The Emergence of Teacher Education in Zambia

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The Emergence of Teacher Education in Zambia

BY

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Foreword

This study on *The Emergence of Teacher Education in Zambia* is an outstanding contribution to the global story of educational development. With painstaking attention to historical and scholarly detail, Professor Carmody delineates the transition within Zambia from teacher training to teacher education. In doing so, he maps out in considerable detail how, over a period of more than a century, teacher education evolved from imparting a narrowly conceived ability to transmit the three R's, through delivering some of the basic skills needed for formal employment, down to developing the in-depth knowledge and understanding of subject-matter that are required today. As he does so, he depicts in fine detail the education sector's response to changing social and political situations, reshaping and reformulating its teacher formation programmes and policies in the light of public expectations, economic realities, political aspirations and the limits of the possible.

At the same time the book brings out the steady increase in government control of the education system and the way this was seldom accompanied by a corresponding increase in resources. From beginning to end, education comes out strongly as the 'poor cousin', lacking the resources needed for responding to the high expectations of a rapidly increasing population and the dictates of not-always-creditable political elites. That it came to its present moderately developed state is a remarkable tribute to human tenacity and popular faith in the high value of education.

Throughout the study, Professor Carmody laments the way the preparation of teachers has remained narrow, concentrating its efforts on equipping prospective teachers with the skills needed to enable their future pupils climb the social ladder. He finds this to be far from the ideal so eloquently expressed by one of his informants who said what she finds attractive about teaching is that it provides her with an opportunity to do what she loves, 'mould and guide learners so that they have an impact on society and make it a better world'. The ideal is that teacher education should imbue all teachers with a similar spirit so that they would be empowered to educate not solely for jobs but also for flourishing lives. Unfortunately, this is far from being the situation in Zambia, and very likely in many other parts of the world, where an urgent need remains for a more future-inspired and professional approach to teacher formation.

Professor Carmody finds that this call for a more professional approach to the enterprise of being a teacher has been mooted many times in the past, but has been thwarted by the social, political and even academic view that the primary and secondary school teacher has a very minor role to play as a thinking, decision-making, reflective and autonomous professional. The book notes the troubling implication of this failure to recognise the wealth of experience, understanding and good will present in most teachers, to say nothing of the enormity of the responsibility society places on them – that she or he is in effect merely a second-class professional, constrained to survive in a poorly paid career with unattractive prospects and very little motivation to excel on the job. What is required, the book pleads, is to effectively upgrade the status of teaching, not just by improvements in salaries, career prospects and conditions of service, but also by clearer public recognition that the teacher plays a crucial role in preparing the oncoming generations – in 'moulding and guiding learners' – for their life, performance and happiness in a rapidly changing world.

Lurking in the background of Professor Carmody's study are the ever-present questions:

What next? Where will education in Zambia go from here? What new developments are needed to correct what has gone before and reform teacher education so that classroom practitioners can become the channel for the formation of responsible, caring, satisfied, imaginative, adequately informed young adults? Can it be brought about that teachers become 'transforming intellectuals'? What can be done to upgrade the status of teachers and the image of teaching as a career?

Hopefully, with the considerable scholarship at his disposal, Professor Carmody will address questions such as these and point us to the next stage in the evolution of teacher education, not only in Zambia, but also in Africa and throughout the world.

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To be acknowledged and thanked for substantial input on teacher education is Professor Michael J. Kelly whose experience of the Zambian setting is extensive and who was ready to share from his memory.

I also greatly appreciate the encouragement and support of Professor Tom O' Donoghue of the University of Western Australia without whose prompting this would not have been undertaken.

The research is historic and for it I depended almost entirely on the resources of the Institute of Education, University College London. I am however especially grateful to Donal O'Murchu for some original documents and recollections linked to his time as a lecturer in Charles Lwanga College in the late 1960s. As indicated, much back-up comes from interviews and emails for which I am also grateful. John Mujdrica S. J. provided contacts with teachers in whose education he featured over many decades during his time as lecturer at Nkrumah, Charles Lwanga and Catholic University, Kitwe. I appreciate this.

However, I am solely responsible for whatever shortcomings this work may have.

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Introduction

This chapter will include a note on the purpose and methodology of the study as a historical narrative and outline what are some of the salient points as teacher education moved from being a form of apprenticeship in the villages in days now long past to being included on the university curriculum today. It will conclude with some reflection on how teacher education has unfolded in Zambia's history.

Context

This study focusses on the history of teacher education in Zambia and aims to provide an overview of its development. Zambia, a landlocked country in southern Africa about the size of France, shares its southern border with Zimbabwe to the south and with Congo and Tanzania to the north and north east. On its border with Zimbabwe and Botswana we meet the Mosi-oa-Tunya (the smoke that thunders), which was named the Victoria Falls in 1855, when David Livingstone is said to have arrived there. Zambia became independent from Britain in 1964 and today is a democratic country with approximately 16 million people with an overall literacy rate of roughly 75 per cent. This has resulted from large-scale investment in schooling and teachers whose education is the topic of the study.

Purpose and Procedure

Why write the history of teacher education in Zambia? Is it worthwhile or simply some kind of academic exercise? One reason is that, by reflecting on what has been done, current problems become more intelligible. It could be said that the historian's goal resembles that of the therapist which is to liberate us from the burden of the past by enabling us to understand it. We and our institutions are shaped by what has gone before us. More specifically, perhaps such a study

¹B. Lonergan, *Method in Theology* (London: Darton Longman & Todd, 1973): 181; R. Pring, *The Future of Publicly Funded Faith Schools: A Critical Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2018): 21; S. Cohen, "The history of the history of American education 1900–1976: the use of the past", *Harvard Educational Review*, 46, no. 3 (1976): 298–330; R. Lowe, "Do we still need history of education: is it central or peripheral?", *History of Education*, 31, no. 6 (2002): 491–504.

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should also help teachers to reflect on their own, often unquestioned, routines in the hope of being more self-aware and effective.²

While the significance of history may be more or less accepted, it might be argued that it already exists. Indeed, as will be evident, what follows depends greatly on what scholars have already crafted by identifying historical data on teacher education and providing diverse interpretations. It is hoped however that what follows will deliver an enlarged perspective of what has gone forward. History is being taken to be relating not simply a sequence of events. Rather, by examining data in the form of documents, rituals, events and fragments which embody meaning we are enabled to build up an overview. Depending on our standpoint, this will vary so that the perspectives for instance of an education officer in the colonial days will be different from that of a nationalist who becomes part of the new state.

When speaking of the approaches to the study of African history of which teacher education is an element, large-scale interpretive frameworks have been outlined by Strayer when he speaks of metropolitan, nationalist and encounter.³ Writing from a metropolitan viewpoint in the Western colonial setting meant that the colonial actor gained pride of place. Local voices tended to be omitted or marginalised. Moreover, it has also to be acknowledged that ruling groups tend to impose their viewpoints. The result is that, what from a Western perspective could be seen to be development, from another standpoint could be identified as a recipe for underdevelopment.⁴ Reading history thus entails looking critically at the different viewpoints as a means to arriving at a more comprehensive narrative but this remains a major challenge which the pages that follow may perhaps illustrate.

In creating this, an underlying perspective is that perception of the opportunity structure as it expanded through the advent of colonial capitalism fired much of the demand for expanded schooling. ⁵ It will be contended that this had a major impact on the kind of schooling that developed and correlative to that to the kind of teacher education that has evolved. Because of the pre-ponderant driving force of upward social mobility and the kind of literacy which enhanced this, teaching remained largely functional. ⁶

²R. Pring, *Thinking Philosophically About Education: the Selected Works of Richard Pring* (London: Routledge, 2019): 134.

³R.W. Strayer, "Mission history in Africa: new perspectives on an encounter", *African Studies Review*, XIX (1976):1–15; See also: P. Manning & J. Miller, "Historical Writing in Postcolonial Africa: The Institutional Context," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol.52, no.2 (2019): 191–216; B. Carmody, Ed., *Religious Conversion: An African Perspective* (Lusaka, Zambia: Gadsden Publishers, 2015): 5–26.

⁴W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972); W. Davis, "Competing views of the kingdom of god in Africa", *The Ecumenical Review*, 32, no. 2 (1980): 115–127.

⁵J. Ogbu, *Minority Education and Caste* (New York, NY: The Academic Press, 1978): 78; R. Clignet and P. Foster, *The Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast* (Evanston, IL: North-western University, 1966): 15.

⁶N. Noddings, "Is teaching a practice?", *Journal of the Philosophy of Education*, 37, no. 2 (2003): 241–251.

The approach adopted, as indicated, is historical, relying mainly on secondary sources of which there is an abundance. Though the discovery and use of documents, records and related material from institutions are limited, the data are however supplemented by the fact that the author served as a teacher educator at different Zambian institutions between 1973 and 2006 while his colleague was both a student and later educator in some of these settings. Moreover, much contact with former educators and students through interviews and emails produced valuable material. The interviews are largely anonymised as is the correspondence.

Stepping Stones

In looking at the development of teacher education in Zambia, there are some landmarks which may help such as for instance before Livingstone's discovery of the spectacularly beautiful spot, the Victoria Falls, little was known in Europe and America about this part of the world: 'Until about the end of the eighteenth century, Central Africa, what used to be called "darkest Africa" was practically unknown to Europeans'. Through Livingstone's explorations, this changed. 8

Literacy

From the time of Berlin West Africa Conference various European powers carved up Africa. The so-called 'scramble for Africa' had begun. As part of this, in 1890, a British private commercial organisation, the British South Africa Company (BSAC), under the direction of an Englishman, Cecil Rhodes, gained access to the territory which constitutes Zambia today. This came about largely because of Rhodes' interest in the area's potential for labour and minerals.⁹

From 1890, the BSAC governed and opened the way for the arrival of other westerners including Christian missionaries. As a result, by 1924 at least 15 groups of various types of Christian missionaries from Europe and North America had come to the area. Their chief concern could broadly be seen to have been the conversion of local people to their version of religion or more specifically to their form of Christianity. As part of their concern, small-scale, make-shift, schools grew up. These were primarily instruments of evangelisation. Though small and flimsy, such schools inaugurated major social change:

[...] The whites brought another revolutionary invention: they taught the villagers the art of sorting ideas. In the past tradition depended on memory and the word of mouth; the old knew most,

⁷T.E. Dorman, *African Experience: An Education Officer in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia)* (London: The Radcliffe Press, 1993):14.

⁸K. Shillington, *History of Africa* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 307.

⁹Shillington, *History of Africa*, 328; J. Weller and I. Linden, *Mainstream Christianity to 1980 in Malawi Zambia and Zimbabwe* (Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1984): 31–32; Davis, "Competing views", 118–119.

and the young knew least, but missionaries and others showed how words might be committed to paper and permanently preserved, with revolutionary effect for the future.¹⁰

In subsequent pages, we shall observe how this so-called revolutionary invention became part of the Zambian landscape.

The Normal School

When the BSAC rule ended in 1924, the British colonial government assumed control. In the interest of extending basic literary among the population, it issued a policy statement, *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*. ¹¹ This spoke of 'adapted' education which was seen to have potential to better prepare the people for life in the villages. ¹² This was translated not solely into individual schools but entailed the creation of a schooling system designed to prepare children largely for more industrious life in the village in the context of a policy of indirect rule. ¹³

A key aspect of this included the training of the teachers in what was known as normal schools, primary schools reaching Standard II and above with something equivalent to teaching methods. ¹⁴ Such 'normal' schools multiplied. It was also envisaged that teachers graduating from the normal school would be assisted in the field by inspectors known as the Jeanes supervisors, the first of whom were trained at Mazabuka. ¹⁵ Though the overall training and supervision of teachers remained basic, it formed the infrastructure for what would follow. To be kept in view is that this development of schooling and its teachers embodied a growing political tension. The government encouraged 'adapted' schooling, geared to preparing the young for life in the village even though the development of copper mining and

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¹⁰L.H. Gann, A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1964): 194; A.V. Murray, The School in the Bush (London: Longmans, 1938): 790; R. Mackie, Ed., Literacy and Revolution (New York, NY: Continuum, 1981); J. Goody, Literacy in Traditional Societies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

¹¹Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (Cmd., 2374, HMSO, 1925); E.H. Berman, "American influence on African education: the role of the Phelps-Stokes fund's educational commissions", *Comparative Educational Review*, XV, no. 2 (1972): 132–145.

¹²Lewis, *Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa*, 10, 24, 90; D. O'Brien, *The Struggle for Control of Education in Zambia: From the Colonial Period to the Present* (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2006): 84.

¹³F. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate* (London, 1923); C.G. Latham, "Indirect rule and education in East Africa", *Africa*, VI (1934): 423–430.

¹⁴L. Musonda, *Brief History of Teacher Education and Teacher Training Colleges in Zambia 1883–1990* (unpublished, 1999): 2–3: B. Carmody, "The politics of Catholic education in Zambia, 1891–1964", *Journal of Church and State*, 44, no. 3 (2002): 782; P.C. Manchishi, *Reforming Zambian Pre-Service Teacher Education for Quality Learning* (Lusaka, Zambia: UNZA Press, 2013): 12–13.

¹⁵T.G. Benson, "The Jeanes school and the education of the East African native", *Journal of the Royal Africa Society*, xxxv, no. cxxxviii (1936): 418–431.

the industrialisation which was taking place beckoned these youth away from the village. 16

This colonial government policy of 'adaptation' continued for many years and so teachers' education remained at an elementary level. ¹⁷ Slowly and reluctantly government recognised that life in Northern Rhodesia was changing in view of the development of the copper mines. The prospect of a new way of life captured the imagination of many people particularly boys and young men even in the remotest villages. What they generally wanted was the kind of school that would prepare them for life beyond the village; they wanted what might give them a passport to social mobility. ¹⁸ Local demand for higher levels of literacy (beyond Grade II) became a recurring cry in the late 1930s and eventually gained some recognition with the opening of Munali as a secondary school in 1939.

Training Colleges

On urging from the Colonial Office as it became more attuned to what was taking place in the early 1930s, the colonial government realised that local authority was being surpassed. Chiefs and headmen who were the elements of 'indirect rule' may have been traditionally important but a new brand of leadership was emerging from the school. From it and the small-scale associations such as the Welfare Societies, the local African or in this instance, the Northern Rhodesian, voice became less silent. Many of these such as Harry Nkumbula from Namwala and Kenneth Kaunda from Chinsali were school-teachers. They had become more sensitive to and articulate about the injustice of colonial rule. This became particularly significant by the 1940s as the settler community campaigned for a Federation of the territories of Northern and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe today) with Nyasaland (Malawi). The settlers successfully pushed forward the

¹⁶B. Carmody, "Conversion and school at Chikuni, 1905–1939", in B. Carmody, Ed. *Religious Conversion: An African Perspective* (Lusaka, Zambia: Gadsden Publishers, 2015): 151, 153; R. Serpell, *The Significance of Schooling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 19; J. Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 230; Davis, "Competing views", 121.

¹⁷G. Beresford-Stooke, "Memorandum on native education in northern Rhodesia", as quoted in B. Carmody, *Conversion and Jesuit Schooling in Zambia* (Leiden, the Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1992): 49; P. Kallaway and R. Swartz, Eds, *Empire and Education in Africa* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2016): 9–14.

¹⁸F. Musgrove, *Education and Anthropology* (New York, NY: Wiley, 1982); V. Murray, "Education under indirect rule", *Journal of the African Society*, XXIV, no. CXXXIV (1935): 227–268; M. Bajaj, "Intergenerational perspectives on education and employment in the Zambian copperbelt", *Comparative Education Review*, 54, no. 2 (2010): 175.

¹⁹J.P. Ragsdale, *Protestant Mission Education in Zambia 1880–1954* (London: Associated Press, 1986): 147–148; A. L. Epstein, *Politics in an Urban African Community* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958); T. Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1969): 46.

²⁰O'Brien, The Struggle for Control, 89, 126.

ideal of Federation in 1953, which was totally unacceptable to the local African population.²¹

Aware of the growth of a new kind of leadership, government sought to better include the schooled locals by, among other things, developing native authority schools. These would provide an avenue of responsibility for local leadership. It supported the formation of the United African Teaching Service in 1952 when teachers became more clearly distinguished as a group and perhaps could be seen as professionals at least from a sociological standpoint. Moreover, government spoke of creating larger, regional and more standardised teacher training centres. Together with the opening of Munali as a secondary school, these developments revealed a growing awareness of significant political change and the need for a higher level of literacy. This advance was supported by the 1952 Cambridge Conference on Education in British Africa. This conference's background was that of the McNair report in England which spoke of the need for teacher training to be closer to the university where other forms of professional training took place.

This post-World War II landscape evidently reflected a changed political perspective in so far as the idea of national self-rule in the not so distant future came to be heard. In Northern Rhodesia, the idea was somewhat obscured by the imposition of Federation. With such political ambiguity, government pursued its movement towards greater standardisation of teacher training and through it assumed greater control of the process. It called for an end to the normal school system with its limited tribal-like vision. This meant that the teacher became more clearly a kind of civil servant. Politically, this often created conflict of loyalty for the teacher as the nationalist movement fermented by Nkumbula and Kaunda developed in reaction to the imposition of Federation. From the colonial government's perspective, the teacher and his/her education were intended to be apolitical.

What appears is that government viewed the teacher and his/her education at this time principally as a servant of the state rather than in any way as a political leader. Meanwhile, amalgamation and the development of larger colleges went ahead so that by Independence in 1964, Zambia had five major colleges as the smaller units which had developed from the normal schools amalgamated or were fading away.²⁵ It all signalled a new era for teacher education in Zambia.

²¹A.J. Hanna, *The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960): 255.

²²Ragsdale, *Protestant Mission Education*, 139–146, 151–153; Noddings "Is teaching a practice?", 247.

²³African Education. A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953); C. Whitehead, "The impact of the Second World War on British colonial education policy", History of Education, 18, no. 3 (1989): 290; J. Furlong, Education—An Anatonomy of the Discipline: Rescuing the University Project? (London: Routledge, 2013):19–21.

²⁴Teachers and Youth Leaders (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1940): 25, 77.

²⁵Musonda, *Brief History of Teacher Education*, 4; *Ministry of Education Annual Report for 1964* (Lusaka, Zambia: Government Printer, 1965): 57; Manchishi, *Reforming Zambian Pre-Service Teacher Education*, 15.

University Colleges

With the demise of the Federation in 1963 and the dawning of Zambia's Independence in 1964, the new government under the leadership of former teacher, Kenneth Kaunda, faced major educational challenges. However, in line with the colonial government's gradual acquisition of control of the education system, the new government assumed immediate and abrupt large-scale direction of the way forward. The day of the system of the system of the system of the way forward.

In looking ahead, its policy was shaped by what was known as the modernisation approach to national development which essentially spoke of the development of human capital.²⁸ This approach bore large-scale expansion of the education system in response to ever increasing demand for schooling as this came to be seen to be a passport to social mobility. In the early 1970s, Zambia's economy fell on bad times largely because of the dramatic drop in copper prices resulting in a period of economic crises leading to a Structural Development Programme.²⁹ In an effort to find another route to satisfying the on-going demand for school that would lead to formal employment, President Kaunda reviewed his ideology of Zambian Humanism and spoke of scientific socialism.³⁰ The promises of the modernisation model of educational and national development were questioned because of their weak link to direct promotion of national development. This led to the so-called educational reform.³¹ Underpinning this was an increasing school-leaver problem resembling what had been an on-going cry of the colonial administrators namely having more and more 'educated unemployed'. ³² The drive towards seeing school as a road to formal employment which had begun with the opening of the copper mines had created a major dilemma because of a mistaken understanding of the school's role in development.

²⁶M. Mwalimu, "Education and the economy: achievements and shortfalls in independent Zambia, 1964–2014", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40, no. 5 (2014): 1095.

²⁷J.M. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence* (Lusaka, Zambia: The University of Zambia Press, 2013): 191–203.

²⁸T. McCowan and E. Underhalter, Eds., *Education and International Development: An Introduction* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); B. Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia* (Lusaka, Zambia: Bookworld, 2004): 26.

²⁹Mwalimu, "Education and the economy", 1097; Carmody, *The Evolution of Education*, 56–58.

³⁰A.M. Cheyeka, "The role of Zambian humanism in the development of plural religious education in Zambia", *African Social Research*, no. 52(2006): 15–27; K.D. Kaunda, *Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation Part II* (Lusaka, Zambia: Government Printer, n.d.).

³¹This is detailed in: *Education for Development: Draft Statement on Educational Reform* (Lusaka, Zambia: Ministry of Education, 1976); *Educational Reform: Proposal and Recommendations* (Lusaka, Zambia: Ministry of Education, 1977); Carmody, *The Evolution of Education*, 37–47.

³²P.C. Coombs, *The World Crisis in Education: A View from the Eighties* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985); Carmody, *Conversion and Jesuit Schooling*, 106.

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What resulted was an education edifice which became progressively difficult to maintain. Within this framework, teacher training expanded to keep pace with the large-scale increase of schooling but its nature and role, like schooling itself, remained largely unquestioned. The teacher was being trained to do what had been developed during the colonial days largely in his/her capacity as a servant except for a brief moment during the reforms when he/she was envisaged to assume a political mandate. This traditional conservative perspective on teacher education began to change in the 1990s and led eventually to closer association with university when the primary colleges were affiliated for diploma granting. The secondary teachers' colleges, Nkrumah and Copperbelt Teachers' College (Cosecto), which had been long in association with university also gained status as colleges of the university in their own right.

The basic idea of closer association with the university had been, as noted, floated at the Cambridge Conference of 1952. It would seem therefore that teacher education was overdue for re-conceptualisation as the teacher might profit from a status lift.³³ This is to be viewed in light of what has happened over the intervening years in teacher training more universally where teacher education became part of universities.³⁴ While the new horizon of moving teacher preparation into the university signals better days for teacher education in Zambia, it is not clear how much it includes a significant re-conceptualisation of the teacher.

The Teacher

As we glanced at the emergence of the role of the teacher with the advent of literacy, we have seen how his/her training developed from a form of apprenticeship in the remote village in the early days to the more centralised normal school in colonial times through to college with nationwide catchment and more recently to university accreditation, what has it revealed?

The history indicates major commitment to basic schooling reaching back to the colonial days but especially after Independence as a means of social mobility. For this and other reasons, the preparation of teachers remained narrow, a form of training enabling the pupil ideally to climb the social ladder. ³⁵ In this capacity, the teacher has remained largely a servant (whether technically civil or not). He/she has been peripheral to the educational development of the country and so it is hardly surprising that the nation has arrived where its school misfits the needs of the people. Schools are and have been geared for formal employment that remains extremely limited but realistic as opposed to romantic alternatives that have not even been well developed.

³³R. Aldrich and D. Crook, "Education as a university subject in England: an historical interpretation", *Paedagogica Historica*, 34, no. 4 (1998) 122–138.

³⁴W. Robinson, "England and Wales", in *Teacher Education in the English-Speaking World*, Eds T. Donoghue and C. Whitehead (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc., 2008): 50–51.

³⁵L. Paine and K. Zeichner, "The local and the global in reforming teaching and teacher education", *Comparative Education Review*, 56, no. 4 (2012): 578.