics. Since 1980ôs there has been Islamic literature in Zambia available through libraries attached to Islamic Centers, information offices and mosques. By 1991 more than 150 Islamic organizations were registered by the registrar of societies.

Alms giving have stimulated the conversion due to abject poverty in Chipata among the locals. Most of the converts confessed that Islam was quiet practical in assisting the poor. Hence most of the widows and vulnerable resolved to be associated with a religious group which was able to address their needs. One of the recent converts Samuel Yusuf was able to support the ascension in the following verbatim:

> ñ é *the business community has special Fridays when they open doors to all poor Muslims to go and access food staffs and money to support our livelihoods. These and other commitments have motivated us to bring our neighbours and friends along to join…* ò

4 72 Бn

Through this state regulated form of organization Muslims were able to officially apply for land and build mosques with Madrassa classes and schools which offered religious and secular education. In the same way they were also able to apply for monitory and technical expertise from Islamic countries abroad. Chipata district has witnessed to indigenous people embracing Islam in great numbers over a relatively short period of time due to a systematic and explicit campaigns of Islamisation launched in the eighties and nineties. This gave rise to the foundation of Muslim communities among the indigenous people in an unprecedented manner. This period noticed the building of more mosques and rehabilitation of others. It also witnessed a lot of Muslims putting on Islamic attire in Chipata district. By 1991, Islam had become a real threat to the long established religion of Christianity. This led to charismatic Christians to take the step of asking the government

to declare Zambia a Christian Nation.[39] Christians believed that declaring Zambia a Christian nation was going to prevent the Muslims from taking over the country, since Christians strongly believed that the Muslims were intending on taking over Zambia.[40]

Eventually, Zambia was declared a Christian nation on 29th December, 1991 by then the second republican president of Zambia Fredrick Jacob Titus Chiluba. This however was not well received by the Zambian Islamic community. They felt betrayed by the government and that their religion was going to be made second class.[41]

The declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation and its inclusion in the constitution made it a privileged religion than other religious groups such as Hindu and Islam. Cheyeka suggested that declaration was shielding the nation against the growing influence of Islam. During the declaration many Muslims were not sure whether they would be tolerated especially when defendants of the Christian nation declaration were saying that some countries declare themselves óIslamic nations'? Why should Zambia not declare itself a Christian nation? However, a clarification was given by the then president Fredrick Chiluba that despite declaring Zambia a Christian nation, other religions would be tolerated. This made the chairman of the Islamic council of Zambia to welcome the declaration, and as such continue with their religious activities in Zambia and Eastern province inclusive.[42]

Many Zambians have been converted to Islam in Chipata District. Felix Phiri echoes that the existing Muslim communities of the Indians and Yao, later consolidated by associations has given rise to a general framework within which more indigenous Zambians have come to know and embrace Islam.[43] According to F. Phiri in Brenden Carmodysô study on ñConversion and School at Chikuni 1905-39,ô Carmody records that the Chikuni converts initially chose to become Catholics because of the socio-cultural inducement which the mission presented. He added that in itself the religious massage of the missionaries appeared unattractive as it required a long period of assimilation.[44]

[39]Times of Zambia 24/2/1991
[40]Times of Zambia 24/2/1991
[41] Cheyeka, *The Islamic presence in Zambia. pp.132-143.*
[42] Cheyeka, *The Islamic Presence in Zambia*. pp.132-143.
[43]Phiri, *African Conversion in Brendan Carmody, Religious Conversion: An African Perspective* (.Lusaka: Gadsden Publishers, 2001), P. 80.
[44]Westone Nyirenda, Chadiza Zambia *Interviewed on 16/11/16.*

This could also be applied to how indigenous people were converted to Islam in Chipata district. Abdalati Hammudah mentions that converting to Islam does not demand that one goes into psychological transformation through a series of religious instructions, from baptism and reception or other sacraments like Marriage. In Islam becoming a Muslim is simple and easy process. [45]

All that a person has to say is a sentence called the testimony of faith (shahada) which is pronounced as I testify óôLa ilaha illa Allah, Muhammad rasoolu Allah.ò The above Arabic words mean óôThere is no true God (deity) but God (Allah), and Muhammad is the messenger [prophet] of God. ñOnce a person says the Testimony of Faith with conviction and understanding its meaning, then he or she has become a Muslim. The first part which says there is no true deity but God, means that none has the right to be worshipped but God alone, and that God has neither partner nor son. The second part means that Muhammad was the true prophet sent by God to humankind. The conversion can be done in the presence of sheikh or any Muslim who is more knowledgeable about Islam.[46]

Westone Nyirongo observed that upon converting to Islam, all of oneôs previous sins are forgiven, and one starts a new life of piety and righteousness. Nyirongo further added that as a Muslim, when one makes a mistake thereafter, he or she can always repent to God who forgives the sins of those who repent to him sincerely. According to Nyirongo there are no intermediaries or created beings to make confessions to apart from Allah (God).[47]However, Ibrahim Baluwa noted that there are a lot of benefits of converting to Islam and the greatest benefit is that a Muslim is promised by God the reward of eternal paradise where they will live eternally in bliss without any sort of sickness, pain or sadness. In addition, even the lowest rank among the dwellers of paradise will have ten times the like of this world. In fact, in paradise there are pleasures that no eye has ever seen, no ear has ever head, and no mind has ever thought of. It will be a real life, not only spiritual but physical as well.[48]

[4545]Abdalati Hammudah, *Islam in Focus*, (Beirut; Maktaba Darussalam Publisher,1995), p. 181.

[46]Westone Nyirenda, Chadiza, Zambia *Interviewed on 17/11/16.*
[47]Westone Nyirenda, Chadiza Zambia *Interviewed on 17/11/16.*
[48]Ibrahim Baluwa, Chipata, Zambia *Interviewed on 16/11/16*

4 73 (P l d)

Traditional leaders have been the major drivers of Islamization in Africa in the earlier stages of Islamization. Most of the settlements rights were acquired by Arab-Swahili traders. The trade routes used by the traders were predominantly influenced by Arabs. These primarily established the ground work for instituting Islamic structures. Due to competing interests among traders of different regions, Arabs quickly established mosques and converted Chiefs and Headmen to Islam as one of the bilateral agreements in the trade treaties they signed. [49] In Chipata district Muslims usually visits chiefs in their chiefdoms in order to ask for a piece of land to build their mosques. In certain areas chiefs were converted to Islam and encouraged their headmen to do so, an example is that of chief Mshawa whom upon embracing Islam himself encouraged his headman Mgombe to do so. In chief Mkandasô area headman Simon has encouraged a lot of his people to join Islam as he is also a Muslim. The headman also advises the chief on issues concerning Islam.

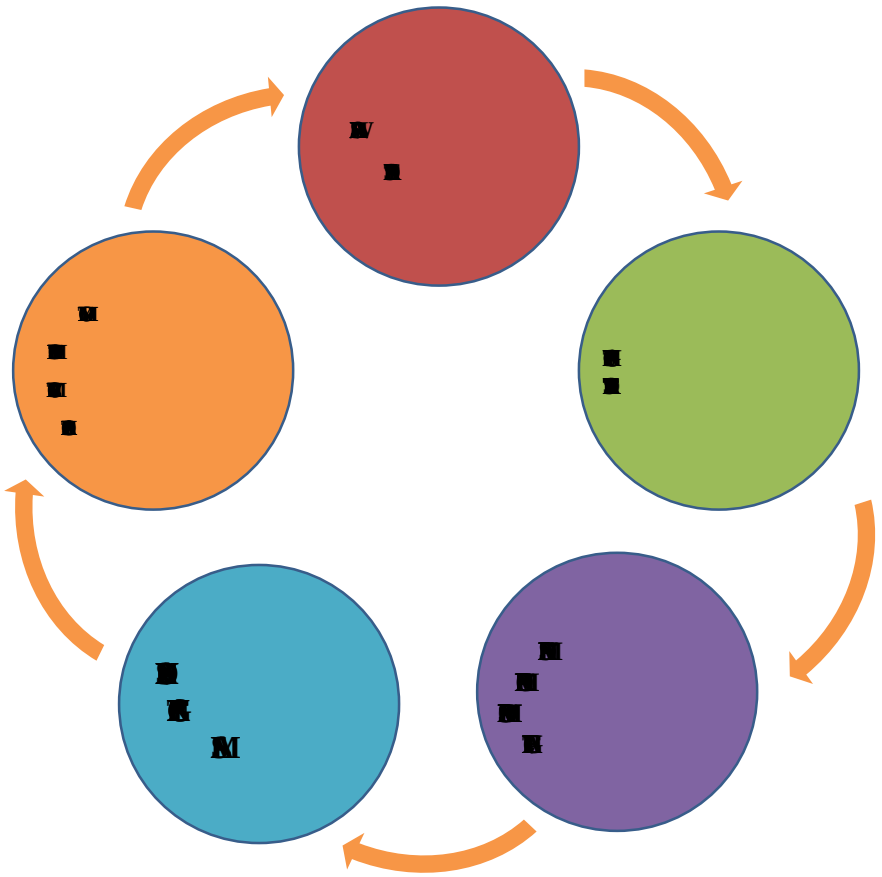
Ngolongoliwa Kawinga is a Muslim Chief and has encouraged his subjects to join Islam.

Source: Muslims timesô information

** 5: **

[49]Bones, *Islam in Malawi. pp.131.*

The Process of Conversion to Islam during the Earlier Stages of Islamisation followed several patterns. One of them involved the Arab-Swahili traders and the local traditional leaders. Through various treaties, the traditional leaders embraced Islam. Figure 16 below shows how the process was done.

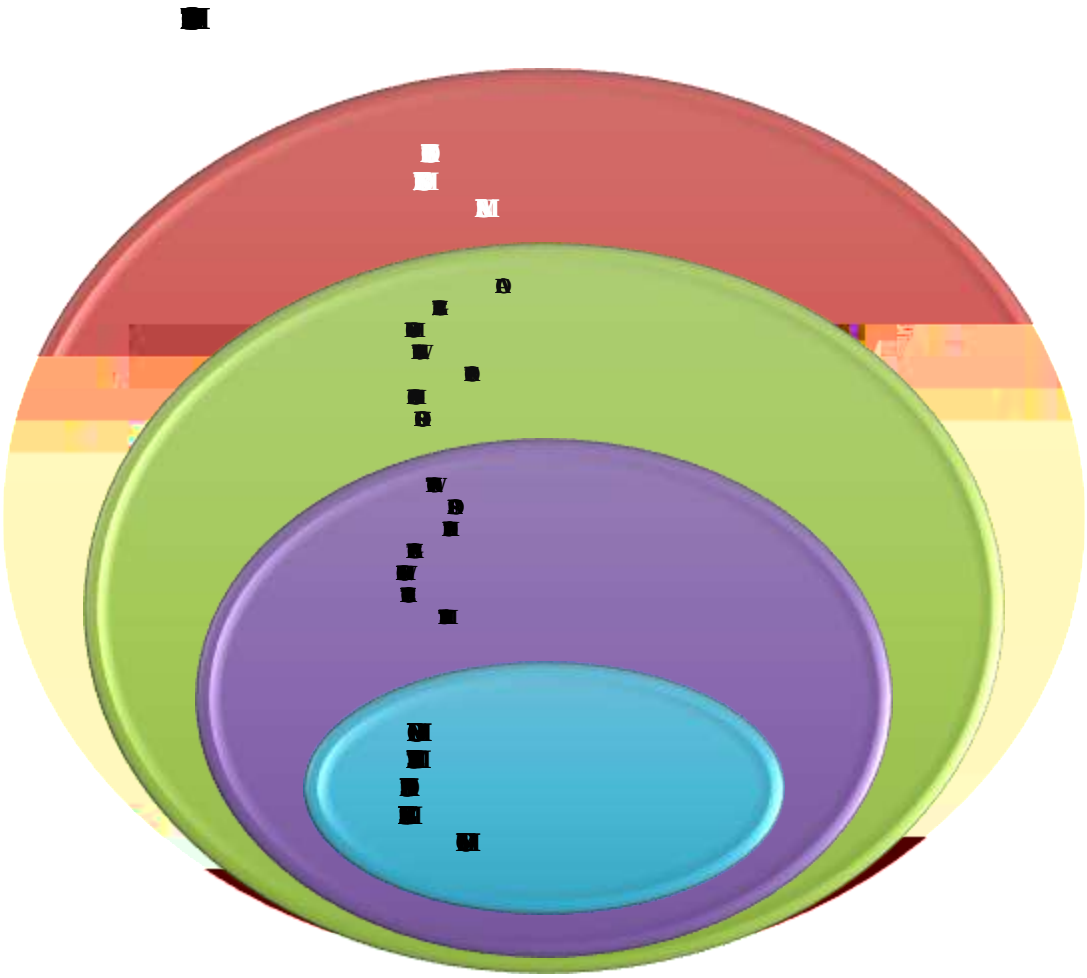


In the recent past the conversion as indicated above has been propelled by various factors due to diverse understanding of religion. Many people have dissected the relevance of religion in the social economic livelihoods to the extent of dropping the old religious practices and adopting new ones. For instance, most converts interviewed indicated being in favor with a religion that had minimal marginal barriers, as well as high levels of acceptability and inclusiveness.

Most of the structures of Christianity are characterized by marginal barriers and social classes which disadvantage the poor. This is evidenced from the placement of structures in urban areas as opposed to rural or peri-urban areas in general. Nevertheless Islam has instituted their structures

in all areas regardless of the social economic status of the target congregants. This can be seen from most mosques built by Maôhad al Rashid and AMA. Emphasis is still placed on poverty and minimal marginal and social barriers as a function to post-modern Islamization.

Currently people convert to Islam when a prayer centre is established in an area. The interaction with other local people is created which results into linkages through these linkages Islamic practices and culture are transmitted into a wider community and as such the community become Islamized. The process is explained in the figure 17 below.



4 8 T

From the primary data that was collected through interviews, the study revealed that the following are the categories of people that convert to Islam; (i) The Youth and the Orphans; (ii) widows, (iii)

the aged and the poor (iv) women. The study also revealed that there are various reasons that lead to indigenous people convert to Islam.

The study revealed that a number youths have been converted to Islam, especially the young ladies through marriages. These findings are agreeing to the finding of Felix Phiri who found that Indian Muslims and the Yao contributed to the spread of Islam among indigenous people by marrying local women and inculcating Islam in them.[50]

Other than the Muslims of Indian origin, Reverend Benjamin echoes that Islam's gateway into Zambia has also been influenced by some African immigrants from Malawi and Mozambique in the case of Eastern Province. Most of these stay in the country as illegal immigrants, according to Rev. Benjamin. Illegal or not, they do not come with their spouses and end up marrying young Zambian women, converting some along the way. Although it is not an absolute pre-requisite of Islam for non-Muslim women to embrace Islam upon marriage, the majority of indigenous women married to Muslim spouses end up becoming Muslims, either by indirect coercion or for the sake of family unity.[51]Amina Baluwa also attested to this by declaring that her father, a Yao came from Malawi in 1952 at a young age and married a young Zambian woman from Chipata. However, this practice is only common among Muslims of African origin. The case is different for the Muslims of Indian origin. According to Aisha Ngalamila, an Amir at Navutika, Indians do not marry the local young girls, instead they keep them as their girlfriends and there have been cases where the local young girls have been impregnated by the Indians.[52]These young girlfriends to the Indian men join Islam to please their boyfriends.

Other than marriages, young people, both male and female have converted to Islam through interactions with their Muslims friends. This was the case of Aisha Longwe, another recent convert, who was raised and baptized in a Catholic family and bore the Christian name Catherine. She was introduced to Islam by her friends, who frequently told stories about Prophet Muhammad. Even before her conversion, Longwe says she had been overwhelmed by a sense of internal

[50]Phiri *Muslim Association and Resurgence in Zambia. pp.140.*
[51]Benjamin Phiri *A Survey of Islam in Eastern province Zambia (Chipata*). pp.250.
[52]Amina Baluwa *Chipata Zambia interviewed on 06/04/17*.

tranquility that existed among Muslims.[53] The above findings thereby confirm with Felix Phiriôs findings that young people are converted to Islam when they attend Madrassa with their Muslim friends through whom they acquire more scholarly knowledge and moral teachings.[54]

The young people, both male and female have been converted to Islam because of the scholarships that are being provided to study abroad by Islamic organizations. Reverend Benjamin echoes that hundreds of young men entered into the fold of Islam in the 90ôs because of the scholarships to study abroad, mainly in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan etc. offered to whoever declared themselves Muslims.[55]

[illegible]

Due to the help that Muslims give to the local underprivileged people, many widows have been converted to Islam. For example, one widow said, ñMy husband died a long time ago and since then I have been depending so much on the help from the Islamic community in our area.[56]
Three other widows that were interviewed indicated that they joined Islam because of the reasons cited by Mirriam Ibrahim Mbewe and that they were more widows in different mosques living in Chipata that converted to Islam because of the help they get from the Islamic community. Miriam mentioned that the Islamic community at the mosque gave alms to the widows in form of cash, clothes, mealie meal, sponsoring their children in schools, including colleges, buying groceries etc. she also indicated that those children that attend Madrassa are given money so that others are encouraged to join them.[57]

[illegible]

The researcher observed during the data collection period that the old people were converted to the religion of Islam including the poor as they were attracted by the material handouts and Islamic way of life. The traditional leaders interviewed also confirmed that the aged and the poor people of Chipata were joining Islam.

[53] Aisha Longwe, *Chipata, Zambia interviewed on 17/03/17*.
[54]Phiri, *Muslim Association and Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*. pp. 120 ï 140.
[55]Benjamin Phiri, *Survey of Islam in Eastern Province of Zambia. pp.250.*
[56]Miriam Ibrahim, *Chipata, Zambia interviewed on 4/4/16.*
[57]Miriam Ibrahim, *Chipata, Zambia interviewed on 4/4/16.*

The other reason that has made so many people to convert to Islam is the practice of Zakat. This has attracted a lot of widows, orphans, the poor and the old. Zakat is an obligatory payment made annually under Islamic law and used for charitable and religious purposes. The practice of Zakat has enticed more people to covert so that they become beneficiaries of Zakat. Unlike Christianity where members are demanded, whether rich or poor to give to the church, Islam gives to the poor through its charitable works.[62]With the hash economic conditions, the old, widows, widowers and the poor have no option but to convert to Islam. Yusuf Samuel said he joined the religion through his uncle but he decided to remain a Muslim because of the Zakat practice and other forms of alms giving. He went on to add that he has benefited in many ways such as being given money to buy a plot, send his children to school through the various sponsorship programs initiated by the Muslims both inside and outside the country. Kosamu Banda also joined and remained a Muslim because of the same reasons echoed by Yusuf Samuel and emphasized on the point that unlike Christianity, Islam does not demand money from the poor but it gives to the poor in society. Father Lawrence Kamanga of St. Maryôs believes that a lot of people are converting to Islam due to poverty and the material benefits are enticing them.[63]

Felix Phiri records that those that convert to Islam because of material attractions do not stay long in the religion. Felix Phiri further record that in the last two decades, at least a third of these converts temporarily relapse in the first two years of becoming Muslims partly because of the disillusionment in cases where material attraction played a key role.[64]Tasleen Shawa, noted that when giving alms, a lot of people come for prayers and when it is just an ordinary prayer day, only a few attend.[65] This means that those that are converted to the religion because of material benefits are likely are go back to their old lifestyle when their needs have been met. This means that there should be constant education on the full benefits of the religion than just giving them alms.[65]

Marriages have also played a role in the conversion of indigenous people to Islam. The young women that are married off to Muslims are made to convert to Islam. This is common among the younger generation. Felix recorded that this reason for conversion is typical among women than men. Indigenous women whose spouses are Muslims become Muslims either by coercion or for

[62] Yusuf Samuel, *Chipata, Zambia interview 7/11/16*
[63] Father Lawrence *Chipata Zambia interview on 8/11/16.*
[64]Felix Phiri *Muslim Associations and Resurgence in p140.*
[65]Tasleen Shawa *Chipata Zambia interviewed on 7/11/16.*

the sake of family unity which was also noted by Benjamin Phiri.[66]Marriages only took place among the immigrant Muslims from Malawi and Mozambique who came without spouses and married the local young women. However, this does not happen on the Indian part, they take local ladies as their girlfriends only and not as wives because it is against their culture.

The issue of working for Indians Muslims has made male adults to convert to Islam. Local people are employed by the Indians as tailors, farm laborers, house helpers, shopkeepers etc. In the process of working and living with the Indian Muslims and also spending more time with them, they have converted to Islam.[67]Those workers that were converted as a result of being workers of the Indians cited the Islamic way of life such as decency in their dress code and strict adherence to the Laws found in the Quran is what enticed them to join them Islamic religion. The Islamic way of life is what has made a good number of indigenous people to convert to Islam. Muslims practice what the Quran teachers them. The act of praying five times a day is one reason that is cited by many converts. It prevents people from sinning as they spend more time in the presence of Allah.[68]

Praying five times a day makes people get close to God and avoid lawlessness added another convert. Sins that are avoided included fornication, adultery, beer drinking and indecent dressing. Staunch Muslims strictly follow what the Quran says. This type of lifestyle is what has convinced others to convert to Islam in Chipata district.

Strict adherence to the laws in the Quran promotes decency among the Muslims especially in the area of dressing which is appreciated among the local people. The Islamic dress considered being decent and modest. Dressing is another factor that draws the people of Chipata to convert to Islam. From the interviews conducted, people of Chipata district especially as observed by an old lady by the name of Miriam Ibrahim an advocate of culture and tradition said that the dress code among Muslims also attracts people to join Islam.[69]The type of dressing by Muslims is different from modern ways of dressing that include short skirts which are mainly associated with indecent dressing. Decent dressing promotes values, culture and the tradition of the African people. The

[66]Felix Phiri *Muslim Associations and Resurgence Zambia. pp.141.*
[67]Sakina Bwanali *Kapata Mosque Chipata Zambia Interviewed on 10/06/17.*
[68]Kosamu Banda, *Chipata, Zambia Interviewed on 06/11/17.*
[69]Miriam Ibrahim, *Chipata Zambia Interviewed on 02/10/16.*

Islamic dress code is considered comfortable and also enhances the typical way of African dressing.[70]

The other notable reason why indigenous people have been converting to Islam is the fact that Islam tolerates polygamy. From the interviews conducted, because Islam consents people to practice polygamy, many people have decided to join Islam. Carmody observed that the Catholics demanded strictly adherence to practice of monogamy and even when polygamy formed part of the traditional social fabric, they condemned it. He further added that Catholics who married second wives were expelled from the church. Fr. Lawrence Kamanga also agrees with this statement and states that in some traditions, people are free to marry more than one wife but Christianity does not allow this thereby making some people that want to practice polygamous marriages to associate themselves with Islam.[71]It is possible to argue that polygamy is a reason for converting to Islam by some people of Chipata because it fits well in the African traditional culture.

Islamic communities have been offering scholarship to students to pursue further studies in Islamic states. This has attracted a lot of young people who have the desire to pursue further studies. For those that do get a chance to travel and study abroad, they associate through group studies with Muslim students and are in turn made to join Islam. By the time they graduate, they would have become staunch Muslims.[72]

of moral teaching by the formation of groups for both men and women who are given special days in a week where they are able to meet together for taôlim..[73] (Religious discussion).

4 10 P

The Indian Muslim traders that migrated to Chipata, including the Yao were not active in spreading their religion during their early years of settlement due to reasons earlier mentioned. Phiri observed that communal religious practice among them was rather minimal, let alone religious collaboration with their Yao counter parts. In addition construction of Mosques for common worship was a much later development.

He added that some famil

Dailis and Spaita Banda who upon retirement settled in their wives village. In the same village the headman john Agrippa also embraced Islam. AMA built Yohane mosque through their regional representative Yusuf Kenya. Along Zambia, Malawi, road about 4km from Chipata is Abelo mosque built by AMA.The mosque is under Mwalimu Ali. According to Ali there were more than forty members congregating at Abelo mosque and a good number of them being Yaos. After Abelo about 7 km from Chipata there is Selman

0	Chulu	10	Mteleza
1	Madzimoyo	11	Kaphainzi
2	Jere	12	Mugombe
3	Chipata central	13	Nyongo
4	Kapara	14	Chaweyu
5	Cumbria		
6	Lufu		
7	Chisanga		
8	Mgubudu		
9	Mkasanga		
0	Yakobe		
1	Mwanya		
2	Chasera		
3	Daya		
4	Chisitu		

Another important Islamic institute in Chipata is Maôhadal- Rashid that mainly involved in the religious formation of young Muslim boys. The institute of late has started supporting emerging mosque based communities. Kolya Yunnis noted that the Magazine mosque was the first one to be constructed by Maôhadal-Rashid. Others under the Maôhadal- Rashidôs patronage are Kaulembe and Kanyenda mosques. However most of the young Mwalimus in charge of various mosques in *Chipata* were educated at Maôhadal- Rashid institute.[84]

Ayubu Banda a Mwalimu at Kalichelo mosque mentioned that the mosque was a former shop for Indians that was later turned into a prayer room. He further added that the mosque is under chief *Chikuwe.* According to Ayubu there were Indians who had built some shops but left and relocated to Chipata in 1968 due to economic reforms. Ayubu noted that the area had also attracted a lot of European farmers who grew tobacco the farmers employed a lot of Yao workers who managed to

[84]Kolya *Chipata, Zambia interviewed on 20/04/16.*

spread Islam and as a result *Kapara* mosque in chief *M'nukwa* w