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## FOREWORD

It is now twenty years since the Journal of Humanities was launched and inaugurated in 1997. Throughout this twenty-year period, the Editorial team and the members of the University of Zambia academic staff and other academicians outside the University of Zambia have given support through reviews of the articles submitted to the Journal for publication. However, the process has not been without challenges, which in most cases has contributed and led to the delayed publication of the journal. This particular issue, Volume 13, 2014 to 2015 of the journal is being published almost four years behind schedule.

The Editorial Board is really concerned with this development and has taken measures to ensure that such delays are not allowed to affect the process of publishing the Journal. It is in this respect that the readership should expect the next issue of the Journal to be published on time. The Editorial Board would like to appeal to those that are identified as article reviewers to be submitting their reviews within the stipulated period of one month. This will help the Editorial Board to meet the target of the publication period of the Journal.

The current issue of the Journal of Humanities contains articles from a variety of fields in the areas of humanities and social sciences. The Journal is, therefore, a reflection of the interdisciplinary orientation in line with its policy and editorial background.

Finally, the Editorial Board would like to thank the School of Humanities and Social Sciences for its continued support of the publication of the Journal through the financial commitment to meet the printing costs.

**Bizeck Jube Phiri**  
*Chief Editor*

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# **African Traditional Religion in the Context of Climate Change: A Zambian Perspective**

by  
Nelly Mwale

## **Introduction**

Climate change is a global phenomenon and as such, no society is totally immune against the threats and dangers, which the environmental crisis poses to humanity and our collective planet, the earth (Ojomo, 2012). The dimension of the global environmental crisis in Africa has a peculiar character owing to the diversity of land rich in natural resources of all categories, flora and fauna. The environment is here taken to mean our surroundings, including the life support provided by the air, water, land, animals and the entire ecosystem of which man is but a part (Osuntokun, 2001: 293). The reality of climate change is now a well-accepted reality and there is emerging evidence that climate change poses a massive threat for development especially in poor countries (Ayers & Huq, 2009; Boyd *et al.*, 2009). Dube and Phiri (2013) argue that an understanding of the emerging trends of climate change and its effects in local ecologies is an important starting point in addressing the negative effects of climate change. As Boyd *et al.*, (2009) pointed out, climate change risks altering the physical and human geography with telling consequences for human beings. The poorest countries are suffering the most from climate change and Zambia is not an exception. Climate change has the potential to endanger successes in poverty alleviation and the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals including the ecological, economic and social stability of developing countries. Tackling climate change is thus one of the main elements of sustainable development. Different organisations have come on board to spearhead climate change mitigation and adaptation measures in different sectors. This is because climate change affects all aspects of life, religion included.

The article acknowledges that local communities have had their

own contribution to environmental degradation albeit this is due to ignorance and poverty (Ogungbemi, 1997). However, the moral codes of African Traditional Religion (ATR) and its nature have a role to play in the climate change challenge. Although studies (Dube and Phiri, 2013; Gyampoh *et al.*, 2009; Alexander, 2012; Muguti and Maposa, 2012; Rusinga and Maposa, 2010) among others have been carried out on the impact of climate and local communities, very little delves into the ATR's dimension of climate change in Zambia. Using document review, this article, therefore, explores ATR in the context of climate change by discussing the threats Religion is faced with. Most importantly, the article explores the role ATR has in a country affected by climate change. This article is unique in that not much has been done in the field of religion and environment in Zambia. For instance, the few studies on ATR in Zambia have focused on how it can be taught in Zambian schools (Cheyeka, 2007) and its status as a world religion (Mwansa in Carmody, 2004). Above all, the article makes the point that although Christianity is the dominant religion in Zambia, indigenous traditional knowledge of ATR can be enhanced to respond to the climate change challenge.

Different theories have been employed to study ATR including naturalistic, sociological, psychological, and speculative theories among others. This article employs the phenomenological approach in its quest to explore ATR in the context of climate change. The theory of phenomenology attempts to describe and understand the religious consciousness of the believers who practice the particular religion being studied. Phenomenology provides a crucial means for investigation in relation to how local people, as 'insiders' come to know reality (Cox, 1992). The principle of epoche ('bracketing' any of the value judgments that outsiders can hold) and distinguishing people's way of life as noumena (things as they are) from phenomena (things as we perceive them) as Allen (1987) advances, guided this study. This is because in the study of ATR, certain rules such as caution, reverence and openness and sympathy ought to be upheld. By being cautious and reverent, the scholar must not appear to know too much about the religion in question before beginning to study it and must respect the cultural beliefs and practices of the people being studied and avoid treading on the things that are of enduring

value to them (Olupona, 1991). Above all, each religion must be seen and understood in terms of its own perspective, otherwise what is studied cannot be a real thing.

The article explores ATR in the context of climate change from the Zambian perspective firstly by discussing climate change and its impact on local communities and thereafter, delves into the expressions of ATR in Zambia. A linkage of ATR and the environment is explored while showing the threats posed by climate change on the religion. The article discusses the role of ATR in addressing the climate change challenge before drawing a conclusion.

### **Climate Change and Its Impact on Local Communities**

Climate change has been inconsistently defined. Mitchell *et al.*, (1966) perceive it as an inherent property of the climate system and note that some use the term climate change to refer to all forms of climatic inconsistency, regardless of their statistical nature (or physical causes). The debate of how the concept of climate change should be defined is outside the focus of this article. As Gyampoh *et al.*, (2009: 71) pointed out, the indigenous people may not understand the concept of global warming or climate change, but they observe and feel the effects of decreasing rainfall, increasing air temperature, increasing sunshine intensity and seasonal changes in rainfall patterns.

Zambia has not been spared from climate change as it is already experiencing some drastic changes in its weather patterns in form of extreme temperatures, thunderstorms, floods and droughts in some instances. For example, the Guardian (2009) reported that the Red Cross had warned that global warming would lead to more disasters and suffering along the entire Zambezi river basin, where floods have increased dramatically in recent years. All these speak volumes of what negative changes have taken place to impact the climate negatively. Different communities are affected differently by climate change based on their location and resilient abilities. For instance, the poor and marginalised in Zambia are more vulnerable hence, are likely to suffer most due to limited resources to cope with and adapt to the effects of climate change.

Dube and Phiri (2013) point out that in the Zimbabwean context, the phenomenon of climate change has been manifesting itself in a

very real way and climate change will prove to be a disaster for the livelihoods of poor people especially in semi-arid regions in sub-Saharan Africa. They further assert that the increasing temperatures and decreasing precipitation are altering the natural environment leading to the disappearance of natural habitat, flora, and fauna, which has critical implications on rural livelihoods. Traditional and indigenous fruits also are disappearing due to reduced precipitation and increasing temperatures. This has led to the destruction of important food supplements for local communities making them vulnerable to food insecurity, which has been aggravated by the fact that growing crops is no longer viable as agricultural seasons often fail due to unfavourable weather conditions.

In Ghana, recorded temperatures rose about 1°C over the last 40 years of the twentieth century while rainfall and run-off decreased by approximately 20 and 30 per cent, respectively (Ghana Environmental Protection Agency, 2000). Crop failures attributed to low rainfall, prolonged rainfall shortages and changes in rainfall pattern were reported in Ghana. Gyampoh *et al.*, (2009) write that increasing temperature and intense sunshine, coupled with prolonged rainfall shortages, caused crops to wilt as vegetable growers claimed that high temperatures were causing their vegetables to ripen prematurely, decreasing the sale value of their produce in selected parts of Ghana. During prolonged rainfall shortages, water sources become scarce, stagnant and contaminated, raising the incidence of diarrhoea and bilharzia, thus shingles and other skin conditions, some of which were previously rare in the communities, have also become common during periods of high temperatures (Gyampoh *et al.*, 2008). These experiences have been recorded in other countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

This reality of climate change is observed in Zambia too where rural and urban communities are noting changes in rainfall patterns. The rainfall is more irregular and people are noticing that summers are hotter and winters generally less cold. In some places, water sources are drying up and in the plains people report greater flooding and unexpected cold waves. In this regard, the Guardian (2009) notes that the Zambezi River which once flooded the plains as predictably as the changing seasons, in late March or early April

had now become less regular and extreme. Thus, flooding destroyed crops that were to be harvested in January or February, which had started in November 2009.

The World Conservation Union IUCN Forest Conservation Programme Zambia (2007) pointed out that communities in places like Western province, Luapula and Copperbelt among others were impacted by climatic hazards such as floods, droughts and extreme heat resulting in crop failure and loss, loss of cropping and grazing land, loss of life (both humans and livestock) increase in diseases affecting both humans and animals, reduced fish stocks and reduced water quality and supply. Mudenda (2010) stresses that floods have a devastating impact on development and notes that for farmers, their crops are always washed away, posing another threat in the name of food security including the resultant diseases that are sensitive to climatic variability in rainfall and temperature such as malaria, diarrhoea, dysentery and respiratory diseases.

Thurlow *et al.*, (2009) established that on average, climate variability reduces Zambia's GDP growth rate by 0.4 percentage points per year, which was to cost the country US\$4.3 billion during 2006-2016 and these losses could have been as high as US\$7.1 billion if Zambia's worst historical rainfall sequence was repeated. The negative effect of climate variability is especially severe for maize, the country's main food staple crop, thus threatening food availability in both rural and urban areas especially in Southern and Central regions of the country where food security is most vulnerable to climate shocks. Climatic hazards all tend to contribute to reduced crop production resulting in either increased prices or shortages of food (Livelihoods and Forestry Programme, 2010). Many families attempt to deal with this by migrating to cities or sending members abroad to seek long or short-term employment. This often has a negative impact on family and social cohesion, which in turn may make them less able to cope with the effects of climate change. Other than that, although more vulnerable people live in rural areas, climate variability also increases urban poverty via higher food prices and lower real incomes. Moreover, the national poverty rate rises by as much as eight percentage points during severe drought years thereby posing a significant constraint to future economic development in Zambia

(Thurlow *et al.*, 2009). This eventually puts a strain on religion and gives religion a new role. Reduced crop production entails that the religious communities have inadequate food supplies and due to increased prices, the majority cannot afford to meet their daily food needs.

Climate change also results in increased forest fires with the extended dry period, and an increase in pests and diseases of crops, livestock and human populations. As the overall global mean temperature rises, climate scientists predict a range of changes in local and regional climatic patterns. The uncertainty of the local climate is what leaves communities vulnerable. Thus, the only effective way to prepare for the effects of climate change is to increase capacity to cope with and adapt to change especially to increase resilience (Mudenda, 2010; Gyampoh, 2009). Every sector, from forestry and agriculture to energy and health, is affected by climate change, religion inclusive in that ATR is closely tied to nature. It is here where ATR's good practices have a role to play in climate change. In the next segment, some general attributes of ATR are explored in order to lay a foundation on which ATR and the environment can be linked.

### **African Traditional Religion: Zambian Perspective**

Zambia's religious landscape is diverse and ATR forms an important component. African Traditional Religion is the indigenous religion of the Africans, which was handed over from one generation to another by word of mouth until recent attempts at documentation. The title 'African Traditional Religion' presents an assumed unitary portrait of the religions of the African. Although it is true that many features of religion and its practice are similar across Africa, it would be erroneous to assume that all African religion (s) is the same. Hence, it has been suggested that the right label for the religions of Africa is African Religions or African Traditional Religions, to reflect the plurality within the continent's religious landscape (Magesa, 1997; Mbiti, 1991). The article, however, uses the term ATR in singular. Indeed, despite having a diversity of ethnic groups, a common tradition in relation to ATR can still be spoken of in Zambia. This reflects among other things the value which is attached to traditional ceremonies, festivals and practices.

Zambia's cultural background is rooted in the ancient practices that people carried out in order to express their relationship to the world they lived in. Rituals and ceremonies are part of this and are the tangible expressions of the human need to seek blessings, give thanks, and celebrate life (Mbiti, 1991). Rituals, for example, help to mark the transitions from one stage of life to the next, to ask for rain, and give thanks for a successful hunt or a good harvest. Traditional ceremonies are a time honoured for communication and provide a common heritage, which includes the dances, songs, crafts, and artefacts that have been passed down through the generations.

The African heritage encompasses traditional education methods, leadership systems, ethical values and indigenous technologies (Nyambe and Feilberg, nd). Zambia has more than 20 annual traditional ceremonies, manifesting customs, social life, rituals, oral history, and spiritual culture (Celtel, nd). It is evident that people who live close to the land and whose survival depends on regular rainfall and good soils, develop elaborate systems of prayer and thanks to ensure that nature's cycles remain dependable. All these and other aspects of life show that ATR is alive in Zambia and it has not been untouched by climate change.

### **Expressions of African Traditional Religion in Zambia**

African Traditional Religion belongs to the wider religious tradition of the Africans, Zambians inclusive. Eneji *et al.*, (2012: 47) indicate that:

African Traditional Religion began as a set of code of conducts and ethics guiding the activities of man in his society. In an attempt to enforce the precepts of this new ethics and code of conduct, the community members charged with the enforcement of these rules, code and ethical behaviour formed themselves into an association, where their rules, code of conduct and membership was widely envied and accepted. As time progressed, communicating with the ancestors to guide human existence became expedient, so a chief priest is always elected by a serving priest who teaches the convert the way of the gods and also how to make incantations and appease the gods, so this new apprentice takes over the duty of divination in the event that the chief priest is no more or he is seriously ill. This

trend progressed to a cult or a sacred group since one person may not force the entire community to obey all rules, so membership was now open to the public. Recruiting of members became open. Those who became committed to this new order form themselves and began making sacrifices to these gods they held sacred; this was how the ATR came about.

African Traditional Religion provides explanations of the key questions of life, which any other religion endeavours to answer. The African belief system including morals and values, cult system, religious leaders and religious places and objects are common to different ethnic groups in Zambia. Therefore, ATR is found in Zambia and is expressed in the rituals, ceremonies, and festivals as these reflect the beliefs of the people in practical terms (Mbiti, 1991). Rituals, ceremonies, and festivals are religious in that they are an occasion of making sacrifices and offerings. For instance, the Chewa like other tribes have festivals when the first fruits are ready (Idowa, 1973: 55). Suffice to say, all ethnic groups in Zambia have their own festivals and ceremonies, which are conducted at different times of the year.

African Traditional Religion in Zambia is also expressed through shrines, sacred places, and religious objects. It is believed that the spirits meet the people at the shrines and sacred places, which can either, be natural or man-made. Shrine is a word with Latin origin, which means a box used to contain a precious or sacred object of worship or veneration (Asante and Mazama, 2009: 617). The African cosmological concept of a shrine is broad and includes animate and inanimate objects such as a river, building, rock, lake, mountain, or tree. They are generally constructed of natural materials found in nature and can be found inside the African home, compound, village, and other venues such as forests or riverbanks. African shrine activities include prayers, libation, sacrifices, divinations, offerings and consultations, and other sacred events. It is at shrines and sacred places where religious activities are conducted. A good example of a shrine is the Malende among the Tonga. The Tonga conduct prayers for rain at Malende and people bring sacrifices and offerings like food, drink in terms of beer or anything they find suitable as they communicate with the Supreme Being (Colson, 2006).

Religious objects are charms or anything people wear around their waist, necks, ankles, hands, and at times these can be hidden. These objects can also be found at the shrines and sacred places. In Africa, many ethnic groups use objects that have been set aside as sacred for the purpose of protection. Among other tribes of Zambia, the amulet might be a tattoo on one's body. In societies like the Chewa, the horn of an antelope or goat... may be used for protection against witchcraft (Breugel, 2001).

Art and symbols are yet again an expression of religion. Art is found on wood, stools, pots, handicrafts, and human bodies. There are also found in many kinds of symbols and usually where art is, so will be symbols. Birds, trees, shapes, colours and many other artefacts can represent symbols. Today, crafts carved by Zambians carry many of these symbols and these are even on the crafts market in the major towns of Zambia such as Livingstone and Lusaka. Art and symbols are a preserve of religious ideas and they help to communicate and strengthen the religious beliefs. Most traditional huts in Zambian rural areas are marked with a great variety of symbols, which have a religious meaning. For instance, among the Bemba, Nkwashi (fish eagle) is a symbol that lifts the young woman above the burdens of everyday life and teaches her to cope by being above things at times (Hinfelaar, 1994: 99). In short, ATR is found in all aspects of the life of the African including in music, names, myths, legends, riddles, proverbs, wise sayings, beliefs, and in customs (Mbiti, 1991).

African Traditional Religion is practiced in both urban and rural parts of Zambia alongside other religions like Christianity, Islam, Bahai, Hinduism, and many other religions. Despite being affected and transformed by modernity and social change, ATR survives as part of the African culture because where the African is, so too is his or her religion. Today, ATR has moved to the towns through the presence of the medicine men and women, and diviners. These traditional medicine men and women have transformed their methods of reaching out to the public through flyers, radio, and television. Festivals are also carried out in town and urban people usually revert to traditional methods of resolving problems and responding to a crisis. Africans have used indigenous knowledge from generation

to generation to adapt to changing times and it is this knowledge, which has to be tapped. Dora-Hoppers (2001) as cited in Maila and Loubser (2003) defines indigenous knowledge as knowledge that is characterised by its embeddedness in the cultural web and history of a people including their civilisation and which forms the backbone of the social, economic, scientific and technological identity of such people.

### **Implications of Climate Change on African Traditional Religion**

Climate change has the potential to threaten the traditional beliefs of the Africans as it affects the economic, social, political and religious spheres of life as reported in Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Ghana and other countries (Dube and Phiri, 2013; Alexander, 2012; Muguti and Maposa, 2012; Mudenda, 2010; Gyampoh *et al.*, 2009). As can be observed from the expressions of ATR, African beliefs are partly centred on nature. As Olupuna (2006) points out, it may not be an exaggeration to argue that ritualisation of the environment or nature is the core of the African religious practices. For instance, some spirits, which are respected and venerated, are believed to be possessed by nature such as water, trees, mountains, rivers, land and many more. In any case, if rainfall patterns change and the trees and rivers dry up, ATR is affected, as the spirits may not be venerated. A good example is that of the Umutomboko ceremony in Kapombo in Luapula province where when the ceremony is about to start, a ritual of throwing different foodstuffs in the river is done as a way of appeasing the spirits. Thus, lack of rains and consequent drying up of rivers may have serious threats for the ceremony and the religious life of the people (Colson, 2006).

African Traditional religious ceremonies and festivals are affected due to changing rainfall patterns and drought often associated with climate change. As earlier alluded to, Zambia has many ceremonies and festivals and some of them are directly or indirectly related to water. The Lwiindi ceremonies of the Toka-Leya and the Tonga seek to cooperate with the forces of nature to ensure good rains. The Kuomboka ceremony of the Lozi people is actually fleeing from the rising waters, a ceremony now seen to have recognised the devastating nature of floods. Ceremonies like the *Juba ja Nsomo*

or *Kufukwila* of the Kaonde people, the *Nc'wala* of the Ngoni and the *Mulasa* of the Namwanga give thanks to the ancestors for a successful harvest and celebrate the first fruits of the new season. The Chibwela Mushi ceremonies of the Bisa, Swaka, Lala and Lamba people express thanks to the ancestors for a good harvest and safe passage (Celtel, undated). Thus, drought, floods and increases in temperature do have devastating impacts on the traditional religious life of the people through crop failure, poor harvests, livestock and human diseases among others.

Climate change further raises questions on the beliefs that are central to ATR. Traditionally, lack of rains entailed that the gods were not answering the prayers of the community due to something, which had gone wrong. Dube and Phiri (2013: 24), 'they [rural Zimbabwean community] believed that poor agricultural seasons were a local phenomenon in Matobo that could be solved by obeying their local gods'. Gitau (2000: 118) also observes that calamities like drought are interpreted many times as a form of punishment or reminder from God that people need to depend on him and give thanks to Him for all gifts of nature. For the Chewa, drought entails that God is punishing people by withholding the rain (Breugel, 2001: 40).

With the impact of climate change, which may result in drought, the religious beliefs of the people are questioned. Kelman *et al.*, (2009) acknowledge that climate change is undermining many existing livelihoods based on natural resources and challenging the relevance of indigenous knowledge on which those livelihoods are based. For example, in cases where the people have made all the offerings, sacrifices and prayers needed for the rains to start and the rains cannot start due to climate change, the validity of the belief system is threatened. Too much rain resulting in floods also has devastating effects on the religious life of the people through the destruction of sacred places and animals (IUCN Forest Conservation Programme Zambia, 2007).

African Traditional Religion is animistic in nature and this exposes it to challenges of climate change. The word 'animism' comes from the Latin word 'Anima' which means 'soul' and it is a belief that spirits inhabit natural objects with separate existence

(Bolle, 1987). Edward Tylor who expounded the theory of animism was the first to employ the term to connote the existence of souls in spiritual beings. In Africa, and particularly Zambia, the African belief system is characterised by the belief that the abode of the gods and goddesses can be within the community and the community gods may decide to have their abodes on rock, streams, pond, tress, land, or anywhere they so desire (Shastri, *et al.*, 2002; Eneji *et al.*, 2012). This is, however, not to say that ATR is nature worship but that nature is but a part of ATR. This is because the African belief system is a two-tiered system (a belief in the Supreme Being and the lesser spirits). It is worth noting that climate change presents African Religion with opportunities to fully be involved in environmental issues.

### **African Traditional Religion's Link with the Environment**

Africans have a deep faith in God who is considered as an important member of the community. They believe that God created the entire universe. This belief is expressed in their oral scriptures such as proverbs, myths, legends, stories, and wise sayings. From these oral scriptures, there is no argument on how creation took place. The Africans view the environment religiously as they believe and explain the environment as a divine creation. Let us take an example of the Chewa myth about creation. Breugel (2001:34) reports that:

When there was yet no living thing here on earth, Chiuta made a man and a woman, and sent them down. They alighted on a rock called Kaphirintiwa at the Dzalanyama. That rock was soft and they left their footprints on the rock they alighted.... On the same day, Chiuta sent rain to germinate the seeds, which had been placed there already, in order to provide food for man.

From this understanding, that creation was divine, Africans relate to the environment in a religious way. The creation accounts among Africans point to the fact that humanity depends on God for all the necessities of life including rains, air, and sunshine. Mankind should also obey the regulations God has laid down for them as failure

to obey these regulations leads to punishment. For the Chewa, the punishment may take the form of withholding the rain. However, they also believe that God does not always punish them directly as it is the case when a snake rain has been killed. The Chewa think that God has constituted the Spirits of the dead as guardians of the moral order (Breugel, 2001:41). This is because the African traditional religious belief system holds that the gods protect the community members from harm, famine, bareness, impotence, drought, epidemics, and war among others and gods avenge their anger on whoever omits or commits any flaw for which their presence forbids, hence, the cultural system holds all the precepts of the laws of the gods to a very high esteem (Shastri, *et al.*, 2002; Tupper, 2002; Udgaonkar, 2002; Utkarsh *et al.*, 1999; International Institute for Environment and Development, 1992). This literary means that obedience to the regulations of God leads to prosperity. To maintain a good relationship with God, sacrifices and ceremonies are, therefore, the key in the traditional setup.

For Africans, there is no clear separation between what is secular and what is sacred. Everything and every act are looked upon in a religious and customary perspective. Africans view themselves as part of the environment (Mkenda, 2010; Taylor, 2002). Africans view the earth as their mother and themselves as her children. Therefore, plants, animals, rock, water and other non-living things are part of nature, which is the product of creation deserving to be respected as much as human beings who are also part of nature. This is what makes Africans regard themselves as being in close relationship with the entire cosmos (Taylor, 2002). This position of man being a constituent part of the environment and God's creation, gives man the responsibility to protect the interests of other parts of God's creation, (Mkenda, 2010; Snoo and Bertels, 2001).

African ideas on God's providence and sustenance also lead to a concern for the creation and environment. In this regard, African societies believe that God is the provider and sustainer of the creation as He is the life giver. Life giving and most importantly, human life was the greatest way God showed His power and thus, whatever is closely related with procreation, maintenance and promotion of life of the individual and the community, is viewed

as sacred. These include land, planting and harvesting, blood, sex, marriage, birth and relationships between persons. This explains the religious ceremonies and rituals that are carried out, for these and other things, promote life. Magesa (1997: 174) acknowledges this traditional religious thought by noting that the primary human task is the promotion of life. There are also many taboos regarding these aspects of life. God for the African is continually involved in creation and this is seen in the fact that as people continue dying, more continue to be born and in the like manner when the trees dry up and wither, more continue to germinate and grow. This then entails that the African acknowledges God's intervention in the day-to-day life activities and thus the environment ought to be treated with respect.

African beliefs are concerned with the environment in the way they relate with other forms of life such as animals. They harness the wisdom of 'live and let live' in their relation towards animals and other constituents of the environment. Although the concept of live and let live in safeguarding the environment has been critiqued for among other reasons standards for knowing how much we need, given the nature of human greed and insatiability and who judges whether we have been taking more or less than we need from the natural resources (Ogungbemi, 1997: 208). In any case, livestock in form of cattle, goats, sheep, and other animals are held in high esteem because they formed the basis of most socio-economic activities and religious rites (Gitau, 2000). Most importantly, domestic animals are used for sacrificial purposes while other elements such as feathers; nails and blood are used as sacred offerings and for divining purposes. Wild animals are also a common feature of the folktales and are thus important in communicating social standards of behaviour. As such, they are sacred because of the wisdom, power or the spirits that inhabit them and in some cases, they are sent by God to communicate with humans (Olupuna, 2006).

Similarly, vegetation is considered sacred. Certain trees like Mukuyu (the Fig tree) are considered sacred. The sacred trees often act as shrines and prayers and sacrifices are usually held there in times of drought or any crisis. It is, therefore, a taboo to cut such a tree. The community is taught on the need to safeguard these sacred

trees and vegetation. Trees are also an important aspect of life as they are sources of fuel, building materials and food. They are also used for medicinal purposes. Because of this, reckless cutting of trees is not allowed to the point that trees for building are purposely selected and fuel wood is to be collected from dead wood or branches of trees harvested for other purposes such as building although some of these regulations may have changed due to modernity and social change. Henshey (2011) confirms that traditional African societies believed that rocks, trees streams, ponds, and forests were the manifestation of the power of the Supreme Being. Cox (1995) further holds that in traditional African societies there are many shrines and these shrines were associated with big trees such as fig trees, baobabs and mahogany. Deb *et al.*, (1997) concluded that some trees together with the vegetation around were preserved as sacred places for worship. Apart from that, tree leaves, bark, roots and grasses provided herbal medicines to human beings and to wild and domestic animals; trees were also seen as being symbols of god's presence among people, (Tilman, 2000). Thompson and Homewood (2002) also found out that rocks, ponds, lands, streams, and other parts of the environment were also the abodes of the gods, so shrines, sanctuaries, temples, and sacred groves were all meant for the worship, consultation and appeasements of the gods. This was also supported by the findings of Eneji *et al.*, (2009b), Paden (2009), Appiah-Opoku (2007) and Kimmerer (2002). This entails that ATR has had a role to play in the climate change challenge.

### **The Role of African Traditional Religion in the Zambian Context of Climate Change**

Despite being threatened by the implications of climate change, ATR can play an environmental role in the Zambian context and elsewhere. Calls have been made to integrate indigenous knowledge in the climate change agenda and the big question of 'how' stands out. African Traditional Religion's theology and nature underpins the safeguard of the environment in its teachings of respecting nature. For instance, the forests, trees, mountains and water bodies, which are believed to be sacred, can be preserved from encroachment and human disturbance. Shrines may also be a way of preserving the

environment as they have an ecological value. In virtually every area in Zambia, there exists more than one type of a shrine, which can play an environmental role. As Schofeleers (1979: 51) puts it, territorial shrine cults aim at ensuring the success of the ecological activities in which the population is engaged in such as horticulture, fishing, hunting husbandry and many more. The belief in territorial cults developed when the Bantu encountered the Central Sudanic people 300 B.C. in the Great Lakes region. With two rainy seasons, the Central Sudanic people had adopted a lifestyle, which suited this area. They, therefore, raised cattle and planted cereals like sorghum and millet and had a form of religion, which was centred, on holy places where they honoured territorial spirits (Vansina, 1990). Each territorial spirit was responsible for a particular territory and yearly, the people living in one area would come together to pray for the rains and ask for the blessings. It is from this encounter that many tribes in Zambia have a form of religion surrounding territorial shrine cult. This also explains the Tonga's belief in Basangu spirits (associated with rains and other communal interests) whose aim is to guard the land and are responsible for rains, crops, pests, and animals (Colson, 2006).

African Traditional Religion also has a tendency of planting trees to remember the forefathers. Trees are also planted in respect of the rites of passage. For example, among the Luvale and Lunda, the muyombo tree is planted after marriage outside the hut of the marriage couple. Schoffeleers (1979) points out that trees are planted purposely in order to provide a shrine on graves as in many parts of Zambia and in the case the muyombo tree which is planted in the centre of the villages of Southern Lunda, Luvale and Luchazi related people.

African Traditional Religion can also play an environmental role through its rituals. In this regard, African Religion has rituals that are followed to promote certain ways of interacting with the environment and to protect resources that are needed by an extended community (Olupuna, 2006). The beliefs that the ancestors live in the forests, rivers, hills, or any other natural feature can also promote the preservation of these resources. In other words, the taboos, laws, and totemic beliefs help in conserving and protecting the environment and its resources.

The delineation of some parts of the forest as sacred abode of the gods also encourages the conservation of forest resources including all the wildlife within such forest...the forbidding of fishing and collecting of any aquatic species from any body of water as abode of the gods also encourage the conservation and management of aquatic resources....The belief in the cleaning and clearing of water sources and the regulation that forbids the clearing, cultivation and construction of residential structures within certain distance away from water... contributes to sustainable development and resources conservation (Eneji *et al.*, 2012).

The use of indigenous knowledge to respond to climatic changes can also be tapped and enhanced although this is not to say that all forms of this knowledge are valuable. Since time immemorial, indigenous Africans relied very much on close observations on environmental phenomena with regard to weather forecasting. The observations on certain weather phenomena as deduced from the environment and other celestial bodies helped them to approximate the imminence of the rain season (Muguti and Maposa, 2012). The people's observations were of greater help in determining the amount of rains and thereby made them know if they were going to have high, average, or low rainfall in a particular, agricultural season. The behaviour of trees in general and fruit trees in particular plays a significant role in determining weather patterns in African cosmology. Fruit trees like *mpundu* (*parinari curatellifolia*), *chaumbu* (*lannea discolor*), *masuku* (*uapaca kirkiana*) and mango are frequently used to predict the imminence of the rain season and the quantities of rainfall in any given agricultural season. If there is an abundance of fruits towards the advancement of the rain season, people would know that the season was likely to experience low rainfall patterns and that if the fruit trees bear very little fruits, people likewise come to know that they would have plenty of rainfall (*ibid*). Again, when the fruits ripen earlier than the usual, the implications will mean that the season will experience a good rainfall pattern. In addition, the behaviour of muwombo tree (*brachystegia boehmii*) explains rainfall patterns. When its leaves begin to wither, but not peeling off, people normally predict plenty of rainfall to come in a matter of days while when leaves wither and peel off, it means that

a dry spell is imminent. People may panic and it supplies a moment when people resort to the performance of rituals meant to evoke rain to come as its done among the Tonga. The blossoming of leaves is perceived as life-generative, and must be actualised by the coming of rainfall.

Indigenous people have also observed the behaviour of birds and even the ordinary chicken (nkhuku) reared in homes to predict the nature of rainfall patterns. Normally, chickens do not wonder around when it is raining. Mapara (2009) argues that through observing their fowls and other birds, people can tell whether the rains are going to stop or not. If the birds and chickens venture out to feed when it's raining, people can foretell that for at least the next few days there would be a drizzle. If the birds and poultry do not venture out to feed, the significance was that the rains would not last the whole day. Muguti and Maposa (2012) further noted that in those rare occasions that birds and chicken move around when it is raining, people regard that rarity as an indicator of plentiful rains in that particular season. The observation of the phenomenal developments provides an important element in empowering rural communities, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and policy makers in responding to the ever variable and changeable climate today. This can make communities to be better prepared to tackle the vagaries of climate change as the study of trees, animals, birds and the sun, among others, can provide a reasonable projection to climatic exposures and stresses with other existing stresses and conditions that are responsible for people's hardships and low levels of economic welfare (Dube and Phiri, 2013). By upholding indigenous knowledge and other teachings, ATR can play a rightful role at the appropriate time.

## **Conclusion**

African Traditional Religion with its own weaknesses like any other religion embodies a whole world-view and has tried to solve human problems such as birth, death, suffering and others. For this reason, it will always have something to say on challenges facing humanity. This is because it does not seek to compete with other religions or science but to co-operate in the search of a better understanding

of the world in which humankind lives (Mbiti, 1991: 192). Human beings are part of the environment and in the environment there is an interaction that goes on to a point that whatever humans do affects the environment negatively or positively and vice versa. African Traditional Religion has a role to play in the climate change challenge, as most of the religion's activities are dependent on the environment like lakes, rivers, forests, land, and many more. For this reason, there is need for the government and organisations involved in climate change programmes to fully incorporate African Traditional Religious practices including leadership in their programmes.

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# **Policy Measures at Play that Have Facilitated Economic Growth in China: Lessons for Zambia**

by

Isaac Kabelenga

## **Introduction**

Economic growth is one of the major concerns of all the countries worldwide. However, it does not just happen on its own. Rather there are certain policy measures which should be put in place by the countries concerned if it is to be achieved. This is very true to China which has recorded astounding economic growth rates. For example, in 2005, economic growth was at 9.1 per cent (World Bank, 2005: 5). This did not just happen on its own but was due to the policy measures that the government put in place. This article, therefore, attempts to give an account of the policy measures behind economic growth in China and subsequently draws policy lessons on what Zambia should do if she is to achieve and/or enhance her economic growth.

## **Structure of the Article**

The article is structured in the following order: It begins by defining the key concepts used in the article which are, economic growth and policy. The second part gives an account of the specific policy measures behind economic growth in China. This is followed by the third part from which Zambia could draw policy lessons that could enhance her economic growth. Lastly, is the conclusion which is made on the basis of the issues discussed in the article.

## Definition of Key Concepts

### Economic Growth

The concept of economic growth has been defined variously by many scholars. This is because of the various dynamics that surround its application. According to Colm (2002: 286), economic growth is defined as continued increase in the size of an economy in its gross domestic product (GDP). That is, sustained increase in the output of the country's productivity in a stipulated period of time where the standard of living of the people has improved. In the words of Todaro (1981: 226), economic growth is the steady process by which the productive capacity of the economy is increased over time to bring about rising levels of national income. On the other hand, Samuelson and Nordhaus (1989: 971), define economic growth as an increase in the total output of a nation over time.

The above definitions raise important issues worth mentioning in this article: firstly, it is clear that economic growth is concerned with increasing the size of the national economy. It is about increasing national economic activities. Secondly, economic growth should be a steady process which should sustain the economic prospects of a particular nation. Thirdly, and most importantly, economic growth should improve the standard of living of the people. Thus by interpreting economic growth from these lenses, one key question which emerges is, *what policy measures should a particular country embrace to expand her economy?* There is no single answer to this question. However, this is the question which this article attempts to address by using China as a case study.

### Definition of Policy

An examination of available literature reveals the lack of commonly accepted definition of the term 'policy.' This is because the scope, nature and functions of policy are constantly in a state of flux. That is, policy thinking is constantly changing due to the dynamics taking place in society. According to Freeman and Sherwood (1970: 2), the term 'policy' is defined as principles whereby societies and/or institutions come together to seek solutions to common problems. In the words of Gil (1976: 36), a policy is a guiding principle or courses

of action developed by societies or government as well as by various groups and units within the society on how to go about addressing the problems faced by their society or nation or organisation in order to bring about betterment of life. Narrowing it to public policy, Sapru (2004: 3) says that public policies refer to proposed courses of action of the government or government guidelines to follow in order to reach a certain goal(s).

From the above definitions, several purposes of policy can be deduced. Among them are that first a policy acts as a guide on what to do or not to do if a particular goal is to be realised, in the case of this article, the goal being economic growth. Secondly, a policy is meant to address problems in society; in the context of this article, the problems affecting economic growth in Zambia (Zambia MDGs Progress Report, 2005: 12). Thus, the other way of interpreting the essence of this article is that it is trying to assess the policy measures that the government of China has put in place in order to expand her national economic activities, and on the basis of these policy measures, to draw some policy lessons on what Zambia could do in order to expand her economy activities as well.

### **Policy Measures behind Economic Growth in China**

The top leadership of China has taken several challenging economic reforms since the 1970s. Naughton (2008: 91) argues that; China began its transition to a market economy nearly thirty years ago under an authoritarian and hierarchical political system. He continues to say that, today, market transition has brought fundamental changes in China's economy and transformed every aspect of China's society.

The explanation is that it is not really democracy which brings about economic development, rather, it is what the people in authority do that propels a country to economic development. This is why scholars like Chan (2002: 5), have recommended that the democracy-development debate is reconsidered. That is, whether the people in authority are authoritarian and committed to developing their nation, economic growth would still take place. China has proved this argument to be correct. Thus, if there are still any development activists who are still thinking that economic growth and development can only take place in a democratic environment,

the economic experiences of China dispels that conception entirely. However, it is not the intention of this article to discuss the linkage between democracy and economic growth. Therefore, only specific policy measures that have propelled China's economic miracle are going to be brought out in this article.

Broadly speaking, economic growth in China has largely stemmed from concerted macroeconomic policies that have followed a harsh but quick adjustment, progressive implementation of structural policies to contain the systematic meltdown in the financial and corporate sectors and restore investor confidence; and a turnaround in regional trade made possible in part by buoyant international trade (Naughton, 2008: 3). To be more specific, China's economic growth could be attributed to the following policy measures.

*The economic reform of economic opening initiated in 1978.* Notable of the top Chinese leaders who initiated economic reforms include Deng Xiaoping (Naughton, 2008: 3). Economic opening meant allowing entry into economic sectors previously monopolised by the state by the new firms that were not subject to direct command and control through the government hierarchy. Pie (2006: 13), indicates that these new firms came from any source. These included entry by new small-scale private enterprises, foreign investors, and locally owned 'township and village enterprises (TVEs)'. The economic rationale for the economic opening was to increase the economic space available for a society that shrunk the economic space monopolised by the state (Pei, 2006: 13). Thus, the consequence of this reform was that top politicians lost their absolute command over the distribution of benefits and incentives, which began to be shaped by market forces. It also reduced the volume of public resources which used to go into the political class during the corrupt regime of Mao. The economic opening also brought about competition in the Chinese economy as many economic players were brought in which in turn improved the running of the Chinese economy. Further, the opening up of the Chinese economy resulted in building new capabilities in the economy which also contributed positively to the performance of the Chinese economy (Naughton, 2007: 23).

It should be noted that the Chinese leaders' drive for regime survival was anchored on a strong preference for economic growth as their top domestic priority. Because of this, disruption to economic growth was avoided at all costs, and individual reforms were often judged in terms of their contribution to overall growth (Pei, 2006:7). Of particular importance also included institutional development and strengthening of capabilities of public institutions. For instance, institutions to curb rent among top leaders were put in place (Naughton, 2007: 19).

Restructuring of China's rural economy has also played a significant role in expanding the Chinese economy. It should be noted that China's rural economy was characterised by its poor shape which resulted in the stagnation of rural incomes for many decades (Naughton, 1995: 5). The political leaders intervened as well in addressing the problems faced by the rural sector. For example, they embarked on the policy of transferring income to rural people whenever possible. In addition, the agricultural sector in rural areas stagnated due to the Maoism Grain procurement policy where the government of Mao bought grain from the farmers at low prices. This policy undermined farmer incentives to produce and created a drop in agriculture output. When Xiaoping took over governance following Mao's death in 1976, Xiaoping economic policy makers proposed placing agriculture first in the planning process and reducing the economy-wide investment rate (Naughton, 2008: 3). The outcome of the policy was that it created the context for a dramatic shift in resource allocation toward the agriculture sector. Additionally, during the 1980s, an influential maverick think-tank in China, the Rural Development Research Centre (RDRC), recommended that the rural policies of 'contracting land to households' should be initiated in poor, backwards areas where the government was not procuring grain (Naughton, 2007: 7). With all these policy interventions, the performance of the agriculture sector in rural China improved and has resulted in the increase in grain production (Naughton, 2007: 7).

Policy measures tailored towards the external sector have also played a vital role in China's economic growth. Naughton (1995: 10), has revealed that in the external sector China faced a serious

foreign exchange crisis as official reserves had dropped to virtually zero. China had little ability to earn foreign exchange but had recklessly committed billions of dollars' worth of foreign exchange to complete plant imports. There were very strong incentives to cast about for new ways to earn foreign exchange, and thus another policy initiative involved creating an opening for foreign trade and investment (Ghosh, 2006: 7). For instance, very early in the transition process, foreign businesses were allowed to invest in special economic zones (SEZs). In these zones, the foreign firms paid low taxes to the Chinese government and also paid low electricity tariffs (Ghosh, 2006: 7). That meant the cost of doing business by foreign investors in China was low. Thus, many foreign investors were attracted to invest in China.

Furthermore, because of the policy of SEZs, some foreign firms started setting up export processing businesses outside the zones as well. The presence of the foreign companies in China impacted very positively on the Chinese economy. For example, the presence of foreign companies resulted in creating more employment opportunities for the local people. They brought in new technology and competition in the Chinese economy. Further, technology transfer to the local people was enhanced. The skills acquired from the foreign companies helped the locals to come up with their own industries (Naughton, 1995: 11). As a result, the Chinese economy began to expand.

From the above, it implies that for economic growth to take place, the political will of the national leaders should be strong, meaning there is need to have in place top national political leaders who can innovate national policies to stimulate economic growth. This is not a smooth process because it has ups and downs and which the national leadership should deal with.

Particularistic contracting is another policy reform that has positively shaped the Chinese economy. Shirk (1993: 34), argues that when the broad-based tax reforms failed, the Chinese government introduced one economic policy measure where individual enterprises signed profit contracts with the central government, pledging to turn over to the government specified sums of annual revenue. Particularistic contracting spread to local government fiscal

systems as local who were contracted to turn over specific sums of budgetary revenues to the central government. The outcome of this policy was that it brought many ordinary Chinese people into the Chinese national economy. For example, as a result of the incentives created by this policy, the late 1980s saw the mushrooming of millions of family firms, hundreds of thousands of state enterprises and hundreds of foreign trade corporations. And interestingly, thirty of China's provinces had signed contracts with their bureaucratic supervisors who fixed the amount of revenue to be given to the central government, and what to be kept by the local authorities and individual enterprises (Naughton, 2007: 106).

Because of the above policy, savings at all levels of society were also enhanced. Besley and Zaghera (2005: 22), have revealed that the saving rate in China has been on an increase since the 1990s due to the above policy. For instance, it rose from 32 per cent in the 1990s to over 41 per cent in 2005. This was quite high (Besley and Zaghera, 2005: 22). With these reasonable savings, investments in other businesses were made possible and many economic activities at all levels of society started taking place. Without doubt, the majority of the Chinese people had money to invest in other socio-economic activities. It is true to argue that without money, no matter how good a plan or policy may be, it remains on paper as it becomes difficult to translate it into reality (Sapru, 2004: 89).

The policy of incentivisation has also contributed to the economic miracle of China. That is, throughout the hierarchy, high-powered incentives were introduced. For instance, enterprise managers were allowed by their bureaucratic supervisors to keep a large percentage (50%) of increased profit beyond the base figure. Within the administrative hierarchy, large cash bonuses 'incentivised' government officials (Whiting, 2001: 1). Existing enterprises and non-profit agencies including the military were also given substantial leeway to set up income-earning operations or reap rewards by cutting costs on existing operations (Naughton, 2008: 109). Thus, many economic activities began to take place and consequently, contributing significantly to the expansion of the Chinese economy.

Furthermore, in 1994, the Chinese authorities embarked on the implementation of aggressive economic growth-oriented

macroeconomic policy which involved a combination of stable and competitive exchange rates, low interest and a low domestic inflation. They managed to implement a policy strategy of monetary laxity without losing control over its monetary target of price stability. This, in turn, helped to control inflation rates by linking wage development to production. For example, due to rigorous and responsive macroeconomic policy making, average inflation dropped from 7.9 per cent in the 1993-1994 period to 0.9 per cent in the 1997-1998 period, and the standard deviation of the quarterly inflation rate dropped from 7.4 per cent points to 1.9 per cent points (Naughton, 2007:3). This further helped to keep the nominal exchange rate at competitive levels thus strengthened China's international position wage. In return, that led to productivity growth which heavily contributed to an amazing growth rate registered in 2005 (Ghosh, 2006: 2).

Naughton (2007: 13) has further argued that due to more vigorous and responsive macroeconomic policy making in China, the lack of decisiveness that was so characteristic of Chinese economic policy in the 1980s disappeared overnight, and propelled the Chinese economy to the economic miracle that is seen today. Thus, from a generally inflationary tendency, price trends shifted toward stability, with substantial periods of deflation. In addition, greater macroeconomic stability also lessened pressure on bank loans to distressed businesses. In light of this, even the central bank credit creation as a share of GDP dropped substantially after 1993 (Naughton, 2007: 13). Thus, the overall soundness in the operations of the Chinese economy has been enhanced, enabling the Chinese economy to grow steadily.

In addition, the Chinese national policy of cracking down on smuggling has greatly helped in improving the Chinese economy. One most striking example of this policy came in 1998 when the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) was ordered by the Chinese government to surrender its economic holdings to the government and get out of business (Qian and Wu, 2003: 7). Naughton (2007: 8) has shown that the withdrawal of the PLA was followed by a widespread crackdown on smuggling. This resulted

in increasing China's customs revenues from 31 billion Yuan to 224 billion *Yuan* in only two years, between 1998 and 2000. This meant that the Chinese government had more financial resources to invest in other public services such as; roads, schools, and health centres among others which were all contributing to China's economic growth.

United Nations (2005: 14) has further revealed that an increase in national economic activities meant that the central government of China had more people paying tax. This is evident in that the central government share of initial revenue collection, which had slipped from 37 per cent in 1986 to 28 per cent in 1992, rose to 56 per cent in 1994 as the central government had more people to tax due to increase in economic activities. With central government expenditures stable at around 30 per cent of all fiscal outlays, the rise in revenue collection gave the government control over a substantial volume of revenue transfers to local governments.

Other policy measures which have guided China to her economic growth rate have been the implementation of strong expansion policies. These include high spending on infrastructure development projects and property upgrading by the government. It should be noted that during the early period, inadequate investment in physical infrastructure was a consistent problem in China (Naughton, 2007: 10). This impacted negatively on the growth of China's economy as it made the Chinese economy unattractive to investors. However, a physical infrastructure investment policy aimed at increasing investment in physical infrastructures was introduced by the Chinese government in 1993. In an attempt to implement this policy, a total spending on physical infrastructure increased rapidly after 1993. Infrastructure investment initially increased from 1.3 per cent in the 1980s to 6 per cent of GDP in 1995 (a 'rule-of-thumb' benchmark) and increased further to an ample 8-9 per cent of GDP, where it has remained ever since (Naughton, 2007: 11). Throughout this period, massive investments have also been done in transport, post and telecommunications and electricity (Naughton, 2007: 12). These policies have made the Chinese economy attractive to investors making it possible to increase economic activities in areas such as radio and television production and internet use among others.

These activities, in turn, have further brought additional economic benefits to the country such as employment creation and foreign exchange earnings from exports of goods both of which have paved way to the achievement of growth (Besley and Zaghera, 2005: 217).

In addition, Besley and Zaghera (2005: 217) have shown that the Chinese government subsidises Chinese importers especially heavy industry importers. This government policy measure has enabled many Chinese people to buy industrial equipment and raw materials cheaply; consequently increasing production. Further, there has been an increase in exports and imports which have resulted into China earning adequate foreign exchange. This has further permitted savings and investments to be used in other developmental projects which have also facilitated the growth of the economy (Ghosh, 2006: 57).

Furthermore, increase in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has also been behind the economic growth in China. Besley and Zaghera (2005: 220) have revealed that in 2004, China was the world's most important recipient of FDI in total terms. She received about \$52.7 billion. This high investment triggered productive growth. It allowed for suitable wages and profit increase without jeopardising international competitiveness and domestic price stability. In addition, foreign-owned enterprises had also gained a competitive role in China's exports which assisted the economy of China using some of the earnings from exports to buy capital goods which it could not buy at home leading, consequently, to an increase in the production of various goods and the creation of employment opportunities for many people in China. As a result of these activities, the economy grew to unprecedented levels.

Innovation and technological progress has also played an important role in Chinese economic growth. Several studies by the World Bank (2005: 82) pertaining to the Chinese economy have revealed that there has been technological catch up in China in the past two decades. For example, better technology has heavily helped in expanding the country's production possibility frontier (World Bank, 2005: 82). This suggests that the technological process or factor accumulations have been crucial to the economic growth in China. For instance, the production of goods has been eased due to

technological advancement that is enabling China to produce goods in bulk for almost all the markets globally. This is true because the Chinese products are found everywhere in the world, an indication that the Chinese economy has expanded (Naughton, 2008: 5).

Another policy measure behind the economic growth in China is the Chinese government policy towards commercial banks. The Chinese government has encouraged banks to lend capital to new companies allowing them to borrow at 100 per cent leverage (Besley and Zagher, 2005: 20). This effort by the Chinese government has played a major role in the creation of new enterprises and the expansion of the Chinese economy. For example, in 2005, the private sector had contributed more than 33 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), making it the second largest to the state enterprises sector in economic performance. The Chinese government has also encouraged banks to support state-owned enterprises in order to sustain their production, maintain employment, import equipment, promote more technology and train workers in new skills. This effort has made the Chinese economy to continue to flourish even if there are some financial challenges faced by state-owned or private enterprises (Besley and Zagher, 2005: 220).

Furthermore, Chinese reform of stock market development has also greatly assisted in attaining and/or enhancing the country's growth. In an effort to provide alternative fiscal resources, China began developing a stock market in the early 1990s. This stock market has helped absorb excess liquidity in the economy to reduce inflationary pressures, making it easier for the government to achieve stability while pursuing reforms (Ghosh, 2006: 10). Besley and Zagher (2005: 219) have also pointed out that since 2001, China has been implementing good market rules that have been done mainly by strengthening standards for accounting, disclosure and corporate governance. The Chinese government has also recognised the importance of supervision and professionalism to fight fraud and price manipulation. In order to successfully do this, efforts are being made to attract and educate institutional investors. These measures, in turn, have dramatically improved corporate governance in China (Ghosh, 2006: 13). This implies that stock market developments have led to higher standards for capital markets, consequently, building

the discipline and investors' confidence in the capital market hence providing benefits beyond its direct economic effects.

Improvement in primary, secondary and tertiary education is yet another reason behind the economic growth in China. China has always had the policy to invest in the education sector. This has enabled the country to have a rapid accumulation of an ever more knowledgeable labour force. Because of this policy, the Chinese labour forces' participation rates in economic activities have been high. This is evident in that most of the people in China including women take a risk in investment which has provided the platform which has made China to expand her economic activities (World Bank, 2005: 144).

The other factor behind the economic growth in China starting from the 1990s is good governance (Naughton, 2008: 17). Since 1998, the Chinese government reaffirmed the commitment and importance of combating serious economic crimes. One way through which this has been done is by subjecting the Chinese government to serious scrutiny in all its dealings. Equally, there are various clean ups of financial institutions. These efforts have contributed positively to addressing financial improprieties as well as corruption and smuggling in China (Naughton, 2008: 9). This has further resulted in the serious commitment of all political and economic players to the development of their country by implementing all macroeconomic policies set hence fostering economic growth (Word Bank, 2000: 91).

The above are the policy measures which have facilitated economic growth in China. Below are policy lessons for Zambia.

### **What Zambia Should Learn From China in Order to Achieve and/or Sustain Economic Growth**

Before the policy measures that Zambia should learn from China are discussed, some highlights of the economic situation in Zambia are provided. Zambia is considered to be one of the poorest countries in the world (World Bank, 2000: 10). For example, of the total 13 million people, 42.3 per cent live in extreme poverty (Zambia MDGs Progress Report, 2013: 12). The country is also characterised by unstable economic growth rates. For instance,

Zambia's economic growth slowed from 7.6 per cent in 2010 to 6.6 per cent in 2011. The country is also characterised by high levels of unemployment, low levels of technology, reliance on exports of raw materials, few economic activities, inadequacy of foreign exchange, fluctuating inflation rates, stagnation of the agricultural sector, poor infrastructure, corruption, disease, illiteracy and unstable political environment among other problems (Zambia MDGs Progress Report, 2011: 5). Many of these problems are anchored in the deterioration of the economic and social conditions witnessed after many years of copper price decline and overall economic stagnation that started in the mid-1970s; and the 'shock' to life expectancy rates caused by HIV and AIDS in the 1980s and 1990s (Zambia MDGs Progress Report, 2011: 5). These economic and social difficulties have made Zambia be one of the world's heavily dependent on foreign aid (Carlsson, *et al.*, 2000: 4). Thus, the quest to improve the Zambian economy has been the cry of every Zambian. Given the fact that China has made a lot of economic progress due to the good policies that are in place in that country, Zambia could learn the following policy lessons from China:

- (i) It should be noted that the reasons for the country's economic growth performance lie in the incentives created by public policies and institutions. In other words, a country like Zambia should learn that there is need to get her public policies right if economic growth is to be realised and/or enhanced. Getting policies right has a well-defined meaning. On the macro front, it means reducing fiscal deficit, moving away from foreign exchange rationing and multiple exchange rate systems, lowering inflation, freeing interest rates and increasing the independence of monetary policies. On the structural front, it means; reducing the scope of state intervention through rationalisation of government policies, freeing external trade and replacing restrictive trade regimes by more uniform and lower tariffs, and liberalising the financial sector (World Bank, 2005: 7). These policy measures have been and are still at play in China making China the way she is today in terms of economic progress. Hence, Zambia should also try to follow the footsteps of China.

- (ii) Zambia should learn from China that policies to improve the investment climate are crucial to achieving economic growth. For instance, one of the policies that have improved the investment climate in China is the creation of SEZs where the foreign firms operating in these zones are required to pay low taxes to the Chinese government and also to pay low electricity tariffs (Ghosh, 2006: 7). This has resulted in making the cost of doing business by foreign investors in China low. Consequently, many foreign investors are attracted to invest in China. If Zambia adopts the policy measure of creating SEZs, she might stand a chance of attracting foreign investment which can be essential to Zambia's economic growth as seen in the case of China.
- (iii) China's experience also demonstrates the importance of having sound public finances, stable macroeconomic management, and efficient targeting of resources if economic growth is to be achieved (Naughton, 2007: 11). Therefore, one of the key policy lessons for Zambia from these policies is that there is need for the government of Zambia to put in place policy measures aimed at fostering financial markets by ensuring a stable currency, stable interest rates and health and competitive financial markets.
- (iv) In addition, Zambia should learn from China that international trade is a crucial engine for economic growth. Trade patterns have changed. The world market is no longer dominated by raw materials but rather exports of finished goods (United Nations, 2005: 17). China has managed to attain her economic growth by exporting finished goods (Pleskovic and Francois, 2004: 7). Therefore, Zambia should also strive hard in finding ways that will enable her to begin to trade in finished goods and quality services. If this is done, her participation in the international trade will be more meaningful and place herself in a better position to compete well with other exporting countries. Furthermore, it will enable her to begin to acquire sufficient foreign exchange which, in turn, may be used to purchase capital goods leading to an increase in production and attaining economic growth (Moyo, 2009: 79).

- (v) Another policy lesson to learn from China is the importance of supporting the agriculture sector in rural areas. China has done this by improving infrastructure, giving credit to rural farmers and buying the farmers' produce at good prices (Naughton, 2007: 7). With these policy interventions, the performance of the agriculture sector in rural China has improved as evidenced by the increase of grain production (Naughton, 2007: 7). Zambia should also try to do the same; the current conditions experienced by the rural farmers in Zambia cannot encourage the growth of the agriculture sector. For example, there have been so many cases where the farmers in rural areas have either received farming input from the government very late or have not received any farming inputs at all. In the same vein, when they have sold their agricultural produce to the government, they receive their hard earned money very late (Kabelenga, 2012: 1). This treatment of the farmers is detrimental to the growth of the Zambian agricultural sector as some farmers begin to withdraw from taking agriculture seriously as their main economic activity. Thus, in the national planning of Zambia's development, the rural sector should be prioritised especially in the areas of agriculture, finances, transport and electricity.
- (vi) Zambia should also learn from China that infrastructure development is one of the key preconditions for economic growth. For instance, since 1993, there have been massive investments by the Chinese government in physical infrastructure, for instance, electricity, transport, post and telecommunications (Naughton, 2007: 11). This policy has made the Chinese economy attractive to investors. Thus, in order to achieve and sustain economic growth in Zambia, infrastructure development must become even more of a priority than it has been (Naughton, 2008: 56). Currently, the Zambian government is talking about economic diversification (Zambia MDGs Progress Report, 2013: 12). However, this will be difficult to achieve without greater investment in infrastructure especially in roads, telecommunication, electricity and others. This infrastructure should be in place if many investors are to be attracted to diversify their economic activities.

(vii) Lastly, Zambia should learn from China that building public institutions and policies to promote the rule of law and diminish the scope for patronage, corruption and smuggling is very important if economic growth is to be attained and sustained (Naughton, 2008: 11). China has put in place laws, rules and policies that subject the Chinese government, financial institutions and other public institutions to serious scrutiny. These policy measures have helped curb serious economic crimes, fostered transparency and accountability in the management of public affairs and commitment of both political and economic leaders to the development of their country. Of particular importance to note is that China's economic progress is not as a result of the interventions from the Western countries, all the economic reforms have been within China itself. Thus, in order for Zambia to achieve and sustain her economic growth, more internal reforms to curb patronage, corruption and smuggling among other vices should be introduced. This requires an able political leadership that can implement public policies to address all these vices. In other words, Zambia should learn from China that political will is a paramount precondition for economic growth.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, it can be argued that economic growth does not take place in a vacuum, rather, it takes place if sound public policies are put in place; and this requires serious commitment from the top political leadership. China has achieved economic growth because of the good policies that the political leaders of China put in place. Therefore, other countries like Zambia should learn from China that achieving economic growth stems from the commitment of the national leaders to the initiation and implementation of multiple economic, social and political policy measures. However, this is not a smooth process because it has ups and downs because some policy measures may work well while others may fail.

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# The Romantic and Pantheistic Features in Cyprian Ekwensi's *Jagua Nana*

by  
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## Introduction

Ekwensi's *Jagua Nana* is a modern novel shaped by romanticism. It depicts the lack of morality of people pushed in the urban milieu, where they are in a quest for the material gain to fulfill the self. Therefore, they are involved in the seamy side of life of Lagos. Ekwensi's main achievement is showing the victimisation of the people in the polluted atmosphere of the town where they are unable to find a way out. It is a labyrinth in which they are entangled and the evil is not in themselves; but in the lustful elements of the town. This view sides with Jean Jacques Rousseau's claim that man is good, it is only society that corrupts him by making life artificial. To fill the blank missing in this society, Ekwensi creates a realistic world reflected in the rural milieu. There, his heroine Jagua, the perverted woman, becomes good and spontaneously happy because of the close contact with nature, the moral teacher, dictating her conduct of life. This view echoes Wordsworth's poem *Composed A Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey on Revisiting The Bank of the Vye During Tour. 13 July 1798*, with his pantheistic philosophy, considering that God is in the nature not in what is man-made.

The interest in the choice of this essay is circumscribed in the motif of the novel *Jagua Nana* that is, the thematic elements which occur in the artistic composition of the novel and also in the motive or motivation of the characters in the novel. The story revolves around the two important elements of setting: the village and the town. The motivation of the characters in the town reveals the picture of the new modern city, so called civilised in opposition to the village which gives a rural picture. It becomes a labyrinth where they cannot find their way out. The motivation in the town for all the characters is money which results in the accumulation of wealth for self-realisation. The material gain produces the following

characters: prostitutes, politicians and thieves, and the only primary end of all these are money and the self. Consequently, the use of the other as a means for the self is the only achievement. This, in fact, goes against Kant's principle of morality.

According to Kant, no matter how intelligently one acts, the results of human actions are subject to accident and circumstance; therefore, the morality of an act must not be judged by its consequence, but only by its motivation. Intention alone is good, for it leads a person to act, not from inclination, but from duty, which is based on a general principle that is right in itself. As the ultimate moral principle, Kant restates the golden rule in logical form, 'Act as if the principle on which your action is based were to become by your will a universal law of nature.' This rule is called the categorical imperative, because it is unqualified and a command. Kant further insists that one must treat all others as in every case an end, never as a means only;<sup>(1)</sup>

The village's characters till the soil as the only end, since they know that the treasure is hidden there to generate their happiness. As a result, no immorality is deplored and nor individualistic behaviour is portrayed. Life conforms to this natural milieu. The heroine of the novel moves from the village to the town and vice-versa. As a matter of fact, she conforms to these two different worlds. The town is seen as evil and the village as good to show her victimisation.

The recurrent episodes happen at night; in the town, we see the streetlights which enable town dwellers to move easily at night for entertainment in the popular bar of the Tropicana which, however, prevents them from the direct contact with the moon, the natural light. In the village, the moon appears periodically in a month but allows the villagers to divert through dance. The moon depiction expresses the praise for this natural light as will be seen further.

All the elements pinpointed will justify the recourse to romanticism considering its great themes: libertarianism and nature, which are the main features in the novel *Jagua Nana*. Many of the libertarian and abolitionist movements of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were engendered by the romantic philosophy—the desire to be free from convention and tyranny, and the new emphasis on the rights and dignity of the individual. The central interest to the

Romantic Movement is also the concern with nature and natural surroundings. Delight in unspoiled scenery and in the (presumably) innocent life of rural dwellers is perhaps first recognisable as a literary theme;<sup>(2)</sup>

Pantheism is a belief that God is everything; God and the material world are one and the same thing and God is present in everything. This doctrine emphasises that God is not a personality, but a manifestation of all that exists in the universe. However, the Romantic sees God in nature not in the material or manmade. A man in contact with the nature has his behaviour dictated by him.

Therefore, although a modern writer, Ekwensi's view of the world is shaped by Romanticism. It might sound awkward to equate him with Romantic writers since they are so far in time and space. This is surprising, however, since trends overlap one another. Moreover, this distinction or the break between trends is rather a subjective and conventional classification. According to T.S. Eliot, art never improves, the materials of art is never the same, and while the mind of time changes, that change is a development which abandons nothing. Consequently, a piece of art does not have complete meaning on its own. Its significance or its value can be ascertained only in relation to past work;<sup>(3)</sup>

It is through this perspective that Romanticism will be applied to this work. Its application is not systematic as such, that is, all the features of Romanticism will not be applied because Romanticism has meant so many things that, it does not mean anything. To use Lover Joy's words: 'The word Romantic has so many meanings and they are so ill-distinguished from each other that one is sometimes tempted to feel that it is hardly worth using it at all.'<sup>(4)</sup> Only two aspects of Romanticism are relevant to this work; morality and nature.

Ekwensi depicts, in *Jagua Nana*, the simplicity and the natural life of the village with the complexity of the corrupt city life where materialism prevails. Because materialism and the urban environment have corrupt human behaviour, Ekwensi's view of the world is similar to that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau who claims that man is happy and good, it is only society that produces evil by making life artificial.<sup>(5)</sup> By praising village life, Ekwensi sides with Wordsworth

when he asserts that the simple folk, who live in the eye of nature should be venerated; because they are pure and wiser than town dwellers orderly and that their language is less corrupt;<sup>(6)</sup>

The simple country life is orderly and puts everybody at ease and, therefore, holds a very important place in Ekwensi's worldview. In his description of the village, Ekwensi points out the simplicity of the villagers in the way of living; their lives have direct link to the earth. They cannot be dissociated from it, for he writes in *Jagua Nana* that 'women had become complementary to the palm trees and the Iroko, the rivulets and the fertile earth. They were part of their surroundings as natural as the wind (p. 180).' This passage reflects Wordsworth's claim that the peasant is not materially determined and that his life is pure because it is linked to the earth the primer bringer of happiness. Indeed this idea is echoed in *Jagua nana* when Ekwensi writes:

In Ogabu, the people tilled the soil and drank river water and ate yams and went to their church but came home to worship their own oracles: they believed that in the village where every man has his own yam plots, there is much happiness in the heart of the men and the women and the children (p. 69).

The above quotation sums up village life into four main actions: cultivating, eating, drinking and worshipping the oracle that leads to happiness. These four actions express natural life which is far from artificial, for example, worshipping is a spiritual feeding of the soul from God whose water comes from the river and yams from the soil.

Furthermore, in fact, the source of socio-political and economic problems in the village is the land, whatever the case, the hoe was the only important instrument of the work. Because of scientific progress, the world has been transformed and has brought with it a new way of living which has generated new needs. Everyone expects enjoying a comfortable life, and aspires to have more possessions. This materialistic world takes its roots in money; contrary to the traditional milieu, where the product of the land sufficed. However, the modern environment is perpetually in search of wealth in all its

forms. 'In Lagos', writes Ekwensi, 'man was always grabbing to grasp the environment he had created: it was money, money, yet more money (p. 186). However, the soil provides the villagers the fruit of their work. Every peasant does not remain idle: everybody is active because...' where it is only one man who has the yam plots, there is nothing but anger and envy, strife breaks out with little provocation. Jagua knew that the men thought only about the land whose products and the women helped them to make the land more fruitful (p. 69). Wordsworth concurs with Ekwensi when he writes about the peasants:

Humble and rustic life was generally chosen because, in that condition, the essential passion of the heart finds a better in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraints and speak a plainer and more emphatic language...because in that condition the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of the nature.<sup>(7)</sup>

Both women and men conjugate their efforts to produce victuals for survival. Every member of the community lives in harmony with their fellow countrymen. The fruit of the land belongs to the community; this way, there is no envy and anger as Ekwensi has put it earlier. Above all, the land is not the possession of the individual but the community. Blydens writes: No law of property existed so sacred that anyone could be made needlessly to suffer hunger of exposure. There were no individualistic classes constantly struggling with each other, the one to keep its successive luxuries the other to obtain the base necessities;<sup>(8)</sup> he also adds that:

African emphasis on communal life was rooted in other typical characteristic of the African his sympathetically communion with nature... it was observation of nature rhythm of productivity and recuperation which had provided the model of procreation leading to this vigorous and prolific of men and women. It was nature, moreover, that suggested the collective pattern of life and

work adopted operative, rather than egoistical of individualistic, industrial system; from the same industrious insect came the design of the circular dwelling of Africa and it was said that the Ant-hill was the prototype of the great pyramids of Egypt. Thus, the African in his appeal to nature tended to approach man in his perfect state.<sup>(9)</sup>

Ekwensi's romantic view is also emphasised in praising nature in *Jagua Nana* through the moon motif. When Jagua goes to the village, he writes that 'the moon that she glimpsed between the trees was big and lazy. How many years now since she has the time of look up the night and see the moon?' The moon is described as a natural light similar to the sun. Its glare illuminates the village's darkness which holds terror. As a result, without the moon, people are unable to walk during the night for fear of meeting evil spirits and are also unable to see their surroundings. Hence, the moonlight sometimes enables villagers to divert themselves through dances. Delight is not exclusively in the Tropicana, a popular bar in the city, as will be noticed later, it is also experienced in the village by means of traditional dances. A patent case is that of Jagua, the famous prostitute of Tropicana, who only shivered to the music of the dancing in the village. 'The drumming resumed, Jagua felt the urge to take her clothes off and shake to the rhythm... Jagua thought of her girlhood days in Ogbu when she used to dance in the moon light, she and a dozen of other girls with virgin breast'(p. 81).

However Jagua's urge to take off her clothes indicates the innocence associated with dancing in the village.

Indeed, Ekwensi's description of the moon is a romantic depiction. For romantics, light is the most universal image. The moon, the sun, as well as the stars are important because they are permanent sources of light, contrastingly to the mutability of human life; light is thus a symbol of spiritual illumination and transcendental vision. This view is shared by Coleridge-to quote R.A. Foakes' comment in the romantic assertion.

The light is a symbol of love and the intuitive experience of harmony, and is associated with the beneficial forms of nature, with all that it is fertile or helps towards fertility, has its opposite in

images of darkness, chaos and barrenness amongst which the most important is perhaps that of the city.<sup>(10)</sup>

When Jagua sees the moon in the village after having not seen it for many years, it reminds her of the childhood days in Ogabu when she used to dance in the moon light with other girls. In fact, the word glimpse has been used to show the imperfect view which she has and her imperfect relationship with nature; the moon being among trees, it prevents her from seeing the moon's nakedness. In addition, the adjective 'lazy' suggests its natural state and magnificence, contrary to the street light which are man-made and whose light are juxtaposed to the moon as in this passage: 'in Lagos, the lights are so bright that no one saw the moon' (p.73). Jagua is not only delighted at seeing the moon but she also participates in the sensual pleasure of this new land, she is in communion with nature, for Ekwensi writes: 'she surrendered herself to idleness and voluptuous feeling of laze. The hard earth bruised her body with all the favor of an ardent lover; she was too lazy to care and feel anything' (p. 72).

In fact, this passage echoes Wordsworth's poem, *Composed a Few Miles Above the Tinter Abbey on Revising the Banks of the Wye During A Tour, July 13, 1793*. In the lines 76-111, the speaker lives a mystical experience, he is transported into the spiritual realm where he feels the presence of an imminent power that he calls 'The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse, the guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul of my moral being'<sup>(11)</sup>. His communion with nature has generated an overwhelming happiness as we read in the following lines:

And I have felt a presence that disturb me with the joy of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused, whose dwelling is the light of setting suns, and the blue sky, and the mind of man: A motion and a spirit, that impels all the thinking things, all object of all thought, and rolls through all things. Therefore, am I still a lover of the meadows and the woods, and mountain, and of all that we behold from this green earth; of all the mighty world of the eye, and ear - both what the half create, and what perceive; well pleased to recognise

in nature and the language of the sense the anchor  
of my purest thoughts, the nurse, the guide, the  
guardian of my heart, and soul of all my moral being:

(12)

It is obvious that in the poem above, the immanent power that Wordsworth is describing is God who is in nature and the anchor of the purest thoughts, the nurse, the guide, the guardian of the heart. In fact, this is Wordsworth's pantheistic view. Pantheism can be understood as a doctrine that identifies the universe with God. Etymologically, the concept comes from Greek Pan, which means all and theism from Theos, i.e., God. The thinker may start from the awareness of divine reality and then begin to speculate about the relationship between the non-divine to the divine: this position is called *acosmic pantheism*. Conversely, the thinker may start from apprehension of the full reality of finite changing entities and give the name of God to their all inclusive totality; this is what is called *cosmic pantheism*. In fact, the Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza, is regarded as the foremost proponent of *pantheism*, the belief that God and nature are one and the same.<sup>(13)</sup>

The poem above is manifesting as a part of the cult of nature with two different aspects, the pastoral and the sublime as we can read in the lines (93-99):

And I have felt a presence that disturb me with the joy  
of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime of something  
far more deeply interfused, whose dwelling is the  
light of setting suns, And the blue sky, and the mind  
of man.

This is similar to the painters of pastoral scenes specialised in the landscape in which peasant life was equated with the divine order of things, thus forging a moral link between human beings and the natural environment. In contrast, painters of sublime subjects focused on devastating calamities, reflecting world order beyond mortal control or understanding.<sup>(14)</sup> To sum up, Wordsworth's poetry reflects the sense of universal presence of God in nature. Nature arouses feelings connected to the landscape.

While Jagua struggles on the streets of Lagos throughout the night looking for money, she feels at ease and, indeed, experiences a freedom that generates the feeling of a new sense of nature in the village. As Tennyson writes, she has the feeling of high mountains free of urban torture. Concurring with Lamartine, 'nature is there who invites and loves you; you will find in her the comprehension and the companionship that you have failed to find in the society.'<sup>(15)</sup>

The passage where Jagua goes to the village reveals the companionship and harmony that the central character finds in nature, she does not merely feel it, but she even partakes in its infinitude. The sight of the moon and the close contact with the stream increase bliss in her heart:

She went up to the stream where the water was limpid, clean and waded in. It was ice-cold and her skin contracted in thousands of goose flesh pimples. She knew well the art of bathing in the river in the public gaze, she began sponging her face and neck, her breasts, her belly and back, when she raised her arm, the men at the other side of the bridge look at the armpits.... without removing them from her girdle things and knees, looking round the stream with semi aggressive quelling all seekers. But this was part of the world where nature prevailed and nudism was not stranger; human bodies were not concealed with the art of non-concealment (p. 71).

As a matter of fact, the nudity is innocent because it is associated with nature, the human body is not hidden here; however, when Jagua was in the town the nakedness was an appeal to sex. She wore dresses which showed her body to lure men as she was a prostitute, she was even blamed for that as we read in the following excerpt: 'Jagua, how many times will I tell you not to shame me? You never will satisfy till you go naked in the street' (p. 7). In short, nakedness was strange in the town of Lagos. Nudism is a movement that advocates the practice of living without clothes. Advocates of nudism practice it for the benefit of the body to what they consider to be healthful quality of sunlight and fresh air.<sup>(16)</sup> This view is sustained by Jagua in her defense for her fashion which made her almost naked:

All the girls dress like dis nowadays. Is de fashion.  
 We live in Africa where de sun dey shine every time,  
 even de sun use shine when the rain fall so we must  
 show our skin and let the sun kiss our body (p. 7).

In fact, if nudism was not strange, it is simply because nature prevailed there. This refers us to the earliest modesty or shame theory known also as the leaf fig theory which is based on the book of *Genesis* which cover Adam and Eve, the first human beings who realised they were naked after they ate a fruit from the tree of knowledge. Ashamed from their nakedness, they made clothing out of the leaves of fig tree.<sup>(17)</sup> In short, it can be concluded that the clothing is a symbol of our excommunication from the unity with God, whereas the nudism is a symbol of our union with God.

Ekwensi's praise of the village is fulfilled, since nature is associated with innocence. According to him, man can flee to the village to seek companionship and good. To be under nature is to be under 'mother protection' as Lamartine has put it.<sup>(18)</sup> Jagua, the perverted and aggressive woman conforms herself to the simplicity and the purity of the village, 'Jagua, we are told, is singing gently now and enjoys the luxury of being free, no men run after in ogabu, things are now in right proportion' (p. 72). However, 'Jagua never thought she would be able to adapt herself to new life.

She found after a few months that the atmosphere in Ogabu had a quality totally different from the Lagos atmosphere, that driving voluptuous and lustful element which existed in the very air of Lagos, that something awakened the sleeping instincts in all men and women, and turned into an animal on heat was not present here' (p. 180).

The above quotation bestialises men and women's behaviour, they do not seem responsible for that. They instinctively respond to the lustful element in the atmosphere of Lagos. This is to some extent an overstatement to emphasise the evil within the town of Lagos. Since the so called lustful element is external rather than internal to town dwellers, the latter are simply victimised and this corrupting

element exists in the environment. Therefore, Lagos is the evil. The fact that this lustful element is in the air, it constitutes life.

Charles Larson, in the *Emergence of African Fiction*, 'the environment is the most important key in understanding of Ekwensi's work.'<sup>(19)</sup> He sends Jagua Nana, the rooted prostitute of Lagos back to the village so that she can partake in the beauty and the good of nature. She does the right things there, not as a result of her effort, but spontaneously, unconsciously and almost inevitably through nature which is a voluntary agent acting in her and for her. Arthur O'loverjoy also sustains in his essay the 'Discrimination of Romanticism' that:

The natural in contrast with the artificial meant, first of all that which is not manmade; within man's life it was supposed to consist in those expressions of human nature which is most spontaneously unpremeditated, untouched by reflection or design, and free from the bondage of social convention.<sup>(20)</sup>

Ekwensi views the rural milieu as a place of a mystical presence because of the prevalence of nature. The following quotation comes up when Jagua is at the village of Bagana crossing the river:

Women paddling canoes thinner than paper smoke pipes and hummed strange tunes. Jagua's canoe crossed many such women who had the same ease on the water as birds have in the air. They were said to know the mysteries of this Niger Delta. The birds and crocodiles never attacked them for they were part of the habitat (p. 74).

The full communion that these women have with nature gives them a mystical knowledge to live in harmony with these wild animals which are supposed to be strange and dangerous to them. They live in perfect relation with them simply because they were part of this environment. This harmony reflects the biblical one in Isaiah 11:6-9, a golden age, that is a time of happiness, glory and peace where children could play with formerly dangerous animals:

The wolf will live with the lamb; the leopard will lie down with the goat, calf and the lion and the yearling together; and a little child will lead them... the infant will play with the hole of the cobra, and the young child put his hand into the viper's nest they will never harm and destroy my holy mountain.

The romantic perspective is achieved in as much as Ekwensi has shown us that the perverted woman has identified herself with the appeal of life of the village, 'she had loved it free and simple in Ogabu,' Ekwensi writes, 'but now she was chained down' (p. 178). According to the romantic viewpoint, she lives a natural life, in contrast with the artificial which imprisoned her in town. Ekwensi adds that, 'she had gradually ceased to picture the riotous life; it had become an echo, too distant to touch her' (p. 181).

Freed from the bondage of the social convention, Jagua has found the meaning of her work; thus life is linked to the land which is the permanent source of victuals. 'When the first rain came,' writes Ekwensi, 'she and her mother went to the barn and examined the yam seedlings. They took the labourers out into the farm and tilled the soil and planted the corn and the yam, the cocoyam, and the oroko. This was earth, this was life' (p. 179).

In fact, from the quotation above, we notice that Jagua and her mother form a kind of corporation to fructify the land since it is the only meaningful source of subsistence which is, decent and honest. Although the town constitutes a labyrinth to many characters in the novel, Jagua happens to find out a way out; she decides to reconcile with her traditional milieu which she rejected in favour of the modern life, this being a confused place where everyone wants to get money by any means to fulfill the self, nevertheless, no one happens to master this materialistic society. Contrary, almost everybody's undertaking results in a failure.

Jagua's reconciliation with her traditional milieu is twofold: on one hand, she has overcome death since life has become so tragic to many characters; no one could confront it. This is the case of Freddie, the simple teacher, who goes to London to further his education but when he completes his studies, he chooses politics as

a means to achieve material gain. Similarly, Freddie's opponent in the quest for material gain, wanted to win the election at all cost for the money, by getting rid of Freddie who was seen as an obstacle in the whole process. He has achieved his aim but it contributes to his failure and precipitated death. All the evidence has shown how evil the town is towards its inhabitants. They are all dictated by the lustful elements in the air of Lagos, they are unable to discern the bad and the good; what matters is money.

On the other hand, Jagua's reconciliation with nature has led her to a better understanding of her person; she knows herself. This is the major reason she seeks for her purification despite all her misdeed. She asks God to wash away all her sins when she goes to the churchyard to see her father's burial site. When she saw the mound of red earth, she overwhelmed 'she knelt down; Ekwensi writes: 'Was this really him, this mound of earth, red;

Hiding the man? His soul had fled, or so they said.  
She used to be in the choir once. She had a good  
voice. She knelt down now. Oh, God! She had not  
prayed for years. She had not been to church, and  
yet her father was a pastor.

In fact, Jagua's insight of her misbehaviour led her to cry when she comes across a lady who asks her if she remembers her, but she is unable to recognise the woman. However, the latter reminds her by saying:

'When you were a child like this...' (pp. 171-2).

This utterance gives Jagua's awareness of her childhood which is represented by her purest period of her life and innocence. Ekwensi writes; 'Jagua thought of her girlhood days in Ogbu, when she used to dance on moonlight, she and a dozen of other girls with virgin breast' (p. 81).

The nature prevailing at the village becomes a voluntary agent which acts in Jagua: we see her morally good person focus on the welfare of her community; she gives her money to build the church. She says:

‘I know what I going to do wide money, I will give some to de Mission for sake finish, de building’ (p. 185).

The primary end is not the self as we have seen her in the town as a prostitute but the community. She uses others as an end not as a means, according to the moral principle of Immanuel Kant.

In fact, Jagua has changed her bad behaviour to one which is good when she enters in a communion with nature because, she becomes a moral teacher. Once one is with God, one becomes the conductor of one’s life. It is in this perspective that pantheism is achieved through the novel *Jagua Nana*.

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# **Women's Participation in Agriculture in Zambia, 1964-1974**

by

Dorothy Mwansa

## **Introduction and Historical Background**

Although a lot has been written about Zambia's agricultural history, there is no comprehensive piece of work that documents the extent to which women participated in agriculture in the country. This lack of detailed studies on the extent to which women participated in agricultural-related activities in the country has created a gap in the country's agricultural history. This article attempts to fill this gap.

In traditional Zambian societies, men and women worked side by side as they tried to wrestle a living from the soil. In these horticultural communities, males and females divided the work of food production according to the local systems of gender division of labour. The pre-dominant agricultural practice among most ethnic groups in Zambia was shifting cultivation which was a form of migratory farming. In this farming practice, men's roles were restricted to tree cutting and turning of virgin soil although they sometimes helped with other stages in the agricultural cycle. Women did the weeding, planting as well as most of the harvesting. In certain instances, however, men would help out with weeding when the ground was overgrown with weeds. During peak seasons, entire households would participate in the weeding and harvesting.

During the colonial period, the communally-oriented household production system where both men and women produced for consumption was undermined. Government economic policies were aimed at increasing agricultural and commodity production for the market. The labour the colonial governments sought to involve in economic activities was male. Females were relegated to an inferior status. This was due to the fact that the colonialist state did not perceive women as farmers but as housewives. Hence, the state began marginalising female farmers. During the post-World War

Two period, the Northern Rhodesian government took a keen interest to develop African agriculture. During that period, it introduced agricultural schemes in the country.<sup>1</sup> In colonial reports, women do not come out as participants in the schemes.<sup>2</sup> Agricultural colleges established in the colonial era also focused on imparting agricultural knowledge to males and not to females. Where women received instruction, The focus was on acquainting them with house-keeping skills. This was emphasised in a report of 1954 which alluded to the fact that, ‘Government considers it important to educate women more on how to look after their homes while men should learn new agricultural skills’.<sup>3</sup> It is against this background that this article examines the extent to which women participated in agriculture in the first ten years of the country’s independence.

The article examines the major policy changes put in place by the Zambian government in a bid to develop the agricultural sector. It is argued that both the First National Development Plan (FNDP) 1966-1972 and the Second National Development Plan (SNDP) 1972 to 1976 had chapters on the envisaged policy on agriculture. The article also discusses the factors that stood in the way of the participation of women in agriculture. It is argued that some bottlenecks that stood in the way of the participation of women in agriculture were institutional while some were not. The article contends that in spite of these constraints, some women were able to take advantage of the opportunities accorded to them to participate in agricultural-related activities.

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<sup>1</sup> These included the Peasant Farming Scheme, the African Farming Improvement Scheme and the Intensive Rural Development Scheme. For details on these schemes, see, for instance, NRG, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report for 1951* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1952), 17. Ministry of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1953*, 15-16; NAZ MAG 2/21/28: ‘Peasant Farming’; NAZ SEC 2/336, ‘Peasant Farm Blocks-Experimental Scheme, 1948-1949’.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, NAZ SEC 2/336, “Notes by the Commissioner for Native Development”, 31<sup>st</sup> August, 1947. The Native Commissioner pointed out that farming activities in the proposed Peasant Farms to be set up by the Colonial State would be carried out by males. See also, NAZ MAG 2/2/61: Minutes of the 4<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Central province African Improvement Fund held in Broken Hill on 27<sup>th</sup> June, 1960. An officer pointed out that in the African Farming Improvement Scheme, it was only males who were members.

<sup>3</sup> NRG, *Better Living For Africans: An Account of Rural Development in Northern Rhodesia*, 1954, 20.

## Policy Changes in Agricultural Education

During the period of the First National Development Plan, farmer training received a lot of attention.<sup>4</sup> Many Farmer Training Centres and Farm Institutes were established in different parts of the country during the post-colonial era. Farmer Training Centres were mainly used to provide short courses to farmers on subjects of direct relevance to the local area while Farm Institutes were mainly used to provide in-service training to the extension service staff including three-month induction courses for trainees.<sup>5</sup> At independence, attention was also paid to improving agricultural college education. The Natural Resources Development College (NRDC) was established in 1965. Monze Agricultural Training School which was established in 1949 to train Agricultural Assistants, assumed a new name, the Zambia College of Agriculture (ZCA) in January 1966. This was in view of the upgrading of the courses offered and the fact that it was to be the main centre for the training of agricultural extension workers.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the feeling was that the suggested name would be more appropriate. Under the First National Development Plan, provision was made for the doubling of output at the ZCA and expansion of technical training at NRDC.<sup>7</sup> Agricultural training received a boost with the establishment of the School of Agricultural Sciences at the University of Zambia (UNZA) in 1971. This new School began offering degree programmes in agriculture.

In the Second National Development Plan, it was emphasised that Farmer Training Centres and Farm Institutes were to be improved upon so that their facilities could serve a great number of farmers.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See GRZ, *First National Development Plan, 1966-1970* (Lusaka: Office of National Planning and Development, 1966), 25.

<sup>5</sup> GRZ, Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development (hereafter MAWD), *Handbooks for Agricultural Field Workers: Agricultural Extension for Small-Scale Farming Communities* (Lusaka: MAWD, 1983), 18.

<sup>6</sup> Contributed, *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 9. In this Journal, the name of the author was not indicated in some articles. Instead, it was the phrase 'Contributed' which appeared on the authors slot.

<sup>7</sup> *FNDP*, 25.

<sup>8</sup> GRZ, *Second National Development Plan, 1972-1976* (Lusaka: Ministry of Development Planning and National Guidance, 1971), 74.

The general picture presented is that, in the first few years of the country's independence, many agricultural training institutions were established in the country. The next section discusses the extent to which these institutions imparted agricultural knowledge to females.

### **Women in Post-Independence Farmer Training Institutions**

The important role played by women in agriculture does not appear to have been recognised and made use of by past agricultural development policies. Many of the well-meaning and well-intended government programmes were focused on the wrong target group. Most programmes targeted males when, in fact, the producer for household food security is the woman. Government agricultural policies such as agricultural research, agricultural education ... were all focused on the needs and requirements of men. It was assumed that once the men were trained, all would be well and good.<sup>9</sup>

These views were expressed by Mukutu, a former Extension Officer and retired Ministry of Agriculture Permanent Secretary.

Indeed, in the first ten years of the country's independence, the teaching of Home Economics which was prevalent in the colonial era still pre-dominated the agricultural training institutions.

Central province was among the provinces in which many farmer training institutions were established in the post-colonial period. Evidently, while men were being acquainted with various agricultural skills, for women, the focus was on Home Economics.

At Chalimbana Farmer Training Centre, female training had a bias towards Home Economics as opposed to agricultural-related courses.<sup>10</sup> This was the same situation at Keembe Farm Institute

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<sup>9</sup> Namukolo Mukutu, 'The Role of Women in Agricultural Development and Household Food Security', paper presented to the Agricultural Association of Zambia (ASAZ) Regional Conference, Siavonga, Zambia, September 22–26, 1977. Mr Mukutu held several positions in the Ministry of Agriculture. Joining as an Extension Officer, he served in different positions till he retired as Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture.

<sup>10</sup> C.G. Reardon Rodway, 'The Farmer Training Centres (1)', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 4 (1967), 23.

where the 220 farmers sent for training in 1965 were all male.<sup>11</sup> In 1974, 32 women, as opposed to 192 men, went to the Institute for agricultural training and in that year, the trainees that received instruction from other farmer training institutions in the province were all male.<sup>12</sup> At Serenje Farmer Training Centre, the same scenario prevailed where it was reported that the services of a female teacher were obtained for farmers' wives Domestic Science training courses for the 1965/1966 year.<sup>13</sup> The implication of this quotation is that the women were not seen as 'farmers' but rather as 'wives of farmers' and, therefore, their training was restricted to Domestic Science and not to agricultural-related courses. A report from Mukulaikwa Farmer Training Centre indicated that out of the 228 people trained in 1967, 200 were men and 28 were women.<sup>14</sup> It is evident from these figures that only a small fraction of women received training at this Centre.

Like in the Central province, agricultural training institutions established in the North-western province did not do much in the way of instructing women in agricultural-related disciplines. At Balovale Farm Institute, it was reported that all the agricultural-related courses on offer were attended by men and that the twelve women who attended the courses studied Domestic Science.<sup>15</sup>

During that training year, it was reported that at Kasempa Farmer Training Centre, women could not receive training as the Domestic Science course was not on offer; consequently, only male trainees received instruction in maize and groundnut growing.<sup>16</sup> At Mwinilunga Farmer Training Centre, out of the 73 trainees in maize and groundnut growing, only three were women.<sup>17</sup> In the Eastern province, the situation was not different. The Provincial

<sup>11</sup> Maud Muntamba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia, Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970', PhD Thesis, University of California, 1977, 351.

<sup>12</sup> Muntamba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia, Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970', PhD Thesis, University of California, 1977, 351.

<sup>13</sup> Regional Agricultural Officer's Report, Central Province, 1965-1966, 27. The Terms, 'Home Economics' and 'Domestic Science' were used interchangeably in the reports we consulted. The differences between the two was not highlighted.

<sup>14</sup> PAO's Annual Report, Central Province, 1966-1967, 22.

<sup>15</sup> PAO's Annual Report, North-Western Province, 1967-1968, Appendix VIII.

<sup>16</sup> PAO's Annual Report, North-Western Province, 1967-1968, Appendix VIII.

<sup>17</sup> PAO's Annual Report, North-Western Province, 1967-1968, Appendix VIII.

Agricultural Officer reported that the 1967/1968 training year was another generally successful training year which was highlighted by the innovation of farmers' wives successful courses.<sup>18</sup> Evidently, in the first few years of Zambia's independence, women were not seen as 'farmers' but as 'wives of farmers'. Hence, they continued receiving more instruction in 'their' courses and not in 'farmers' courses. An attempt was made to change this perception in the post-1970 period with the establishment of the Home Economics Section in the Department of Agriculture. Unfortunately, as will be shown, not much was achieved in the way of improving the participation of women in farming even after this section was established.

Shortly after the country became independent, women in the rural areas of Zambia who were receiving instruction in Domestic Science at agricultural training institutions began pressuring for instruction in agricultural-related subjects. When these needs were brought to the attention of the Department of Agriculture, it was thought that there was need to come up with a policy to address such needs. It was felt that it was of prime importance to open a Home Economics Section in the Extension Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture which was to assume the role of providing extension services to women in the rural areas in order to assist them to increase agricultural production. At an Extension-Training Officers' Annual Conference held in November 1970, it was agreed upon that the Home Economics Section should be established with the aim of assisting women to increase their food production and to grow more varied foods to improve their family diet.<sup>19</sup> The Home Economics Section was thus born in the same year. With its birth, it was hoped that women would be given the opportunity to train in agricultural-related disciplines like their male counterparts. Thus, the colonial mentality of perceiving women as housewives and not as agricultural producers would come to an end.

In spite of Home Economics being established and assuming the role of ensuring that women attended agricultural-related courses at farmer training institutions, significant changes were still not seen in female attendance at farmer training institutions. There was

<sup>18</sup> PAO's Annual Report, Eastern Province, 1967-1968, 12.

<sup>19</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40.

just a slight improvement. National figures indicated that at farmer training institutions, there were still wide gaps in numbers between male and female trainees. The trend of more males than females receiving instruction in agricultural-related courses continued. In the Southern province, for instance, whereas only 385 women farmers attended courses at Farmer Training Centres in 1972, the number of male participants was 2,191.<sup>20</sup> In the Western province, it was only males that received instruction in agricultural-related courses while the 325 female trainees at farmer training institutions received instruction only in Female Extension (Home Economics).<sup>21</sup> The content of the Home Economics course was not changed to incorporate agriculture. Rather, focus was still on domestic skills like cooking, knitting and sewing. Nationally, reports indicated that from 1970 to 1973, women at Farmer Training Centres received more training in Home Economics than other courses. Agriculture was still not incorporated into the Home Economics Course. In the 1971/1972 training year, 1,631 women received training in Home Economics country-wide as opposed to 15 men. In Crop Husbandry on the other hand, 2,421 males received training while only 384 women were instructed in the same course.

The same scenario prevailed in the 1972/1973 year when 2,460 women received training in Home Economics as opposed to only nine men. 2,766 males received training in Crop Husbandry while only 450 women received training in the same course (See Table 1).

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<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case Study of the Southern Province, 1930-1986*, 154.

<sup>21</sup> Extension-Training Report, Western Province, 1974, Appendix II. The Home Economics Section was renamed the Female Extension Section in 1972.

**Table 1: Statistics of Male and Female Trainees in Selected Courses at Farmer Training Institutions, 1971-1973**

Course	1971-1972		1972-1973	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
	Home Economics	15	1,631	9
Crop Husbandry	2,421	384	2,766	450
Animal Husbandry	1,054	41	1,483	63
Cooperative Management	173	15	186	28
Oxen and Farm Machinery	187	2	165	6
Dairy Training	84	0	125	12
Radio Farm Forum	546	72	692	110
Poultry	365	800	566	722
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,845</b>	<b>2,945</b>	<b>5,992</b>	<b>3,129</b>

*Source: Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972, Appendix XXI; Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972-1973, Appendix XV.*

Table 1 shows that ten years into the country's independence, women continued receiving more instruction in Home Economics than agricultural-related courses, the same scenario that prevailed during the pre-independence period.

Nationally, more males than females were trained at these institutions. Worse still, the gaps between the number of male and female trainees were evidently very wide. For instance, while 6,571 males were trained in the 1968/1969 training year, only 1,820 females were trained. In the 1969/1970 training year, 7,580 males were trained as opposed to 3,495 females. While 8,357 males were trained in the 1970/1971 training year, only 3,674 females were trained. In the 1971/1972 training year, 9,929 males received training while 3,469 females received instruction. The status quo

remained unchanged in the 1972/1973 training year when 12, 644 males as opposed to 4,878 females were trained as indicated below in Table 2.

**Table 2: National Totals of Trainees at Farmer Training Institutions, 1968-1973**

Year	Number of Trainees		
	Males	Females	Total
1968-1969	6,571	1,820	8,391
1969-1970	7,580	3,495	11,075
1970-1971	8,357	3,674	12,031
1971-1972	9,929	3,469	13,398
1972-1973	12,644	4,878	17,522
<b>Total</b>	<b>45,081</b>	<b>17,336</b>	<b>62,417</b>

*Source: Annual Reports of the Extension Branch, 1968-1973*

An analysis of these figures is evidence enough that ten years into the country's independence, few women were enrolled at agriculture training institutions. Although there was an improvement as compared to the pre-independence period when women were basically trained in house-keeping skills, the improvement was rather marginal. Worse still, few women were employed in the agricultural sector. The next section looks at women in agricultural-related jobs.

### **Women in the Cooperative Movement**

On 17 January 1965, at a political rally in Ndola at Chifubu on the Copperbelt province, President Kaunda declared then that cooperatives were to form the backbone of independent Zambia's development policy and Zambians were encouraged to go back to the land and form cooperatives which the government promised to support.<sup>22</sup> Although the cooperative society movement dates back to 1914, farming cooperatives were only brought to light a year

<sup>22</sup> For details on the Chifubu rally, see, Kenneth David Kaunda, *Speech at Chifubu Rally, 17 January 1965* (Lusaka: Zambia Information Services, 1965)

after Zambia became independent in a bid to introduce Zambia's rural subsistence farmers to the money economy.<sup>23</sup> Under the First National Development Plan, considerable emphasis was laid on this form of development and money in the amount of £2,570 (British Pounds) was ear-marked to be spent on cooperative farms between 1966 and 1970.<sup>24</sup> By June 1970, 805 out of the 1,280 cooperatives in Zambia were Farming Cooperative Societies.<sup>25</sup>

Reports indicate that positions of responsibility in the cooperative movement were generally held by men. For instance, all the 18 office bearers in the Department of Cooperatives in the Central province in 1970 were male.<sup>26</sup> (See Table 3)

**Table 3: Staffing in the Department of Cooperatives, Central Province, 31 December 1970**

Name	Gender	Rank	Station
Ibanza, E.L.	Male	Provincial Cooperative Officer	Kabwe
Limula, H.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Kabwe
Senkwe, A.	Male	Cooperative Officer	Kabwe
Limula, H.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Kabwe
Mbewe, C.N.	Male	Assistant Cooperative Officer	Kabwe
Nyendwa, A.B.D.	Male	Cooperative Assistant	Kabwe
Kaambwa, D.D.	Male	Cooperative Officer	Lusaka
Imasiku, G.S.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Lusaka

<sup>23</sup> NAZ, CNP 1/14/5, Senior Cooperative Assistant, 'Development through Cooperatives – Mkushi District', Cooperative Newsletter No. CP 1/71, 30 January 1971.

<sup>24</sup> *FNDP*, Annexure II.

<sup>25</sup> International Labour Organisation, 'Narrowing the Gaps: Planning Basic Needs and Productive employment in Zambia', report to the Government of Zambia by a Jaspas Advisory Mission, 1977, 84.

<sup>26</sup> NAZ CNP 1/4/14 Ministry of Rural Development; Staffing: Department of Cooperatives, Central Province, 31 December 1970.

Kalimamukwento, D.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Mumbwa
Mugwagwa, F.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Mumbwa
Zimba, L.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Chombwa
Daka, A.B.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Mkushi
Mpomwa, G.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Mkushi
Malambo, A.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Serenje
Simakungwe, D.	Male	Cooperative Assistant	Serenje
Chama, P. S.	Male	Cooperative Assistant	Serenje
Mwelwa, M.A.C.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Mulimba
Mudenda, A.B.C.	Male	Cooperative Assistant	Kakwelesa

*Source: NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, Ministry of Rural Development, Staffing, Department of Cooperatives, Central Province, 31.12.70*

This was the same situation in the Eastern province where all the nineteen positions in the cooperative movement were, in 1974 held by males.<sup>27</sup> Clearly, it was males who assumed dominance in the cooperative movement. It was not only the cooperative movement that did not see women participate actively. This was the same scenario in other agricultural-related jobs.

### **Women in the Department of Agriculture**

By 1974, most positions in the Department of Agriculture were held by men. A memorandum of 1970, for instance, indicated that the Principals of Keembe and Masaiti Farm Institutes as well as the Officers-in-Charge of Mukulaikwa Farms and Mkushi Farmer Training Centre were all males.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, at both Chalimbana and

<sup>27</sup> NAZ, EP 4/2/176, MRD, Department of Cooperatives, Eastern Province Report for the year ending 31 December 1974.

<sup>28</sup> NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, From Extension Training Officer to the Acting PAO, Central Province, 3 December 1970: 'Training Report for November 1970'.

Mkushi Farmer Training Centres, the Farm Managers were males.<sup>29</sup> The Eastern province showed a similar picture where, in 1974 all the farmer training institutions were headed by males.<sup>30</sup> In August, 1974, there were a number of staff changes at managerial levels in the Ministry of Rural Development. Zambians were assigned duties in accordance with the policy of Zambianisation as well as the need to give new impetus to the meaning of rural development. However, none of these positions went to women. All the ten senior positions went to males.<sup>31</sup>

Arguments presented have demonstrated that in the first ten years of the country's independence, women were not able to actively participate in agriculture in the country. The next section establishes why it was difficult for women to actively participate in agriculture in the first decade of the country's independence.

### **Constraints to Women's Participation in Agriculture**

A number of bottlenecks stood in the way of the participation of women in agriculture. Some were institutional while others were non-institutional.

#### *General Prejudice Against Women*

When Zambia came under colonial rule, the colonial state perceived men and not women as farmers. Consequently, agricultural institutions found it fit to deal with males rather than females. In the field of agricultural extension, for instance, it was to males that agricultural information was disseminated. Farmers, as perceived by extension workers were commercially oriented male heads of families. Much of the recruitment to institutions like Farmer Training Centres was by male extension workers who tended to be friendlier to well-known male household heads than their wives.<sup>32</sup> Muntimba

<sup>29</sup> NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, From Extension Training Officer to the PAO, Central Province 'Training Report for September 1970'.

<sup>30</sup> See NAZ, EP 4/2/176, Department of Agriculture Annual Report for Eastern Province, 1974/1975, 38. The report indicated that even the District Agricultural Officer of Petauke was male.

<sup>31</sup> See, 'Ministry Senior Officials Get New Assignments', *Farming In Zambia* 8, 4 (1974), 19

<sup>32</sup> Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation*, 154.

argued that when extension agents visited and the husband was absent, the former would leave a message with the wife bearing the next visiting date.<sup>33</sup> A Chairman of Mongu Township Council lamented about the biases in extension visits. In a memo, he wrote:

While visiting a few of my Wards, I found that many women who are interested in farming especially vegetables are not aided and not even visited by any of your departmental staff at district level. They do all their best by showing willingness to improve their daily living by eating vegetables, but after all, they do not get help. This is an appeal to your department, to see that such interested vegetable growers are visited and assisted.<sup>34</sup>

At Kalabo Farmer Training Centre, courses were on offer to would-be Commodity Demonstrators who upon graduating were to assume the roles of visiting villagers with the goal of teaching them modern farming methods.

When they graduated and went out in the field for extension visits, the audience tended to consist mostly of men.<sup>35</sup>

Doubtless, this historical prejudice against women was a major bottleneck that stood in the way of women's participation in agriculture in the country. The colonial mentality of perceiving females as inferior was perpetuated even after the country became independent.

### *Cultural Factors*

Traditionally, girls did not receive as much formal education as boys. In rural areas, it was cultural to marry off girls at an early age. In consequence, even if they aspired to be educated, their chances of being educated were constrained by the fact that they were forced into early marriages. Gadsden echoed the view that early marriages stood in the way of the education of girls in the territory.

<sup>33</sup> Muntamba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970', 96.

<sup>34</sup> NAZ, SP 3/25/48, From Chairman, Mongu Township Council to the PAO, Department of Agriculture, Mongu 6 October 1969.

<sup>35</sup> Kafuba Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo', M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 87.

She argued that the major reason for failure of the majority of the girls to utilise the meagre educational facilities available to them lay in the economic organisation of Zambian societies. In agricultural systems, she argued, most of the day to day work was done by women and, therefore, girls were involved in cultivating as soon as they were old enough. She further argued that early marriages were encouraged by parents who benefited economically through bride price or labour service.<sup>36</sup> Few girls in rural areas in the territory went beyond primary school. In fact, throughout the territory, attendance for girls at primary school was very low.

Cadets on tour, for instance, in the Southern, Eastern and Central provinces were shocked at the low numbers of females attending primary schools in the areas visited.<sup>37</sup> Chipungu also noted that although techniques of production required some amount of formal education in ordinary schools, it was males that had an advantage as they were the ones that filled most primary schools and became exposed to some forms of agricultural science.<sup>38</sup>

Because of low enrolment for girls at primary school, secondary schools also recorded low enrolment figures for girls. For instance, in the school year 1961-1962, there were 29 secondary schools with an enrolment of 3,564 of which 80 per cent enrolled were boys.<sup>39</sup> By independence, the country had few educated women making it difficult for them to participate in formal agricultural activities.

### *Female Disinterest in Sciences*

Apart from the low education levels among females, many lacked interest in science subjects. This view was echoed by Keller, Phiri and Milimo when they stated that, 'The majority of professionals working in the agricultural fields were men because they were

<sup>36</sup> Fay Gadsden, 'Education and Society in Colonial Zambia' in Samuel N. Chipungu (ed.), *Guardians in their time: Experiences of Zambians under Colonial Rule* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1992), 107-108.

<sup>37</sup> See NAZ, SEC 1060, Mazabuka Tour Report No. 3, February, 1951; NAZ, SEC 2/668 Serenje Tour Report No. 14, 1956; and NAZ, SEC 2/695, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 19, 1953.

<sup>38</sup> Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation*, 119

<sup>39</sup> NAZ, Box 25 Agricultural Miscellaneous, R. N. Coster (Minister of Education) 'Agricultural Education in Northern Rhodesia'

recruited from a secondary school system in which gender stereotypes limited female pupils' interest in science subjects.<sup>40</sup> This observation was, for instance, made at Chipembi Girls Secondary School in Central Zambia. It was felt that no apparent interest in agriculture as a career had been shown by the pupils of that school. Shaw pointed out that:

The Principal of the school was of the view that the 'image' of agriculture must be improved to destroy forever the illusion that there is some part of opprobrium associated with working the soil. There are scores of ways in which women could help the national drive to develop the agricultural industry. They could move into the training sphere and release women for vital work in the field, qualify as Vet Assistants, train as research workers and take up some of the administrative duties in sectors where knowledge of agriculture is a necessary requisite.<sup>41</sup>

This factor certainly stood in the way of women's participation in formal agricultural activities.

### *Low Staffing Levels at Farmer Training Institutions*

When the Home Economics Section was established in 1970, a recurrent problem it started facing was staff deficiencies. In all reports from the section, staffing came out as a pressing problem that needed urgent attention. Many Farmer Training Centres and some Farm Institutes had no Home Economics staff by 30 September 1971.<sup>42</sup> It was reported that although the staffing position had greatly improved, it was still inadequate to cover the whole country. Owing to the shortage of Civil Servant staff, Commodity Demonstrators continued to teach women courses at FTCs and Farm Institutes.<sup>43</sup>

The Provincial Agricultural Officer (PAO) of Central province lamented that:

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<sup>40</sup> Keller, Phiri and Milimo, 'Women and Agricultural development', 262

<sup>41</sup> G.D. Shaw, 'Women are needed in Practical Jobs, too', *Farming in Zambia* 3, 3(1968), 4.

<sup>42</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40.

<sup>43</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 41.

The ratio was one Agricultural Supervisor, assisted by one Agricultural Assistant and two Commodity Demonstrators for each province. The Home Economics section aimed at specialising field teaching for our rural women so that they could increase their agricultural output. Due to the lack of trained staff, most of the teaching load was done by Commodity Demonstrators (Non-civil Servants).<sup>44</sup>

In the Eastern province, staffing was a major constraint to female extension. It was noted that staff in the Home Economics Section based at Farmer Training Centres were far from being adequate. The PAO stated that, 'there is need to have female extension staff at camp level to do day to day supervision. I consider men are not the rightful people to handle women extensionally, hence the need for more staff.'<sup>45</sup> In a subsequent report, the same issue was raised and there were complaints from the same province that the lack of female staff was making it difficult for the section to achieve its goal of reaching out to rural women.<sup>46</sup> By the end of 1974, the staffing situation remained unchanged. The PAO reported that while members of the section were active in promoting vegetable and groundnut growing, their work was being constrained by a lack of adequate staff.<sup>47</sup> Doubtless, this staffing constraint over-rode efforts by the Extension Branch to effectively disseminate agricultural information to rural women.

### *Transport Constraints*

The primary goal of the Home Economics Section was to disseminate agricultural information to rural women in order to enhance their participation in agriculture. However, a recurrent problem in the section was inadequate transport making it difficult for the section to effectively carry out its duties. It was reported in the 1970/1971 training year that staff in the section had experienced problems in conducting follow-ups on course members largely due to the lack of

<sup>44</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972*, 43.

<sup>45</sup> MRD, *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972-1973*, 76.

<sup>46</sup> NAZ, EP 4/2/176, PAO's Report, Eastern Province, 1973-1974, 46.

<sup>47</sup> NAZ, EP 4/2/176, PAO's Report, Eastern Province, 1974-1975, 51.

transport. While they were instructed to widen their area of operation by going out to assist farmers' wives in groups or individually when scheduled courses were not taking place at the centre, transport challenges constrained them from reaching out to female farmers.<sup>48</sup> Similar sentiments were expressed in the 1971/1972 training year when it was noted that there was a decrease in women attending courses at Farmer Training Centres due to lack of transport. The greatest problem cited by staff in about 89.5 per cent of their monthly reports was the unavailability of transport.<sup>49</sup> The situation worsened in the 1972/1973 training year when several provinces had to cancel their courses because there was no transport at the time the course had to be offered.<sup>50</sup> In the Western Province, the PAO noted that there was an increase of 16.5 per cent in course attendance during the training year October 1973 to September 1974 as compared to the previous year ending in September, 1973.<sup>51</sup> He was, however, quick to point out that:

The problem of inadequate transport has been a serious drag on our planned programme of courses during the year resulting in disappointments and frustrated efforts not only to training staff but also to extension staff and farmers in the field.<sup>52</sup>

In that province, about 36 per cent of the courses were cancelled in the Home Economics Section and brought course attendance quite low compared to other provinces. In the Eastern province, it was reported in 1974 that transport was the major bottleneck for the smooth running of courses in the villages by staff of the Home Economics Section.<sup>53</sup> Inevitably, these transport constraints overrode efforts by Agricultural Extension Officers to reach out to rural women.

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<sup>48</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 41.

<sup>49</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972*, 44.

<sup>50</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972-1973*, 41.

<sup>51</sup> Extension-Training Annual Report, Western Province, 1973-1974, 4.

<sup>52</sup> Extension-Training Annual Report, Western Province, 1973-1974, 4.

<sup>53</sup> NAZ, EP 4/2/176, PAO's Report, Eastern Province, 1974-1975, 52.

### *Duplication of Trainees to Farmer Training Institutions*

This was a major flaw in the recruitment of trainees to farmer training institutions. After an evaluation of course reports in the 1970/1971 training year, it was observed that many course members had already been in for previous courses. The PAO of the Central province lamented that, 'it would appear that we are only reaching a very small percentage of the women in the rural areas and in some instances, we may even be duplicating in our teaching.'<sup>54</sup> In spite of his complaints the following training year saw the problem of duplication appearing in reports. It was observed that about 42 per cent of the women had attended similar courses before.<sup>55</sup> This recruitment flaw meant that only a fraction of rural women were reached by Extension Officers.

Because of these challenges, it was difficult for women to participate in agriculture in the country in the first ten years of her independence. In spite of these challenges, some women responded positively to opportunities to participate in agricultural-related activities in the country. The next section examines successes recorded in enhancing women's participation in agriculture.

### **Bridging Gender Imbalances in the Agricultural Sector: Successes Scored**

Despite failures noted in the path towards increasing women's participation in agriculture, some successes were also recorded. Some women became active participants in agricultural-related activities.

#### *Farmer Training*

A major break-through in increasing women's participation in agriculture was the drive towards admitting women into agricultural-related courses at farmer training institutions and instructing them through mobile training. It was noted, for instance, in the 1967/1968 training year that in the Eastern Province, farmers for the first time brought their wives to Farm Institutes and Farmer Training Centres, not only to attend Home Economics courses but courses on field

<sup>54</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 41.

<sup>55</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972*, 41.

crop operations as well.<sup>56</sup> With the establishment of the Home Economics Section in 1970, efforts began to be made to ensure that more women underwent training in agricultural-related courses than was the case before 1970. There was an increase from a total of 1,820 women taking various courses at Farm institutes and Farmer Training Centres in 1969 to a total figure of 3,495 in 1970, a 94 per cent increase. During the 1971/1972 training year, the Home Economics Section began specialised field teaching of rural women so they could increase their agricultural output.<sup>57</sup> The section introduced mobile training as a way of reaching out to rural women. Commenting on the significance of mobile courses, the PAO of the Central province pointed out that, 'it is felt that by conducting both residential and non-residential courses, more women will be reached.'<sup>58</sup> Family commitments constrained a number of females from being in residence. The Home Economics Section also embarked on a programme of recruiting women from rural areas to Farm Institutes or Farmer Training Centres in their area for one or two weeks, training in agricultural production and nutrition. In 1973, the Female Extension Section offered 331 institutional and village courses all over the country.<sup>59</sup> Women were encouraged to plant vegetable gardens with crops such as soya beans, groundnuts and carrots.

Reports from provinces across the country, indicate that efforts began to be made in teaching women improved methods of agriculture.

It was reported that apart from the usual house-keeping skills, the Female Extension Section of the Department of Agriculture in Eastern province began teaching women sugar-cane and sorghum growing in the 1973/1974 training year.<sup>60</sup> At Farmer Training Centres and Agricultural Camps of the province, the Female Extension Section began to instruct women in vegetable growing

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<sup>56</sup> PAO's Report for Eastern Province, 1967/1968, 12.

<sup>57</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1971-1972, 43

<sup>58</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1971-1972, 44.

<sup>59</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1972-1973, 40.

<sup>60</sup> NAZ, EP 4/2/176, MRD, Department of Agriculture, Eastern Province Annual Report 1973/1974, 46.

and groundnuts production.<sup>61</sup> It was reported from the Northern province, in the 1974/1975 training year that extension courses at village level were found to be effective and popular.<sup>62</sup> Attendance of women at Farm Institutes and Farmer Training Centres in the Luapula province also improved significantly. The drop was only in 1973/1974 when many courses were cancelled due to transport constraints.<sup>63</sup>

Another significant achievement, scored in female training, was the policy of staff training in the Home Economics Section.

It was realised that if the section was to accord first priority to improving methods of food production, members of the section must be trained to teach these improved methods. The department, therefore, began training women in agricultural extension work and the first intake of fourteen students was admitted to the Zambia College of Agriculture at the end of September 1971.<sup>64</sup> In 1972, some staff members were sent to an intensive in-service poultry course at Masaiti Farm Institute and for a vegetable course at the Chapula Irrigation Scheme in Kalulushi on the Copperbelt Province.<sup>65</sup> In 1973, eight young women recruited by the Female Extension Section were given three weeks' concentrated orientation training which enabled them to serve fully in all categories of groups and five went to the Zambia College of Agriculture for further training.<sup>66</sup> Certainly, by 1974 notable successes had been scored in the way of increasing women's admission to farmer training institutions.

### *Admission of Females to Colleges of Agriculture*

With independence, admission to colleges of agriculture was made open to both sexes. At NRDC, for instance, admission being open to applicants of both sexes was re-affirmed by the Principal of the institution when he pointed out that, 'The College opened in 1965

<sup>61</sup> NAZ, EP 4/2/176, Eastern Province Annual Report, 1973/1974, 45.

<sup>62</sup> PAO's Report for Northern Province, 1974/1975, 59.

<sup>63</sup> In 1970, there were 144 female trainees. The number rose to 164 in 1971 while 1972 recorded 182 trainees. 1973 recorded a sharp rise with the centres training 443 women. It was only 1974 which recorded a sharp drop due to transport constraints. See PAO's Reports, Luapula province, 1971-1974.

<sup>64</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 41.

<sup>65</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972*, 44.

<sup>66</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972-1973*, 65.

was designed to train men and women in various courses and all courses were open to candidates of both sexes.<sup>67</sup> By September 1971, several girls were undergoing training in agricultural-based courses at the college.<sup>68</sup> At the Zambia College of Agriculture (ZCA), initially students were being awarded a one-year Zambia College Proficiency in Agriculture Certificate and upon completion would be appointed as Agricultural Assistants. In September, 1969 the course was up-graded to a two-year Agricultural Assistant course and the course became open to women applicants.<sup>69</sup>

Indeed, at the end of September 1971 female students were admitted to ZCA.<sup>70</sup> The suggestion was that every year, twenty-five girls with Form II certificates would be admitted for training in General Agriculture.<sup>71</sup> At the University of Zambia, admission into the School of Agricultural Sciences was open to both sexes. Three females graduated in Agricultural Sciences at the University of Zambia in 1975.<sup>72</sup> As has been shown, by 1974 the Zambian government had achieved some successes in increasing female admissions into agricultural colleges.

### *Staffing*

When the Home Economics Section was established in 1970, it was difficult for the section to reach out to rural women due to staff constraints. By 1974, some progress had been made by the Female Extension Section in the area of staff recruitment. During the 1970/1971 training year, 16 posts were set aside; an Agricultural Assistant, Senior Agricultural Assistant and Agricultural Supervisor levels for the Home Economics Section.<sup>73</sup> As a way of increasing women's participation in agriculture, a decision was made to recruit females to these posts. The posts were advertised on 12 May 1971. As a result, a number of Home Economics staff joined the section

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<sup>67</sup> A. Hamamba, 'The Natural Resources Development College', *Farming in Zambia* 5, 2 (1970), 20.

<sup>68</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 41.

<sup>69</sup> In the News, 'Young Farmers Show the Way', *Farming in Zambia* 8, 3 (1974), 24.

<sup>70</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40.

<sup>71</sup> Downes, 'Our Women Want Progress', 45.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Dr D. M. Lungu, Lecturer, School of Agricultural Sciences, Lusaka, 26 February 2015.

<sup>73</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40.

in addition to a number of applicants who were transferred from Community Development, Education and Health, making a total of 29 members of staff in the section.<sup>74</sup>

By 1972, the staff position in the section was further strengthened to make a total of 36 members of staff from the previous 29.<sup>75</sup> In the Eastern province, five women were employed in each of the Female Extension Sections in Chipata, Lundazi, Chadiza, Chama, Katete and Petauke.<sup>76</sup> This was the same situation in Luapula province where four female demonstrators were recruited in the Female Extension Section in 1973.<sup>77</sup> All of them were assigned with duties of serving farmers' wives, Young Farmers' Clubs and Women's Clubs. This recruitment of females in the Female Extension sections of different provinces was, indeed a landmark in increasing women's participation in agriculture. The PAO of Luapula province proudly reported that:

Although, they are few women staff, they served our training institutions greatly in the field of training courses. They also made follow-ups whenever transport was possible. Eight young women were recruited and given three weeks' orientation training which enabled them to serve fully all categories of groups and five went to ZCA.<sup>78</sup>

As shown, by 1974 efforts had been made to recruit not only males but also females in the Department of Agriculture.

<sup>74</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40. As at 30 September 1971, the Home Economics Section had a total staff of one Home Economics Officer, two Agricultural Supervisors, five Senior Agricultural Assistants and eighteen Commodity Demonstrators.

<sup>75</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972*, 43. In the previous year, there was one Home Economics Officer but in 1972, there was an addition of another Home Economics Officer to make two. In addition, a Senior Home Economics Officer was recruited. Agricultural Supervisors also rose from two to nine while Senior Agricultural Supervisors increased from five to seven. There was an addition of one Agricultural Assistant to make four from the previous three. The main increase was in Agricultural Supervisors as more graduated from the NRDC.

<sup>76</sup> Eastern Province Annual Agricultural Report, 1973-1974, 45

<sup>77</sup> PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1972-1973, 65.

<sup>78</sup> PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1972-1973, 65.

### *Women's Clubs*

In the post-Colonial period, these clubs began to be used as institutions from which to incorporate women into the country's agricultural development. Initially, they were organised under the colonial government. In 1966, the government established a policy on these clubs and their participation in the country's development.<sup>79</sup> At first, focus was on supporting clubs that were inclined to house-keeping skills like sewing, knitting and cooking. Eventually, the government assumed the role of supporting clubs that were involved in farming through giving them grants. In the Central province, 42 Women's Clubs had received a total sum of K425.00 as grants by September 1970.<sup>80</sup> It was reported that attendance in clubs which had slackened during the harvesting period rose sharply in the post-harvest period and that the presence of trainees from the Zambia College of Agriculture in the field had helped to improve the image of the Women's Club movement in the province.<sup>81</sup>

By the end of the year, the 225 Women's Clubs in the Central province received a total sum of K1,015.<sup>82</sup> Kalabo Women's Club in the Western province received a grant of K475,000 in 1970.<sup>83</sup> In 1971, Women's Clubs in the North-western province received a total of K2,000 in grants.<sup>84</sup> In the 1972-1973 year, four clubs in the Southern province and two clubs in the Central province planted 8.6 ha and 4 ha groundnuts respectively while about 6.2 ha of soya beans were planted by clubs in the Central province.<sup>85</sup> By 1973, the Female Extension Section was in charge of over 870 Women's

<sup>79</sup> Extension-Training Annual Report Western province, 1973-1974, 4

<sup>80</sup> NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, MRD, Provincial Rural Development Officer's Quarterly Report for the Quarter ending 30 September 1970.

<sup>81</sup> Provincial Rural Development Officer's Quarterly Report for the Quarter ending 30 September 1970. The phrase, 'Monze trainees' was used to refer to ZCA graduates because of its location in Monze.

<sup>82</sup> NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, Provincial Rural Development Officers Report for the Quarter ending 3 December 1970. Serenje had 60 Women's Clubs; Mkushi 18; Kabwe 60; Mumbwa 44 and Lusaka 43.

<sup>83</sup> NAZ, SP 3/25/48, From Acting District Secretary, Kalabo to Permanent Secretary, Office of the Minister, Mongu, 20 July 1971.

<sup>84</sup> Provincial Rural Development Officer's Report for North-Western Province, 1971, 16.

<sup>85</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972-1973*, 40

Clubs.<sup>86</sup> These clubs did not only focus on traditional crops, rather, they also grew cash crops previously considered as men's crops.

This increase in Women's Clubs and their increased agricultural activities was significant in women's participation in agriculture in the country.

### *The Cooperative Movement*

The government assumed the role of supporting some women's farming cooperatives through giving them grants. One such Cooperative Society was the Nakambala Modern Poultry Husbandry Cooperative in the Southern province. In response to President Kaunda's exhortation to women to try their hand at the cooperative movement, women in Mazabuka asked for a government loan to fund their cooperative. Their appeal was successful, to the tune of £100 (British Pounds) and the Nakambala Modern Poultry Husbandry Cooperative was born.<sup>87</sup> Apart from rearing birds, the women also grew maize, and other crops.

In Chizera's area of North-Western province, there was a small farming cooperative where women members in villages were being trained by a woman agriculturalist in poultry farming and growing of soya beans and maize.<sup>88</sup>

By 1970, efforts were made to incorporate women into the cooperative movement through a family approach to membership. This arose out of the laziness that was observed among members of farming cooperatives who tended to under-produce. It was noticed, for instance, that only a few communal farming cooperatives in the Central Province managed to plant and yield enough maize for members' consumption and for sale. A primary reason identified for this under-production was laxity on the part of management. An observation made was that some members wanted to work hard while leaders were passive, discouraging many members from being loyal to their societies. It was, therefore, felt necessary to establish family cooperatives in which all members of the family would participate. A report indicated that, 'The Cooperative field officers are busy

<sup>86</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972-1973*, 40. The increase in the new clubs formed was 7 per cent over the 1971-1972 year and the increase was attributed to the approach of teaching women as individuals, not as groups.

<sup>87</sup> Contributed, 'It was their idea', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 13.

<sup>88</sup> Merfyn Tembo, 'Development at Chizera', *Farming in Zambia* 6, 2 (1971), 16.

reorganising the members to have individual family unit plots so that laziness will not be seen in the next coming season.<sup>89</sup>

Opening the second National Cooperative Conference in Lusaka, President Kaunda pointed out that recommendations from an economic survey of the operations of farming cooperatives had been accepted by the government. He noted that, among the main recommendations of the survey was that communal farming cooperatives should be reorganised into family farms and that extension work on farming cooperatives done by the Department of Agriculture should be considerably increased.<sup>90</sup> Indeed, farming cooperatives sprang up and the Central Province Cooperative Officer proudly remarked that, 'Most of the agricultural members have liked the idea of family farming units because it eliminates laziness among the other members and encourages hard work for all the members of the family!'<sup>91</sup> The birth of family cooperatives was significant in increasing female participation in the cooperative movement as they incorporated both sexes through adopting a family approach to farming. This meant that women would also actively participate in the cooperatives.

### *Radio Farm Forums*

These forums were significant in increasing women's participation in agriculture in the country. In 1966, a UNESCO mission visited Zambia and recommended that the Radio Farm Forum programme be started on the national radio in the country. It was observed that the forums were doing very well in many countries throughout the world.<sup>92</sup>

Muntanga, the Senior Communications Officer in MRD was of the view that the forums would do much to spread vital information to farmers and that it was doing well in Canada, India and Australia where the forums had formed a vital link between the extension

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<sup>89</sup> NAZ, CNP 1/14/5, Provincial Cooperative Officer Central Province, MRD, Department of Cooperatives: Progress Report for Quarter ended 31 December 1970.

<sup>90</sup> Raphael Katawola, 'Re-Organisation of Cooperatives', *Farming in Zambia* 8, 1 (1973), 43.

<sup>91</sup> NAZ, CNP 1/14/5 Provincial Cooperative Officer for Central Province's Progress Report for Quarter ended 30 June 1973.

<sup>92</sup> GRZ, *Zambia's Plan at work, 1966-1970* (Lusaka: Office of National Development and Planning, n.d.), 55.

service and the farmers.<sup>93</sup> Because of these sentiments, it was found necessary to start these forums in Zambia. The importance of the forums for both sexes was also echoed by Antes', the UNESCO adviser on broadcasting in the Department of Agriculture when he stated that:

The importance of the radio as a medium of adult education and community development for about 450,000 farm families of Zambia, among whom 72 per cent of adult males and 93 adult women are illiterate needs no special emphasis.<sup>94</sup>

Under First National Development Bank(FNDP), this extension method to cater for farmers of both sexes was introduced.<sup>95</sup> The principle behind the forum was to assemble a group of farmers, introduce the problem by radio and then give the listener the chance to talk over it and decide what to do about it.

These forums proved to be an important platform for reaching out to farmers of both sexes. Muntanga reaffirmed the idea of the forums incorporating both sexes when he noted that, 'any man or woman interested in growing crops and animal management may join.'<sup>96</sup> He further pointed out that, 'Adequate publicity for the Radio Farm Forum project was given in all languages, the object being to enable farmers and their families to listen to these agricultural programmes.'<sup>97</sup> This statement implied that it was not only the man as the head of the family who was represented in the Forum.

Rather, it encompassed the wife as well. The Forums were timed at hours that would cater for both sexes as they were held in the afternoons when women were through with their house chores. They were broadcasted in at least one local language of the rural provinces of Zambia. They were aired in *Cibemba*, *Silози*, *Citonga*, *Chinyanja*, *Lunda*, *Luvale* and *KiiKaonde*. Broadcasting them in local languages meant that even women (most of whom were

<sup>93</sup> Silas Muntanga, 'Radio Farm Forums in Zambia will Do Much To Spread Vital Information to Farmers', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 5.

<sup>94</sup> A. M. Natesh, 'Radio Farm Forums', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 1 (1966), 18.

<sup>95</sup> See, *FNDP*, 25.

<sup>96</sup> Silas Muntanga, 'Radio Farm Forums are a Success', *Farming in Zambia* 3, 2 (1968), 5.

<sup>97</sup> Muntanga, 'Radio Farm Forums are a Success', 4.

illiterate) benefited from these forums. Through Women's Clubs, radio sets were given to females. Muntanga made this point clear when he stated that, 'many women's clubs have approached their Provincial Community Development Officers for radio sets so that they work hand in hand with the existing aided Forums and listen to farming programmes once a week.'<sup>98</sup> That the Forums were friendly to both sexes was also echoed by Natesh, the UNESCO expert when he pointed out that, 'Membership for each Forum is composed of friends and neighbours, men and women interested in farming.'<sup>99</sup> As shown, these forums proved to be an effective way of incorporating women into agricultural-related activities in the country.

### *Young Farmers' Clubs*

Apart from incorporating women into farming activities, significant strides were also made towards incorporating girls into agricultural-related activities through the Young Farmers' Clubs. The Young Farmers' Club Movement was initiated in 1958. However, in the colonial period, these clubs were few in number. After the country became independent, they began to grow at a very fast rate. The primary goal of the clubs was to inculcate a sense of being farmers into the minds of Zambians of both sexes at an early age. That they were meant to introduce agricultural skills to both sexes was echoed by the Movement's Patron, President Kaunda in 1969.

Officially opening the Young Farmers' Club National Leaders' Conference at the NRDC on 22 April 1969, President Kaunda pointed out that:

This movement for young people is basically an informal education medium aimed at producing in boys and girls, an understanding of and appreciation of the land, the rural way of life .... It helps them to acquire basic agricultural skills, to develop enquiring minds and an interest in the modern developments of agriculture.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Silas Muntanga, 'Radio Farm Forum', *Farming in Zambia* 4, 2 (1969), 36.

<sup>99</sup> In the News, 'UNESCO Mass Communication Expert in Zambia', *Farming in Zambia* 6, 4 (1971), 24. These sentiments were expressed by Dr Natesh to Dr G.R. Naesselund, the UNESCO Director of Mass Communications based in Paris during his one week visit of rural areas in Zambia in 1971.

<sup>100</sup> P.M. Munyati, 'Young Farmers Clubs Round-Up, 1969', *Farming in Zambia* 5, 2 (1970), 45.

There were two types of clubs, Open Clubs and School Clubs. Membership was open to boys and girls aged ten to thirty. Some clubs consisted of one sex while others consisted of both sexes. They were sponsored by the Ministry of Rural Development which provided technical guidance to club projects through the normal Agricultural Extension Service and also provided training facilities within its agricultural training programme.<sup>101</sup> The movement was also assisted materially and financially by the Zambia Association of Young Farmers' Club, the Credit Organisation of Zambia and the Department of Community Development, the Agricultural Rural Marketing Board, mining companies, UNICEF, Rural Councils and other sympathisers.<sup>102</sup> The government assumed the role of helping these clubs financially through providing them with grants.

In 1964, there were 163 Young Farmers Clubs in the country with a total membership of 4,500.<sup>103</sup> The number rose to 460 in 1966 with an estimated membership of 13,000.<sup>104</sup>

At least, one third of the clubs were open clubs and nearly 40 per cent membership consisted of girls and young women.<sup>105</sup> At the end of 1968, there were 910 clubs with 26,000 members, 40 per cent of whom were women and girls.<sup>106</sup> They were engaged in small-scale intensive agricultural projects like growing of fruits and vegetables. Those with female members also developed skills in Home Economics and livestock rearing. When the Home Economics Section was established, it embarked on a programme of including girls in its training programmes. The Senior Home Economics Officer reported in 1972 that the section was working with the women's and girls' projects in the Young Farmers Clubs.<sup>107</sup> The policy of Youth Extension in the 1971/1972 training year was to ensure that these clubs were taking part in courses at Farm Institutes.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>101</sup> For more on the organisation of Young Farmers' Clubs, see P.M. Munyati, 'Voluntary Groups Help Young Farmers' Clubs', *Farming in Zambia* 5, 1 (1969), 37. At the time he wrote the article, he was a Youth Extension Officer in the Ministry of Rural Development.

<sup>102</sup> NAZ SP 3/25/48 From Youth Extension Officer to All Businessmen, All Sympathisers, Barotse Province, 24 January 1969.

<sup>103</sup> Andrew D. Cruikshank, 'Young Farmers Club Association Progress', *Farming in Zambia* 6, 1 (1970), 53.

<sup>104</sup> Annual Report of Extension Branch, 1965/1966, Final draft (Unpublished), 49.

<sup>105</sup> Marc H. Rosser, 'Youth and Young Farmers' Clubs', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 1 (1966), 2

<sup>106</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1968 -1969, 33.

<sup>107</sup> Downes, 'Our Women Want Progress', 43.

<sup>108</sup> *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1971-1972, 45.

Throughout the country, there were reports that the movement was gaining momentum and that both sexes were actively participating in its activities. In the Northern province, by the end of 1965, the total number of clubs was 82 and one course for girl club members was organised with the co-operation of Mungwi Development Centre during which instruction was given in subjects suitable for girl members.<sup>109</sup> Most of the clubs in the province were involved in vegetable growing. In the Western province, too, the movement had gained ground and both boys and girls were active participants.<sup>110</sup> In the North-Western province, there were 2,077 males and 1,639 females in the Young Farmers' Club Movement in the year 1970/1971.<sup>111</sup> It was reported that the movement was doing well in the Copperbelt province. In 1970, the Copperbelt Home Economics Youth Extension Officer held many meetings with Young Farmers' Club members in the province.<sup>112</sup>

In October 1974, the Training Section did a lot to train young farmers in the Eastern province and there was an excellent attendance by both sexes at all Farmer Training Centres and Farm Institutes in the province.<sup>113</sup>

As has been shown, a lot of effort was made to incorporate not only boys but also girls into Zambia's agricultural development through the Young Farmers' Club movement. Through acquiring agricultural skills at an early age, it was felt that it would be easy for them to follow careers in agriculture later in life. This view was expressed by Rosser, the Youth Extension Officer when he stated that, 'a large proportion of Young Farmers' Club members will become farmers or follow careers in agriculture with government and commerce.'<sup>114</sup> Munyati held a similar view noting that, 'The Young Farmers' Club Movement helps boys and girls to acquire basic agricultural skills, to develop enquiring minds and an interest in the modern developments of agriculture.'<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> MRD, Annual Report for Northern Province, 1964/1965, 9.

<sup>110</sup> NAZ, SP 3/25/48, Youth Extension Officer, 'A Drive to Young Farmer's Clubs – Open', 23 January 1969.

<sup>111</sup> PAO's Report, North-Western Province, 1970-1971, 23.

<sup>112</sup> Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971, 45.

<sup>113</sup> NAZ, EP 4/2/176, Annual Report for Eastern Province, 1974/1975, 4.

<sup>114</sup> Rosser, 'Youth and Young Farmers Clubs', 3.

<sup>115</sup> Munyati, 'Young Farmers' Club Round-up, 1969', 45.

## **Conclusion**

This article has demonstrated that in the first ten years of the country's independence, visible efforts were made by the Zambian government to incorporate women into agricultural-related activities in the country. It has been demonstrated that the total participation of women in agricultural-related activities was constrained by numerous challenges like low education levels among females, cultural factors and poor recruitment policies at farmer training institutions. The article has shown that in spite of the challenges that impeded the total participation of women in agricultural-related activities in the country, some women embraced the opportunities that they were accorded to participate in farming activities. It has been demonstrated that the Department of Agriculture embarked on a deliberate policy of making farmer training as well as college and university education in agriculture open to both sexes.

The article has further demonstrated that women's participation in agriculture was also boosted through employing more women in the Home Economics Section. Ultimately, reaching out to rural women was made easier than before. The article further noted that the government also embarked on a deliberate policy of funding some women's farming cooperatives. Consequently, they were able to increase their agricultural out-put. Radio Farm Forums, the article noted, were important forums through which women gained agricultural knowledge. Through the Women's and Young Farmer's Clubs, women and girls were exposed to different agricultural skills. Ultimately, some former members of Young Farmers' Clubs developed careers in agriculture later in life, thus enabling them to join the commercial realm. Rather than seeing the man as the centre of farming activities in the country, this article has suggested that, in fact, the woman also proved to be part of those activities as long as she was supported, in her endeavours, to participate in agricultural-related activities.

# **The Future of Industries in Zambia: A New Drive To India's Engagement with Zambia Until 1912**

by  
Kamini Krishna

## **Introduction**

Firstly, the article examines the concept of industrialisation: what it is and why is it necessary? In simple words, industrialisation is the transition of an economy from primary agrarian to one based mainly on manufacturing of goods and services. In other words, industrialisation is a process of social and economic change whereby a human society is transferred from pre-industrial to an industrial state. This social and economic change is closely intertwined with technological innovation, particularly development of large scale energy production and metallurgy. Industrialisation is also related to some form of philosophical change, or to a different attitude in the perception of nature, although whether the philosophical changes are caused by industrialisation, or vice-versa is subject of debate.

To address the second part of the question, industrialisation plays an important role in the economic prosperity and growth of a nation. An economy can specialise in two main fields; agriculture and industry. The misconceptions of the past, that nations need to make a distinct choice between agriculture and industry, have been replaced by research of recent years, which reveal that both these sectors of the economy must go in cohesion for a nation to prosper. The agricultural sector may provide raw materials to the industry and the industrial sector may deliver powerful machineries to enable efficient and mass production of goods from the agricultural sector.

Furthermore, industries play a key role in the development of a country by creating employment opportunities, raising the levels of national income and by improving the balance between exportable and importable goods. They also stimulate development in other sectors of the economy. History reveals that the global domination of western civilisation can be attributed to the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

## **The Zambian Scenario**

This section of article examines the existing industries and their recent performance in Africa, and in Zambia respectively. In order to do this, it is important to look into the continent's historical background. Since Africa was colonised by European powers for about a century, the colonial development was oriented according to the rulers' home requirements of raw materials. Colonial policies discouraged local manufacturing to the preserve of African markets for goods produced in European factories; consequently, African countries became raw materials suppliers and finished goods consumers. As such, colonial governance devoted to building the infrastructure-roads and ports required to facilitate the support of raw material.<sup>1</sup>

Africa has 40 per cent of the world's potential hydroelectric power supply; the bulk of the world's diamonds and chromium; 30 per cent of the uranium in the non-communist world; 50 per cent of the world's gold; 90 per cent of its cobalt; 50 per cent of optical phosphate; 40 per cent of its platinum; 7.5 per cent of its coal; 8 per cent of its known petroleum reserves; twelve of its natural gas; 3 per cent of its iron ore and millions and millions of acres of untilled farmland<sup>2</sup>.

According to Lamb there is not another continent that is blessed with such abundance of diversity.<sup>3</sup> However, when its countries were freed from the colonial yoke, less than 10 per cent of the national product in a typical African country consisted of products manufactured output among the lowest level of industrialisation in the world. Between 1980 and 1983, the growth of industries added only 3 per cent real-term value on average per year in Africa. This growth rate fell continuously from 3.9 per cent in 1980 to little more than 1 per cent at the beginning of the 1990s. This poor performance is below that of the other developing countries, and is also proof of the stagnation and the decline in industrial production in many African countries particularly those south of the Sahara.<sup>4</sup>

According to a 2013 report from the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the continent also has 60 per cent of the world's industrialised arable land and has vast reserves of timber. Yet, together, African countries account for just 1 per cent of global

manufacturing.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, this dismal state of affairs creates a cycle of perpetual dependency, leaving African countries reliant on the export of raw products, which exposes them to exogenous shocks, such as falling European demands. Without the presence of strong industries in Africa to add value to raw materials, foreign buyers still dictate and manipulate the price of these materials to the great disadvantage of Africa's economy, and its people at large (it can be said that the scenario today is not much different from pre-colonial times, even after fifty years of independence). African economies, and consequently, their industries, have suffered the negative effects of monetary and experienced real shocks because of their excessive dependency on primary production which is oriented towards outside market.<sup>6</sup>

Post-colonial economists, in Africa have always realised the necessity of building a balanced, integrated, self-reliant and increasingly industrialised economy, which would stimulate domestically-oriented agricultural development. Without strong industries to create jobs and add value to raw materials, African countries risk remaining shackled by foreign dependency. This requirement was appropriately summed up by South Africa's, Nkosozama Dlamini Zuma, who said that 'Industrialisation cannot be considered a luxury, but a necessity for the continent's development'<sup>7</sup>, shortly after she became the chair of the African Union in 2013.

It was noticed that India came forward to assist and placed a special emphasis on the creative use of credit and crafted initiative that are unequal to the development priorities of her friends in Africa.<sup>8</sup> There is a strong belief that if India and Africa continue working together, in international fora like the United Nations and World Trade Organisation, there will be no limits to their collective achievements.<sup>9</sup>

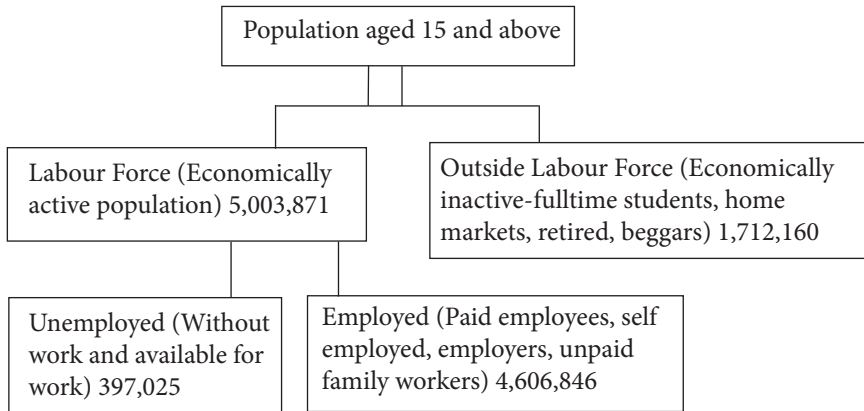
### **Zambian Government's Policies**

Zambia is a sub-Saharan landlocked country which shares borders with eight other countries in the region. According to the Central Statistics Office (CSO) 2010 population census, Zambia has an

estimated population of thirteen million with an annual population growth rate of 3.1 per cent. The country has an abundance of known mineral deposits. It is the world's fourth largest producer of copper and holds 6 per cent of the world's known reserves of copper and cobalt. These make up the country's traditional exports and account for well over 70 per cent in export earnings. The opportunities for exploitation of other minerals have also been identified. These include gold and gemstones (for example aquamarine, topaz, opal, agate and amethysts). Diamond reserves have also been identified. Furthermore, Zambia produces over 20 per cent of the world's emeralds.<sup>10</sup>

Also, Zambia possesses good arable land which is largely under-utilised with an abundant supply of water that amounts to 40 per cent of the total water resources of the Southern African region. The country has vast coal reserves which, put together with the vast water reserves, offers abundant investment opportunities for hydroelectric and thermal power generation, supply and distribution. The country is blessed with natural beauty such as the Victoria Falls, which is one of the seven natural wonders of the world and the wealth of wildlife has yet to be fully realised. In addition to this, the Zambian weather is also very temperate.<sup>11</sup>

According to the 2008 labour force survey, 6.7 million Zambians were of working age that is, fifteen years old and above. Of this, 75 per cent of the working population was economically active. The economically inactive include students, homemakers, wives or mothers and retired citizens as reflected below in Figure 1.

**Figure 1: Economically Active and Inactive Population**

Source: Labour Force Survey Report-2008 (CSO, 2011)

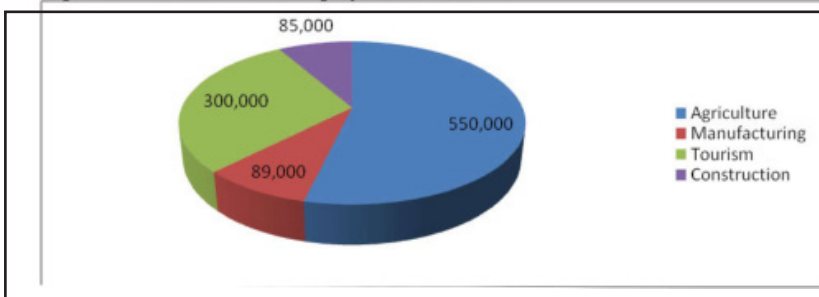
The Zambian government continued to pursue a liberalised market-led economy until 1990. In the period between 1975 and 1990, the level of real GDP per capita declined by almost 30 per cent.<sup>12</sup>

The early 1990's, with an ambition to create environments to foster private-sector-led-growth, saw a move to a more outward-oriented economy centered on a market based-system. This was supported by the increased local and foreign investments over the years which played a critical role in GDP growth and employment creation. Since then, many more policies were formulated aimed at facilitating a private-sector-led economic development of the country. For example, in December 2008, the government approved the Public Private Partnership (PPP) in Zambia.<sup>13</sup> This collaboration between the public-sector with the government and/or its agencies and the private-sector as profit driven individuals or corporate entities, undertook development projects and shared risks and rewards associated with them. Such economic reforms were initiated since the early 1990s in order to create an environment that would foster private-sector-led growth that was supported by the international community. However, the Zambian Development Agency (ZDA) was established in 2006 mandated to foster economic growth and development in the country by promoting trade and

investment and to coordinate effective and efficient private-sector-led economic development strategies. The Agency also was faced with the challenge of developing an internationally competitive Zambian economy through innovations that promote specialised skills, productive investments and increased trade.

The Zambian economic development Agenda was guided by the National Vision in which the country aspired to become a Prosperous Middle Income Country by 2030 and the economic development agenda to operationalise the five-year National Development Plans.<sup>14</sup> All this was aimed at creating one million (1,000,000) new formal sector jobs over a period of five years for which four growth sectors were identified. The sectors were seen to have the greatest potential to achieve the objective of promoting growth, employment and value addition to expand the country's economic base. The sectors identified were Agriculture, Tourism, Construction and Manufacturing. The proposed distribution of potential jobs to be created are reflected below in Figure 2:

**Figure 2: Distribution of Employment Creation**



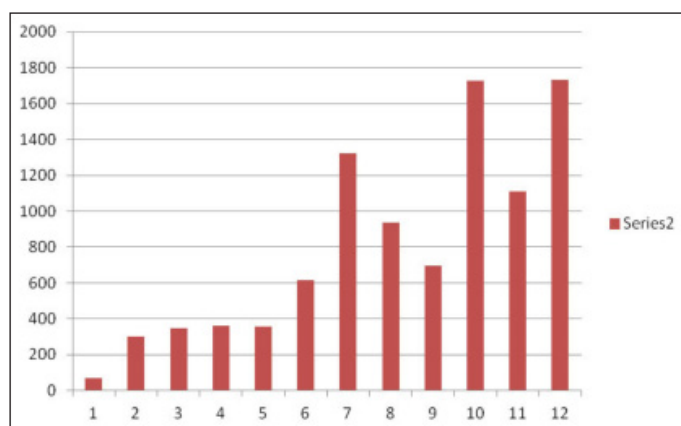
*Source: Strategy Paper on Industrialisation and Job Creation, July 2013.*

Zambia's economic development agenda has been strong with broad based growth since 2001. The real GDP average at 5.7 per cent in the period 2001-2010, up from 3.2 per cent in the previous period before 2001. The country also experienced macroeconomic stability that was characterised by a low fiscal deficit, single digit inflation and a relatively stable exchange rate. Growth in exports reduced with gross international reserves rising to US\$2.2 billion by December 2011.<sup>15</sup> Table 1 below shows the details.

**Table 1: Zambia's Key Economic Indicators 2007 to 2011**

Indicators	Years				
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
1 Real GDP(%)	6.2	5.7	6.3	7.6	6.6
2 Overall Budget Deficit(% of GDP)	-0.2%	-3.2%	4.4%	2.8%	3.7%
3 Inflation Rate(end year)	8.9	16.6	9.9	7.9	7.2
4 Exchange Rate(US to ZMK)	3,358	3,826	5,060	4,831	4,860
5 GIR(month of import cover)	3.6	2.1	5.1	4.0	3.0

Furthermore, there has been an overall improvement in the investment climate and business environment, which is reflected by the higher Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and economic growth. Growth has mainly been driven by the mining, agriculture, construction, tourism, transport and communication sectors.<sup>1</sup>

**Figure 3: Zambia's FDI Inflows (US \$ million), 2001-2012**

Source: Bank of Zambia and Foreign Private Investment and Perceptions Survey, 2008, 2010-2013

The increased FDI inflows in the second quarter, relative to the first quarter, could in part be a reflection of continued investor confidence in the economy. Accordingly, the government was to maintain the

prevailing favourable investment climate in order to sustain the investor confidence to attract more investors.

In 2012, the total private sector foreign liabilities of foreign private capital inflows to Zambia grew by 49.1 per cent to the tune of US\$1,909.4 million compared to US\$1,280.5 million recorded in 2011. These inflows were the second highest recorded past the global financial and economic crisis and were dominated by FDI.<sup>17</sup> The significant increase in private sector foreign liabilities inflow is largely explained by massive investment in both new and expansion projects in the mining sector, and in part, is reflective of the restored investor confidence in the economy following the September 2011 general elections.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Indian Scenario**

The Indian sub-continent was ruled by the British imperialists for around 190 years, and under colonial rule, it followed a non-industrial model. However, many Indian scholars believed that progress was stunted by this model. It was believed that true economic progress lay in industrialisation. However, after independence, the founding fathers of the nation saw it progressing with a decent industrial base. This triggered the formulation of programmes and strategies to construct infrastructure for quick industrialisation. Before independence India was a largely agriculture-based country. Although there was a relatively large manufacturing sector in some parts of the country, it was mainly in the form of small-scale local enterprises such as spinning, weaving and woodwork industries. These businesses served their local markets which meant that large-scale expansion of industry was very difficult at that time. Post-independence, the Indian private sector began attempts to expand industries and from Fiscal Year (FY) 1980 to FY 1989, the economy grew at an annual rate of 5.5 per cent or 3.3 per cent on per capita bases. Industry grew at an annual rate of 6.6 per cent and agriculture at a rate of 3.6 per cent.<sup>19</sup>

However, India was faced with foreign competition, especially by the threat of cheaper Chinese imports. India has since handled the change by squeezing costs, revamping management, focusing

on designing new products and relying on low labour costs and technology. Technology has been one of the main cornerstones of India's industrial development. The city of Bangalore is known as the 'Silicon Valley' of India. Over 250 high-tech industries have been set up there including IBM, Intel and HP. These companies are part of India's growing Information Technology (IT) sector. This growing IT sector has spread to most of India's other large cities such as Chennai, Mumbai and Kolkata and in 2009 the IT sector accounted for 5.9 per cent of GDP. Mining and other energy exploits were also been among the main areas which pushed the industrialisation of the country since independence. As such, India has succeeded in achieving autonomy in producing basic and capital products since independence. The productivity included aircrafts, vessels, automobiles, steam engines, heavy electric equipment, construction machinery, chemicals, precision equipment, communication instruments, power generation and transmission tools and electronic goods.

With India's massive population of about 1.2 billion people where every third person was a youth, India is handling the unemployment challenges effectively. According to the World Bank Report 'Working for a World Free from Poverty', by 2012, the unemployment rate in India among the youths was 9.7 per cent which is much less than many other developed and developing countries compared to Zambia's 24.9 per cent. Economists believe that the contribution of India towards the world's GDP was estimated to increase from 6 per cent to 11 per cent by 2025 while on the flip side, the contribution of the United States of America (USA) in the world's GDP was envisaged to decline from 21 per cent to 18 per cent. This indicates the emergence of India as the third biggest global economy after the USA and China. The evaluation was supported by the overall development in all the sectors in India in which the industrial sector was key.<sup>20</sup>

### **Existing Trade between India and Zambia**

In this section, we look at two different investors in Zambia. The Indian government and Indian business men, and women of Indian

origin but do not have Zambian citizenship. We will also look at the bilateral relations between India and Zambia. India has long been Zambia's main trade partner but there is far more in trade now than a simple contract winning partnership. Since gaining her independence, Zambia has looked at India as a marked source of know-how and investment.

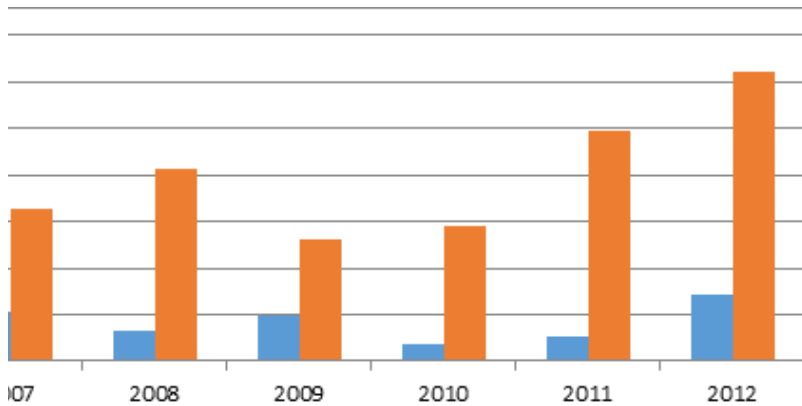
Similarly, by creating a tax free zone for companies based in China that invested in Zambia, the Zambian government aims at creating an exclusive economic zone for Indian companies in order to bring 'value adding' investments to the mining and other industries.

The article briefly examined the export and import patterns between the two nations. Zambia's exports to India mainly consist of copper, pearls, precious stones, cotton, tobacco, copper and cobalt ores.<sup>21</sup> In the period 2008 to 2012, exports depicted a fluctuating trend. In 2008, Zambia's exports to India were valued at US\$32.6 million which increased to US\$49.4 million in 2009 representing an increase of around 24.1 per cent. In 2010, the value of exports experienced a drastic reduction to US\$19.0 million representing a reduction of around 53 per cent mainly attributed to the global financial crisis of 2009. However, exports rebounded to US\$26.2 million in the following year and thereafter, recorded a significant increase to US\$70.6 million in 2012 representing an exponential increase of 170 per cent. The table below illustrates the trends in exports from 2008 to 2012.

**Table 2: Trade Balance for (all Product Goods only)**

		In Thousand of Dollars					
		Years					
	Trade	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
1	Zambia Exports to India	\$ 52,459	\$ 32,226	\$ 49, 409	\$ 19, 023	\$ 26, 173	\$ 70,554
2	Zambia Imports to India	\$ 162,700	\$ 206,776	\$ 130,909	\$ 144,443	\$ 248, 103	\$ 310,000
3	Trade Balance	\$(110,241)	\$(174,550)	\$(81,500)	\$(125,420)	\$(211,930)	\$(239,446)

Source: *International Trade Sector - Tradecom Statistics*

**Figure 4: Exports and Imports****Major Export Products from Zambia to India:**

- (a) Copper ores and concentrates;
- (b) Precious and semi-precious stones metals and coins;
- (c) Wires and articles of refined copper;
- (d) Electrical and electronic conductors;
- (e) Raw hides and skins, leather of bovine and equine animals;
- (f) Ingots, iron or non-alloy steel, of a purity of less than 99.94 per cent iron;
- (g) Commodities not elsewhere specified;
- (h) Rubies, sapphires and emeralds;
- (i) Cotton, not carded or combed;
- (j) Worn clothing and other worn articles;
- (k) Ores or slag; and
- (l) Raw hides and skins (other than fur skins and leather).

Zambia's main imports from India include pharmaceutical products, boilers, machinery and construction machinery, vehicles other than tramway, electrical and electronics equipment, extruders for working rubber or plastics, plastics and articles of plastics, staple fibres, optical, photo and medical apparatus, printed books, inorganic chemicals, isotopes, explosives, pyrotechnics, matches, pryophorics, motor vehicle parts, tools, implements, cutlery and base metal.

Statistics from the International Trade Centre (ITC) indicate that Zambia's imports from India are on a steady increase. In 2008, these amounted to US\$206.7 million although the value reduced to US \$130.9 million in 2009 indicating a reduction of 32 per cent.<sup>22</sup> This reduction was mainly attributed to the global financial crisis of 2009 and 2010. In the following years, Zambia's imports rose from US\$144.4 million in 2010 to US\$ 248.1 million in 2011. Imports continued to rise with figures increasing to US\$310.0 million in 2012, representing an increase of over 25 per cent from the previous year.

### **Eligible Products that can be exported to India as Duty and Quota Free**

Under the Indian market access initiative for Low Developed Countries (LDCs), Zambia is entitled to a tariff preference on exports of all originating products, except those specified in the exclusion list. Between 2002 and 2007, 90 per cent of Zambia's exports to India and 99.8 per cent of Zambia's non-traditional exports to India representing 137 tariff lines was accorded duty-free access to the Indian market under the Duty Free Tariff Preference (DFTP) Scheme. Duty on an additional seven tariff lines was reduced by 50 per cent over a five-year period while thirteen tariff lines were contained on India's exclusion list.

Most importantly, diamonds, precious and semi-precious stones were made eligible for zero-duty tax under India's DFTP Scheme. The most problematic tariff lines on India's exclusion list are copper cathodes and copper wire which represent 10.0 per cent of Zambia's exports to India during this period.

### **Bilateral Agreements<sup>23</sup>**

- (i) On 17 August 2007, India and Zambia successfully concluded a review of the Convention between India and Zambia for **Avoidance of Double Taxation**. The draft agreement was also approved by both sides and was waiting to be signed. However, the government of Zambia has now requested for renegotiation of the draft for Double Taxation Avoidable Agreement (DTAA) on the issue of 'Management and Consultancy Fees'. First

round of negotiations in this regard were held in New Delhi, in India in February, 2013; and

- (ii) The two countries signed an Agreement for Cooperation in Trade and a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for Cooperation in Agriculture on 21 April 2003 during the visit of the Zambian President to India. The two countries signed a Protocol for Institutionalisation of the Annual Foreign Office Consultations during the visit of the Secretary (West), of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) to Zambia on 28 February 2005.

**Duty Free Tariff Preference Scheme (DFTP)** – The Zambian Minister of Commerce, Trade and Industry signed the Letter of Intent to utilise India's Duty Free Tariff Preference Scheme (DFTPS) in May 2010. In April 2012, Zambia was notified as one of the beneficiaries of the scheme and thereafter, the names of the Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA) officials were circulated to Indian Customs authorities for making the scheme operational in Zambia. The scheme grants duty free access (Positive List) on around 85 per cent of India's total tariff lines and preferential access on about 9 per cent of tariff lines. Only 6 per cent of the tariff lines are under the Exclusion List. Duty-free and Positive List covers about 92.5 per cent of global exports of Least Development Countries (LDCs).

According to Krishna, government to government credit and supplier's credit, aid in a specialised manner can be used to promote bilateral and regional relations.<sup>24</sup>

### **Investments in Zambia by Indian Companies**

The first phase of the Konkola Deep Mining Project (KDMP) and the ultramodern Nchanga Smelter of the **Konkola Copper Mines (KCM)** were launched by President Rupiah Banda on 20 April 2010 at Chingola. Konkola Copper Mines(KCM) is a subsidiary of the Vedanta Resources group, a United Kingdom (U.K.) registered Indian owned company, which is a parent company of M/S Sterlite Industries in India). In 2004, M/S Vedanta Resources invested US\$48 million into the Konkola Copper Mines (KCM) to acquire a majority

of the stake. With the launch of these two projects, KCM aims at reaching the target of producing 500,000 tonnes of finished copper per annum by 2013. It has even crossed copper production around 650,000 tonnes per year. Furthermore, their combined investment in Konkola Deep Water Copper Mining Project, a Sulphuric Acid plant and a new Smelter has amounted to US\$2.2 billion. The company's investment is expected to reach US\$ 1 billion in the next three years.

In addition to this, another Indian based company called R.J. Corporation has pledged to invest US\$30 million over a six year period. Phase I of the project involves an investment of US\$15 million to setup a manufacturing plant for producing Pepsi, a carbonated soft drink. In Phase II, the firm intends to construct another plant for manufacturing fruit-based drinks, at a cost of US\$15 million. The then Republican President of Zambia, Mr Rupiah Banda, laid the foundation of the Pepsi manufacturing plant in Lusaka on 17 January 2000 which started its production operations in October 2010.

Messrs Nava Bharat Singapore Limited, a subsidiary of Nava Bharat Ventures Limited. Hyderabad purchased 65 per cent equity shares in Mamba Collieries Limited. The Government of Zambia retains the remaining 35 per cent shares through the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mine Investment Holdings (ZCCM-IH). Nava Bharat was to invest US\$108 million in the recapitalisation of Mamba Collieries and the installation of the new coal handling and washing plant. Nava Bharat also developed a coal fired power plant of a minimum generating capacity of 270 megawatts using the low grade coal of Mamba Collieries.

Taurian Manganese Limited, one of the groups of companies of Dharni Sampada Pvt. limited. based in India, has invested around US\$20 million in 2010 in manganese mining and was planning to invest another US\$300 million into the construction of a Magnesium processing plant in the Serenje district of Central province in Zambia. Upon completion, this would become one of the biggest manganese processing plants in Africa.

Bharti Airtel, an Indian based mobile communications provider launched its new brand Airtel Zambia in November 2010. The brand promised to meet the emerging needs of customers with innovative, affordable and relevant solutions to provide low tariffs and roll out deep connectivity into the rural areas of Zambia in order to bridge the digital divide.

Other major Indian investments include a joint venture, the Indo-Zambia Bank (IZB), where 60 per cent of equity is held by three Indian public sector banks (which are the Bank of India, the Bank of Baroda and the Central Bank of India, and the remaining 40 per cent by the Zambian government

The EXIM Bank of India has 34 per cent shares in the Development Bank of Zambia (DBZ) after a debt settlement agreement with the government of Zambia which owed US\$18.8 million to the EXIM Bank. Out of the US\$18.8 million, US\$9.4 million was written off, US\$8 million was paid by the government of Zambia in six instalments to the EXIM Bank and US\$1.4 million was invested into Development Bank of Zambia(DBZ) into which the EXIM Bank was given 34 per cent shares of equity. The bank's equity now stands at 20 per cent due to an increase in the equity subscribed or paid up by other institutions.

### **Investments by the TATA group of Companies**

- (a) TATA invested about US\$8 million in the renovation of the five-star hotel Taj Pamodzi hotel, which is being managed by the Taj group of hotels;
- (b) In October 2006, TATA set up a vehicle and a bicycle assembly plant in Ndola, with investments of around US\$ 10 million;
- (c) The Zambia Electricity Supply Company (ZESCO) and TATA Africa Holdings have formed a joint venture company called the Itezhi Tezhi Power Corporation Limited (ITPC) to carry out hydro power project worth US\$230 million. India has provided a Line of Credit (LOC) worth US\$ 50 million to the government of Zambia for this purpose;
- (d) TATA is also collaborating with the Copperbelt Energy Corporation (CEC) for a 36 MW power producing project in the Copperbelt Province of Zambia; and

- (e) TATA acquired a leather tannery in Kabwe from the Zambia Development Agency (ZDA) in February 2009 for US\$1.164 million.

### **Latest Developments**

On 3 July 2013, the Zambian government awarded tenders to three Indian companies to construct 650 rural health posts. The Minister of Health, Dr Joseph Kasonde, revealed at the signing ceremony in Lusaka that the project involved the construction of pre-fabricated structures. He revealed that the three firms would also install essential medical equipment in the health posts. The tenders have been awarded to Jaguar Overseas to construct the health posts on the Copperbelt and Eastern provinces at a total cost of US\$19.5 million. Another Indian based company, Angelique Limited won the tender to construct rural health posts in North-Western, Northern, Muchinga and Luapula provinces of Zambia, at a total cost of US\$18.1 million. The Indian based firm, Megha Medical Centre, was to work on the health posts in Western, Southern and Lusaka provinces at a cost of US\$ 18.4 million. Earlier, the Zambian government acquired a credit line of K260 billion from EXIM Bank of India for the construction of 650 rural health posts across the country.

An indigenous company of India, NRB Pharma Zambia Limited, applied to invest in the Lusaka South Multi Facility Economic Zone. The application was to develop a pharmaceutical manufacturing plant on a 32,509 square metre land at the cost of US\$ 10 million. The factory intends to produce tablets and capsules, and will create 110 new job opportunities. The application for this was received in January 2013, and it was one of the projects that had expressed unsolicited interest through the ZDA to invest in the Lusaka South MFEZ. It was handed over to LS MFEZ Limited at the company's inception. The project has been scrutinised by ZDA and was approved by the board, subject to management concluding technical consultations with NRB and other stakeholders. The technical discussions for this involved the following:

- (1) Lease agreement
- (2) Technical drawings
- (3) Implementation plan
- (4) Financial Matters

The management recommended the application to invest in the Lusaka South Multi Facility Economic Zone on the ground that:

- (1) The project was to contribute US\$ 10 million in investments in Zambia.
- (2) The project was to contribute to growth of manufacturing sector in Zambia.
- (3) The project was to provide additional 100 direct job opportunities for Zambians.
- (4) The project was to provide indirect job opportunities.
- (5) The project was to provide an opportunity for technology transfer, as they would bring in state-of-the-art equipment and employ a manufacturing process approved by some of the highest standards auditors.
- (6) The project was to be the first World Health Organisation (WHO) certified pharmaceutical plant in Zambia and the region.

### **The Indian Community and the People of Indian Origin (PIO)**

There are around 13,000 Indian people of Indian Origins (PIOs) representing a 0.1 per cent of the population in Zambia. Most of them have taken local or British nationalities and are working in the trade sector. There has been a visible growth in the number of Indian professionals especially in Indian owned enterprises. Zambians of Indian origin play a significant role in Zambia's economy, especially in trade, industry, the hospitality and transport sectors.

Many people of Indian origin, who settled in Zambia many years ago, adopted the Zambian nationality and have invested in the mining of precious stones, agriculture, horticulture and the chemical industry. On 11 March 2009 a US\$10 million mobile phone assembly plant was inaugurated in Lusaka belonging to the Melcom Group, a company owned by a Zambian of Indian origin. This investment was under Japan's 'Triangle of Hope' initiative, which promoted the economic development of third world countries.

Trade Kings Zambia Ptv. Limited. Manufacture's, a leading confectionery beverage and detergents company, has captured market in neighbouring countries like in Malawi, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Congo and South Africa. The company was founded in 1992 and is based in Lusaka, Zambia. This company is owned by

Zambian Indians who invested over US\$125 million and set up the first ever integrated steel plant the country located in Kafue town.

### **Recent Development of the Iron and Steel Sector in Zambia**

Zambia has experienced a dynamic development in steelmaking over the last five years. In 2008, a company called Good Time Steel was set-up by investors from China. This is the first major steelmaking company in Zambia and started its operation by supplying steel bars.

In addition, Trade Kings Ltd constructed the largest steel mill in Zambia, the Universal Mining and Chemical Industries Limited (UMCIL). At the steel mill plant, Trade Kings Ltd installed the first electric furnace for steel making and operations commenced in 2008. Using steel scrap available from the domestic market as raw material, the company expands production and exports steel products to the regional markets. Until then, steel production was limited to providing mill balls and spare parts for the mining companies on the Copperbelt.

Because of the active copper mining in Zambia, cast iron makers are largely clustered in the Copperbelt. After the adoption of the economic liberalisation policy in 1991, the country faced a lot of stiff competition from imported products from South Africa, China and India. This affected the share of mill ball supply which fell to a third of the total consumption in 2011. In order to survive, these companies, UMCIL, are either upgrading the quality of products, like forged mill balls, or are relying less on mill ball production by capturing new demands that are emerging from the mining and other sectors.

### **Why Invest in the Iron and Steel Sector?**

The main reasons to invest in the Zambian Iron and Steel sector were identified to be:

- (1) growing domestic and regional demand for steel products;
- (2) to develop under-developed sectors with a high growth potential;
- (3) abundant resources of iron ore and coal;
- (4) preferential market access to wide markets;
- (5) favourable business environment; and
- (6) attractive incentives.

### Sugar Production by PIOs

The Kafue Sugar Company commenced sugar production with a view to help cushion the impact of sugar shortage that has hit the country. The company's Managing Director disclosed that the company was since expected to increase production of sugar to over 40,000 metric tonnes from 28,000 metric tonnes following the receipt of new machinery. He further disclosed that Kafue Sugar Company would spend an estimated US\$8 million on the expansion programmes of the plant which would enhance the competitiveness of Kafue Sugar on the market.

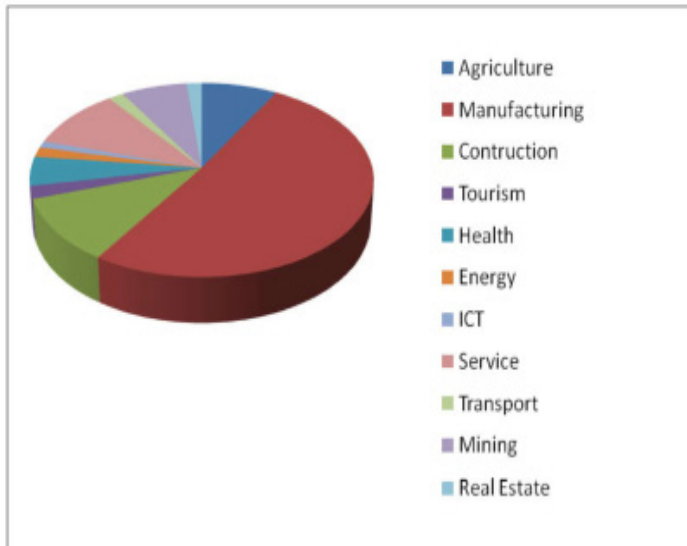
### Investment and Employment Created by the Indian Companies:

According to ZDA, 186 Indian companies were engaged in different business sectors in Zambia. The Table below shows the distribution of this company by sectors.

**Table 3: Indian Companies in Zambia**

	Sector	Number of Companies
1	Agriculture	15
2	Construction	20
3	Health	9
4	Energy	3
5	ICT	2
6	Manufacturing	95
7	Service	19
8	Transport	3
9	Tourism	4
10	Mining	13
11	Real state	3
12	<b>Total</b>	<b>186</b>

Source: The Zambia Development Agency, 2013

**Figure 5**

### Conclusion and Recommendations

The article investigated the Zambia's abundant mineral resources, manpower and arable land which lacks industries and needs support from foreign countries including India. Investment from India has existed in Zambia for a long time and since in the recent past has also been increasing significantly amounting to over US\$3.4 billion thereby creating more than 19,000 jobs in the last five years. Besides that, PIO investments cannot be ignored. According to the Zambia Development Agency (ZDA) record, due to the PIOs' investment, more than 5000 jobs have been created. India contributes to Zambia's industrialisation through its private and public sectors.

India and Zambia are involved in trade but still they need to promote equal benefit. Export from Zambia to India needs to be promoted to justify a win-win situation. The Indian government to be more involved in the process of transfer of technology from India and industrialisation of Zambia. Additionally, it has been felt

by both governments that there is still a lot of room for increasing cooperation in the field of trade and various other economic activities which could be of great help to overcome economic stagnations that can break through the vicious cycle of poverty-underdevelopment-poverty too.

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# **Predictors of Divorce among Women of Reproductive Age in Zambia: Evidence from the 2013 to 2014 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey**

by  
Chabila Christopher Mapoma

## **Introduction**

The institution of ‘marriage’ is hinged on love and romance. Marriage is perceived to be a family and societal stabiliser and generally, a source of happiness. However, the institution is not devoid of problems and where death is the definite separator of love and romance, several times divorce is almost equivalent. The article attempts to adduce scientific evidence on socio-economic and demographic predictors of divorce in Zambia.

Divorce is a worldwide problem. Approximately, one-half of all first marriages end in separation or divorce (Bramlett & Mosher, 2002; Castro Martin & Bumpass, 1989; Rogers, 2004), with even higher rates of divorce for second marriages (Cherlin, 1992; Glick, 1984). Divorce is often preceded by separation, as 75 per cent of separations eventually result in divorce (Bloom, Hodges, Caldwell, Systra, & Cedrone, 1977). Although divorce rates have been declining since the early 1980s, especially in developed countries and marriages, have become more stable in recent years (Heaton, 2002), divorce continues to rise in many African countries.

## **Theoretical and Conceptual Orientations of Divorce**

According to Amy *et al.*, (2014), there are three theoretical orientations that have laid the foundation for much of the research on divorce (Huston, Caughlin, Houts, Smith, & George, 2001 for three alternative models). These include Social Exchange Theory, Behavioural Theory and the Crisis Theory.

As observed by Amy *et al.*, (2014) and evolved from Thibaut and Kelley’s (1959) interdependence theory, social exchange theory was first applied to the marital relationship by Levinger (1965). Interdependence theory emphasises the dependence of each spouse

upon the marital relationship, and the ability of that relationship to fulfil individual needs.

Kurdek (1993) hypothesised that couples in which one or both partners exhibited low levels of relationship dependence would be at higher risk for divorce. Lewis *et al.*, (1982) also suggested with further elaboration that marriages may be satisfied and stable, satisfied yet unstable, unsatisfied and unstable, or unsatisfied yet stable. Marital satisfaction is thought to be influenced by the attractiveness of the relationship whereas the barriers to leaving and attractive alternatives impact marital stability. For example, a satisfied unstable relationship consists of a suitable level of attractions yet the barriers are low and there are attractive alternatives. This discourse suggests that marriage stability is based on perceived social benefits. And once these benefits are tempered with or are seen not to accrue, divorce is imminent.

On the other hand, the Behavioural Theory posits other challenges that may result in divorce. Karney and Bradbury (1995) noted that behavioural theory differed from the intrapersonal focus of social exchange theory which emphasised individual perceptions of attractions and alternatives. In contrast, behavioural theory adopts an interpersonal stance which asserts that marital satisfaction is related to the exchange of overt behaviours between partners. The underlying premise is that the exchange of positive rewarding behaviours enhances marital satisfaction whereas negative punishing behavioural exchanges decrease marital satisfaction (Fincham & Beach, 2003; Heyman, 1995). This perspective focused on behaviours occurring in the context of problem-solving in which distressed couples appear more likely to engage in negative behaviours than non-distressed partners. While there is a general agreement on the role of the behavioural model on divorce, there have been additions for considerations. For example, Bradbury and Fincham (1990) have elaborated on the link between behaviours and satisfaction by considering attributions partners make regarding overt behaviours. Bradbury and Fincham (1991) further suggest that if the behaviour of one's spouse appears to be low in negativity, unexpectedness and self-relevance, the individual will produce subsequent behaviour in the absence of additional processing.

However, perceptions of high negativity, unexpectedness and self-relevance will lead to attributions regarding the specific behaviour, examples of which include the intentionality of the behaviour and the positive versus negative intent of the individual.

Lastly and not the least considered theory espoused by Amy *et al.*, (2014) is the Crisis Theory which originated from Hill's (1949) explanations of how families react to stressful events and has since been used in relation to marital outcomes. Hill proposed the ABCX model, which states that families have differing levels of resources (B) when dealing with stressful events (A) which are likely to be defined differently as a function of the familial context (C). According to Hill, the nature and outcome of the crisis (X) is determined by whether the available resources of the family (B) are adequate for the stressful event (A) as defined by the family (C). When related to the marital relationship, satisfaction and stability are a result of a couple's ability to recover from crises. This theory was also amplified further by McCubbin and Patterson (1982) who stated that crisis responding is unlikely to be a static process and posit that variables subsequent to the crisis are important to consider in understanding marital satisfaction and stability. Therefore, they propose that variable A extends beyond the initial stressor to include everyday occurrences unrelated to the stressor, in addition to stressors which develop as a result of dealing with the original stressor. Similarly, the level of available resources (B) consists of not only the resources present at the start of the conflict but also those developed through the course of dealing with the stressful event. And finally, the perception of the stressor or event is extended to include the perception of what this crisis situation means to each individual family member post-crisis. This perspective recognises that the variables associated with marital satisfaction and stability in relation to crises or stressors are ever changing and admits to their importance in the revision of the ABCX model.

Going by these revelations, it is suitable to claim that each of these theories seems to suggest different predictors of divorce. And going by what Amy (2014) suggests, each perspective alone, is insufficient since marital satisfaction or dissatisfaction and stability/instability may be predicted from a variety of factors.

Notwithstanding the above, modern marriages are dissolved based on similar but, in some cases, different perspectives. Modern marriages are exposed to a different set of challenges whose context also include human, gender and other rights and the emphasis of self-determination. A modern marriage seems to be enlightened and women are more liberated than ever and make decisions on how a marriage gets dissolved or sustained.

Within the context of dissolution of marriages, previous research has highlighted specific components of a socio-demographic and economic nature further amplifying how and why marriages end in divorce. Clarke and Berrington (2003) suggest that there are three socio-demographic and economic variables that influence divorce such as characteristics of the individual's parents, marital factors like the demographic factors associated with the couples' partnership history and childbearing experience and the individual's own socio-economic characteristics. In their deliberation, Clarke and Berrington suggest that socio-demographic factors can affect the risk of marital dissolution through their impact on (a) interpersonal behaviour; and (b) the couple's attitudes towards divorce. However, they point out that there are variations in the cause and effect of marriage dissolutions. In the final analysis, research found out that divorce was more of a function of demographic factors than socio-economic predictors.

The conclusion proposed by Murphy (1985) seems to hold up to today. He states that for marital breakdown, the answer seems to lie within us and not our social class. Seemingly, it is those factors that are more volitional such as the timing and sequence of marriage and family formation, which are most important in predicting marital dissolution. Forming a partnership at an early age, cohabiting and experiencing parental divorce are all associated with a higher risk of marital dissolution. These demographic factors may reflect other yet unmeasured differences in individuals' behavioural or psychological factors and attitudes towards marriage and divorce.

Questions to reflect on may take the following forms: Can reviews highlighted above picture divorce in Zambia? And can the socio-economic as well as demographic characteristics explain or predict the occurrence of divorce in Zambia? These questions have

no definite answer currently and this article, therefore, focused on attempting to provide some solutions.

Currently, Zambia does not have any study or studies that attempted to detail the prevalence and trends in divorce; better still, no study has been initiated to structure divorce within the context of probable predictors apart from merely speculated approaches. Some of the issues that have been cited as being reasons for divorce are farfetched and hard to prove. For example, adultery or unfaithfulness in a marital union, interference from families, especially in-laws and other culturally related reasons seem to drive divorce in Zambia. Frankly, therefore, there is a knowledge gap on the real or at least close associates or predictors of divorce in the Zambian context. It was, therefore, the intent of this study to delve into the investigation of divorce among women of reproductive age in Zambia by using data generated from the 2013-2014 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS).

## **Methods**

### **Data**

Based on Zambia Demographic and Health Survey of 2013 to 2014, individual recode or Woman dataset, a two-stage stratified cluster sample design, with EAs (or clusters) selected during the first stage and households selected during the second stage was used. In the first stage, 722 EAs (305 in urban areas and 417 in rural areas) were selected with probability proportional to size. Zambia is administratively divided into ten provinces namely; Central, Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula, Lusaka, Muchinga, Northern, North-Western, Southern and Western. Stratification was achieved by separating each province into urban and rural areas. As a result, the ten provinces were stratified into twenty sampling strata. In the second stage, a complete list of households served as the sampling frame. An average of twenty-five households were selected in each EA. It was during the second stage of selection that a representative sample of 18,052 households was selected.

The ZDHS uses extensive interviewer training, standardised measurement tools and techniques, an identical core questionnaire and instrument pretesting to ensure standardisation and comparability

across diverse sites and time (Rahman M. *et al.*, 2013). Trained data collectors performed face-to-face interviews with all eligible women aged 15 to 49 years old. Out of the 18,052 households selected, 17,064 women were eligible and a total of 16,411 were interviewed achieving a response rate of 96.2 per cent. The high response rate for the 2013 to 2014 ZDHS was attributed to the rigorous training of field staff and close supervision of field work. During field work, numerous efforts were made to achieve high response rates to maintain high motivation with respondents; probing for responses; clarifying ambiguous questions; performing multiple visits to the households among other efforts (Rahman M. *et al.*, 2013).

For the referent dataset, women of reproductive age 15 to 49 years old, in the selected households, were interviewed using a woman questionnaire. The questionnaire included several variables detailing individual bio-demographic aspects, household characteristics, history of marital unions and births. These variables were manipulated to produce both the outcome and predictor variables. The final sample included in the analysis was a total of 13,111 collated from respondents who were never in union, married, living with a partner, widowed and divorced.

### **Outcome: Divorce Status**

At data collection, all women interviewed stated their current marital status. The response to this question is a multi-categorical variable of four varieties: 0-never in union, 1-married, 2-living with partner, 3-widowed, and 4-divorced including separated and others (Pazvakawambwa *et al.*, 2013). In order to measure the outcome using binary logistics, a binary outcome variable called Divorce status was created and coded: 1 if divorced versus 0 if never divorced.

### **Background and Predictor Variables**

A number of socio-demographic characteristics were used throughout the analysis process to reflect background variables. These included the age of the respondent, education status and residence (rural or urban). Demographic predictors (original and generated) included age at marriage, age at first birth and whether or not one had ever

been in union once or more than once. On the socio-economic front, religion, working status, occupation and wealth quintile were selected. The selection of these variables was guided by previous research on divorce or literature referenced in previous sections.

## Analysis

Using Strata 13.0 (Stata Corp., College Station, TX, USA) bivariate analysis were performed to situate and estimate descriptive relations between the outcome variable (divorce status) and background as well as predictor or explanatory variables. Logistic regression models were fitted to the data to model associations between divorce status and dimensions of background characteristics on one hand and, between divorce status and identified predictors of divorce on the other. By adding one explanatory variable after another, it was possible to check how each addition affected the outcome in relation to other variables. In order to check for multi-colinearity among independent variables in the logistic regression, standard errors were examined to observe whether or not they exceeded 2.0 (Chan, 2004). However, in this study, all independent variables in all adjusted models had a standard error of  $<2.0$ , indicating an absence of multi-colinearity. Odds ratios (ORs) were estimated to assess the strength of the associations and a 95 per cent confident level and interval (CIs) and a p-value of less than 0.05 were used for significance testing (Tabachnick B.G *et al.*, 1996). Due to the complex multistage sampling designs employed in DHS methodologies, a weight variable was calculated to take stock of this complexity and also to reflect variations in the population as closely as possible.

## Results

Table 1 below shows the sample characteristics while Table 1.1 shows the bivariate relationships between divorce status and all predictors of divorce with Chi2 p-values. In this sample, about one in ten women representing 9.8 per cent were classified as divorced. The smallest number of respondents in the sample ranged from 45 to 49 years old representing 7 per cent with over half of the respondents having attained primary level education at 50 per cent. There were

also more respondents from the rural areas representing 56 per cent and also from Lusaka province at 19 per cent comparatively. In Table 2, results show that there is a relationship between specific background information (predictors) and divorce. However, Chi2 results in Table 2 also show that residence ( $p=0.266$ ), age at marriage ( $p=0.073$ ), age at cohabitation ( $p=0.132$ ), number of unions ( $p=0.111$ ) as well as religion ( $p=0.184$ ) are not statistically related to divorce experience.

**Table 1: Sample Characteristics**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Sample</b>
<b>Marital status</b>		
Not-Divorced	90.2	11714
Divorced	9.8	1273
<b>Age in 5-year groups</b>		
15-19	13.3	1732
20-24	19.5	2532
25-29	19.4	2516
30-34	17.2	2233
35-39	13.7	1782
40-44	10	1299
45-49	6.9	893
<b>Highest educational level</b>		
No education	9.3	1202
Primary	49.5	6420
Secondary	36	4666
Higher	5.3	688
<b>Province</b>		
Central	8.8	1140
Copperbelt	15.8	2048
Eastern	11.8	1535
Luapula	7.1	919
Lusaka	18.8	2442

Muchinga	5.4	699
Northern	7.7	996
North western	4.7	604
Southern	13.3	1721
Western	6.8	883
<b>Residence</b>		
Urban	43.9	5698
Rural	56.1	7288
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>12987</b>

**Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Divorce by Predictors of Divorce**

Variables/Chi2 value	Not Divorced		Divorced		N	p-values
	%	CI	%	CI		
<b>Age in 5-year groups</b>						
15-19	96.7	[95.3,97.6]	3.3	[2.4,4.7]	1732	0.000
20-24	92.4	[91.1,93.5]	7.6	[6.5,8.9]	2532	
25-29	89.6	[88.0,91.1]	10.4	[8.9,12.0]	2516	
30-34	88.0	[86.1,89.7]	12	[10.3,13.9]	2233	
35-39	87.8	[86.0,89.3]	12.2	[10.7,14.0]	1782	
40-44	88.8	[86.7,90.6]	11.2	[9.4,13.3]	1299	
45-49	85.7	[82.5,88.4]	14.3	[11.6,17.5]	893	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(6) = 145.8881						
<b>Highest educational level</b>						
No education	88.2	[86.1,90.1]	11.8	[9.9,13.9]	1202	0.001
Primary	89.7	[88.8,90.6]	10.3	[9.4,11.2]	6420	
Secondary	90.8	[89.7,91.7]	9.2	[8.3,10.3]	4666	
Higher	94.3	[91.9,95.9]	5.7	[4.1,8.1]	688	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(3) = 21.4844						

<b>Province</b>						
Central	90.9	[88.9,92.6]	9.1	[7.4,11.1]	1140	0.03
Copperbelt	90.5	[88.6,92.2]	9.5	[7.8,11.4]	2048	
Eastern	90.4	[88.5,92.0]	9.6	[8.0,11.5]	1535	
Luapula	86.9	[84.6,88.9]	13.1	[11.1,15.4]	919	
Lusaka	89.7	[87.8,91.4]	10.3	[8.6,12.2]	2442	
Muchinga	90.3	[87.8,92.3]	9.7	[7.7,12.2]	699	
Northern	90.4	[88.1,92.4]	9.6	[7.6,11.9]	996	
North western	89.1	[86.6,91.1]	10.9	[8.9,13.4]	604	
Southern	92.5	[90.7,93.9]	7.5	[6.1,9.3]	1721	
Western	89.0	[86.6,91.1]	11	[8.9,13.4]	883	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(9) = 25.7085						
<b>Residence</b>						
Urban	89.8	[88.7,90.8]	10.2	[9.2,11.3]	5698	0.266
Rural	90.5	[89.7,91.3]	9.5	[8.7,10.3]	7288	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(1) = 1.9602						
<b>Age at first Marriage</b>						
Young	88.9	[87.2,90.4]	11.1	[9.6,12.8]	2075	0.073
Middle	90.4	[89.7,91.0]	9.6	[9.0,10.3]	10705	
Older	93.8	[88.7,96.7]	6.2	[3.3,11.3]	207	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(2) = 7.2911						

Source : Author

**Table 2.1: Percentage Distribution of Divorce by Predictors of Divorce (Continuation)**

<b>Age at first cohabitation</b>						
Young	86.4	[83.8,88.6]	13.6	[11.4,16.2]	1048	0.132
Middle	88.4	[87.5,89.2]	11.6	[10.8,12.5]	8945	
Older	86.4	[83.1,89.2]	13.6	[10.8,16.9]	675	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(2) = 5.3268						

<b>Age of respondent at 1st birth</b>						
Young	84.8	[79.9,88.7]	15.2	[11.3,20.1]	347	0.052
Middle	89.1	[88.4,89.9]	10.9	[10.1,11.6]	10247	
Older	90.2	[87.3,92.5]	9.8	[7.5,12.7]	648	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(2) = 7.4079						
<b>Number of unions</b>						
Once	88.4	[87.5,89.2]	11.6	[10.8,12.5]	8743	0.111
More than once	86.7	[84.7,88.5]	13.3	[11.5,15.3]	1913	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(1) = 3.8548						
<b>Religion</b>						
Catholic	90.3	[88.8,91.7]	9.7	[8.3,11.2]	2300	0.184
Protestant	90.1	[89.4,90.8]	9.9	[9.2,10.6]	10501	
Muslim	97.5	[92.0,99.2]	2.5	[0.8,8.0]	79	
Other	88.2	[79.1,93.6]	11.8	[6.4,20.9]	76	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(3) = 5.1855						
<b>Currently working status</b>						
No	92.9	[91.9,93.7]	7.1	[6.3,8.1]	5929	0.000
Yes	87.9	[87.0,88.8]	12.1	[11.2,13.0]	6993	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(1) = 89.2228						
<b>Occupation</b>						
No occupation	93.2	[92.2,94.0]	6.8	[6.0,7.8]	5543	0.000
Professional/ technical/ managerial	91.3	[87.4,94.0]	8.7	[6.0,12.6]	428	
Clerical	81.3	[71.6,88.2]	18.7	[11.8,28.4]	93	
Sales	85.6	[84.0,87.0]	14.4	[13.0,16.0]	2680	

Agricultural - self employed	91.4	[89.3,93.0]	8.6	[7.0,10.7]	1045	
Agricultural - employee	89.2	[87.7,90.5]	10.8	[9.5,12.3]	2501	
Services	84.2	[78.6,88.6]	15.8	[11.4,21.4]	305	
Skilled manual	91.5	[84.1,95.6]	8.5	[4.4,15.9]	163	
Other	86.3	[79.0,91.3]	13.7	[8.7,21.0]	194	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(8) = 149.4798						
<b>Wealth index</b>						
Poor	88.9	[87.8,89.9]	11.1	[10.1,12.2]	4826	0.001
Middle	89.6	[88.2,90.8]	10.4	[9.2,11.8]	2515	
Rich	91.6	[90.5,92.6]	8.4	[7.4,9.5]	5645	
Pearson: Uncorrected chi2(2) = 22.9352						
<b>Total</b>	<b>90.2</b>	<b>[89.5,90.8]</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>[9.2,10.5]</b>	<b>12987</b>	

Source : Author

### Multivariate Results: Predictors of Divorce

Table 2 is a logistic regression output showing the relationship between divorce status and socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Divorce is prominent for all ages of women and results further suggest that divorce is higher with age. A woman aged 45 to 49 years old was almost twice as likely to divorce (AOR 1.8) compared to the reference age group of 15 to 19 years (AOR 1). These results also suggest that the age group of 45 to 49 years old is a definite predictor of divorce since this relationship is statistically significant.

The outcome between divorce, level of education, province and residence had varying results. While the odds of divorce occurrence is lower for women with higher education compared to other levels of education, results in Table 3 suggest that higher education had a protective effect on divorce (AOR 0.5,  $p=0.05$ ). In the same way, being a member of a rural residence had also a protective effect against (AOR 0.6,  $p=0.001$ ). Age at marriage, age at first cohabitation

and age at respondent's first birth experience did not predict divorce in this situation. The religion of a woman, especially Islam had a protective effect against divorce (AOR 0.3,  $p=0.05$ ).

**Table 3: Logistics Regression Output: Divorce Status and Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics**

	<b>Divorce Status</b>	<b>95%</b>
<b>Variables</b>	<b>Coeff</b>	<b>CI</b>
<b>Age in 5-year groups</b>		
15-19	1	
20-24	1.3	0.9 - 2.0
25-29	1.4	0.9 - 2.1
30-34	1.4	0.9 - 2.3
35-39	1.4	0.9 - 2.3
40-44	1.3	0.8 - 2.0
45-49	1.8*	1.1 - 2.9
<b>Highest educational level</b>		
No education	1	
Primary	0.9	0.8 - 1.2
Secondary	1.3	1.0 - 1.7
Higher	0.5*	0.2 - 0.9
<b>Province</b>		
Central	1	
Copperbelt	1.2	0.8 - 1.6
Eastern	1.1	0.8 - 1.6
Luapula	1.4*	1.0 - 1.9
Lusaka	1.3	0.9 - 1.8
Muchinga	1.0	0.7 - 1.4
Northern	0.9	0.7 - 1.3
North western	1.3	0.9 - 1.9
Southern	0.9	0.6 - 1.2
Western	1.4	1.0 - 2.0

<b>Residence</b>		
Urban	1	
Rural	0.6***	0.5 - 0.7
<b>Age at first Marriage</b>		
Young	1	
Middle	0.9	0.7 - 1.2
Older	0.9	0.4 - 1.9
<b>Age at first cohabitation</b>		
Young	1	
Middle	0.9	0.7 - 1.3
Older	1.3	0.8 - 1.9

Source : Author

**Table 3.1: Logistics Regression output: Divorce Status and Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics (Continuation)**

<b>Age of respondent at 1st birth</b>		
Young	1	
Middle	0.8	0.5 - 1.2
Older	0.6	0.3 - 1.0
<b>Number of unions</b>		
Once	1	
More than once	1.1	0.9 - 1.3
<b>Religion</b>		
Catholic	1	
Protestant	1.0	0.9 - 1.3
Muslim	0.3*	0.1 - 1.0
Other	1.0	0.5 - 2.0
<b>Currently working status</b>		
No	1	
Yes	1.0	0.7 - 1.4

<b>Occupation</b>		
Not working	1	
Professional/technical/managerial	3.3**	1.6 - 6.7
Clerical	8.5***	3.9 - 18.5
Sales	2.0***	1.3 - 3.0
Agricultural - self employed	1.0	0.7 - 1.6
Agricultural - employee	1.3	0.9 - 1.9
Services	3.0***	1.8 - 5.1
Skilled manual	1.1	0.5 - 2.5
Other	2.0*	1.0 - 3.9
<b>Wealth index</b>		
Poor	1	
Middle	0.7**	0.6 - 0.9
Rich	0.4***	0.3 - 0.5
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05		

Source : Author

Important determinants of divorce highly studied in marriage and divorce literature amongst women of reproductive age are their employment status, their occupation and their wealth status

Employed women are more independent; women with a higher wealth value can support themselves and, therefore, are more likely to experience divorce compared to those who depend and rely on their partners for economic and social support. However, results in Table 3.1 suggest that wealthy women are less likely to divorce compared to the poor.

There seems to be no relationship between divorce and current work status of a woman. The type of occupation women reported to be in was a significant determinant of divorce in Zambia, except for agricultural related or those with a skilled manual occupation. Women whose occupation was clerical were highly likely to divorce (AOR 8.5, p=0.001) compared to those with no occupation (reference group).

## **Discussion**

This article was inspired by two propositions. Firstly, being an article that appeared in '*Lusaka Times*' which alleged that divorce cases were on the rise in Zambia. Secondly, the fact that there is no known record on the subject of divorce either from sociology, psychology or even philosophy scholars in Zambia. However, searching the University of Zambia Library and other sources, aspects of divorce were written on Zambia but only to the extent of law and associated legal 'jargons'. This revelation made it possible to delve into the subject in order to interrogate divorce from the socio-demographic and economic predictors. The mere assertion that divorce is on the increase does not warrant further debate other than speculation. The starting point to the debate meant highlighting whether there were any socio-economic or indeed demographic predictors of divorce. At the beginning of this article, substantial literature review pointed to the fact that divorce is a social phenomenon experienced throughout the world. Divorce is also sparked or predicted by specific socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Indeed, the subject is wide and so much has been written to detail why and how it occurred. Based on the fundamentals of prediction, this article aimed at interrogating the broad range of characteristics inherent in the socio-economic and demographic experiences that may influence the outcome of divorce in women of reproductive age using data generated through a population-based survey.

Among socio-demographic predictors, the age of a woman, especially older women is highly significant ( $p=0.05$ ) in affecting the outcome of divorce. Although all married people, irrespective of their age, are exposed to the risk, the older one is, the more likely they are to divorce. Older women are more experienced in matters of marriage and more likely to determine their own courses in life. They may also be desirous of being independent. However, studies elsewhere seem to suggest that the fewer risk of divorce the longer people stay in the union. Divorce in later life is more a result of changes and life events that have affected the relationship. Indeed, individuals who divorce after long-term marriages tend to blame infidelity, growing apart, and problems with family cohesiveness

(Amato & Previti, 2003; Kitson, 1992), whereas those in short-term marriages cite personality clashes and basic incompatibility. In the same breadth, whereas divorce is not a function of age at marriage in Zambia, studies seem to indicate the opposite. Bumpass *et al.*, (1991) found that age at marriage is one of the strongest predictors of divorce within the early years of marriage. In Zambia, however, age at which a person had their first birth is a probable cause of divorce than the age at marriage.

It is a well-known fact that education predicts a number of social outcomes and divorce is also in this bracket. While primary and secondary level education in women do have some fundamental effects, higher education in this study was more protective, a result contrary to other studies. In 2002, Orbuch *et al.*, found out that the level of education predicted divorce for African-American and Caucasian wives. In the same study, no association between education and divorce was found among African-American husbands.

The extension of educational achievement and the role it plays in divorce cannot be ruled in isolation. Apparently, the paradox is the link between education on one side and employment, occupation and wealth on the other. Education is mostly a known avenue to some destination. In this paper, the occupation of women and those classified either as 'middle' or 'rich' by wealth quintile were less likely to divorce compared to other women, contrary to other studies on divorce. It is important to note that the web of divorce is by many reasons linked to education; since education is simply a means to an end. The extension in this respect also compounds social engagements such as marriage which may appeal to women of humble education, no occupation and most probably poor. However, results in this article are counteracting established literature where the more educated, the wealthier and those in urban areas are more likely to divorce compared to other groups. Ideally, poor women see marriage as a 'saviour' and even when it 'hurts' they decide to stay rather than leave; in this study, it is the wealthy that stays. On the other hand, educated, career and rich women may desire marriage for union-ship based on mutual respect and independence. Once these fundamentals are not feasible, divorce becomes the best option. Notwithstanding these assertions, results in this paper

suggest otherwise; meaning, therefore, that fundamental predictors of divorce as known all over the world are not as applicable to Zambia as they apply to other fronts and spaces.

## Conclusion

To study divorce and the underlying factors in totality, perhaps one cross-sectional study (ZDHS) may not provide detailed appreciation of why and why not divorce is on the increase; or indeed whether the selected predictors suffice. However, what Army *et al.*, proposed may suffice. ‘They are given in addition to the above suggestions it is important to obtain subjective accounts of the possible precursors to divorce from the divorced individuals and come up with research on what people (women) expect when they enter a marriage as this may engender future marital stability’.

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