BOOK REVIEW

THE EMERGENCE OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA

by
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Introduction

The book *Emergence of Teacher Education in Zambia* is a product of many decades of Professor Brendan Carmody's experience as a teacher educator at Chikuni and the University of Zambia. It is an excellent contribution on the emergence of teacher education in Zambia. Carmody acknowledges the major contributions of Professor Austin Cheyeka who provided data from interviews and contact with those linked to teacher education in Zambia. His contributions are evident in Chapters 4 and 5. He also acknowledges Professor Michael J. Kelly who shared his vast experiences in teacher education in Zambia. Further, Carmody provides a trajectory on the evolution of teacher education from colonial times to post-independence Zambia. In doing so, he maps out in 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 the subject – matter that is required today. He further 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. The book brings out the steady increase in government control of the education system and the way this is seldom accompanied by a corresponding increase in resources especially in the second republic.

Carmody laments the way the preparation of teachers has remained narrow, concentrating its efforts on equipping prospective teachers with the skills needed to enable pupils to climb up the social ladder rather than moulding and guiding learners so that they have an impact on society and make it a better world. This call for a more professional approach to the enterprise of teaching has been mooted several times but seems to be thwarted by the social, political and even academic view that the primary and secondary school teacher has a very minor role to play in policy issues in

education. He notes the implications of failure by the powers that be in ignoring the wealth of experience of teachers and excluding them in decision-making that affects their work. In order to empower teachers, Carmody proposes empowering teachers by upgrading the status of teaching, not just by improvements in salaries, career prospects and conditions of service, but also by clearer public recognition as the teacher plays a crucial role in preparing the oncoming generations (moulding and guiding learners) for their life, performance and happiness in a rapidly changing world.

Chapter 1: Teacher Education in Zambia: 1890 to 1924

The first chapter presents how teacher education took root in Zambia, the chapter outlined the background to the arrival of the school in what was Northern Rhodesia between 1883 and 1924. It has been pointed out that the school provided a very different kind of education to what was given traditionally, in that it provided basic literacy. The school was heavily allied to different Christian missionaries and was primarily a means of gaining members for different churches. One could say that practice was harnessed to ecclesiastical interest. For much of the time, it operated almost independently of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) Government, which did not see schooling as intrinsic to its purposes. This meant that the school did not experience a great need to assume clear secular objectives. As a result, it often failed to gain the interest of the native population whose interest in school hinged on its perceived benefit of acquiring paid employment.

This early period could be seen as a prelude to the emergence of school in a more than church perspective together with the professional preparation of its teachers. It has been regretted that teacher training in a more than church sense was so slow to take shape with negative outcomes. By 1924, it was reported that the natives of Northern Rhodesia were, generally, uneducated and the average village school was of little or no value from the educational point of view. Nevertheless, it was also asserted that the missionaries of the territory had laid foundations on which a sound system of Native Education might rapidly be raised. While some of the fabric of the school and the training of teachers had been constructed, the building needed to be developed and completed, and this was a challenge for the future.

The village school became the heart of the African educational system. It was often a mud building, standing out at the corner of a maize field by a tall tree with an earth floor, a table, a blackboard with young men and maidens all learning reading, writing and scripture. It was new learning, mastering the elements of something that was never in village life before. The emphasis in the village was placed on good manners, obedience to elders, cooperation in common tasks, practical skills in preparation for duties of adult life, learning close contact with nature, self-restraint and endurance of hardship and a sense of reciprocal obligation between elders and children. Initially, much of the teaching was done by missionaries who had learned the local languages. Depending on the Christian group involved, they entrusted this task of schooling to the local people. In speaking of this, Elizabeth Colson, drawing on her long experience among the Tonga said:

> *Lusangu, SDA mission was more successful in the early days in attracting older people than was Chikuni. This may have been because Anderson, the founder was willing to give almost immediate recognition to those who indicated a desire for baptism, and then gave them the responsibility to go out and teach. At Chikuni, they were taught by Catechism, expected to remain in tutelage, for a long time, and only later, would they be recognised as full Christians.*

Acquiring such competence was normally done through observation and practice under the supervision of a missionary. It was a form of apprenticeship where teaching was implicit. In this way, teaching was soon in the hands of young men who received a grounding in the three Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic) and a little hygiene. Having acquired the elements of the Christian faith, they were appointed as teacher evangelists. In passing on various skills, the language of instruction was the local language in which missionaries may or may not have been well versed. It was often a case of mutual learning, which opened the door to deepening relationships where true friendships and partnerships developed. Much of this mutual learning would have entailed translation and the gradual emergence of writing in the local language. What the missionary teachers and the local assistants taught included the letters of the alphabet to prepare them for reading and writing so that the letters on a page, which had hitherto been a 'mystery' suddenly started forming into words and making sense.

Missions varied greatly in balancing between their direct evangelistic concerns and their commitment to their secular school agendas. There was a race to gain converts, which probably meant a very basic church school at the expense of something more widely educational. A White father who was asked about the competence of his catechists in the early 1930s said:

> *Catechists are the masters of the mission in that they catechise the people, but what they lack is secular knowledge. They are not capable of being good primary school teachers, and the British want genuine schools.*

The early school was Spartan in attempting to deliver some rudimentary capacity to read, write and count, enveloped in religious ritual and instruction. It quickly became the task of those who became mission adherents of reliable character to become mission teachers.

Colonial Government and the School

Northern Rhodesia suffered a loss of sovereignty as colonial powers progressively established their rule. In 1890, the BSAC became the effective government of the area. It had minimal, if any interest, in schooling. Nonetheless, it kept a vaguely concerned eye on what was taking place. In so far as it paid any attention to what the missionaries were doing in their schools, it favoured training for technical work. In 1904, the Governor, Robert Coryndon said:

> *I am convinced from my experience that technical work is the way to labour among the natives, if one wants that real success, which is the endeavour of my administration to encourage…the Board of the Company would be very much more inclined to assist a society, which approached matters in such ways rather than purely theoretical and dogmatic religious teaching.*

Preparation for life in the village underpinned company land grants. For example, in 1905, the BSAC gave 10,000 acres of land to Fr. Moreau, the founder of Chikuni on condition that he would promote agricultural training. Alongside this concern for useful schooling was the desire that it should not be too academic and not lead eventually, to competition with the whites for wage employment. The BSAC wanted Africans in the lower level jobs and so supported the learning of English in school. This desire for African low-level labour lay behind the introduction of the hut tax.

African Response to the School

The African mission teachers were men who had acquired some understanding of and felt at ease in the new world of the colonial period. They had awareness of the fact that they had added faith to the tribal beliefs of their parents, which would link them to a wider world. This brand of religion taught them that all men and women had the same capacity for improvement in this life and salvation in the next life. They were not necessarily cast down by the changes, which confronted them but regarded them as opportunities to be seized. The development of the colonial administration, commercial and mining companies and European plantations all increased the demand for clerks and skilled craftsmen, especially for those who knew English. In this regard, the mission school soon emerged as a clear avenue for advancement along which the ambitious could escape the narrow confines of village life into a wider world of well-paid employment. On the other hand, it was observed that throughout the period, missionaries repeatedly complained about the difficulty of attracting students and sustaining them in their schools. From the beginning of the missionary history, the out-schools or schools away from the main mission acted as outposts for missionary outreach. Initial success was usually followed by the difficulty in maintaining regular attendance. At Chikuni, missionaries observed that:

> *A school has proved a great difficulty, it has been started half a dozen times and had to be given up; children find all sorts of excuses for absenting themselves and parents connive at it.*

What young Africans wanted from the school was greater access to wage employment. For this, they needed some skills in reading and writing but above all, they needed to learn the white man's language, which in this context was English.

The Preparation of Teachers

Basic schooling was developed fairly widely in Northern Rhodesia, as before 1928, there were few indigenous teachers. The reason for this was that opportunities for obtaining a reasonably satisfactory academic education to the level of Standards(Std) IV or V were severely limited. However, some missionary stations such as the London Missionary Society (LMS) realised the need for better training of teachers as early as 1905 when they began to send prospective teachers to the Overoun Training Institute at Livingstonia in Nyasaland. A similar need appears to have been perceived by the Primitive Methodists who from 1910 negotiated with their General Missionary Council to provide funds with which to build an institution for teacher training. Other missions did their own training of what were largely catechist-teachers. This training, according to Carmody, was an apprentice-type in which, among other things, they translated the local languages into written form.

Supervision varied from one mission to another with respect to the personalities of the missionaries who may or may not have training in learning techniques. Mentors were often poorly equipped pedagogically but this did not seem to be a major concern. The missionaries' main concern was to implant some version of Christianity by memorising Biblical passages or the contents of catechism. Such a mode of procedure fitted the traditional approach to learning by rote and imitation. It resembles what the philosopher of education, Paulo Freire, later identified as banking, which means depositing information in the minds of learners. In principle, the emphasis was on the transmission of mainly religious content with little concern about the choice of method for effective assimilation.

In many cases, catechists resided in central villages from which they could tour the surrounding area partly to set up chapel schools where there could have religious services and basic lessons in literacy. In the case of Catholics, the catechism was recited with a view of learning it by heart. The teacher's task, as corroborated by Mwanakatwe (2013), was largely, to teach students the letters of the alphabet, prepare them for reading and writing as well as how to count.

Teacher Education in Zambia: 1924 to 1945

This chapter outlines the nature of schooling adopted by the colonial government with consequences for missionaries, access to schooling and teacher training. Professional teacher training in Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia, started slowly because the first schools were primarily agents of church expansion. It is important to note that in April 1924, the BSAC Government was replaced by the Colonial Office and the territory of Northern Rhodesia became a Protectorate. Before the replacement of the BSAC Government with the Colonial Office, the Secretary of State had appointed an Advisory Committee on education, which had invited members of the Phelps-Stokes Fund to undertake a survey of education in East and Southern Africa as they had already done in West Africa. This resulted in a long-standing agitation of missionaries in the face

of government indifference to native education. The Secretary of the International Missionary Council, J.H. Oldham was seen to have been pivotal in calling for a survey as well as to identify the Phelps-Stokes Fund as an appropriate agency for the task.

As part of their visit to Africa, the Phelps-Stokes group visited Northern Rhodesia in 1924 and delivered a report, which among other things, drew attention to the poor quality of schooling in the territory, which was almost entirely in missionary control. They reported that schools were seen as outposts of civilisation, many were 'little nothings, neglected, poor and under-supervised. In addition, school infrastructure was described as 'ugly shacks' with little or no equipment while most of the teachers were untrained. The Colonial Office adopted the approach to schooling and the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes report. The background of the Phelps-Stokes educational perspective should be considered in light of what had happened at the colleges of Hampton and Tuskegee in the Southern United States. These institutions have been seen to have contributed effectively to the education of freed slaves. In accord with the Phelps-Stokes reports, it was assumed by members of the Colonial Office that the educational methods which had worked out in the North American context would be relevant for Black Africans. For this reason, the Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, Thomas Jesse Jones was convinced that this kind of education could be successfully transferred to Africa. In the Phelps-Stokes reports on Africa, Jones emphasised the primary need for technical and agricultural training. He is said to have had nothing but contempt for educated natives who resembled the graduates of literacy schools in America with their interests in traditional subjects. For Jones, this kind of graduate was to be contrasted with the traditional African chief who, in his view, had the needs of his people at heart. Much of this way of thinking in terms of agricultural and practical training was seen to be the key to success in the Whiteman's world. This kind of schooling at Tuskegee and Hampton had worked for Negroes in America and enabled them to prosper. Jesse Jones believed that schooling should be adapted to meet the needs of village life in Africa. Such adapted education should include health education, community consciousness, agriculture and simple industrial training. Jones noted that the members of the Phelps-Stokes Commission had been concerned that all education must be of character to draw out the powers of the native African and to fit him to meet the specific problems and needs of his individual and community life. In this respect, they had been profoundly impressed by the ideals of education developed at the Hampton Institute in Virginia where book learning of the old type gave way to where the plow, the anvil, the hammer, the broom, the frying pan and the needle supplemented customary instruction.

The Colonial Office urgently needed a way forward for schooling and considered that much of what Jones and the Phelps-Stokes reports advised seemed to fit their concerns for African education. Among other things, it was in concord with the idea of 'Indirect Rule', which was based on the perspective of the 'dual mandate' which

aimed at mass schooling for the majority of the population in conjunction with special leadership for traditional authorities. The Colonial Office issued a policy statement on African education called *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.* Amidst the concerns taken up from the Phelps-Stokes report was that schooling, as it existed tended to limit itself to imparting the tools of knowledge, while ignoring the real purposes of life to which these were mere instruments. In addressing the African situation, education was proposed to be adapted to meet local conditions. The Education Policy in British Tropical Africa drew on much of what Jones had recommended when he spoke of the development of the home, agriculture and simple industrial training. Emphasis was also placed on vocational curricula, which meant that education for the African masses would be linked to a conception of native leadership and the training of teachers.

The Phelps-Stokes report was highly critical of schooling that would be too literary producing the kind of person who would be a misfit in the local village community. It was argued that what was needed was the kind of schooling, which focused on the development of the village since it was here that the major part of the African population lived. Education was to raise the standard of life in the village, which would include raising up capable local leaders but any gap between the educated class and the rest of the community was to be narrow. During this period, which was overseen mainly by education directors, Latham and Tyndale-Biscoe, the status of the teacher was raised to a level where the teacher assumed a more standardised job description and a sense of being professional as a teacher at least, in the social sense of being classified as having a distinctive role. The admission requirement had been raised from Standard II to Standard IV and the teacher was becoming part of the identifiable public service group. In speaking of the teachers' challenges during this period, Nelson observes that with meagre salaries and very poor conditions of service, thousands of them unsung heroes and heroines who scattered to the farthest corners of the country brought the message of missionaries to the people together with the policies of the education department. Without such men and women, Zambia's educational development would have been greatly delayed. These teachers mastered the rudiments of reading, writing and counting through English. Such an introduction to a literate culture represented a major shift of consciousness.

Life as a Teacher

When trainee teachers graduated, they were finally placed in schools. Classrooms whether in village stations or other settings were mostly made of pole and mud structures. School furniture such as desks, tables and chairs were constructed from local materials often by the teacher and the pupils. In most cases, children sat on wooden blocks or on the floor. Teaching and learning materials were scarce and so it is not surprising that schools of that era might be described as dull and dreary. In general, newly certified teachers were supported by the missionary in charge and particularly,

by the Jeanes teachers who are said to have greatly assisted the less qualified teachers. The Jeanes teachers were trained to see what could be done not only in terms of classroom practice but also in community relationship, which at times, needed careful negotiations.

The battle with getting children into school was exacerbated by the fact that many schools did not allow a pupil to progress beyond Standard II so they were not ready for profitable employment. In all of this, Jeanes teachers played a major role. It has been said that the teacher of this period was often the hub of the system. There appears to be some truth in this for although a child of the local village, the teacher was also an adult in a European setup. Having a foot in both worlds, the teacher was well placed to interpret one to the other, a kind of culture broker. This was not always an easy task because in some ways, schooling had distanced the teacher from the home environment where in a way the teacher was no longer at ease. As a result, the teacher might have been unwelcome in the village and the same time, was at the edge of the European world.

The twenty-year period (1924-1945) represented a major milestone in the development of basic schooling and the evolution of teacher training in Zambia. Through the setting up and development of the normal school system, it provided the earliest certified teachers for an increasing number of approved primary schools. The upgrading of the school system, especially by offering English as a key area of study enticed more children to enroll. At various points, this made the conservative education department cautious in case the system would produce a large 'educated' unemployed, thereby threatening the white people's jobs and political stability. This was underpinned by a racist, segregationist, framework under the umbrella of the policy of 'Indirect Rule.'

As the educational horizon began to expand with the opening of Munali for Form One in 1939, the situation beckoned better days. Among the first students at Munali was a serving teacher, Kenneth Kaunda. Teacher Education opened the door to a new era in Zambian education and politics mainly for men. Nonetheless, aware of the need to support the situation for women, a girls' secondary school opened in Chipembi in 1946. Throughout this period, almost all missionary societies operated their own teacher training centres.

Teacher Education in Zambia: 1945 to 1964

This chapter focused on how teacher education in Zambia developed after the Second World War and how the colonial enterprise began to end resulting in a new political climate in Northern Rhodesia. It was noted that the population polarised into two camps, that is, those supporting the Federation and those advocating for independence. Behind the scenes, the colonial office urged the government to expand African access to schooling, leaving behind the long-standing emphasis on the preparation for life in the village, which had dominated thinking until the 1940s. However, the expansion of

primary and secondary schooling remained slow and in 1952, it was seen particularly by the Cambridge Conference to have a new vision, an important part of which included teacher training. This opened the door to the training of teachers in centralised centres leaving behind the many small set-ups throughout the country. This resulted in the development of five major teacher training colleges before independence. Meanwhile, there was a state of transition while the small centres were gradually phased out.

Teacher Training

Teacher training still operated out of a past model, which tended to be heavily craft-centred. This mode of operation tended to regard students like children in terms of imposed discipline. Thus, it did not help personal and professional development and did not enable the teacher to gain the kind of quality, which characterises an educator. In this respect, teacher training was yet a far cry from the kind of ideal which the Cambridge Conference had floated in 1952.

Teacher training was almost a prolongation of primary school around the time of the Cambridge Conference. As secondary schools began to develop, in some instances, trainees began to share the same classrooms as those who were admitted to Form I. It meant an upgrade in status for teachers in training but could occasionally lead to tension. Those who had been admitted to secondary school felt superior. Progressively, as more boys and girls went to secondary school, it is not surprising that admission to teacher training required higher academic standards. On the other hand, acceptance to teaching training also depended on how the applicants were seen by teachers and in many cases, local missionaries.

During the dispensation of the 1950s, there were so many regulations. For example, trainees were subjected to rigorous discipline usually underpinned by the religious ethos of the institution which included daily Mass or prayer and commitment to the form of religion which was operative. Much of the religious atmosphere emphasised what had been the long-term aim of African education namely; character development. In co-education schools, missionaries took a dim view of contacts between boys and girls although most of the trainees would have been more than teenagers. For example, it was a crime to be in a girl's company as it was perceived that there was always a sense that something must happen when a boy meets a girl. This atmosphere had the potential for misunderstanding sexual morality and may have done little to enable the trainees to live responsibly in later life. Furthermore, such arrangements certainly allowed very little room for developing personal responsibility because almost every hour, even recreation was monitored. This made these institutions resemble prisons or greedy institutions rather than educational settings. Because of poor government finance, teacher training colleges were Spartan. The bleak conditions meant that resources were scarce as it was not clear to what extent students were taught practical skills like carpentry. This largely meant that learning for the teacher trainee consisted of taking notes from teachers or lecturers.

Teachers on the Job

When a trainee graduated, he or she faced the issue of placement. This was because the administrators were whites who poorly knew the areas and their criteria of placement of teachers was mainly on the basis of how a teacher was competent in an appropriate language. On the other hand, since missionaries were still significant with regard to teacher placements, it still meant that teacher appointment was underpinned with some appreciation of personal talents and his or her suitability for a particular school.

Teachers on the job were faced with many challenges that affected the proper delivery of quality education. One of the challenges is that many schools, missionary and local authority, were run by two or three teachers. Textbooks also in many schools were few and these were kept under strict control by the teacher, who issued them for a period of use in class. Further, during the period on the job, teachers had to rely largely on their memory as they drew heavily on what was acquired during their training. Hence, this meant that there was no chance for ongoing learning to be updated with the curriculum. This further connoted that there was a strong tendency for practicing teachers to keep repeating the same material year after year. Another challenge was with regard to teachers' conditions of service on the job in their respective schools. Teacher houses consisted of small huts, which had no electricity. Overall, the dwellings did not spell much comfort or status. As if this was not off-putting, certified teachers received relatively poor pay. It is worth mentioning that there were differences in salary and general conditions of service between those working in the government and missionary aided schools. This was, especially true when the government sought to lure teachers and children away from missionary orbit into local authority schools.

With respect to promotions, teachers on the job prospects of advancement were greatly restricted. Therefore, over time, a teacher may have only to look forward to becoming a deputy headmaster or a headmaster. However, as independence approached, a few became managers of schools and inspectors. Of course, such promotions were followed by suspicions of witchcraft.

Teachers on the job faced rare inspections. However, what lack of inspection often meant was that the local teacher failed to run a decent school. Some of the teachers tended to portray a habit of drunkenness, absenteeism and so on. This kind of misconduct did not go unchecked as there was a post created in 1952. A manager of schools played a supervisory role and undertook the responsibility to inspect schools in order to maintain a good standard.

From a political perspective, teachers on the job were not allowed to participate in politics, especially during the 1950s. This was because at the same time, teachers were locals and often times, they translated the larger political issues for local people. These later became the new freedom fighters, which put them in a tight corner as they were on one hand regarded as civil servants and on the other hand, seen by the government of the day as possible freedom fighters hence, they were forbidden from politics.

Women Teachers

In the past, enrolment of girls at the primary school level was less. However, it was not until the 1940s that a breakthrough was achieved. During that period, increased numbers of girls not only entering primary school but staying there for a number of years was also greatly helped when villagers began to see young women employed in local schools and as healthcare personnel in local clinics. By 1962, there were 1,181 certified women teachers, 17 per cent of the total number of primary school teachers. Given the historical setting, this could be seen as quite an achievement.

Teacher Education in Zambia: 1964 to 1990

Social Setting

As Zambia gained independence, its educational landscape was bleak. The new administration took steps to address what had been a significant pre-independence rallying call namely; the need to provide access to primary education, which was seen to be a popular demand. One of the government's earliest initiatives included the introduction of an Education Act in 1966. This Act enabled the new government to have almost total control of the schooling process. Among some of the more pivotal aspects of the Act were the desegregation of the system, free schooling, and English as the medium of instruction.

Teacher Development 1964 to 1973

With the government's firm grasp of control of the educational process, the years immediately after independence witnessed a huge expansion of what had been in place already in a rudimentary way. This was fired by a view, shared widely at the time, that the school as part of a modernisation paradigm was pivotal to economic welfare, national unity, political legitimisation and peace. As the system developed, it progressively resembled an increasingly elaborate machine for the production of white-collar and professional manpower for the modern, urban state.

To meet such an increasing demand for teachers at the primary level, a re-organisation of the then current system was indicated. In 1965, arrangements were made to offer a one-year residential course mainly to junior secondary students which would be followed by a year as 'student teachers'. In their first college year, students studied the content, which they would need to teach in the schools while they would put this into practice under supervision from college lecturers and inspectors in the second year. In this way, it was hoped that the teacher shortfall would be addressed

Around 1970, a continuing teacher education facility was arranged at Chalimbana, which came to be known as the National In-service Teachers College. It was intended to enhance teacher's ability to address the evolving curriculum. The following year, a further important teacher resource centre was opened to deal with special needs children and it came to be called the Zambia Institute for Special Education Teachers. Because of the growing need to have Zambian staff in secondary schools and in the

teacher colleges, the government turned its attention to the University of Zambia (UNZA), which was opened in 1966. It was at first seen to be where the task, which Chalimbana had undertaken for some years could continue.

To aid this, the government introduced a quota system which meant that 30 per cent of university students would be required to take the B.A. (Ed.) and B.Sc. (Ed.) degrees with the hope of gaining Zambians to staff the secondary schools. After graduation, these graduates would be bonded to the government for a period of two years. The School of Education was setup to offer a postgraduate certificate in education (PGCE) for graduates who needed educational studies. However, as the output from the university was very limited, in 1967, a college was opened to train lower secondary-level teachers at Kabwe on the grounds of a well-established secondary school, King George VI. The institution was called Kabwe Teachers' College later renamed Nkrumah Teachers' College. Another secondary teachers' college opened in 1974, Copperbelt Teachers' College (COSETCO) near Kitwe, which also had been a private secondary school. This institution was to provide a single major in Mathematics, Science and Homecraft. Both Nkrumah and COSECTO were setup in an associate relationship with UNZA which entailed a supervisory and advisory role for UNZA. In turn, the university would underwrite the diplomas offered by the colleges.

Teacher Development: 1973 to 1990

As noted earlier, much of the immediate post-independence educational development was underwritten by what has been termed the modernisation approach to development, which was the dominant paradigm of the time. It hypothesised as earlier indicated, that investment in education had been key to development in Western countries and so, this route was seen to be appropriate for developing economies such as Zambia.

As times changed in the early 1970s, with economic problems looming and indicating a deeper concern in view of models of development and the role of education in them, a new political vision, based on dependency paradigms, sought to adapt earlier structures to sustain national development. This proved to be a major struggle leaving what earlier was a promising system in a highly fragmented and fragile state. The roots of this lay in trying without adequate reflection to mingle a welfare and market-based economy and adjust education accordingly.

As the education system expanded and resources became fewer, teacher education which had set out on a very positive note became ever more a question of survival with diminishing quality. This should, however, lead to an appreciation of what teachers in this period faced. In many cases, they were poorly equipped for what they found in the classrooms throughout the country but most remained doing what they could to enable the next generation of their countrymen and women to face changing times.

Teacher Education in Zambia 1990 to 2011

This chapter traces how teacher education in Zambia, which developed over much of the 20th century had begun to show signs of backwardness. It might be said that by the late 1980's, it had outlived its capacity to deliver effective educators for swiftly changing needs. Nonetheless, given the social situation of the country, the challenge of any significant reformation was daunting.

Social Context

When the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) came into power under its leader Fredrick Chiluba as President, the new government faced major challenges. Among these was that of an education system, which was in a deplorable state. Not surprisingly, the improvement of the educational system was a key to MMD's political campaign for power, which had to be addressed when the new administrators gained control. Another challenge was in light of the diminishing resources and dilapidated infrastructure. Schools were grossly under-resourced in terms of teaching and learning materials.

The Challenge

In the wake of the Jomtien Conference in March 1991, a national conference on education for all was held in Zambia. As a result, the government commissioned the formulation of a plan of action for providing universal primary schooling, which appeared as *Focus on Learning* in 1992. This document contextualised and underlined what had already been a leading concern from the 1970s namely; the need to give priority to primary education.

Among other things, as a practical step, *Focus on Learning* spoke of the immediate need for the provision of 17,000 new classrooms. With such a formidable task in view, *Focus on Learning* spoke of cost-sharing. This, as noted, had already been partly introduced. However, in light of the new government's political and economic liberation policy, it encouraged various other modes of community participation. This included the development of more private provision of schools. This was new, since immediately after independence, the government assumed almost total control of the education system, leaving less and less room for other voices. While appreciating the achievements of the Kaunda years, *Focus on Learning* not only brought attention to the quantitative expansion that had taken place but at the same time, did not fail to identify numerous qualitative concerns. It mentioned, for instance, the need to shift the educational system away from a preponderantly cognitive over-emphasis to one that was more holistic. For this to happen, a new pedagogical method was viewed to be imperative where the learner becomes more central to what is taking place. While *Focus on Learning* admitted that the educational capacity of college staff had been gradually improving over the years, it observed that the majority still had qualified as secondary teachers and lacked primary school experience. It went on to specify that

about two-thirds of the teachers were below degree level. Many had qualifications at the same level or inferior to those of the students they were training. With a need to improve the quality of teacher educators in mind, it proposed setting up a Teacher Education Department in the Ministry of Education. This, it assumed, would monitor and better regulate what was taking place.

Teacher Education in Need of Review

The authors of *Focus on Learning* had little doubt that much of what had come down as education over the years was in need of significant review. Moreover, they acknowledged the low level of teacher morale, which had arisen largely from their persistently poor salaries and conditions of service. *Focus on Learning* proposed to approach this low status by suggesting that teachers needed the kind of organisation that would make them resemble other professionals such as lawyers, doctors and engineers. As a practical step in this direction, it recommended that the Ministry of Education should hold consultations with the Zambia National Union of Teachers with the intent to establish a legalised professional organisation for teachers. The authors felt that this would enhance their morale.

Emergencies of Basic and Community Schools

Local communities apparently preferred to provide classrooms for Grades 8 and 9 even if the needs of those at the Grade 7 level were still unmet. Investing in basic schools thus, meant that even less of the all too few resources would be used for the more immediate need to improve primary school facilities or the rehabilitation of classrooms at that level. Thus, *Focus on Learning* put forward a plan which, because of limited resources, had a clearly restricted agenda, which it hoped would be respected.

As the educational system developed after 1992, the government was faced with large-scale debt repayment, which greatly limited what it could invest in education. As various kinds of schools developed in response to its invitation for greater community cooperation, the supply of teachers did not keep pace. Although the primary teacher's colleges had expanded and were graduating in the region of 19, 000 teachers annually, this remained insufficient, leaving ever increasing numbers of schools with untrained teachers. As a result, primary teachers were often teaching Grades 8 and 9 for which they were not equipped. This had at least two serious drawbacks. It had an adverse effect on Grades 1 to 7, who needed the best, not untrained teachers who had to be recruited to replace those deployed to teach Grades 8 and 9. To help the emerging situation where qualified teachers were urgently needed for Grades 8 and 9 levels, the National In-service Training College at Chalimbana began to offer courses for those primary teachers who were teaching at Grades 8 and 9.

New Horizons

The transition from the *Focus on Learning* to *Educating Our Future* is seen as essentially an initial attempt to bring a new spirit into it and to reform what had grown to be an outdated and poorly maintained system. It is noted for instance, as observed earlier, how it had been overly teacher-focused with a somewhat rigid programme. The consequent need of a student-centred approach and a more relevant life-centred curriculum were foregrounded. Teaching needed to deliver the kind of learning, which not only identified answers but also located the problems to which these were solutions

This opened the way to questioning the nature and role of content, which *Focus on Learning* had already highlighted. It led to a proposal to reduce content in favour of what might be termed methodology or process. It entailed, among various elements a reduction of the multi-subject content. The 13 or 14 subjects which had constituted part of the teacher education agenda for decades were reduced to six major domains of study which included: (1) Education Studies; (2) Literacy and Language Education; (3) Mathematics and Science Education; (4) Expensive Arts; (5) Social Spiritual and Moral Education; and (6) Technology Studies. Nonetheless, ZATERP, renamed during the period of transition to ZATEC (Zambia Teacher Education Course), became normative for teacher training in Zambia from the year 2000 and continued for the next seven years. One might argue that ZATEC attempted to replace lecture-style teaching in so far as it emphasised student-centred learning. Zambia Teacher Education Course spoke of the development of competencies and set out to better integrate theory with practice. Moreover, ZATEC was instrumental in introducing professional support for primary teachers (PSSPE) at the School of Education of the University of Zambia in 2000, which was meant to upgrade the status of the primary school teacher by opening the way to diplomas and degrees (B.Ed primary). This initiative eventually led to the exploration of greater linkage between primary teacher training and the University of Zambia resulting eventually, in affiliation and the granting of diplomas. The Primary Teachers' Diploma by Distance (PTDDL), based at Chalimbana, also emerged as a brainchild of ZATEC.

Teacher Education in Transition

This chapter focuses on what has taken place in teacher education since the Patriotic Front (PF) Government was elected in 2011. It identifies key elements that have emerged such as the achievement of greater inclusion of various people in the education system. It will note the dilemmas that such quantitative expansion brings in terms of, among other things, the quality of education that is taking place. The chapter also locates what has emerged historically, keeping in view how it operates within the paradigm of social development namely; those of human capital and justice.

Context

It could be argued that the PF Government faced a very different educational scene from what confronted the Movement for Multiparty Democracy in 1991. Over the period, public education expenditure had grown as the Zambian economy had brought the country towards middle-income status. Factors that greatly influenced this were the debt cancellation in 2002 and the rise in the price of copper.

What was also significantly different between the setting of 1991 and that of 2011 was that a new phase was swiftly emerging. The overall focus of education in the country was moving from primary to secondary and third level schooling, reflecting an ever-increasing focus on a more market-based human capital approach to development.

As part of its new approach, the PF Government renamed and reframed the educational system, reverting to the older system of speaking of primary school as Grades 1 to 7, secondary school Grades 8 to 12 followed by tertiary education. Alongside refraining the system, in its educational policies, the PF Government placed new emphasis on the need for problem-solving methods of teaching entrepreneurship and early childhood education. In their new outlook, the PF administration also revisited the long-standing language issue stretching back to the advent of independence when English became the medium of instruction from Grade 1.

The Zambian Education Curriculum Framework 2012 refocused on what has been an overriding problem since independence namely; the contribution of education to the employment of school people. In this context, *The Zambian Education Curriculum Framework 2012* speaks of the system's tendency to sideline technical education because the tide favours, and has always preferred, academic schooling. The heavy bias towards white-collar employment is so because the academic curriculum appears to promise better rewards in terms of salaries and a good rate of return on investment. Because of seeing this issue as a major challenge, there is a renewed emphasis on the role of Technical Education Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training (TEVET) and its potential to deliver employment. A two-career twin pathway was introduced to the school curriculum – academic and technical. This was done in the context of enhancing the country's status as a middle-income country in light of Vision 2030.

Teacher Education in Transition

Arguably, the PF administration took steps to address the issue of what constitutes an acceptable teacher within the education framework through the setting up, in 2013, of the Teaching Council of Zambia (TCZ). This Council is viewed by its first registrar as an agency, which oversees the suitability of facilities, personnel, processes and procedures of the system. When considering the poor image of the teacher, it may be well to acknowledge that individuals and agencies are fast to identify their blemishes. What the system fails to appreciate is the teacher's role not purely as an instrument of social development but as a professional person. While, for instance, there is also much criticism of teachers who do not wish to serve in rural areas, condemnation is often the response although:

> *The housing situation for teachers in rural areas is very bad. Before the coming of the PF Government, schools were built mostly, without houses for teachers. The current government has made it a point that construction of a classroom goes with staff houses. This is helping a bit. Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) have been forced to construct houses for teachers as a condition for the deployment of teachers to those places. The quality of the houses they put up does not meet the standard of the Ministry and this is understandable. A poor community cannot afford a three bedroomed house for a teacher.*

From the foregoing, we have looked at factors that are identified to be significant in Zambia's education setting today and its potential role in how teacher education needs to be reconfigured. Some achievements were noted. There has been greatly expanded enrolment, particularly at the basic and primary school levels. This has been somewhat commensurate with the increased number of teachers. Besides, we have indicated downsides linked to this major development, which include inadequate classroom and school infrastructure coupled with poor quality teaching. As elsewhere, this is seen to be connected to the persistence of a teacher-centred approach. With an avalanche of teachers from a dubiously qualified set of colleges, their competence and professionalism emerge as questionable. This, however, should not be taken to overlook the great work and contribution that most teachers have made and continue to make in conditions that have been far from ideal.

Overall, *The Emergence of Teacher Education in Zambia* reiterates the fact that change is required in order to facilitate a learning environment for students with diverse needs. In comparison to similar books, this book is a wake-up call for teacher education to reinvent teacher preparation and cover perspectives critical to transforming our nation's educational system. Teacher preparation is currently one of the most pressing and topical issues in the field of education. It deals with questions such as how prepared teachers are, what the content of their programmes of preparation are and the changing roles of teachers in the contemporary society. These questions are at the forefront of policy agendas around the world. With respect to genre of writing, the book has a few typographical errors such as incorrect spelling and wrong tense usage in some chapters.

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