

THE ROLE OF MISSIONARIES IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ZAMBIAN RELIGIOUS
EDUCATION CURRICULUM

BY

CHITA, JOSEPH

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Declaration

I **Chita, Joseph** hereby declare that the work herein is my own, and that all the works of other persons used have been duly acknowledged, and that the work has not been presented at the University or indeed another institution for similar purposes.

Signature:.....

Date:.....

Approval

This dissertation has been approved as a partial fulfilment of the requirement of the award of the degree of Masters of Education in Religious Studies (MEd.RS) of the University of Zambia.

Examiners' signatures:

Signature:.....

Date:.....

Signature:.....

Date:.....

Signature:.....

Date:.....

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Abstract

This study investigated the role of missionaries in the curriculum development of Religious Education (RE) in Zambia. The main interest of the study was to explore the missionaries' [incredible] investment in terms of personnel and material resources in the development of the RE curriculum.

The objectives of the study included retracing the role played by the missionaries in developing RE curriculum and exploring the factors which influenced the Zambian RE curriculum development process.

In order to trace missionaries' involvement in RE curriculum development, a historical case study approach was found useful, as the study was qualitative. This method was complemented by document analysis with intent to ascertain factors that influenced RE curriculum development. However, plans to use in - depth interviews with missionaries and other educationists who I thought were knowledgeable on the topic proved a challenge. Therefore, the available respondents were subjected to lengthy interviews (narrative).

Data was analysed by categorising and extracting emerging themes from the raw data. It was supplemented by content analysis. The study established that missionaries assumed strategic and influential positions in the management and administration of education in the country thus making them advance their interests during the curriculum development of the subject. In addition, missionaries' financial capacity to further their missionary work in the territory was significant in shaping the educational enterprise as a whole and the nature of RE in particular.

An understanding of the theological background to missionary endeavour in education is a factor in interpreting missionaries' 'biased' contribution to curriculum innovations that only affected RE. It is for this reason that current educationists and interested stakeholders should learn from early missionary contribution in the development of RE as a curriculum subject in order to develop an appropriate RE curriculum for Zambia today.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

BSA.Co	British South African Company
CCZ	Council of Churches in Zambia
CDC	Curriculum Development Centre
CMML	Christian Missions in Many Lands
DRCSA	Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia
LMS	London Missionary Society
LEA	Local Education Authority
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
PEMS	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
PMC	Primitive Methodist Church
PMMS	Primitive Methodist Missionary Society
RE	Religious Education
RI	Religious Instructions
SAGM	South Africa General Mission
TTC	Teachers' Training College
WF	White Fathers
ZARET	Zambia Association of Religious Education Teachers
ZEC	Zambia Evangelical Conference
SACRE	Standing Advisory Councils for Religious Education

Chapter One

1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the topic of the study, its relevance to RE in Zambia and concludes with a look at some of the limitations and delimitations of the study.

1.1. Background of the Study

Religious Education is an important subject area in the history of the Zambian education system. It is also one of the oldest if not the first subject introduced in formal education that came with missionaries and colonialists. The development and evolution of the subject has over time been associated with the role played by missionaries. Similarly, pieces of literature have documented the history of Zambian Religious Education (RE) from different perspectives. For instance, Masterton (1985 and 1987); Flynn (1993); Henze (1994 and 2003); Mujdrica (1995), Simuchimba (1997, 2000, 2001 and 2006) and Carmody (1999, 2004 & 2008).

However, there is no specific account in the literature that focuses on why RE has remained a concern for missionaries or Churches, particularly the Catholic Church. While missionaries should be credited for having developed the RE curricula, they should also be blamed for having introduced two different syllabuses at senior school level, a most undesirable and retrogressive thing in the eyes of many scholars of RE in Zambia. It was the intention of this study to retrace the role of missionaries in the development of the Zambian RE curriculum. Partly, this was to disclose the one fact ignored by those who have written about RE in Zambia that behind the façade of ecumenical syllabuses lay deep and camouflaged ideological, theological and philosophical differences in as far as RE is concerned.

1.2. Problem Statement

No specific attention has been given to the role played by missionaries in the curriculum development of the Zambian RE. This has created a gap in the history of RE in the country which is yet to be comprehensively written.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to establish the role of the missionaries in developing RE as a school curriculum subject in Zambia.

1.4. Research Objectives

In order to guide the study, the following objectives were developed:

1. To retrace the role played by missionaries in the development of the RE curriculum at Primary and Secondary levels.
2. To explore factors that influenced the Zambian RE curriculum development process.
3. To establish reasons for missionaries insistence on keeping RE as a curriculum subject.

1.5. Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following research questions based on the research objectives.

1. What role did the missionaries play in the development of the RE curriculum at Primary and Secondary levels?
2. What factors influenced the Zambian RE curriculum development process?
3. Why did missionaries insist on keeping RE as a curriculum subject?

1.6. Significance of the Study

The study is significant because of the following reasons:

1. The study may contribute to the body of knowledge and literature on Christian missionary education and Zambian RE.
2. It also documents the missionaries' interest and insistence in retaining RE as a school subject.
3. It additionally forms a foundation for further research on the development of an appropriate RE curriculum for Zambia today.

4. The study further shows missionaries' activities in Zambia's education system by providing a rich history, which can help educationists, understand some of the challenges encountered in RE as a school subject today.

1.7. Delimitation of the Study

This study was restricted to missionaries' contribution to the development of the Zambian RE syllabus at primary and secondary levels. While acknowledging the different roles played by different stakeholders in the curriculum process of RE, the scope in this study was narrowed to one group (missionaries). Other groups are important and worth looking at in future research.

1.8. Limitations of the Study

The challenges encountered in the study include the following:

1. Limited access to historical information documented on the subject of study. This is because there has not been much writing on the subject.
2. Limitations associated with secondary data and archival material. Secondary data is associated with limitations, which may have biases deriving from the reporters of the information, and this was also another challenge as the research was historical and largely used document analysis.
3. The use of interviews to gather primary information from some respondents was preferred but proved difficult. The target informants had either left the country or had retired as such it was not easy to access some of those who had retired. Interviews through correspondence (email) were an alternative although the researcher did not have control over feedback. Out of seven online questionnaires sent out to different resource persons, only three were a success. With that limitation, the researcher resorted to secondary data through document or book study and subjected the retired missionaries within the country to lengthy in-depth interviews, thus giving the research rich and credible narrative.

Having discussed the background to the study, the statement of the problem, research objectives, questions, significance, limitations and delimitations, the subsequent chapter highlights the conceptual framework.

1.9. Structure of the Dissertation

The conceptual framework form chapter two of the dissertation and it is followed by a review of different literatures close to the topic of interest. An account of the approach, method of study is discussed in chapter four. The presentation and discussion of findings and conclusion form chapters five and six respectively.

Chapter Two

2. Conceptual and Contextual Framework

In this chapter, we consider concepts that are important to the topic of study. Among the major concepts are: ‘Missionaries’, ‘Curriculum Development’ and ‘Religious Education’. The conceptual framework will guide the reporting of findings and thereafter help in interpreting and analysis of findings with the help of theories from the literature reviewed. Similarly, the conceptualisation of different terms gives a contextual background of the study ‘Catholic missionary educational activities in Zambia’. The first concept that has to be thoroughly dealt with is ‘missionary’.

2.1. Missionary

The twilight of the nineteenth century coincided with the coming of pioneer missionaries to Northern Rhodesia now Zambia. A missionary is described as such a person “who seizes or is seized by universalistic vision and who feels a mandate, a commission, a vocation to bring the vision and its benefits to all” (Eliade, 1987: 564). Simply put, a Missionary is conceptualised as such a person who goes out to foreign countries with a religious quest, “especially one sent to promote Christianity” (*Oxford Learner’s Dictionary*, 1997). The word Missionary is synonymous with other words like ‘Evangelist’, ‘Preacher’, and ‘Proselytiser’ among other words.

Missionary activities are sometimes characterised by the following requirements:

Missionaries must have a dedication, a commitment, a piety, if you will, linked to learning. Missionaries must be able to articulate the faith and to interpret it in intellectual and cultural terms that are foreign to them. Require a reliable institutional foundation, a polity, to sustain them. Missionary orders and societies are surely among the worlds first trans-national, non-profit corporation in the existing politics of the host countries (Eliade, 1987: 568).

In addition to these characteristics, Eliade (1987) also commented that missionaries ‘must have a clear policy, one that coordinates strategies and tactics and prevents divergent teachings from confusing potential converts’. In any case, it can be argued

that as a result of missionary churches' denominationalism and fundamentalistic tendencies in Zambia, the country has endured two High School syllabuses.

The first 'missionary', but also an explorer whose mission was an impetus to further missionary activities in Northern Rhodesia was David Livingstone. Born in 1813 at Blantyre – Scotland, Livingstone studied Latin, Greek, Medicine and Botany. His father was a deacon in a Congregationalist Presbyterian chapel by 1836. As a son of a deacon, he too developed interest in religion, as such "he offered himself for service with the London Missionary Society (LMS) at the time Robert Moffat was on leave in Britain. Moffat's remark that, looking north from Kuruman, he had seen the smoke of a thousand villages, where no missionary has ever been fired the young man's imagination, and he sailed to Africa" (Weller & Linden, 1984: 11). It was during this apprenticeship that he reached the Zambezi near Sesheke in 1851.

Like Moffat, it was after Livingstone's return home that an appeal was made to his countrymen for missionary work in Africa. In his concluding remarks in a speech delivered at Cambridge University in 1857, Livingstone appealed to the audience consisting of prospective missionaries in the following words, "I go back to Africa to make an open path for Commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work I have begun. I leave it with you" (Carmody, 1999). Missionaries' response to Livingstone's call for service in Africa testifies to the formers' initial dedication to missionary works in Central Africa. The expansion of missionary activities in Central Africa is accredited to the great contributions made by other missionaries than to Livingstone because he got preoccupied with his exploration work as an employee of the British government, a reflection of his political and economical motives which he did not want the world to know (Tiberondwa, 1989). Livingstone's action at this point did not impress the LMS superiors (Weller & Linden, 1984).

Livingstone's interest in commerce was triggered when he witnessed slave trade during his tour of Africa. In order to defend his double standards, he argued in the following words "... I appreciate the effects of commerce much, but those of Christianity much

more” (Weller & Linden, 1984: 14). Thus, he was associated to the three ‘Cs’ Christianity, Civilisation and Commerce. Though David Livingstone never established a mission station in Zambia, he had planted the seed of missionary work and indeed the foundation of RE was laid in Zambia as many missionary societies came after his death.

It can rightly be said that in contrast to Livingstone’s action, other missionaries ceased an opportunity to further their interests at a time when European empires were going out into the interior to colonise African cultures. As Holmes (1993: 350) puts it:

Many Africans today, and with good reason, regard Livingstone as having been a spy. But he was more than merely that; he was the forward, and far from secret agent, of a new culture, the industrial capitalism which by a turn of the wheel of history came to dislodge Iron Age civilisation. Livingstone did not implant the new culture himself but, as far as Central Africa is concerned, he established the preconditions for its advance.

Among the first groups of missionary societies to enter the country and to bring a new culture were: Francois Coillard’s *Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS)*; the *Plymouth Brethren Mission of Christian Mission to Many Lands (CMML)* under Frederick Stanley Arnot. Sooner than later, the *London Missionary Society (LMS)*, *Primitive Methodist Church (PMC)*, the *Dutch Reformed Church (DRC)* and the *Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA)* and many more others.

The Catholic Church had some of its missionaries sent to Northern Rhodesia as well and the first groups to enter the country were the *White Fathers* and *Society of Jesus* (Haar, 1992; Snelson, 1974). These and many more other groups not mentioned consist of the first generation of missionaries to enter Northern Rhodesia around the 19th century. Missionary activities proliferated across the country as years went by. At least, fifteen 15 missionaries were already operating schools in Northern Rhodesia by 1924 (Weller & Linden, 1984). As we explore missionaries’ activities in Zambia, we will focus on their interest in education along side their religious quest in this region.

2.2. Church

The usage of the term ‘church’ as employed in the Bible was justified by Marty who emphasised that its use should be restricted to a ‘local congregation’ (Eliade, 1987: 297). Similarly, the word ‘Church’ has been used to refer to branches of missionary groups described or simply the institution of the Christian religion, examples of such groups as Anglicanism; Catholicism; Baptist Church; Jehovah’s Witnesses; Lutheranism; Methodist Churches Presbyterianism, Reformed; Salvation Army; Seventh-day Adventism, etcetera (Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, 1997; Eliade, 1987). At the centre of these divisions are historical factors and theological positions that concern the origin or root of the ministry that surrounded Christianity.

In the twentieth century and onwards, the use of ‘church’ is more appropriate to refer to remnants of missionary work in Zambia. Another important term in this context is ‘denomination’ briefly highlighted in the following section.

2.3. Denomination

The theological usage of the term Denomination “implies that the group referred to was but one member, denominated by a particular name, of a larger group to which other Protestant [groups] belonged... denominationalism was a response to problems created by the division of adherents of a single religious tradition into separate and competing ecclesiastical bodies” (Eliade, 1987: 292). In other words, these are camps created due to differences of opinions on church governance and worship, although retain a common faith. In 1982, Marty noted that the word denomination, “can serve as a useful term to designate existing ecclesiastical grouping that have provided ‘family tone’ and clusters of memories and symbols that still can be invoked to sustain Christians in their daily lives” (*ibid*, 297). In everyday usage, denomination is “a branch of the Christian Church or the recognised autonomous branch of the Christian Church or a branch of any religion” (*Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary*, 1997).

The two terms church and denomination have been used interchangeably in different literatures. Thus it was significant to define and establish their link to the term missionary. Both denomination and church have been used to classify a variety of missionary groups that we will refer to in this work (London Missionary Society, the Free Church of Scotland, just to mention two). As such, both church and denominational activities will be considered as extensions of missionary activities in RE after the Colonial era. In the subsequent segment, we will consider the term: Religious Education.

2.4. Religious Education (RE)

The understanding and interpretation of Religious Education (RE) as used in this context point to a subject that places “equal emphasis on both – ‘religious’ in that [it deals] with an understanding of religion in its widest sense, and ‘education’ in that the exercise takes place in an educational context and conforms with educational criteria” (Reads, Rudge, Teece & Howarth, 1992: 6). RE as understood here reflects an education enterprise that fosters in learners an understanding of religion by way of exploring and reflecting on various religious perspectives and human experiences as they relate to one’s beliefs, attitudes and behaviour. In order to achieve this aim, a curriculum of religious education needs to be in place. The concept ‘curriculum’ as it relates to the development of any subject in school deserves attention too.

2.5. Curriculum

This concept attracts a variation in terms of definition and its usage among many scholars. For instance, Masterton (1985:22) defined it as “the complete experience of the pupils under the guidance and direction of the ‘school’ which includes academic, vocational, emotional and recreational activities”. This description if broadly put, cuts across different activities identified with schooling and these may include activities performed inside and outside the school as highlighted in the following definition. A curriculum is "all the learning which is planned and guided by the school, whether it is carried out in groups or individually, inside or outside the school” (Kerr, 1968: 12).

However, Print (1995: xvi) identifies a curriculum with “all the planned learning opportunities offered by the organisation to learners and the experience learners encounter when the curriculum is implemented. This does not include the hidden curriculum”. At the centre of the preceding definition are the following elements: Planned activities; Learner oriented and Implemented by the school. From the preceding conception, Print has identified a process to describe the interaction of common elements from the definition. This process is here referred to as ‘curriculum development’, described as “the process of planning learning opportunities intended to bring about certain desired changes in pupils, and the assessment of the extent to which these changes have taken place” (*ibid.* xvi). The preceding is illustrated in *figure* appended as *II*.

2.6. Organisation

Organisation is the initial stage in the curriculum process, which demands that a framework be put in place to guide the plan of action of the intended innovation. This also entails that essential stakeholders are identified and engaged from outset. Curriculum developers that are to be engaged in the development process should have a rich educational background and a better understanding of the educational philosophies of a country (Print, 1995). This stage is significant because it helps establish the rationale for educational activities that are to translate into a school curriculum. Once this is put in place the consequent phase is the development stage.

2.7. Development

This is a crucial phase in which curriculum developers undertake an analysis of the situation where the curriculum is needed, identifies its aim, goal and set objectives that will inform the kind of content and learning activities to be followed in a school. In addition, on going evaluation of planned activities follows throughout the entire process thus the description of the process as cyclical (Nicholls & Nicholls, 1978). A call for the development of a curriculum, justifies the need to have a phase for implementing the developed resources (Application).

2.8. Application

The transformation of any curriculum should be followed by its execution. In this regard, it is being referred to as application phase. Once a curriculum has been developed it goes without doubt that it has to be implemented in learning institutions especially where the need for change was established (Print, 1995). The phases described above highlights the significant stages in curriculum development. In the history of the Zambian education, the curriculum has had both the formal and informal characteristics. The former can be identified with activities organized in an effort to communicate essential principles of education while in the latter it can be for interpersonal relationships that contribute to the development of learners. As will be discussed, missionaries took a centre stage in the curriculum development of RE starting with the organization, development and implementation of the curriculum. However, missionaries' contributions have been both progressive and retrogressive to the development of the subject.

Chapter Three

3. Missionary Education and RE in Zambia

In this section, we focus on literature describing the history of Zambian education, since the nineteenth centuries. This is important because it gives a background to the development of the area of study. This chapter revisits the past and critically analyse events as they unfolded chronologically. In addition to the historical surveys of RE in Zambia, special attention will be dedicated to a study of the subject's development in England and Wales. The latter also gives a background to an educational system that influenced the former, both ideologically and philosophically (Zambia, a former British colony).

3.1. Pioneer Missionaries in Northern Rhodesia

The pioneer missionary to come to Zambia was, Frederick Stanley Arnot who settled in Zambia albeit briefly. However, the name David Livingstone is sometimes cited among the early missionaries to touch Zambian borders. The latter's mission to Central Africa was an impetus to further missionary activities in the territory. In the name of service to Africa, by 1945, eighteen missionary societies had entered and established themselves in the area (Snelson, 1974: 10). In the 1950s and 1960s, a few more Protestant mission churches such as the Lutheran Church of Central Africa, Apostolic Faith Mission and Pentecostal Assemblies of God arrived (Henkel, 1989: 39, 40). These men and women were very much dedicated to their work just like their counterparts, the 'explorers'.

Among the first groups to enter the country were the Plymouth Brethren under Frederick Stanley Arnot. Francois Coillard's Paris Evangelical Missionary Society replaced the Plymouth Brethren. Sooner than later, the London Missionary Society, Primitive Methodist Church, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Universities Mission to Central Africa and many others from Protestant Missionary Societies present in then Northern Rhodesia (Snelson, 1974).

These missionary societies approached Northern Rhodesia from different directions; from the southern border the LMS had already been operating in Southern Rhodesia (1850s) and Tanganyika (northern part of the country). The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa (DRCSA) came from Basutoland, as for the eastern border the Free Church of Scotland had worked in Nyasaland since 1875. Although the southern border acted as the entry point, the Paris Evangelical Missionary society explored the western part of the country. In north – western Zambia, South Africa General Mission opened a station in 1910 (Chuba, 2005). The pattern in missionaries' activities can be attributed to many factors at play, including the geographical location, as well as the financial and human resources of the different missionary groups.

As observed by Chuba (2005: 17) “Zambia was the last field in Central Africa to be reached by missionary societies from the North, some approaching through its southern border and others through its northern border.” In light of Livingstone’s call to introduce Christianity, different missionary groups developed their own policies to coordinate strategies and tactics in the three areas of interest. Besides developing own policies towards the cited areas of interest, missionaries were guided by their societies’ philosophies in executing their work in Northern Rhodesia.

Among missionary groups there were those whose character pointed to a fundamentalistic orientation, others had a reformed outlook, while some showed a liturgical inclination. Besides, some missionaries had an ecumenical approach to their work while others tended to be conservative in both worship and missionary work (*ibid*, 17). This is important to note because it forms the background to understanding the various roles assumed by the missionaries in the development and growth of education. However, our focus is on the evolution of Religious Education as a subject in the school curriculum.

3.2. Missionary Education in Pre-Colonial Zambia

Snelson acknowledged Missionaries' contribution to Education in Zambia when he wrote, "truly, the foundation of the country's educational system were laid at great cost..." (1974: 44). This comment came after reflecting on missionary activities in Northern Rhodesia and Zambia today.

Missionaries established the first schools in the country on the mission stations where they conducted their evangelisation activities. According to Snelson (1974: 14), "few societies defined their educational policies in specific terms. Where a policy existed, its implementation, or otherwise, depended on the individual missionaries and on the assistance which they were able to obtain from their home committees". In other words, human and financial resources were factors in the spread of educational work among missionary societies.

The capacity of the missionary group also mattered a great deal. Those with resources expanded their missionary and educational work massively. Basically, thus, schools were agents of conversion (Simuchimba, 2005; & Carmody, 2004). By 1925, "of the two thousand or so schools in operation, more than half were under the control of White Fathers and the Dutch Reformed Church... Church of Scotland and the London Mission Societies... the remaining four hundred schools were divided between the eleven smaller groups and the Barotse National School" (Snelson, 1974: 15). Competition for adherents was rife among missionary societies in different parts of the country, thus the multiplication of schools in large numbers.

At mission stations, the structures built for hosting services were also used for educational activities. The Bible was the main textbook used in mission schools. The aim of education was to increase the ability in converts to understand the scripture, even though some pupils had different motives. Thus, the initial curriculum in mission schools was centred on religious instruction from the content of scriptures and church doctrines. This was supplemented by instructions in the three 'R's (reading, writing, and arithmetic), singing and some hygiene. Both missionaries and African converts (catechists) become religious teachers.

As missionaries became occupied with religious activities at mission stations, the bulk of students considered as fully literate were sent out into villages to open schools. The former came back to the mission station once a year for three months to attend ‘teachers school’ and would return back to their village schools to continue teaching and preaching (Snelson, 1974). Missionaries also initiated Teacher Education through institutions known as ‘normal schools’.

3.3. Missionary Educational Work in Selected Provinces

In discussing missionary educational work in selected provinces, only a few dominant missionary societies will be highlighted, although it should be noted that other societies made their own contributions in their own way.

Southern Province

As early as 1893, missionary activities had started in the Southern Province of Zambia. Among the earliest missionary groups to carry out missionary activities in the country, were the Primitive Methodists under Reverend William Chapman and Frederick Pickering. They founded their station at Nanzela and Arthur Baldwin opened the first school around 1895. The initial group of pupils were 25 in number and these were taught selected scripture passages by heart, hymn-singing and some form of skills like sewing. According to Edwin Smith, a distinguished missionary linguist and anthropologist of the time, the syllabus covered the three ‘R’s and skills (Hygiene & sewing) (Tiberondwa, 1989; Snelson, 1974).

The Primitive Methodist’s philosophy on literacy was an important step in ‘civilising’ the pupils. Both reading and writing skills according to Chapman “were necessary in order to cultivate [pupils] intelligence and prepare their mind for the religious truths we wish them to retain” (Snelson, 1974: 52). In order to achieve their educational mission, the society initiated the language policy that all educational activities were to be conducted in the local language ‘Chi-Ila’. Primers, books of Bible stories (Psalms and New Testaments translated into Ila) were produced by 1905 ready for use in station schools (Chuba, 2005).

Another group that came to the Southern province was the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) led by William Anderson (1905). They established a mission at Rusangu and opened SDA schools. According to Anderson, “the school was not there to provide the pupils with the skills which would enable them to earn a living in this world, but to prepare them for the next world through study of Holy Scriptures” (*ibid*, 95). With that educational philosophy, the school curriculum therefore consisted of reading, writing and some basics of arithmetic. Like other missionary societies, earlier converts formed a cadre of teachers in station schools.

In the same year (1905), the Jesuit Fathers led by Joseph Moreau went to the Southern Province and settled at Chikuni. The teaching of their founder Ignatius of Loyola inspired this group’s educational Philosophy. Ignatius “wished his members to carry on an intellectual apostolate [in which] education [was to] play a major part in evangelisation” (Snelson, 1974: 86-87). As such, station schools unlike village schools were popular with the Jesuit. Instead of delegating the teaching to African Catechists, Evangelists or Teachers, the Priests themselves taught at their schools. The school syllabus was similar to earlier missionary societies. Some of the materials used in teaching included: Primers (language); Tonga dictionary and a collection of Tonga folk tales, which were developed by Father Torrend a brilliant linguist (Weller & Linden, 1984).

The Church of England’s contribution in education was evident in the work of the Anglican Church at Mapanza in 1910. This institution became one of the leading educational enterprises in the country, their syllabus and approach to education did not differ much from other societies. Bishop John Hine (Anglican) worked with Rev Edwin Smith (Primitive Methodist Missionary Society) to prepare Chi-Ila text for publication. The society opened St Mark’s college at Mapanza in 1928 under Fr. Hewitt (Snelson, 1974; Weller & Linden, 1984).

Northern Province

London Missionary Societies (LMS)

The LMS saw in education an opportunity to “increase the ability to understand the scriptures”. This formed the aim of educational work in subsequent years. This explains why most of the LMS schools had neglected practical instructions in their curriculum. LMS missionaries valued the language policy of learning and conducting educational activities in local languages. In the same way, other societies had used the building at the mission station for church on Sunday and school during the week, the LMS missionaries too. Missionaries were teachers, they taught “rudiments of three ‘R’s, Religious Instruction and hygiene. LMS stations trained a number of teachers and as years went by, missionaries supervised village schools’ activities. As a way of upholding standards, teachers were required to report at the station annually, they received refresher courses for three months and left to go and teach and preach out into their village schools (Snelson, 1974).

White Fathers (WF)

In 1895, a White Fathers’ station was set up at Chilubula. At this post, Priests taught “reading and writing on four mornings a week. The only textbooks were: Catechism, a simple prayer book and a collection of Bible stories” (*ibid*, 69). The White Father’s educational activities were also spread in teacher education at Rosa and Malole mission stations. The White Father’s *Normal School* was intense from the outset, teachers spent three years doing courses that were both academically and professionally oriented. Finalists were to sit for professional examinations unlike was the case with other societies.

Eastern Province

The Dutch Reformed Church Mission (DRCM)

The Dutch Reformed Church were in Northern Rhodesia by 1898 (Chuba, 2005), their first schools were opened around 1930 at Magwero, Lwela, and Johnston falls just to mention a few. One unique contribution of this society to education was the introduction of Braille in the school curriculum. This was significant to teaching of religion to those challenged with sight. Teacher education prepared teacher evangelists in three 'Rs', register keeping and Braille. The aim of this society's educational work was to "impart a thorough knowledge of the Bible" (Snelson, 1974: 77). Prospective teachers, upon finishing their training were "given a copy of a handbook entitled *Maphunziro* in which, the lessons for everyday in the school year were set out with explanatory notes; this also ensured that the same Bible lessons would be given at every school on the same day" (*ibid*). Other materials included reading sheets, the Bible, a hymn - book and a drum, which was used for summoning the villagers to school.

Western Province

Frederick Stanley Arnot of the *Plymouth Brethren* set up the first school in Western Province (1883) and he too taught literacy with the aim of exposing his learners to civilisation although the primary and chief aim of his school was planting Christianity. Many more schools were later established, an example of those brought by Francois Coillard's Paris Evangelical Missionary society at Lealui. The first National school, 'Barotse National School' was founded in this region of the country. Missionaries contributed to the laying of the foundation on which RE was to be developed.

3.4. Missionary Education, British South African Company and Colonial Government

In his account of missionary education in Northern Rhodesia, Snelson (1974) identified significant weaknesses with missionary education. He wrote that the “lack of lasting agreement regarding spheres of educational activity, apart from Religious Instruction, all must suffer...” (p.127). Seizing an opportunity out of this confusion, the British South African Company (BSA. Co.) intervened and introduced “some form of a uniform policy of instruction that would be acceptable to all sections [missionary societies were to be directed by it]” (*ibid*). It was at this point that the company showed interest in education of the natives. However, the missionaries retained the monopoly of managing and administering many of the schools in existence.

In 1913, the Primitive Methodists called a meeting, which prompted the formation of the General Missionary Conference. The Primitive Methodists’ work in translation of literature into local languages attracted the Anglican’s cooperation in this endeavour. In the hope of increasing cooperation with other societies, Rev R. Price of the London Missionary Society and Rev J.D. MacLennan (Anglican) collaborated in organising a conference for 1914 where all societies were to be represented. On the agenda at the 1913 conference was the need to draft a Constitution that would provide for further regular meetings, to take place every two or three years (Weller & Linden, 1984). The main purposes for the successive General Missionary Conferences included the following objectives: To watch over the interests of the Native races and to promote co-operation and brotherly feeling between different missionary societies (*ibid*).

The State’s entry into education led to a conference to discuss the need to harmonise the curriculum in missionary schools. Both missionaries and the State had representation to deliberate at the meeting. Reverend Edwin Smith led the discussion of mutual problems among the different societies and represented missionaries’ delegation. Missionary contribution to the evolvement of education at this point can also be identified with the work performed by Reverend John Fell. Fell spearheaded the formation of a curriculum committee to look into recommendations made by the General Missionary Conference of 1914.

Reverend John Fell was a professional Educationist with a clear philosophy of how educational policies could best be implemented. One of the guiding educational principles he promoted was the development of character which he defended as follows, “we do not desire to develop intelligence at the expense of spiritual facilities nor train the hands without growth in Grace... our aim is not to make a European African but a genuine African” (Snelson, 1974: 56). Above all, missionaries’ interest at this point was still focused on evangelisation using the school.

It was during the 1920s that Northern Rhodesia was visited by the American – funded commission whose mission was to evaluate African education in East and Southern Africa. The Committee on Native Education in London sanctioned the Phelps-Stokes commission. Between January and July 1924, as the commission of inquiry visited Northern Rhodesia, the General Missionary Conferences specially the one in Kafue was summoned to meet them (Tiberondwa, 1989). As a result of this evaluation, it was recommended by the commission that ‘African education should be adapted to the conditions and needs of rural society and that the government should not only give financial assistance to missionary societies but also co-ordinate and regulate their educational activities’ (Snelson, 1974: 139). The cooperation of the State and the missionary societies in this evaluation was a milestone to improving the education system of the country.

It was out of this cooperation that the Colonial Office developed a Memorandum on Education, which was the first national educational policy ‘Education Policy in British Tropical Africa of 1925’. In this policy, great importance was attached to Religion and character training, thus “Religious teaching and moral instructions were to be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects” (Snelson, 1974: 142). Implicitly, religious and moral education was seen as the basis for a lasting education (Masterton, 1985/6). Alongside these developments, Northern Rhodesia saw the formation of the Native Education Department, whose mandate was to coordinate and supervise the education of natives. Its first Director from 1925 – 1935 was Mr. Geoffrey. C. Latham.

Missionaries and state cooperation was progressive at this point because the school curriculum was commonly agreed, the calendar was in place, teacher education was kept under observation, institutional facilities to support curriculum implementation was emphasised. The collaboration mentioned here shows government's first commitment towards the promotion of educational work in the territory. The government allocated 25% of its funding to existing educational institutions. Under the leadership of Latham, approximately 2000 schools run by 15 missionary societies benefited from the grant in aid (Snelson, 1974: 148).

The state's role in education during this period was still that of a regulator, controlling teacher education, regulating teacher wages, inspecting and ensuring that missionary societies managing and running schools were providing necessary facilities that would support curriculum activities. The state also started to regulate the school calendar to match the revised curriculum. Missionaries collaborated with the State and their input led to the call for other Conferences that took place in 1919, 1922, 1923 and 1924 (Snelson, 1974; Carmody, 2000).

Another landmark to the development of education was the birth of Secondary education. Missionary work was initially restricted to elementary or primary and tertiary education. The growing demands of education and government's influence made missionaries come up with the idea of secondary education. Some missionary societies like government were reluctant and wanted to promote primary education in the circumstance of limited resources. As some argued "... if money was spent on providing Secondary education, there would be corresponding less for elementary education" (Snelson, 1974: 228). Therefore, "a two-tier school system was developing, the higher tier although very small, was supported by government and the lower, in the villages, financed by the mission" (Weller & Linden, 1984: 162). The State through its Department of Native Education developed a 'School Code' that regulated both primary and secondary education curriculum in all mission schools. The development of secondary school was greatly affected by the state's conservative social vision

which was biased towards ‘mass education’ with less emphasis on post – primary education for a few (Tiberondwa, 1989: 12).

It was not until 1939 that government showed interest in opening the first government Junior Secondary School at Munali, the only secondary school open to ordinary Zambians. It should be mentioned here that, a Jesuit priest of Chikuni – Prokoph petitioned the need for more secondary schools in the country (Carmody, 2004). As Gadsden (1992) notes, the expansion was intended to serve the economic and administrative needs of a European-dominated territory. Previously, seminaries were the only form of secondary education available (Weller & Linden, 1984).

Missionaries’ dominance in the educational enterprise was without doubt the reason why there has always been a place for RE in the school curriculum. This has been the area of interest in their religious quest in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). Nevertheless, with the State’s interest in education after 1945, missionaries’ work in education was changing. Snelson (1974: 248) noted that the early schools had been started with the aim of teaching the people to read the Bible, but as years went by, more subjects were added to the curriculum. These were history, geography, civics, science and some scope of arithmetic syllabus, which was enlarged.

Missionaries met the diversification of education with suspicion. They feared that Christian Education would not be offered in government institutions with the mushrooming of secular subjects. Catholic societies for example, found the government system of schooling to be a challenge because they “regarded their schools more as catechetical centres rather than as schools in a secular sense” (Carmody, 2000: 359). Indeed, with government’s involvement in education, there was a big reduction in the dominance of RI on the curriculum, thus indicating to the missionary societies that, though important, RI was by no means the main subject on the curriculum.

In justifying the role and place of Christian Education missionaries contended, “Christian Education is not only concerned with the relation of man to the physical world and to the social order, but with relation to God. [Thus] education will fall short of its purpose if it evades the ultimate issues of life and fails to bring men closer to God” (Snelson, 1974: 128). In as much as diversification and secularisation of education was inevitable, missionaries fought for the retention of Christian Education in the new school curriculum.

Christian Education was at the centre of missionary work in Northern Rhodesia, hence the comment that “education was still the handmaiden of evangelisation, [if missionaries] forsake their schools, it would be at their own peril” (*ibid*). As a result of the changing nature of education, missionaries started to receive pupils who could already be converts of other religious denominations, also deal with pupils who had an official right to withdraw from RE, and generally handle pupils who could, at the end of the day, not be automatically counted as members of their church (Simuchimba, 2006).

Until 1960s, Zambia’s education system as observed by Snelson (1974) was a missionary enterprise. Missionaries retained their influential position on the Advisory Boards, sub-committees responsible of curriculum and running of educational institutions. The desire to seize the opportunity to exert Christian influence in the schools was the same reason why Religious Education is still the stake of Churches and other religious bodies in Zambia today.

In the following section, we focus on the history of Religious Education in England before looking at Zambia’s past. The former history is important because of its influence on the latter history. As Mujdrlica (1995: 20) puts it, “RE in Zambia is quite English not only linguistically but ideologically as well”. Similarly, Spindler in Smith made his observation after reading Smith’s work that “I am tempted to recognise the lasting influence of British patterns of education, with religious education as an integral part of the curriculum, whatever might be the educational view of the various local authorities and even of theologians” (Smith, 1982: iii).

3.5. History of RE in Britain: A Summary

About hundred and sixty five years ago, different churches (missionaries) run schools in England. This phase is described as having been exclusively Christian nurture. Government's interest in running schools led to the enactment of the 1870 Education Act in which "the teaching of religion was allowed in state schools provided it was non - denominational. This Act was necessary because there were big hostilities between Christian Churches at that time" (Mujdrlica, 1995: 8). Since 1870, through to 1944 and later 1960s, RE in both state and church school continued to be regulated by different pieces of registrations to ensure that ecumenical understanding prevailed over hostility.

As the subject evolved from denominational towards ecumenical (secularisation), the Churches kept vigil through their "direct involvement in the monitoring and development of RE syllabuses through Standing Advisory Councils for Religious Education (SACREs) and Agreed Syllabuses conferences" (Bates, Durka & Schweitzer, 2006: 20). According to Hull (1984), RE had turned out to be inclusive, multi-faith teaching subject after the 1870 Educational Act.

The 1970s brought a different experience of RE in Britain. In this phase, a number of Agreed Syllabi emerged. The Birmingham Agreed Syllabus of 1975 was one of them. At the conference that decided on the mentioned syllabus, stakeholders agreed on content and method to be adopted when teaching religion. However, this did not proceed as planned. Some major differences in teaching approaches were vivid around mid 1980s, "the existence of ethnic communities and the plurality of cultures was used by different areas and schools [Local Education Authority-LEA] to either justify a descriptive study of World Religions or an almost evangelistic or exclusive presentation of Christianity" (Hull, 1984 quoted by Simuchimba, 2006: 32). RE in Britain took both a Confessional and a Phenomenological approach in its development. In the following section, we conceptualise the two models adopted from Slee (1989). These models shaped and characterised the curriculum of religious education in Britain.

3.5.1. Confessional Model

In this model, RE is taught with the aim of “initiating the child into a religious heritage, passing on religious and moral values and nurturing religious belief and commitment. It requires... religious belief and commitment on the part of the teacher and works towards the belief and commitment of the pupil” (Simuchimba, 2006: 34).

3.5.2. Phenomenological Model

The proponent of this model, Ninian Smart made a clear distinction of what he understood about Religious Education. Firstly he described it as a subject that “must transcend the informative. Secondly, it should do so, not in the direction of evangelising, but in the direction of initiating learners into understanding the meaning of, and into the question about, the truth and worth of religion” (Smart, 1968: 105). With that background, it is possible to note the changing aim of RE from that which was directly linked to preparing catechumen into their denomination to a program that is purely informational suited for a pluralistic society (Smith, 1982). Such an understanding influenced the rationale behind the phenomenological model as distinguished from the confessional model that has dominated the subject earlier for long.

At the centre of the phenomenological model is the type of RE that teaches the child how to develop “religious understanding and a spirit of openness, and encourages personal autonomy in [his] religious experience... [The school’s task is] confined to the transmission of information, the pursuit of understanding and the nurturing of tolerance, openness and autonomy...” (Simuchimba, 2006: 34). As already highlighted, the difference in the two models is significantly on their aims. For instance, the confessional model aspires to convert and nurture the pupils in a Christian faith in preparation of a Christian society, whereas the phenomenological model hopes to ‘initiate pupils into a sympathetic, descriptive understanding of religion through the study of various religious traditions’ (Slee, 1989; Simuchimba, 2006).

Furthermore, pupils taught under the confessional approach understood and experienced the external religious beliefs through their own faith. In other words, they did not need to bracket out their own beliefs, ideas and presuppositions, as was the case with those trained through the phenomenological approach. The latter pupils were free to exercise autonomy or independent understanding of other religious beliefs with an imaginative mind.

The existing difference in the two models cannot be treated as weaknesses entirely. Instead, they can be blended to strengthen the approach to teaching and learning about and from religion. According to Slee (1989) and Simuchimba (2006) the characteristics, attitudes and skills enshrined in the two models can co-exist if the good of the approaches are to be realised. What this means then is that, nurture and education, truth and meaning, belief and understanding, commitment and openness, responsibility and autonomy, the transmission of religious heritage and the preparation of persons for pluralism should not be treated in isolation but a balance should be struck.

This middle path was pointed out by Smart (1968) when he called “for the abandonment of faith-nurturing aims in state school religious education and their replacement by a sensitive induction into religious studies, not with the aim of evangelizing but with the aim of creating capacities to understand and think about religion” (Bates, Durka & Scheitzer, 2006: 97).

The two models characterised the development of RE in Zambia. However, the confessional model has dominated the curriculum approaches due to the influence of the church in designing and developing of the subject. The continued cooperation between the church¹ and state has helped the curriculum development take a phenomenological direction although this faces a challenge due to the church’s interest.

¹ The academic inclined personnel in the church have helped to move the church from confessional to educational oriented approach to the development of RE

3.6. The Past of Zambian RE: An Overview

A historical account of Zambian RE appears in a number of historical surveys. Such studies include: Preparation and Production of a School Certificate Religious Education Course for Zambian Secondary Schools, and The growth and Development of Religious Education in Zambia by Masterton (1985 & 1987) respectively. Mujdrlica conducted an evaluation of the three Zambian Secondary School RE Syllabi in 1995. In 2006, Simuchimba wrote about Religion and Education in Zambia 1890 - 2000 and Beyond, Carmody (2008) the Nature and role of religious studies at the University of Zambia: 1985-2005 and (Cheyeka, 2006) the Role of Humanism in the Development of Plural Religious Education in Zambia: 1972 to 1990. These and many more related studies were important to this study. The past of Zambian RE has been presented with different purposes by different authors. In this case, we are presenting it with the aim of retracing the development of the subject.

The common concepts used in describing the phase in the development of RE are: Denominational, Ecumenical and Educational. Before 1971, the early schools were owned and managed by different missionary groups. These taught religious instructions following their doctrines. Religious instruction as the subject was called, was confessional in nature. As noted earlier, missionary schools were complementary to the missionary task of evangelisation.

Religious instructions were based on catechism and reading of the Bible, both were aimed at making pupils become more eager Christian converts (Mwanakatwe, 1974). The confessional approach of teaching was inherited at different stages of the curriculum development of the subject (Simuchimba, 2006). Some scholars have identified the confessional approach with the denominational approach when describing the development of RE curriculum from 1883 to 1923. According to Carmody (2008), the denominational teaching of religion in recent terms can be described as having been exclusivist in nature.

In the second approach, different denominations exercised an inter-denominational position in the manner religion was to be taught, thus the conception ecumenical. With the introduction of religion in public schools, it became educationally challenging for different denominations to continue with doctrinal church teaching of religious instruction. Therefore, different denominations came to a point of agreement on what they thought could be uniformly taught in the subject area (Simuchimba, 2006).

The third approach is identified as educational because of the holistic perspective adopted in teaching religion along side other secular subjects (Snelson, 1974). This was partly because of “educational reforms started in the mid 1970s. RE became more educational [when it adopted] an approach that was partly confessional and phenomenological” (Simuchimba, 2006: ii). It is debatable whether the teaching of RE has really become educational in approach, the situation is described as “being superficial since the syllabuses have remained the same in aim and content” (Ziwa, 2009). In the following section, we will trace the development of Zambian RE at Primary and Secondary levels after 1964.

3.6.1. Missionary Period (1883-1924)

The period between 1883 and 1924 is best described as the missionary education period because of the pivotal positions assumed by missionaries in running the formal education system they had introduced in the territory. The major subject taught in mission schools was religious instruction as already alluded to. The content of the subject was derived from the doctrines of a particular society supplemented by rote-learning using scriptures. Missionaries and their auxiliaries taught religious instruction and some basics in three ‘Rs’, where necessary some skills were taught. Those with capacities to translate teaching materials taught vernacular with or without the aid of their subordinates. Missionaries’ willingness to adapt the Christian messages into local languages was one of the positive contributions (change of attitude towards Zambian tradition) towards the growth of religion in the country (Temples in Carey, 1986).

Due to competition between missionaries over zealous societies opened village schools that were left in the hands of catechists and African teachers. Supervision of village schools by some missionaries was superficial. Above all, education and the teaching of religion was purely a missionary endeavour whose purpose was to evangelise. As was noted, the size of the missionary society was a factor in its educational work, the biggest groups expanded rapidly (Snelson, 1974; Chuba, 2005).

3.6.2. Colonial Period (1925-1963)

The arrival of colonialism around 1900s and their belatedly involvement in education is what is referred to as colonial phase until 1963. In as much as they were already in the territory, they left educational activities in the hands of missionaries who in turn pushed their agenda using the school as an agent of conversion. However, significant changes to the nature of RE occurred in this phase after government's takeover of education administration. A major overhaul of education came through the recommendations made by the Phelps Stokes Commission. This changed how religion was to be taught in mission schools and public schools. Initially Religious instruction enjoyed dominance over other subject areas, but since 1920s it started to compete for space and time in the school curriculum. It can be argued then that, since the teaching staff 'missionaries and their aide' were retained in the system even after the change in curriculum, chances were high that the confessional approach in teaching the subject continued to be the same. With government's continued dependence on missionaries as teachers in this subject, a wrong precedence was set and this affected the status of RE as it developed (Scanlon, 1964).

3.6.3. First Republic (1964-70s)

The Zambian first republic inherited remnants of religious instruction from the colonial masters and this continued to dictate the nature and development of the subject. At independence, only primary education under various missionary societies existed. The two major groups were the Catholics and Protestants, this is important to mention because the tension that has existed in the development of the subject emanates from the theological differences that characterise the two camps.

During this period (1970s), religious instructions continued to be taught by denominations in all schools. After a review of the curriculum in 1965, “the Protestant churches decided to respond to on-going changes by coming up with a joint syllabus for Religious Instruction” (Simuchimba, 2006: 118). At junior secondary level, the syllabi remained divided between the two factions: Syllabus A for Protestants and B for Catholics. Unlike the initial phases, teaching materials had been produced for primary schools run by various agencies.

The Catholic teachers had RE handbooks for both lower and upper primary grades adapted to ‘African way of life’ as recommended by the 1925 educational policy. The teaching materials for grades 1 to 4 were produced locally, the material for grades 5 to 7 were simply catechetical books which Henze (2010 Interview) described as having been meant for adult literacy but ended up in schools. As one would expect, the Protestants opted for instructional materials that was scripture oriented thus they adapted one from West African Scripture syllabus and this was useful at grades 1 to 6 (Masterton, 1985). The borrowed philosophies continue to dominate curriculum development of the subject, first it were the missionaries’ doctrines, which were alien to Northern Rhodesia, followed by the West African adapted syllabus. The teaching of the subject was skewed towards a subject-centred approach.

In 1968, the primary school syllabi were revisited after concerns in the manner it was being taught in school were raised, “the Primary Education Committee discussed the state of religious education teaching in schools and described the situation as chaotic. It recommended that consideration be given to the introduction of a ‘common syllabus in all Zambian Primary schools’” (McGivern, n.d). The process of revising the primary curriculum was assigned to Ms. O. Wilks of David Livingstone Teacher’s Training College (TTC) (Masterton, 1985). In consultation with different stakeholders, primary school teachers in TTC (Charles Lwanga), church mother bodies (Christian Council of Zambia and Zambia Episcopal Conference, CCZ; ZEC), a common (agreed) syllabus was produced and approved by Ministry of Education and Culture early 1970s.

Instructional materials were prepared between 1972 and 1978. The name of the subject changed from religious instructions (RI) to religious education (RE).

The development of an agreed syllabus for primary school level coincided with other developments that would favour and at the same time disadvantage the subject. In order to strengthen the teaching of the new syllabus in schools, primary school teachers' colleges, started to prepare teachers who would be able to handle a common syllabus. RE was to be represented at various levels by a committee appointed at the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC). In the same year 1974, an association for Zambian RE teachers was established (McGivern, n.d). This association was known as Zambia Association of Religious Education Teachers (ZARET), its objective as a professional body was 'to promote the status of Religious Education teaching throughout Zambia' (ZARET, 1974). Other notable changes linked to RE was the appointment of RE officials at the Ministry headquarters, Curriculum Development Centre and TTC: An inspector, subject specialist and a lecturer for Nkrumah. Missionaries assumed these positions between 1975 and 1976.

After a period of fifty years, another major policy change that was going to impact greatly on RE, took place. The Educational Reforms of 1975 & 1977, pushed for riddance of confessional teaching of RE for an education approach, implicitly a shift from teacher and subject centred to pupil centred methodologies (MoE, 1977; Smith, 1985). With such reforms, teaching materials had to be revised and reprinted to incorporate new educational philosophies. Accordingly, new ideologies were borrowed and adapted locally. The church took an assertive role in lobbying the restoration of RE instead of spiritual and moral education and scientific socialism that was disguised under political education (Kelly, 2002).

Missionaries foresaw that a significant change in education was in the offing as such, they started preparing for secondary education, which from the outset was met with resistance from government (Snelson, 1974). However, when the first secondary schools were introduced, much of what was at primary was replicated at junior

secondary. Denominational teaching of RE was dominant for a while until government expressed dissatisfaction because so many different religious programs caused a lot of confusion in schools and thus churches were asked to work out a common syllabus as was the case at primary school.

In the same way as earlier missionaries, the churches cooperated with government and through their mother bodies consulted East African church bodies. Many more countries were interested in developing a new RE syllabi, such as Malawi, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. This international cooperation led to sharing of ideas and also resources with specific examples of teaching materials. It was in June 1968 that representatives from the said countries met at Gaba to consult and discuss the type of RE they needed for their secondary schools. Important to note is the role-played by Roman Catholics in spearheading this initiative.

Despite Catholics dominating this consultative meeting, their vision went beyond their interest to developing an RE curriculum “in relation to ecumenical and national priorities...” (Smith, 1984: 55). The Gaba pastoral institute in Uganda organized the curriculum development process to come up with a course ‘Christian Living Today’ finalised at the Rubanga workshop. The new syllabus had to adopt an educational approach to teaching religion if it was to be introduced in schools, similarly the syllabus had to assume a pupil centred teaching approach. This development can be attributed to the changes that were taking place in education. In Zambia, Educational reforms were underway (McGivern, n.d).

The subsequent tension that came to surround the adapted syllabus, simply shows that the Gaba syllabus-2044 was a Catholic sponsored course. For this reason, it was contested thus countering the ecumenical cause that government wanted to cultivate. Besides this concern raised by Protestants, teachers who had used the Gaba syllabus in schools also complained over the complex language in the material. In response, government assigned Reverend Cecil King an official at CDC to head the revision of

syllabus 2044. Teaching materials were ready by 1983 and introduced in schools the following year and examined in 1985 (Masterton, 1985).

Evangelical teachers, under the supervision of Rev A. J. Morton (Principal of the David Livingstone College), also produced an alternative syllabus. This was a counter reaction to the Catholic sponsored 2044 and decision to remove Cambridge Bible Knowledge that had been taught at senior secondary before new syllabuses were introduced. According to McGivern, the group “wanted a more Bible-centred course... which was examined and passed by the Curriculum Committee. This was called syllabus 2046. A Teacher’s Handbook (s) was produced (1986) and the course began to be taught in schools in (1986). A pupil’s book for Grade 10 appeared in (1990), and for Grade 11 (1992)”. The tension between churches has been retrogressive to the growth of the subject more than progressive. Government’s compromising stance has led to a two pronged RE syllabus at senior secondary, which is sponsored by the church at all levels.

The introduction of religion in school has had the same challenge as today due to theological or ideological differences. As observed by Carmody (2004: 86), “in the 1960s RE was badly organised and taught while in 1970s [there] was lack of common agreement and proper dialogue... RE teachers and churches continue to be divided over the nature or form of RE in the country... [Today] it is not taught for life skills but for examination”. At the centre of the curriculum development of the subject, the religious stakeholders have had an influential position whose interest is deeply embedded in their vocation more than anything else, thus they make the history of RE.

In this chapter, we endeavoured to map out the teaching of religion in Zambia using the past education system as a frame of reference. Ensuing from this task was a ‘catechetical and confessional’ premise of missionary enterprise in Northern Rhodesia vis-à-vis the place of religion in education. The following chapter outlines the methodology used during the exploration of the problem.

Chapter Four

4. Methodology

The methodological approach which was used in the study is presented in this chapter by stating the research design, study sample, sampling procedure, as well as the data collection and data analysis techniques.

4.1. Research Design

In this study, a historical case study was used. Such a design helps “the researcher to explore a single entity or phenomenon bound by time and activity and collects detailed information by using a variety of data collection procedures during a sustained period of time” (Creswell, 1994: 12). A qualitative research approach such as a historical case study was appropriate for the study that sought to explore RE and its evolution since the introduction of the first school by the missionaries. The advantage of a study with a historical orientation is that the past and the chronology of events are reconstructed during historical analysis of data using a narrative technique that places special emphasis on the process of change (Mouton, 2001).

4.2. Study Sample

The people that were thought would be helpful informants of the subject included RE educationist, former advisor to government on the subject, academician in the field of Religious Studies and some missionaries that were instrumental in the development of RE curriculum in Zambia. This group was, assumed as knowledgeable about the area of study simply because this is their field of specialisation and expertise.

4.3. Sampling Procedure

Purposive sampling procedure was deemed appropriate. The understanding of this procedure is that the researcher samples people believed to be reliable for study. This has its advantages and disadvantages. For instance, Kombo and Tromp (2006: 82) claim that ‘the power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information rich cases for in-depth analysis related to the central issues being studied’.

The other argument for choosing this procedure was that it is best suited when one is studying past events, most importantly when ‘only a fraction of relevant materials is available or accessible’. The total number of respondents was restricted to six. However, as earlier stated in chapter 1, feedback from target respondents was very much poor, only three interviews were accorded to the researcher but just two took off. Others referred the author to their work on the same subject, as such document study was resorted to. Equally, document study was limited to the work of the missionaries in developing RE as a curriculum subject from a historical perspective.

4.4. Instrumentation

The research instruments used in the study included: An interview guide and document analysis guide. The research instruments were piloted on a small sample to ensure that they saved their intended purpose.

4.5. Data Collection

In order to collect data that would help answer the objectives, desk study or document study of different publications in the study area proved to be a viable source of data. This process was supplemented by information from semi-structured interviews with one respondent who had the knowledge and historical account of the study area. The semi-structured interviews had the following merits; accommodated ‘both open and closed-ended questions. Using both the open and closed-ended approaches, Kombo & Tromp (2006: 94) argue that ‘the researcher can get a complete and detailed understanding of the issue under research’. On the other hand, the approach has its own weakness. Due to open-ended questions, a lot of time is spent trying to organise and analyse the rich data that is collected.

4.6. Data analysis

Data was analysed by categorising and extraction of emerging themes from the raw data. Such an approach is common when the researcher is trying to make sense out of history through what Mouton (2001) describes as inductive method, which is favourable to qualitative research paradigm. Another approach that is used in

document analysis is *content analysis*, “which is the qualitative analysis of what is in the documents... Instead of directly observing, or interviewing... we deal with something produced for the purposes of our enquiry, we also deal with something produced for some other purpose...” (Robson, 202: 348).

Content analysis has its own merits and weaknesses. One of the advantages is that “you can analyse the content of documents which have been collected directly for the purpose of your research... [by] making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (*ibid*). In addition, it is important to note that documents are non-reactive in that they are not affected by the fact that you are using them. However, the weakness with content analysis is with unstructured material with different purposes, which may demand understanding and interpretation of content for evidence that would suit new purpose. Reliability and validity of documents also emerges as concerns in content analysis.

4.7. Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues such as confidentiality, participant’s right to privacy, dignity, self-determination and the researcher right to know were upheld. The findings have further been reported truthfully as found out in the study.

Chapter Five

5. Findings and Discussion of the Study

This chapter discusses the findings of the study under the major themes which include the role of the missionaries in the curriculum development of Zambian RE, factors which influenced missionary contribution to the development of RE and their insistence on keeping RE as a school subject as well as the challenges encountered in the process of developing the subject.

5.1. Role of the Missionaries in the Curriculum Development of Zambian RE

In this chapter, missionaries' contribution to the development of RE has been discussed using emerging themes that characterises a curriculum development process of a subject. This begins with policy formulation followed by conceptualisation of whatever surrounds a particular subject area. Both policy formulation and conceptualisation demands a mode of planning on how the subject will be taught, hence the essence of producing instructional materials to aid the implementation of the curriculum. The entire process is accompanied by quality control or evaluation of what takes place in schools. The mention of piloting justifies the need for constant appraisal of whatever comes with curriculum changes or innovations. Missionaries' involvement in the entire process of curriculum development of RE has been attributed to a number of factors that are also discussed in this chapter. The different circumstances that are discussed here are skewed towards a religious quest.

5.1.1. Policy

In this process, various principles and philosophies of education guided the form of education that was offered by missionary groups. According to Carey (1986: 2) "the process of curriculum development necessary involves a philosophy as well as a technique". In the 19th century, the common educational philosophy was aimed at using the mission school as an agency to teach various doctrines for the sake of conversion. However, with the BSA Co and colonial government's involvement, missionaries' educational enterprise began to change. The latter did not resist

cooperating with the State in developing educational policies that were to influence the type of education to be provided for the natives in the territory (Snelson, 1974 & Carmody, 2000).

It can be argued then that, the inadequacies in missionaries' education and governments' neglect of native education coincided with the setting up of a commission that would evaluate the education system and make recommendations there after. This commission was known as the 'Phelps Stokes Commission' whose appraisal was guided by the following principle quoted in parts, "the controlling power is responsible as trustee of the moral advancement of the native population... which up to recent years has been largely left to the mission societies" (Scanlon, 1964: 93). Ensuing from this advisory committee's analysis of native education was the first educational policy dubbed 'Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa' (Snelson, 1974). Through this policy, a number of significant proposals on educational operations were made, some of the specific outlines which were made include:

1. Encouragement of control of voluntary educational effort: Supervision of all educational institutions by government inspectors.
2. Cooperation: The setting up of Advisory Boards of Education was aimed at attracting equal representations from all stakeholders in running of schools.
3. Adaptation of native life: through this it was hoped that education standards of natives would be raised.
4. Religion and character training: Through religious teaching and moral instruction, the good of old African beliefs were to be embraced while replacing the defective ones. It was assumed that 'devotion to some spiritual ideal is the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty'.
5. Educational service & native teaching staff: the status and condition of service should be attractive to best men available. Uptake of men and women of character and right qualification was emphasised.
6. Study of vernacular: Instructional materials and the actual teaching, it was recommended was to be done in vernacular to suite the context of learning.
7. Grants-in-aid: All cooperating partners were to subscribe to the recommendations to sustain necessary standards of native education (Scanlon, 1964: 93ff).

Government's commitment to education as illustrated from the above guidelines was without doubt going to be a break through to the growth and development of Religious Education in the territory. Since missionary education was found wanting, with their schools failing to meet requirements of the new codes, it was an opportune time for the state to push on with an educational approach to the teaching of religion in schools. Missionaries' willingness to cooperate with government worked in their favour more than it did with the latter. Missionaries pushed their interests beyond governments' notice.

This was only possible through their full representation at General Conferences (1914-1924) that met to discuss different educational policies. One successful policy that favoured both parties was the implementation of a common curriculum on religious instruction and the teaching of religion and moral instruction in public schools. RE was accorded equal status with secular subjects (Snelson, 1974).

Further policy reforms saw the implementation of a New Educational Code of 1927. As part of its continued supervision of all educational institutions, government through the new code, set new educational standards, which were a requirement for all those responsible of schooling in the territory. Some mission schools, examples of 'the Jesuits and White Fathers failed to meet the requirements of the new code' (Carmody, 2000). Catholic societies' failure to satisfy government's criteria in the New Educational Code of 1927 was due to the former's regard of "their schools as catechetical centres rather than as schools in a secular sense" (*ibid*, 359). This was yet another opportunity for government to strengthen the call for sound native education while taking advantage of missionaries' experience in education. In response to the New Education Code, missionaries fostered teacher training, equipped their school with all necessary requirements to enhance normal operation of the institutions and started to supervise educational activities too. This was done to safeguard their mission task using a school as a means of conversion (Snelson, 1974).

After the country's independence from colonial rule, the period between 1964 to 1970s, the Ministry of Education and Culture had started taking over the responsibility of running Primary schools, some missionary groups handed over their schools to government although some did not, some insisted on retaining their schools and also repossessing those surrendered by other groups. Most important though was their wish to have a say in school management and right of entry to give religious instructions to their prospective converts. The church or missionary's role is described as 'laager mentality' implying that they were reluctant to transform the education system instead, they wanted to protect the existing status quo, assuming that it was the only way to meet real needs of people they served (Kelly, 2002).

The Ministry of Education and Culture pushed for an Agreed Syllabus at Primary school level, missionaries approved a non-denominational syllabus, which was introduced in schools around 1971. Sooner than later, the educational system went through reforms. It was because of the 1977 Educational Reforms that teaching of religion in schools was subsumed under 'spiritual and moral education with a socialist perspective (Carmody, 2000). Officially, there was no more religious education in schools, but political education and some form of moral education.

This stimulated missionaries' reaction to the reforms of 1977. They rejected the draft educational reform proposals because they felt "uneasy about the socialist tone... [and] absence of reference to spiritual education..." (Kelly, 2002: 1). The churches also rejected the government's position on Scientific Socialism at the Mulungushi Seminar of 1982. The churches expressed concern over the teaching of scientific socialism under the guise of political education. The latter and other sympathisers would rather have religion taught than scientific socialism (*ibid*).

5.1.2. Conceptualisation

Policy formulation and implementation as a process entails exploration and understanding of the situation as it were. All parties involved do some form of assessment to identify a problem with the existing curriculum before instituting a new policy, curriculum and syllabus. This process also entails identification and analysis of all the factors that might have a bearing on the anticipated change in the education system (Carey, 1986). For instance, the Phelps Stokes Commission was among the initial assessment or evaluation of educational opportunities in the country. The essence of evaluation was to ‘promote a rationalised, coordinated and effective system of education, mainly under the supervision of missionaries’ (Mwanakatwe, 1974 & Chizelu, 2006).

Before the state’s entry into education, the missionaries enjoyed the monopoly in dictating what they wanted to teach in their schools. This situation continued in public schools too, but the confusion that came with missionary education could not be tolerated by the state thus, its reaction quoted as follows, “If you want RE to be taught in our schools, then prepare one single joint syllabus” (Masterton, 1985:27). Missionaries’ egocentricity and bigotry was vivid in the manner they handled religious programmes in public schools. This did not just result into chaotic school curriculum, but also caused a problem with the status of the RE subject. Secular subjects enjoyed a higher status as compared to RE, although the latter was older and should have been better organised than the former.

For fear of experiencing extinction of the subject, missionaries carried out an introspective assessment to identify where the problem was with the teaching of religion in schools. Through extensive consultation with various stakeholders, the churches spearheaded a situation analysis of RE in other countries in East Africa. In this respect, the Gaba Pastoral Institute was engaged to help with the curriculum development of the subject in Zambia. During this consultation, it is reported that, the institute conducted a survey to find out ‘what really were the problems and aspirations of contemporary African youths’. The products of the situation analysis were the five

major themes that were integrated into the new syllabus to be adopted as Zambia's 2044 syllabus (Masterton, 1987).

Missionaries' contribution to the development and growth of RE at this point was significant because it led to the production of two syllabuses: '*Developing in Christ*' and '*Christian Living Today*'. The former was introduced at junior secondary school while the latter at senior level (Smith, 1982; Masterton, 1985). With the development of the Christian Living Today, the old Cambridge Bible Knowledge that was in use was put aside. Accordingly, three syllabuses were in use at three levels, Joint Agreed syllabus for primary schools, Developing in Christ for junior secondary and Christian Living Today (2044) for senior level. Missionaries' laid the foundation on which the RE curriculum was to progress educationally.

However, the development of the new syllabus was without any problems. On theological grounds, some sections of the missionaries or churches were not happy with the approach embedded in the senior course. Thus, they revisited the old Cambridge Bible Knowledge and modified it to produce syllabus 2046. The other challenge faced with the new syllabus was lack of handbooks to use in schools. These and many more challenges arose. These problems came about because of missionaries' biasness in handling the curriculum development of the subject and the nature of planning that took precedence.

5.1.3. Planning

This is an important part of curriculum development just like conceptualisation. It can be carried out for so many reasons, for instance it can be carried out to determine the goals and objectives to be followed through out the entire curriculum process. In the history of Zambian RE, missionaries played a pivotal role in shaping the subject at this stage of the curriculum innovation. For instance, they had been on the subject panel for RE in the past in the name of the church as ZEC, CCZ and EFZ (Masterton, 1985).

Commenting on the role played by missionaries in educational planning, Snelson (1974: 129) wrote, “missionaries... shaped the development plans in order to ensure the opportunities to exert a Christian influence in the schools would be maximised”. As noted earlier, missionaries cooperated with the state’s educational department when the school curriculum was undergoing change. Missionaries were at the helm of sub-committees, which dealt with syllabuses, examinations and textbooks production. Similarly, missionaries were in the forefront raising resources to aid various developmental projects in education, with special attention given to RE (Masterton, 1985).

Missionaries’ role in planning and development of the subject “provided the foundation on which Zambia’s RE system is based...” (Ragsdale, 1986:33). In as much as this observation was right, one would argue that due to their continued influence in the planning and development of the subject, missionaries or the church left the subject conventional, while other subjects (secular subjects) took off with the evolving education. Churches’ preoccupation with the notion that ‘education will fall short of its purpose if it evades the ultimate issue of life and fails to bring men to God’ (Snelson, 1974), has had a bearing on the subjects’ failure to adopt an educational or progressive approach to the study of religion.

Most importantly, missionaries’ lack of cooperation with each other has been one of the worst thing during the planning and development of RE curriculum. They have been a source of confusion since 1800s (Snelson, 1974; Masterton, 1987; Mujdrlica, 1995). The continued competition between missionaries has deprived the subject an opportunity to develop to higher heights like other subjects. Other than the agreed primary syllabus, no other syllabus developed so far has received unanimous approval and adoption from all churches and this signals the magnitude of the problem facing the subject.

5.1.4. Development of Instructional Materials

The development of learning and teaching materials is a significant contribution to curriculum development of any subject. This involves the production of learner's books and teacher's guides and evaluation of the same materials to ascertain their appropriateness for school use (Masterton, 1985; Carey, 1986).

Since the 1800s, missionaries contributed significantly to the development of instructional materials for RE. According to Snelson (1974), this process covers the period before the colonial era, during colonial rule and at the dawn of independence. Some of the examples that highlight missionaries' contribution include their obstinate work in reducing the Bible into local languages and Braille. Besides the translation of scriptures, other instructional materials were developed and these include: Catechism textbooks; Simple prayer books; Hymn - books; Reading sheets and Primers. In both traditional and progressive education, instructional materials have been chief representatives of the lore and wisdom, which the school want to pass to learners (Dewey, 1997). Therefore, missionaries invested resources in this area with the hope of advancing their interest of having religion taught in both mission and public schools. A subject without instructional materials is as good as dead, thus missionaries ensured that they published and distributed school textbooks, with the help of government (Snelson, 1974).

Accordingly, between 1970s and 1980s, the church and government worked together in furthering the development of RE at both primary and secondary levels. In 1970, two (ZEC & CCZ) church mother bodies and government cooperated to produce a common syllabus for primary school level. Unlike the junior secondary syllabus, the senior syllabus was adopted from East Africa. Later on, the church produced an alternative syllabus (2046) for senior secondary at the end of 1984 and was in use by 1986. Material production for pupils' books at grade 10, 11 and 12 took place in 1990, 1992 and 1995 respectively. It has been argued that the alternative syllabus (2046) has remained popular because of the availability of instructional materials (Carmody, 2008).

5.1.5. Curriculum Piloting and Implementation

Usually after instructional materials and other curriculum documents have been prepared, there is need to carry out a trial test of such materials to ascertain the appropriateness of the materials with regard to teaching strategies that are in schools. As such, during the trial test, data is collected in case of curriculum revision. This comes in form of a summative evaluation, which maybe followed by modification of curriculum materials or actual printing and publishing of textbooks. The described process will be analysed in the following section to tease out the role played by missionaries at this level of curriculum development of RE in Zambia.

The period before 1925 when missionaries dominated the education system, little is documented to describe the process of trying out the materials that missionaries produced for their schools. In any case, they had the final say of what took place in their schools. This phase can best be described as one in which “learning meant acquisition of what already was incorporated in books and in the heads of the [teachers]... It was taught as a finished product, with little regard either to the ways in which it was originally built up... (Dewey, 1997: 19). The rigidity of the curriculum posed a challenge to would be critique with regards to subsequent flaws in the instructional materials. There was no regard for learners or would be teachers’ input in the materials.

The only instances when missionaries had to revise or modify their curriculum were cases when learners longed to be taught English. In line with this, Snelson (1974: 21) wrote “some missionaries were prepared to include English in the school curriculum when the pupils demanded this as the subject most likely to improve their prospects of obtaining employment”. Some missionaries can be described as being eccentric in that they initially objected to these demands and dictated there own ways, examples of Rev. John Fell, Fathers Joseph Moreau and Jules Torrend.

However, in later years the situation changed with the coming of government as partner in education. Specific examples of trial and test of the curriculum were the Gaba adapted syllabi 'Developing in Christ' and 'Christian Living Today'. When they were introduced in schools, some teachers complained that the Gaba language was too complex and abstract.

Similarly, some sections of teachers especially those from the Evangelical side were not happy with the removal of the Cambridge Bible Knowledge syllabus to be replaced by 2044 syllabus. Therefore, revision and modification took root at senior secondary level. In order to address the concerns, Rev Cecil King modified the Gaba adapted syllabus after consultation with the teachers and produced a Zambianised version. A team of evangelical RE teachers led by Morton also produced an alternative syllabus 2046. The new syllabi 2044 and 2046 were implemented into the schools and instructional materials were produced. Missionaries were at the centre of all this development process as they were fully represented in the committees responsible of curriculum development and review (Snelson, 1974; Masterton, 1985 & 87; Mujdrica, 1995).

5.1.6. Quality Control and Evaluation

Quality control of education like evaluation is an ongoing process in curriculum development. At every stage of the process some form of assessments are carried out to ascertain the quality of what goes into school. Thus, various stakeholders involved in education will be consulted at different stages to ensure there is equal representation of views on the subject. Missionaries as collaborators have participated in quality control and evaluation of RE curriculum.

The first form of quality control that was carried out by missionaries was a survey to ascertain the availability of books and teaching equipment and this was part of their tasks arrived at during the 1925 Advisory Board on Native Education meeting (Tiberondwa, 1989). Reverend Edwin Smith undertook the evaluation and his intention was to find out the availability of educational literature especially those in vernacular.

Part of the findings indicated that Bemba literature dominated titles in circulation in 1928. Some of the subjects best served were history, geography and religious instruction. Ila was the second language that had a number of titles in print. As a result of this survey, more books were produced in various subject areas and this time Rev. Fell took the lead and was assisted by Latham in distributing the resources (Snelson, 1974).

The Phelps Stokes Commission also carried out one of the major evaluation that affected the religious instruction curriculum. This was conducted after realisation that mission education was in chaos. Religious instruction as a subject was strengthened as a result of the recommendations from this assessment. Missionaries' cooperation in this process led to the development of a common RE syllabus.

With the coming of secondary education, the need for new syllabus was inevitable, missionaries spearheaded consultation on curriculum change that was to take course in the 1970s. A comparative study that was carried out in East Africa and subsequent development of syllabus 2044 and 2046 was achieved as a result of government and missionary effort. The same can be said over the Educational Reforms of 1975 & 1977. Both missionaries and government kept each other in check and balance. Missionaries wanted to advance their religious interests in the same way government had its own interest at heart, thus it can be argued that some form of quality control of the curriculum especially of RE was in place.

Religious Education teachers have carried out independent assessment of RE curriculum in Zambia, both Masterton and Mujdrica did some form of evaluation of the secondary school RE curriculum in 1985 and 1995 respectively. The latter was a specific evaluation of 2044 and 2046 syllabi and since these works came at different times, it simply points out that evaluation is an on going process in curriculum development of any subject.

5.2. Factors that Influenced the Evolution of RE in Zambia

5.2.1. Evangelisation

The need for evangelisation through the school was a factor in the development of religious instruction. Mission schools, it has been argued were extensions of the missionary task in the territory, which in this case was to evangelise and convert the natives to Christianity. The introduction of literacy in mission schools was intended to help the student's understanding of scriptures and Christian doctrines (Carmody, 2004; Mwanakatwe, 1974 & Snelson, 1974). Since religious instruction was a central subject in the early schools, it has been argued that it was one of the great contributions missionaries made to the development of the subject (Nabeeta, 1972). In other words, "it was the missionaries who got the whole thing going, they kept and made sure that RE was in the schools from the Denominational to interdenominational and educational phases" (McGivern, interview 2010). It was from the foundation laid by missionary aim of conversion through the school that RE's development in the later years was anchored on.

5.2.2. Resourcefulness

Similarly, the state's neglect of education was a pass-over of religious education to the missionaries. Accordingly, missionaries took control of the curriculum development of subject and subsequent financing of the entire process (Snelson, 1974). Missionaries' investment in the subject was crosscutting, from human resource to infrastructure and material production. This continues to be a significant issue as regards missionaries' contribution to the subject even today.

As a result of the preceding factor, some religious societies assumed dominance in the educational system. Those with steady financial resources were the ones with high numbers of schools, teachers and attracted more adherents. Consequently, they were highly represented in all decision-making processes that affected the status of religious education (Tiberondwa, 1989). As one would expect with influential entities, they pushed through with their ideologies whenever an opportunity in curriculum changes had come their way.

5.2.3. Cooperation

Missionaries' pliant position to political will has been a factor in the entire curriculum process. As discussed earlier, missionaries' cooperation with government helped them advance their interests more than they were thwarted. As early as 1800, they worked with the colonial government in the affairs of the natives thus, the comment "missionaries' are better than policemen and cheaper..." (Snelson, 1974: 19). The state being the controlling power was responsible of the moral advancement of the native population, instead they entrusted this duty to missionaries who willingly accepted with the hope of advancing with their agenda.

The continued neglect of this duty by the state was for an extended period of time. However, the development of the first policy on education 'Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa' significantly changed the nature of religion in education. Missionaries responded positively by developing an ecumenical syllabus that had an educational touch. This cooperation was a stepping-stone to what was to improve the curriculum of the subject. The Britons emerged from the same circumstances that saw their religious education more progressive.

The changing political landscape in the country affected the education system in 1970s. Educational policy changes led to curriculum innovations that in turn influenced the disposition of religious education. Like the first educational policy referred to in the preceding section, other educational proclamation did not spare RE: The Educational policies of 1977; 1992 and 1996 had an educational orientation which called for change in ideological and methodological outlook for all including the church. Through wide consultation and situation analysis with stakeholders, progress was scored as regards securing a place for religion in the school curriculum. Commenting on the emergence of common syllabi, Smith (1982) maintained that they were "less the product of an ecumenical vision than a result of historical and political changes in independent African countries". Above all, it can be argued that the religious have been a 'watchdog' to what became religion education.

5.2.4. Educational Background

Some missionaries' edification in both vocational and professional fields gave some missionary societies a comparative advantage over others, which were restricted to the former. Accordingly, those who were inculcated with both skills found interest and pride in contributing to the development of RE. This finding coincides with the observations made by Henze that their input in designing the RE curriculum was well received because the majority who sat on the committees "were all educationists, so we had one foot in the church and the other in the Ministry of Education. This was one important factor, so that the ministry is on one side and the Church is on the other side, and they had enough confidence" (Henze, 2010 Interview). This was the case during the preparation of the primary and secondary school syllabi when call for an ecumenical RE was made by the state at various stages in the history of the subject. This shows that the missionaries got involved in the development of RE as a curriculum subject owing to their educational backgrounds and this contributed to the growth of the subject.

It can be argued too that the presence of educationists among missionaries was the very reason that led RE grow from being a confessional towards being a professional and educational subject, a move which was being favoured by MoE and some societies. The interaction of missionaries and other stakeholders in the evolvement of RE can be illustrated in a summary appended in IV.

5.3. Reasons for Roman Catholic Missionaries' Insistence on Keeping RE as a School Curriculum Subject

The Roman Catholic societies like other groups have been influential in designing and shaping RE in Zambia. The prominence of some societies has been associated with their religious interests, which over time has led to the retention of confessional curriculum. As it has been argued, the biasness of the church during the entire process was as such so as to ensure the growth of the church thus the saying 'no catholic church without educated people'. Implicitly, RE was seen as the channel of meeting the Church's goal of expansion, although not all Catholic priests shared this missionary purpose.

In line with the need for expansion and win would be converts, the subject was thought of as an avenue for moral formation. The emphasis on this rationale gave the Church an identity associated with the subject, although some misconceptions have resulted in that RE has been linked to the religious unlike is the case with other subjects, which too were and continued to be taught by missionaries or the clergy (arithmetic – mathematics, English etc). RE was also preserved to safeguard the foundation on which the Zambian education was to be founded. The insistence on having RE became visible with the Church's willingness to conform to the educational philosophy in the country.

Currently, some missionaries whose interest rests in the subject have expressed fears with the nature and direction the subject is taking today. For instance, the development of RE at primary school level has resulted into integration with other subject areas in social and development studies. Uncertainty with the nature of RE at primary level as expressed by Henze owes to the disappearance of the spiritual dimension and compromise of its quality as evident in the limited time allocated to it in the teaching materials and also in national examinations.

The merging of RE has also aroused fears that it will lose its true meaning of spiritual formation, the process of subject integration at primary school level is almost destroying what has over time been preserved by missionaries. The suspicions also extend to how RE is being taught today. The absorption of RE in social and development studies has resulted in teaching that is used in informational subjects. Therefore, some missionaries have reservations on the teaching approach in that the spiritual dimension may end up being lost hence the insistence on preserving RE as it were as an independent school subject.

At secondary school level, the development of RE has faced challenges resulting from missionaries' and teachers' resistance to change. Little has been done to advance the nature of RE at high school level because some missionaries and teachers have found comfort in syllabuses 2044 and 2046 thus making it difficult for any advancements in the development of RE to make it educational.

This can be exemplified by stakeholders' refusal to go along with the production of a new high syllabus dubbed 'Realisation'. All this can be indebted to Catholic's desire to retain the subject's identity founded on spiritual facets.

A similar experience was recorded with the rejection of syllabus 2044 by evangelical teachers who opted for the development of 2046 that they could identify with. If a new syllabus which was different from what teachers have always known was introduced, teachers are likely to oppose change simply because they dread losing their identity (Henze, 2010 interview). One other argument that can be advanced for the difficulty faced with 2046 is the mushrooming of evangelical churches after 1991.

The situation with junior secondary school syllabus has been different, since its implementation after adaptation from the Gaba model, little if any change has occurred with grade 8 and 9 syllabus simply because different stakeholders (Catholic church) identifies with it. Subject evaluations' results have recommended the junior secondary curriculum as one of the best ever designed and produced in the history of RE. Although, the secondary or high school curriculum was a replica of the junior secondary syllabus, it has failed to make progress due to stakeholders' resistance.

Resistance to change and the need to maintain Church sponsored curriculum can be explained through the theme of conservativeness among Catholics that participated in the RE curriculum innovations. In the spirit of conservativeness, some Catholics have taken advantage of their positions on the subject committee at Curriculum Development Centre to market or sale the subject to the church hence its retention in denomination schools where it continues to enjoy a reputable status.

The misconception that RE can only be founded on scriptures or the need to evangelise has resulted into missionaries' insistence to base their curriculum on scriptural sources and thereby overlooking the human potential to use intuition. Arguably, the call for the adoption of different approaches to RE that surround humans' ability to evoke both ethical and moral abilities would help RE move beyond the traditional approach to

what constitute the subject. This will not only go further than the confessional approach to RE but also attain the educational dimension that deserves more prominence today.

5.4. Challenges that Came with Missionaries in the Development of Zambian RE

The missionaries' involvement in the development of RE as a curriculum subject was without its own challenges. Among them was, the state's limited financial contribution towards the development of education, which directly affected RE as a curriculum subject. During the BSA Co rule, the state had nothing to do with education and thus left the financing of curriculum development to the missionaries. Equally in the colonial period limited finances were allocated to the department of education, for instance around the 1930s, government only allocated thirty five per cent towards African education (Snelson, 1974 & Mwanakatwe, 1974). The consequences of limited funding to Native Education strained missionaries' contribution towards the development of the entire education system and compromised the quality of the curriculum development process of various subjects including RE.

In the same way, poor funding affected the availability of trained and qualified curriculum specialists whose absence was cushioned by the presence of few trained missionaries who in turn grabbed the opportunity to exert their religious interests. This resulted in the development of a non-educational but confessional RE curriculum, whose effects cannot be detached from the problems faced in the subject today. Missionaries' influence on the curriculum as pointed out contributed to the close association of RE with the Catholic Church.

The state's timely intervention in the management of education during the 1977 educational reforms introduced scientific socialism associated with humanism in the school curriculum, this meant RE had no place in the school curriculum. Therefore, Christian Living Today and Cambridge Bible Knowledge could not be taught in Zambian schools. This posed a challenge to the nature of RE curriculum whose

development, organisation and implementation was state controlled. According to Henze (Interview, 2010) the spiritual dimension, which is fundamental, was missing. As such the church fought for the place of RE in the school curriculum that came to be known as spiritual and moral education.

Another challenge encountered with the missionaries' participation in shaping RE was rivalry between the Catholics and Protestants. The background to the rivalry is traced back to the early Christian missionaries and this "has persisted between the followers of the two communities and has [had] great effects on the development of... educational systems" (Tiberondwa, 1989, xv). In Zambia, the situation was intensified with the introduction of a Catholic sponsored and oriented 2044 syllabus. Due to theological differences, the Protestants designed a 2046 counter syllabus at senior school level (Masterton, 1985/ 7). For this reason, the RE curriculum development proved a failure in that the missionaries produced two competing syllabi, the most undesirable and retrogressive thing in the history of the subject.

External influence was witnessed with the production of teaching and learning materials for 2044 and 2046. This affected implementation of the RE curriculum in schools in that, the financially sound camp could produce enough materials for use in schools. Correspondingly, at primary level there was no funding for material production and this affected the teaching and learning of RE. The publication of the available materials was only possible with the Protestant secured funding through the Anglican multimedia centre (Henze, 2010 interview). As a result 2046 became popular and was widely implemented as compared to 2044.

Missionaries' continued presence in the RE curriculum development process has resulted into the retention of Confessional RE model and subsequent resistance to change to an Educational model, which is appropriate for RE today.

Chapter Six

6. Conclusion

Having discussed the findings, this chapter draws a conclusion and suggests lessons, which can be learnt from the missionaries' dedication, passion and commitment for the subject.

The main interest of this study was to retrace the role of the missionaries in developing RE as a Zambian curriculum subject. This was done by exploring their contribution to curriculum development process of RE as well as investigating the factors which influenced missionary involvement in the curriculum cycle. The missionaries' desire to evangelize led to their co-operation and resourcefulness in developing RE. From this philosophical background of evangelization, missionaries fostered their religious interests through contributing to the development of RE as a curriculum subject.

The study established that the role of the missionaries in developing RE as a curriculum subject was reflected in their involvement at the development, organization and implementation stages of the curriculum process. In this curriculum process, missionary contribution was through training of personnel, production, publication and distribution of teaching and learning materials, infrastructure development and technical expertise. All these contributions owe to their financial capacity and dedication towards the development of the subject. Indeed, if there were no missionaries, there would be no RE at both primary and secondary levels.

The study has also demonstrated that among the factors that influenced missionaries' contributions to development of RE curriculum in Zambia was their desire to advance religious interests. Similarly, the government's call for an ecumenical curriculum made missionaries contribute to developing the RE curriculum through cooperation firstly among missionary societies themselves and the government. Missionaries' capacity to secure resources in terms of personnel, finances and time was yet another factor that led to their involvement in developing RE and shaping its nature at primary and secondary levels. It is clear that missionaries were able to contribute to the

development of the RE curriculum by assuming strategic and influential positions in management and administration of the country's education system.

The prominence of some missionary societies in the development of RE as a school curriculum has been associated with their religious interests. As it has been argued, the biasness of the church during the entire process was as such so as to ensure the growth of the church thus the saying 'no catholic church without educated people'. Implicitly, RE was seen as the channel of meeting the Church's goal of expansion, although not all Catholic priests shared this missionary purpose.

Although missionaries are credited for having developed RE curricular, they should also be blamed for having introduced two different syllabuses at senior school level, a most undesirable and retrogressive thing in the eyes of many scholars of RE in Zambia. Despite this weakness, current curriculum specialists and other stakeholders should draw an understanding from the past missionary contribution to the development of RE in order to develop an appropriate RE curriculum for Zambia today. In the same manner, the church and state should co-operate in safeguarding the status of RE as a curriculum subject in the Zambian schools.

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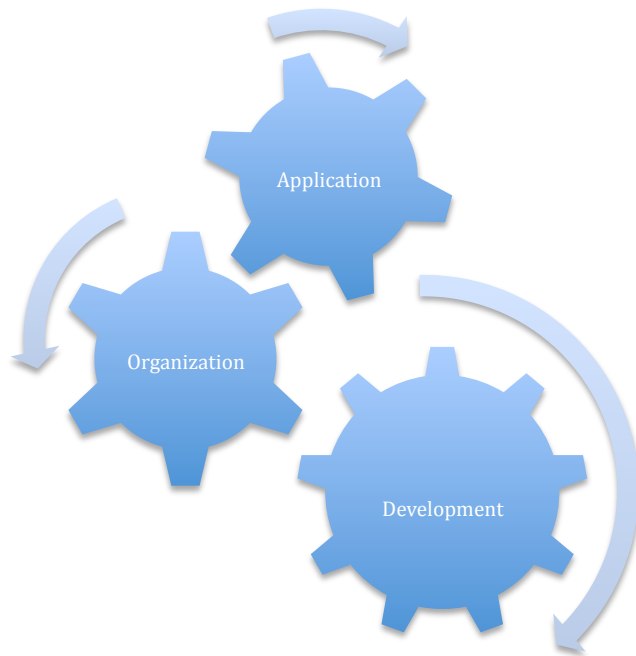
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Appendix I: Interview Guide

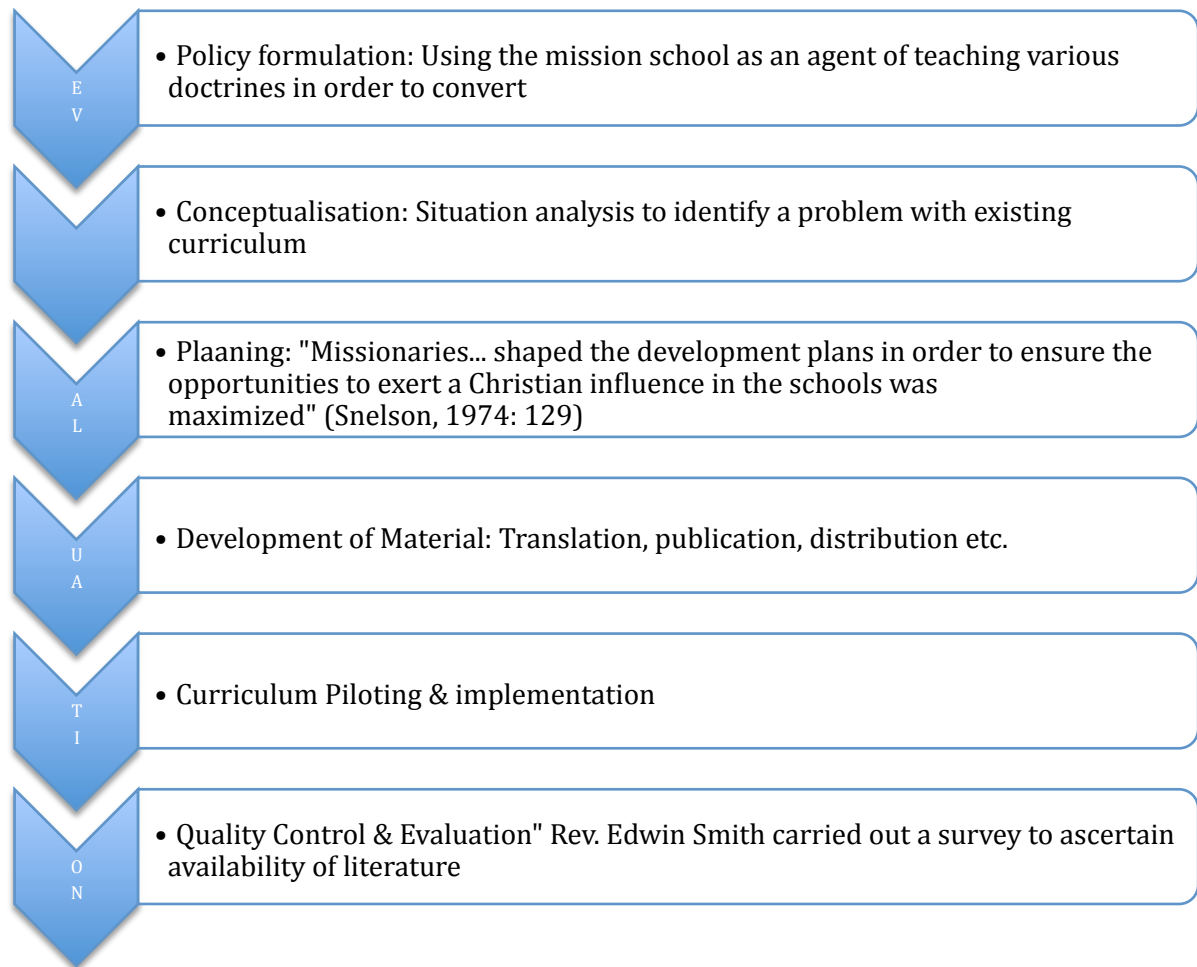
1. How have missionaries contributed to the development of the *Zambian RE* curriculum?
2. What roles did they play in the development of the *RE* curriculum at
 - i. Primary level
 - ii. Secondary level
3. What are some of the factors that have influenced the *Zambian RE* as a teaching subject in our school curricular?

Appendix II: Curriculum Development Model



Source: (Print, 1995).

Appendix III: The Role of Missionaries in Curriculum Development Process



Source: (Print, 1995).

Appendix IV: Summary of Factors that Influenced Missionaries' Involvement in the Development of RE in Zambia

