

Provoking the Rocks:
A Study of Reality and Meaning on the Zambian Copperbelt

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of KwaZulu-Natal
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30 March 2007

DECLARATION

I, Elizabeth C. Parsons, hereby declare that this thesis, unless specified in the text, is my original work. I also declare that I have not submitted this research project for any other purpose at any other Institution or University.

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As supervisor, I agree to the submission of this thesis.

Prof. Anthony O. Balcomb

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Abstract

Even though the West, or Global North, initiates extensive development policymaking and project activity on the African continent, this study argues that one source of major frustration between different parties entrusted to do the work arises from cognitive differences in their worldviews. These differences affect people's actions and have theological ramifications involving how we all understand meaning and reality. The study employs a case method analyzed through the lens of Alfred Schutz's sociology of knowledge theories and augmented by insights from African scholars to look at basic perceptual differences between Zambians and expatriates working on the Copperbelt Province's mines. After exploring how participants in the study interpreted various experiences, this study concludes that Zambians and expatriates were essentially living in "parallel universes" of meaning regardless of their apparently shared activities and objectives. The study further argues that viewpoints expressed by Zambian participants can be extrapolated into powerful lessons for members of civil society who are concerned about international development and the environment. Such teaching elements could especially help reshape how Americans and other Westerners understand ourselves in relation to physical creation and the cosmos as well as to those from radically different cultures. Lessons learned from the Zambian perspective could also help reinvigorate Western theological thinking, providing much needed critiques of discourses that currently dominate international development policymaking and planning and that determine value principally according to economic strategies and fulfillment of efficient, measurable objectives. ♀

Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to the following: The Rev. Rogers Banda at Zambian Anglican Council for arranging interviews with Zambia's two past presidents; Martin and Giovanna Brennan for inviting me to accompany them on my first trip underground and for remaining interested in this study throughout the process; Prof. Steve deGruchy for introducing me to the Theology and Development Programme at UKZN and for his interest in this project; Sue DeVilliers for providing me with family surroundings and encouragement on several trips to Pietermaritzburg; Parker Gallagher for his interest and instruction; The Rev. John Kafwanka, for guidance and for being such a fabulous example of a scholar-practitioner; The Rev. John Kaoma for being an endless source of inspiration and wisdom as well as an unmatched cultural and linguistic translator; John Kasanga for his interested involvement at especially crucial points; Lucie Kasanga for support, friendship, and ideas; Paula Kline for guiding my thinking about power structures and for her wise comments on early draft material; The Rev. Stewart Lane who, probably more than anyone is responsible for setting me on the path leading to this study; The Rev. Joan Mattia for initially suggesting that I could do something like this and who, in her own doctoral pursuits, has been a wonderful companion throughout the process; Marion Mould for her friendship, excellent referrals, and consistent help with travel arrangements; Harry Parker for his interest and incredibly thoughtful reading of early draft material; Crawford Mbulo for professional and cheerful logistical support; Dixon and Mulenga Tembo jointly for their friendship, Dick especially for so many memorable early conversations and Mulenga for translation help; The Rev. Canon Charley Thomas for being who he is, for his initial invitation to come to Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation and then for allowing me to continue an official relationship during the course of this investigation; my sister, Sarah Sears, for reading and responding to the manuscript and especially for her interest and encouragement; The Rev. Daniel Velez-Rivera for insightful comments on early drafts and for his encouragement. Staff members of the various Zambian archival sources were unfailingly cheerful and gracious; chief amongst them was Justin at the Chamber of Mines, Kalulushi. My principal Zambian workforce contacts, introduced in chapter three under pseudonyms, are in a class by themselves. Any words of thanks are insufficient but the honor of being associated with them has changed my life. My principal managerial contacts and interviewees provided insights and information far beyond what I ever expected, making this study simultaneously more enjoyable and challenging. They remain anonymous in the text only because of their candor but my gratitude is boundless.

Finally, the most crucial individuals to this entire endeavor: Jim Kinsella and Donal Murray both formerly of Development Cooperation Ireland, also known as Ireland Aid, for overseeing the process that funded the first 1½ years of this project; my research assistants, "Enock" and "Lubasi" for linguistic and cultural bridge building, astonishing wisdom and wonderful companionship; the mining company chief executive officer whose personal intervention and guidance taught me so much; Prof. Anthony O. Balcomb who first believed in this project and then patiently and wisely guided me throughout the process; my husband Lin who, as life companion, also went through the early odyssey that led to my studying this subject. He has been the source of much needed wisdom and encouragement and also the project's patron during its latter stages. ♀

This work is dedicated to my father, James Kern Sears (1920-2003): I went to Africa because he always wanted to.

And to nine miners who died during the course of this research (three in Mindola Sub-Vertical on 9 July 2004 and six in Mufulira on 18 May 2005): I hope our worlds have touched.

♀

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List of Abbreviations

AAC	Anglo-American Corporation
AMCO	Amalgamated Construction Company
BGRIMM	Beijing General Research Institute of Mining and Metallurgy
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CBU	Copperbelt University
CEC	Copperbelt Energy Corporation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EGR	Episcopalians for Global Reconciliation
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KCM	Konkola Copper Mines, Plc.
KDMP	Konkola Deep Mining Project
KK	Kenneth Kaunda
LSE	London Stock Exchange
LuSE	Lusaka Stock Exchange
MCM	Mopani Copper Mines, Plc.
MMD	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEF	Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation
MSD	Mines Safety Department

MUZ	Mine Workers' Union of Zambia
NCCM	Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Limited
NERP	New Economic Recovery Programme
NFC	Non-Ferrous Corporation
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
RAMCOZ	Roan Antelope Mining Company of Zambia
RCM	Roan Consolidated Mines Limited
RST	Rhodesian Selection Trust; later Roan Selection Trust
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UNIP	United National Independence Party
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar
ZAMEFA	Zambia Metal Fabricators
ZAMTEL	Zambia Telecommunications Company
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Limited
ZCCM-IH	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines – Investment Holdings
ZESCO	Zambia Electric Supply Company
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Company
ZPA	Zambia Privatisation Agency

*Apene panshi pali ikalila, amabwe ayatondolo, ayabukata ifwe twaya yatendeka,
twayabalalmuna.*

The underground world lived peacefully with its divine rocks until we provoked
and frustrated them.

—Charles, Kitwe area miner

♀

When I went to Zambia in 1984 [I] was on a World Bank Funded Project to rehabilitate the mines. The World Bank was lending \$300 million to upgrade rundown operations and insisted on an audit and action plan to ensure the capital expenditure achieved its purpose. There was no indoctrination of the team as to Zambian culture or government objectives. For the first year 75% of our contact was with expats and many of those were incompetent. It took at least 3 years before I got to know Zambians and absorb even a little bit of their society. At a start we viewed our job as technological and not cultural. There was no attempt to look at Zambian culture to see how best to achieve our objectives. The programs we instituted were the same we would have done in mines anywhere. Retrospectively we did not achieve much, and we could have done far better if we had taken a longer-term view and focused on training. In fact it was in the multiyear projects where we were most successful. The World Bank staff and consultants spent even less time there and were equally poorly trained to figure out how to get the job done in Zambia.

—Independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project

♀

Introduction

This work is intended primarily for American policymakers and practitioners involved in international development efforts and who take seriously matters of faith, ethics, values, and morals. Such an audience encompasses a broad swath of the populace and we tend to talk about people involved in religious or faith endeavors as belonging to *civil society*.¹ This is not to say that people of faith and for whom ethics and morals are major concerns are found only in civil society organizations. There are plenty of such dedicated individuals in government and business. But, government and business policymakers and practitioners are not my principal audience for reasons that should become quite clear in the text.

Briefly, the study focuses on practical development issues and their theological implications in contexts that appear to be devoted to improving the common welfare. The problems examined through the case study of Zambia's mining community, however, cannot be resolved with legislation or simply by infusion of greater political will. Nor can they be resolved by additional foreign direct investment, donor aid, or even by increasing individual commitments to more good causes.² Instead, changes that really would be widely beneficial need to originate from within areas of our existence that cannot be bought or legislated for they belong to the immeasurable essence of our very beings.

¹ The idea of "civil society" dates back to Aristotelian teachings that the general citizenry helps create a good society by participating in practices that promote the common welfare and restrain individual self-interest when such would be detrimental to the whole. This is a much broader definition of the term than its present usage as constituting non-profit organizations, faith based communities, or virtually anything that is not government or business led. David Korten, *The Post-Corporate World: Life After Capitalism* (West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1999), 139-140.

² Faith-based organizations as civil society members are, however, already in excellent positions to influence international development policymaking and practice. Thomas E. Buckley, "Church, State, and the Faith-Based Initiative," *America* 187, no. 15 (November 11, 2002): www.americamagazine.org/gettext.cfm?textID=2601&articleTypeID=1&issueID=411. In the mid-2000s, USAID reported that 25% of its partner organizations were from faith-based communities. United States Agency for International Development, "USAID's Global Partnerships" (February 3, 2005): http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/global_partnerships/.

When the common welfare is at stake, it has been customary for those involved to engage in means by which they can comment upon and critique the situation. At earlier points in American history, churches and institutions of faith prominently and prophetically helped ordinary people think about the more transcendent implications of their everyday disagreements. During the last 30 or 40 years, however, the quality and quantity of such activity, particularly among mainstream churches and especially concerning our broader relationships with the rest of the world, has dropped off precipitously.³ I maintain that one reason for this drop is a poverty of theological imagination, some of the reasons for which I delve into in the study's opening chapter.⁴

Unfortunately, lack of theological imagination—including lack of prophetic push back against political and big business interests—can also be considered part of the larger context that has allowed America to adopt a host of policies and procedures much of the rest of the world sees as ranging from insulting to catastrophically dangerous. Underlying these policies and procedures are ideas about how we conceive of our place in the world and how we treat not only other people but also the planet itself.⁵

Much as I would like to claim no connection to all this, my own gradual coming to a different understanding after experiencing life in Africa has forced me to wrestle with what it means to be part of a problem when I had been trained to believe that my way of life modeled the solution. This was true not only for my cultural understanding but my

³ For a discussion of America's shifting intellectual context see Mary Jo Bane, Brent Coffin, and Ronald Thiemann, eds., *Who Will Provide? The Changing Role of Religion in American Social Welfare* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), 2ff.

⁴ Bane and Coffin use the term "spiritual impoverishment." Ibid.

⁵ Korten asserts that, "relentless pursuit of economic growth is accelerating the breakdown of the planet's life support systems, intensifying resource competition, widening the gap between rich and poor, and undermining the values and relationships of family and community." *Post-Corporate World*, 6. Korten is a scholar and practitioner having taught economics and management at Harvard Business School and other American universities before spending several decades in international development work in Africa and Asia.

theological viewpoint as well. In Africa, however, I realized that the spiritual and theological preparation I had received prior to going, although quite extensive and of frequently high quality, simply didn't address the problems I encountered. Yet, the theological *implications* of those problems seemed legion. In fact, it became increasingly apparent that I couldn't even be certain my African colleagues and I identified the same problems even though we talked about our life together in reference to many great Biblical stories and ideas we both seemed to know. If we didn't see the situation similarly or mean the same things when we conversed, it was time to back up and ask new questions.

In practical terms, such questions returned me to the basics of how people cognitively understand what is real and meaningful. In academic terms, this meant analyzing things from the point of view of philosophy and the sociology of knowledge rather than simply through the categories of thought that have molded my own historical, cultural, and theological background.⁶ Such an approach ultimately proved the most helpful to making sense of my time in Africa and is the approach adopted in this study.

Since the case study did not involve heavy participation by Americans, a word also needs to be said about why I think it is fair to write for an American audience. Quite simply, study participants may not have been Americans but they were living and working within an environment heavily molded by American-based policies and interests.⁷ And it is the

⁶ I am indebted to Kwame Bediako for first helping to broaden my thinking about "categories of thought."

⁷ The mine privatization program that serves as the focal point for exploring how the Zambians and non-Zambians involved understood life was an effort primarily pushed by the World Bank, located in Washington, DC and customarily headed by an American. David Korten's summarized analysis of the general global situation maintains, "To a considerable extent the problem [of unchecked global financial interests leading to economic, social, and environmental collapse] originates with the United States. Its representatives are the primary marketers of the false promises of consumerism and the foremost advocates of the market deregulation, free trade, and privatization policies that are advancing the global consolidation of corporate power and the corresponding corruption of democratic institutions." *The Post-Corporate World*, 6-7.

concepts underlying those policies and interests that the present study intends to critique.⁸ To be even more precise, I believe that one reason for the cross-cultural frictions evident between the two principal groups represented in this case study was daily experience that following what they believed to be the right way of being and acting so often just didn't *work* in that setting. When talk turned to more overarching ideas about policies and practices, unsurprisingly African participants found at least some of the concepts driving Western based international development efforts to be partially at fault. Interestingly, however, the overwhelming majority of non-African participants, although Westerners themselves, also found fault with some foundational principles of Western based involvement. It would have been unreasonable to expect non-American business people or Zambian laborers to do deep comparative philosophical, theological, or cultural analysis of this situation (although an impressive number of arresting reflections came from them nevertheless). But it *can* be reasonably expected of those in positions of civil society leadership to do such thinking.

Here, we return to the condition of America's churches, faith based organizations, and institutions of learning, for portions of what follows may be difficult for some of my fellow citizens to accept. But applying a group's own values and standards to the group itself by one of its members is what American philosopher, Michael Walzer, calls the relationship of the "connected critic"⁹ and is the stance I have tried to adopt with this work. What distinguishes the connected critic from the more removed positions of straightforward historical, philosophical, or theological analysis is, he says, the level of experiential and

⁸ According to Richard Nisbett the United States, more fully than any other society, demonstrates an ideological emphasis on values of individuality, freedom, rationality, and universalism that have become intimately intertwined with the ways we Americans think about ourselves in relation to others. See *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently...and Why* (New York: The Free Press, 2003), 69-71.

⁹ Michael Walzer, *Interpretation and Social Criticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 39, 49.

emotional attachment that the analyst has for the situation at hand.¹⁰ It's an uncomfortable position for all concerned, but especially important when the common welfare is in question. Finally, as various scholars and practitioners work on renewing the leadership role of civil society for informing the ways we Americans comprehend others and ourselves, one crucially repeated point is the need for inter-disciplinary approaches to the world's very complicated problems. By using a pragmatically philosophical framework for what I maintain is, at heart, a profoundly theological set of issues, I hope this study makes at least a small contribution in that regard. ♀

Cambridge, Massachusetts

¹⁰ Ibid., 39.

Chapter One

Considering Reality and Meaning

It's a forty-minute drive from the mission station down a dust road, through the mountain pass into town and the diocesan offices. On this day, the bishop had summoned my husband and me for a staff meeting. We were newly arrived in Zimbabwe; eager to be about assignments the bishop had given through our USA-based sending agency. I was to design and direct a lay education and training program for members of this rural diocese, teaching basic leadership skills, church history, and theology. My husband, Lin, was to direct diocesan health services, setting up and running a series of HIV/AIDS multi-service centers.

The bishop sat behind his desk, his secretary-treasurer at attention next to him with pen poised for note taking. As the only other attendees, Lin and I anticipated a substantive meeting about our programs. "Now Liz," the bishop began, "I want you to buy a flip chart." Puzzled, I responded, "Bishop, I have a flip chart. I've already bought one and it's with the other training supplies." At this, the bishop looked non-plussed. "You do? Well—," he stumbled about for words. "Well, that's really what I wanted to talk about," he finally trailed off. General confusion seemed to settle on our small group and soon he dismissed us from his office.

Our Zimbabwe assignments ultimately ended prematurely, a requested transfer two years later bringing us to teaching posts on the Zambian Copperbelt.

It may be impossible to live on the Copperbelt and not become at least curious about mining. I certainly was intrigued by the smokestacks and head frames of the urban skylines and when finally presented with a chance to go underground, eagerly took it. Our small party

spent several hours touring the operation—long enough to appreciate the intense heat, fumes, and stifling humidity that are the routine work environment for thousands of Zambian men; long enough for one in the group to remark how he realized that “mining is not for sissies.”

On the ride up to surface in the cage—dark except for the flashes of light from cap lamps and dripping with water—the executive leading us remarked, “When our owners made their first visit out here, I arranged for them to go underground but they wouldn’t come. They said to me, ‘That’s why we have you there. We just look at the numbers and if they’re not good enough, you’re out.’” He went on, “You’ve now been in more mines than they have.”

1.0 Mismatched priorities or something more?

The thesis of this work is that such stories suggest qualitative differences in the ways people in cross-cultural settings perceive or understand commonly shared activities. Further, these differences can create “parallel universes” of experience. We are familiar with the idea of different priorities, but *perceptual disparities* concern differences in what we understand to be meaningful. In fact, as the case study to follow will attempt to demonstrate, what can appear at first as mismatched priorities may, on closer inspection, involve fundamental cognitive issues that affect how we view reality. Above all, perceptual disparities have theological significance and relevance to our common life at a time of great challenge for the world.

From a scholarly vantage point, deep analysis of cultural differences and their theoretical implications has been going on for some time. Yet, the practical level is where relationships and perceptual tensions happen. The practical level is also where theory about

how the world should be is often applied to concrete projects, many coming under the rubric of international development.

To those who have worked in international development, the two vignettes above present familiar problems. In the first, there is a puzzling display of what we might consider mismatched priorities or communication mix-ups. Why were lay training *materials* crucial to the bishop and *ideas* important to me? The second scene contains a more pointed version of disparate priorities without a trace of message ambiguity. Why were *numbers* authoritative enough for investors to decide about the quality of work in a *place* they hadn't experienced? Both stories also involve some of the multiple actors in international development settings. There are faith-based organizations sending out well-meaning volunteers. There are expatriate workers on business contracts with various companies. And there are the local people and settings to whom we outsiders come. The experience of those involved in both stories would undoubtedly affect their subsequent working relationships. But neither encounter would offer the type of information included in an organizational annual report. Nor would they likely filter up through an organization's hierarchy to reach policymakers' eyes and ears.

Yet, policy plays out at the level of personal encounter. And when that personal environment contains multiple little episodes that theories and plans don't account for, it is reasonable to wonder what these situations might be about. While it is tempting to say that priority disparities just go with the cross-cultural territory it is also valid to assert that personal encounter has a right to inform overarching policy. For in the end, the grandest visions of the way things should be are entrusted for the carrying out by individuals attempting to live and work together.

The burden of recognizing cross-cultural viewpoint disjunctures lies heavily upon the so-called “developed” world, as disparities between the quality of life for most inhabitants of the Global North and those of the Global South are currently so wide.¹ The burden rests especially heavily upon the United States because of our global military and economic dominance; our internal state of hyper development; and our predominant role in international development policy setting. Yet multiple testimonies over the past several decades suggest painful failure when development theories are put into action by both governmental and non-governmental organizations involved.² There is ample room for improvement.

1.1 Study parameters

The task of this introductory chapter is to set the context for all that follows. Because the premises of the entire work are multi-layered we will begin by summarizing the argument grounding this chapter. From there, more specifics about definitions, a survey of background scholarship, and the scope of the work to come will be offered.

1.1.1 Summary of the inquiry’s context

The case this chapter makes may be thought of in the following way. People working in cross-cultural development settings experience perceptual discrepancies that aren’t accounted for within general development theory or policymaking but that affect what happens in practice. These discrepancies pertain to how the various actors in those situations

¹ Countries occupying the top 10 positions on the United Nation’s Human Development Index (HDI) list as enjoying the highest quality of life are all, with the exception of Australia, located in the northern hemisphere. Countries occupying the top 10 spots on the UN’s HDI list for lowest quality of life are all located on the African continent. The Human Development Index combines statistics on Gross Domestic Produce (GDP) or Gross National Product (GNP) with adult literacy, life expectancy, and average years of schooling. “Pocket World in Figures,” *The Economist* (2006): 28.

² What follows in this chapter will help document these testimonies. See also Chinweizu, *Decolonizing the African Mind* (Lagos: Pero Press, 1987); John Hollaway, *All Poor Together: The African Tragedy and Beyond* (Johannesburg: Capricorn Books, 2000); and Charles Reed, ed., *Development Matters: Christian Perspectives on Globalization* (London: Church House Publishing, 2001).

understand reality itself. Even though many people recognize there are problems with the way international development is conceived in the Global North or West, ideas about how to make things better rely too heavily on intellectual, theoretical analyses and are too overly influenced by certain economic ways of thinking. In fact, the theological thinking that should be helping to guide or critique the West's practical involvement in international development is quite weak.

One way of addressing this problem is to step outside the typical boundaries of Western theological thought and use other means of analysis. This work will attempt to do so by examining a development situation as experienced by the Africans and Westerners involved in it and by analyzing that case from a philosophical vantage point that explores cognition and knowledge acquisition in everyday settings. From such a perspective, it should be possible to make observations about ways of understanding reality that could strengthen Western theological thinking on international development. These ways could, in turn, help inform policymaking and practice in settings where Westerners wish to be involved with the Global South.

1.1.2 Definitional problems and assumptions

In practical settings we Westerners have tended to give less thought to what development is than to the products of what we understand development to be. So we realize that "development" is about having manufacturing, machines and technology; roadways and service infrastructure such as hospitals and schools. But we do not generally ponder precise definitions of what the process for creating and maintaining these things entails.³ This, in

³ Academics seem to have difficulty with devising precise and widely acceptable definitions as well. Owen Willis, "Like Ships Passing in the Day: The Interface Between Religion and International Development in the Programmes, Publications, and Curricula of Canadian Academic Institutions" (PhD diss., University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2005), 125.

itself, is a perceptual issue because verbal explanations for what development *is* often seem disconnected to what development *does*.

Since World War II, “development” has been understood academically as concerning nation states’ expansion and has been talked about almost exclusively in the language of economic theory.⁴ In this view, achieving the marks of a developed society involves economic growth, usually through instituting policies and procedures associated with free market capitalism. It also necessitates sweeping technological change.⁵ Thinking about development from this perspective draws heavily upon certain ways of viewing history and politics. For instance, development has been understood within a context that sees history as progressing from less to more advanced stages of life with traditional means of living evolving towards modernization.⁶ When nations, even entire continents, do not build or maintain the infrastructure we associate with development, political ills such as poor governance often are blamed as the culprits.

Scholars who have scrutinized this way of thinking find it a problem in practice because it leaves some things out and presumes other key experiential and relational issues. Economists applying socialist views to their analyses, for instance, see major problems when a preponderance of economic talk doesn’t deal with political relationships that inevitably

⁴ Ibid.; Dennis Mueller, ed., *The Political Economy of Growth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 1.

⁵ Ibid., 3ff.

⁶ Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development from Western Origins to Global Faith*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London: Zed Books, 1997), 36ff. Rist is a professor at the Graduate Institute of Development Studies in Geneva. *The History of Development* was the first of his major works to be translated from French into English. In it, he follows 12 stages of the idea of “development” as articulated in academic circles and demonstrated in public policy initiatives. He then systematically identifies and debunks the flaws in each stage’s intellectual grounding. See also Steve deGruchy, “Clues to understanding Gilbert Rist’s book, *The History of Development*” (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal, n.d.): <http://www.sorat.ukzn.ac.za/theology/development/article10.htm>.

affect the situation.⁷ Development analysts who study history maintain that much of what passes for improving the human condition is actually based on how a small collection of people seems to think the world should be.⁸ So, analysts who critique predominately economic ways of defining development may say, as Gilbert Rist does, that development in action is “a set of practices, sometimes appearing to conflict with one another, which require—for the reproduction of society—the general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations. Its aim is to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) geared, by way of exchange, to effective demand.”⁹

The inadequate definitions of development that economic theory alone offers are also being recognized in more accessible forums where policymakers are likely to reside. In the past few years we have seen, for example, media commentators pondering why Americans don't feel more upbeat about life when U.S. economic indicators such as GDP or GNP and the stock market are strong.¹⁰ Statistics may indicate that the world is fine, but people's lived experience seems to differ. And more than 30 years after the first Earth Day, the public conversation about global warming seems finally to have acknowledged that human activity, through industrialization and development, is playing a part in potentially catastrophic climate change. “Progress,” it seems, comes with a terrible price. So we are hearing more about *sustainable* development and the need for realistic assessments of what development practices actually are doing to people and the planet. In this vein, David Korten has

⁷ The classic such tension in Marxist analysis is the “antagonistic relationship” between capital and labor. Mueller, *Political Economy*, 222.

⁸ Rist, *History of Development*, 10.

⁹ *History of Development*, 13. See also Mueller, *Political Economy*, 276.

¹⁰ Some analysts view these means of measuring the health of a nation's existence as out-moded remnants of the Industrial Era that need replacing. More sophisticated means of understanding a society's overall well being include the Genuine Progress Indicator and the Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare. Michael Marien, “How Likely is Collapse?” *Yes! A Journal of Positive Futures* (Summer 2006), 20. See also Korten, *Post-Corporate World*, 69-71.

conceived of a more holistic definition of “development.” He says that, “Properly understood, development is a process by which people increase their human, institutional, and technical capacities to produce the goods and services needed to achieve sustainable improvements in their quality of life using the resources available to them.”¹¹

For this study, a precise technical definition of development is less important than understanding some of the assumptions that lie behind both existing definitions and development in practice. That is, while a widely accepted definition of the word “development” may be hard to achieve, it is obvious that the physical world has changed through industrialization and the spread of technology. The ideas and thought processes driving these changes are significant. So, in the specific case of this study, we will take a lead from Rist’s and Korten’s critical thinking about development practices by focusing on underlying theories regarding how we perceive the world. What ways of understanding or seeing the world lead humanity to transform and destroy the natural environment and social relations as Rist contends? How can Korten’s “proper” understanding of development be obtained, particularly when so many everyday disparities seem to abound—as this chapter’s opening vignettes have suggested? What *is* real and meaningful to people involved in the present state of affairs and why?

1.1.3 Beyond the intellectual

One theory currently popular with economic policy analysts is that the intellectual foundations on which Westerners understand development are weak. This is evident both in the way the entire concept became officially inaugurated and in the way it was understood by top American policy setters in the mid-2000s. Obviously, U. S. government policy making cannot be equated with the viewpoints of all ordinary American citizens. But the

¹¹ David Korten, *When Corporations Rule the World* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1995), 168.

governmental situation of the mid-2000s has arisen out of a particular context. Considering how policy is made at this time will help reveal something about the general views of those involved.

Looking back, the West or Global North has been on a trajectory of development for over 200 years, arising particularly from the ideological underpinnings of America's founding.¹² The Common Sense philosophy that had helped inspire our founders' egalitarian visions of governance also assumed that laws governing the universe could be comprehended and modeled on earth when scientific reasoning was carefully applied.¹³ This way of understanding reality led directly to our country's peculiar mix of fundamentalist and evangelical Christianity with its great certitude about finding definitive Biblical truths and grasping the true vision of what God has intended creation to be.¹⁴

Against this backdrop, the notion of *international development* as a specific field of endeavor essentially came about via a public relations gimmick employed in the hopeful days right after World War II. In a post-war foreign policy speech, President Harry Truman promised that technical assistance given to Latin America would be extended world wide in a "new program" intended to distribute the benefits of science and industrial progress. Rather than just rounding out his talk, this little point helped clear the ground for ensuing decades of development work by altering the way people in the West thought about themselves in relation to the rest of the world. With this declaration, the world became verbally divided into "developed" and "under developed countries" with the United States, by virtue of our

¹² Rist, *History of Development*, 18.

¹³ Nisbett, *Geography of Thought*, 70.

¹⁴ See George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 14-16 for an excellent discussion of this background.

GNP, setting the standard.¹⁵ “From 1949 onwards, often without realizing it, more than two billion inhabitants of the planet found themselves changing their name, being ‘officially’ regarded as they appeared in the eyes of others, called upon to deepen their Westernization by repudiating their own values,” says Rist.¹⁶

Almost 60 years later in the midst of a global “War on Terror,” the United States again made major policy statements about international development. But this time, there appeared to be more intentional motivations for the government’s actions. As the basic architecture of the 2003 USAID Country Strategic Plan for Zambia made clear, the sort of optimistic policy thinking that appeared in Truman’s speech had given way to more menacing outlooks.

*For the first time, development has been elevated to be the third pillar of U. S. national security, along with defense and diplomacy...Zambia is a willing partner in contributing to the U. S. Government’s priority goal to prevent and respond to terrorism...Important elements of the Zambian media are relatively free, but they increasingly see the world through an anti-West, anti-globalization prism. Public diplomacy action is subsumed under every objective and will intensify its outreach efforts to raise the Zambian opinion makers’ understanding of the responsibilities of the U. S. as a leader, particularly in the coalition against terrorism.*¹⁷

Direct actions flowing from this policy shift soon were evident in two key appointments made by the Bush administration. In 2005, former Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, who had played a prominent role in pressing for the 2002 U. S. invasion of Iraq, took over leadership of the World Bank. His appointment to an institution declaring its dedication to “global poverty reduction and the improvement of living standards”¹⁸ elicited

¹⁵ Ibid., 70ff.

¹⁶ Ibid., 79.

¹⁷ United States Agency for International Development, “Prosperity, Hope and Better Health for Zambians,” Country Strategic Plan FY2004-2010, Vol. 1: Strategy (June, 2003), 7: http://www.usaid.gov/zm/docs/csp_vol1.pdf.

¹⁸ The World Bank, “About Us” (2006): <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/0,,pagePK:50004410~piPK:36602~theSitePK:29708,00.html>.

widespread doubt and criticism from scholars and practitioners. Among the critics was development economist Jeffrey Sachs who called the appointment “inappropriate” due to Mr. Wolfowitz’s inexperience in international development.¹⁹ Within a year of his taking over the Bank’s directorship, Mr. Wolfowitz’s critics were observing that he relied too heavily upon a small group of long time advisors, none of whom had development expertise, and that his intolerance for corruption in Bank funded projects was more for the benefit of American interests than anyone else’s.²⁰

In early 2006, the Bush administration also shifted Randall Tobias, a former pharmaceutical company executive, from his position overseeing the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) to the directorship of USAID and a new position as Director of Foreign Assistance, reporting to the Secretary of State.²¹ This shift came around the same time that Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice was declaring the impossibility of drawing “neat, clear lines between our security interests, our development efforts and our democratic ideals.”²² Closer cooperation between the State Department and the government’s foreign development assistance initiatives would, she argued, be part of a new U.S. “transformational diplomacy” concerned with “characters of regimes” and not just international relations.²³ Both the Tobias appointment and the ideology behind it received international criticism²⁴

¹⁹ “Bush Backs U.S. Hawk for World Bank,” *BBC News* (March 16, 2005): <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4356645.stm>.

²⁰ “Just say no,” *The Economist* (March 4, 2006): 69.

²¹ PEPFAR was a collaborative effort among several federal agencies including the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the Department of Defense. A major program initiative involved acquisition and distribution of antiretroviral drugs for 15 countries, 12 of which were in Africa. The appointment of someone so closely aligned with the drug industry to this key program raised ethical questions for many observers.

²² Rice as quoted in “Speak Softly and Carry a Big Wallet,” *The Economist* (January 28, 2006): 75.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ See also Bill Berkowitz, “Remaking USAID for a Permanent War on Terror?” *Inter Press Service* (January 28, 2006): <http://www.ipsnews.net/dominologin.asp?Db=ips&wView=vwWebMainView&DocID=8C6FD1131EDBF022C1257103005DDE15>; “Wrong Fix for Foreign Aid,” *New York Times* (February 6, 2006): <http://select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=F00F13FD3C5A0C758CDDAB0894DE404482>; and Jim Lobe, “Guns Over Butter, Abroad and At Home,” *Inter Press Service* (February 7, 2006):

with *The Economist* lamenting the “intellectual disarray that...haunts the aid industry.”²⁵ Within a few months of his taking over the directorship of USAID, Tobias had begun identifying and categorizing exercises similar to those evident as a result of the Truman administration’s efforts. Specifically, Tobias announced plans to classify 154 countries into five categories ranging from “rebuilding countries” to “reforming countries.” He further disclosed that the United States would design aid programs to these countries according to specific challenges presented to American priorities.²⁶

If such policymaking arises purely from intellectual weakness, then rational logic could predict that, with mounting evidence of failure, actual practice would shift and affect subsequent policymaking. But with history repeating itself so frequently, as the above example testifies, we need to ask if more than intellectual problems may be at work.

Rist’s and Korten’s analyses suggest the answer is a decided “yes.” In very different ways their critiques maintain that fully understanding the situation will entail engaging theological issues. Neither author relies on the word “theological,” but both recognize that development and humanity’s relationship with the transcendent are inter-related. So, they take the discussion of development policy and practice into territory that ultimately concerns meaning and reality itself.²⁷

<http://www.ipsnews.net/dominologin.asp?Db=ips\eng.nsf&wView=vwWebMainView&DocID=BOB3AC90BFC89761C125710E0004508C>.

²⁵ “Speak Softly,” 75.

²⁶ Stewart Patrick, “Foreign Aid Reform: The Latest Skinny from the Inside,” Center for Global Development (May 8, 2006): http://blogs.cgdev.org/globaldevelopment/2006/05/foreign_aid_reform_the_latest.php.

²⁷ While this study maintains a focus on theological implications of development policymaking and practice, we will also talk about “religion” and “spirituality,” both concepts that involve the theological. Here, “theology” should be understood as encompassing broad concerns of humanity in relation to the divine or transcendent. The link between theology or religion and ultimate meaning has been made many times over by a variety of thinkers. As concerns the present effort, Willis’s work on religion and development studies is helpful. In making the case for why the academic development field should take religion into account, Willis links religion to more universal quests for meaning. He writes, “Part of the reason for [the current] resurgence of religion around the world may be explained by [Karen] Armstrong: ‘Human beings cannot endure emptiness and desolation; they will fill the vacuum by creating a new focus of meaning.’ That focus may incline towards faith

Rist prefers the term *religion* when discussing this relationship. Tracing the origins of what he calls “a belief and a series of practices” that now constitute “development,” Rist finds a foundation in ways that ancient Greco-Roman culture and early Christianity grappled with understanding how knowledge is acquired, what creation is, and how time moves.²⁸ By the Enlightenment era, people of the Global North seemed largely to view time as moving forward with a distinctive end and purpose. And, by the Industrial era, a general perception of how history ran and the role of humanity within the world, combined with technological innovations, meant that Western societies could spread a gospel of progress and development in a prophetic way.²⁹ Rist says that development has now become the religion of contemporary Western culture.³⁰

What does this mean and how does it have an impact on our shared cross-cultural endeavors? For those who assume that the modern West is mostly secular, Rist suggests thinking again. Religion, he says, has not diminished in importance to society. It has just “migrated...where one does not expect to find it.”³¹ For example, we may think of ourselves as having both sacred and secular experiences: personally believing in God, perhaps, but knowing better than to bring that up in the midst of a workplace planning meeting. But this may say less about our society’s generally becoming secular than it does about where we have come to place our religious emphases. And just because there has been a remarkable

or fundamentalism, pleasure or materialism, but at some level the quest for meaning is ‘inherently religious in nature.’” “Like Ships Passing,” 215.

²⁸ Rist, *History of Development*, 24, 28ff. Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar address the difficulty that these definitional discussions can entail by noting that many contemporary social scientists don’t even attempt such precision when circumstances and contexts will inevitably confound even the best thought out verbiage. For their own work on African politics and religion, they employ a definition of *religion* that relies on Tylor’s anthropological observations, namely that religion should be understood as “belief in the existence of an invisible world, often thought to be inhabited by spirits that are believed to affect people’s lives in the material world.” *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa* (London: Hurst and Co., 2004), 3.

²⁹ Rist, *History of Development*, 36-44.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

³¹ *Ibid.*

surge in mega churches and their ancillary activities doesn't mean that church is the only place to look for religion. For Rist, in fact, the best place to start searching for a different, but still religious, understanding is in environments that thrive on talk of progress, growth, and economic development as keys to a good quality of life. So, to leave general religious concerns out of development policymaking is unwise.³² To devise development policy without probing the motivations and values of the policy makers and practitioners themselves may be even worse.

David Korten likewise doesn't rely on overly theological wording. But he talks in terms of the *spiritual* when asserting that economic progress models of development have created an unsustainable worldwide environmental crisis.³³ Korten is convinced that the only way through this situation involves a "spiritual awakening."³⁴ Such an awakening is necessary to spur a radical shift in understanding on the part of people from the Global North towards our own place within creation.³⁵

So, while *The Economist's* critique was right—intellectual disarray does haunt the international aid industry and the way we in the West conceive of development—this study will follow the thread Rist and Korten have introduced concerning something beyond the intellectual. This problem is also theological.

1.1.4 Theological thinness

Here, however, we encounter an additional predicament. This concerns the extent to which the understanding and policymaking of those in the Global North *recognize* that

³² Sociologist Peter Berger, as quoted in Willis, states, "The assumption that we live in a secularized world is false. The world today, with some exceptions...is as furiously religious as it ever was and in some places more so than ever...Those who neglect religion in their analyses of contemporary affairs do so at great peril." "Like Ships Passing," 111.

³³ *Post-Corporate World*, 66ff. See also David Korten, *The Great Turning* (West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 2006).

³⁴ *Post-Corporate World*, 281.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 297ff.

development entails transcendent interests—whether conceived of as “religion,” “spirituality,” or “theology.” Unfortunately, as a number of excellent studies have already pointed out, theology and development generally aren’t talked of or thought about in the same contexts.³⁶ There are many reasons for this and comments by one practitioner and analyst, Katherine Marshall, are particularly appropriate to our present concerns.³⁷ Marshall maintains that development and religion are not seen as going together because religion deals primarily with spiritual matters while “development is very much in the material world.”³⁸

So religion and spirituality are the purview of abstract other worldliness while development is in the realm of the present and concrete?³⁹ This is a question the case study continually confronts and Marshall’s observations are especially intriguing considering who is shaping current policy thinking on development in the West. At this writing, the most well recognized names are arguably American economist Jeffrey Sachs; the Irish rock singer Bono; and to a lesser extent, American scientist Jared Diamond. We will consider each spokesperson in turn, emphasizing Sachs’s predominant role.

³⁶ Kurt Alan Ver Beek, who defines spirituality as, “a relationship with the supernatural or spiritual realm that provides meaning and a basis for personal and communal reflection, decisions, and action,” notes that a survey of three well known development journals *World Development*, *Journal of Development Studies*, and *Journal of Developing Areas* over a 15 year period (1982-1998) yielded only rare references to spirituality. “Spirituality: a Development Taboo,” *Development in Practice* 10, no. 1 (February, 2000): 31-43. See also Willis, “Like Ships Passing.”

³⁷ Katherine Marshall directs a World Bank program called the *Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics* that *The Economist* claims has been controversial from its beginning. “Keeping the Faith,” *The Economist* (August 19, 2006): 62.

³⁸ Marshall goes on to say that there have been too few interactions between the international institutions (World Bank, International Monetary Fund and others) that finance a huge percentage of international development initiatives in part because of “the traditional divide between religion and economics, with the latter being particularly critical in shaping the World Bank’s philosophy and approach to development.” Katherine Marshall, “Development & Religion: A Different Lens on Development Debates,” *Peabody Journal of Education* 76, no. 3 (2001): 339-375.

³⁹ See also Marshall’s comments that religion and development constitute two separate “worlds.” “Development & Religion,” 343.

1.1.4.0 "Clinical Economics"

In early 2005, Sachs produced a book entitled *The End of Poverty*.⁴⁰ Widely publicized, reviewed, and distributed as required reading in some church circles, the book recorded Sachs's own evolving thinking concerning "Africa's failure to prosper in an era of globalization."⁴¹ Sachs dismisses assumptions that the underdeveloped portions of the world are poor simply because of exploitation by richer regions.⁴² Rather, he maintains that "the transmission of technologies and the ideas behind them" is the single most important reason why some global regions have prospered and others have not.⁴³

Asserting that prosperity is possible everywhere, his book promotes a way of conceptualizing development aid he calls "clinical economics." Clinical economics echoes the diagnostic ability of scientific medicine and takes into account historical, ethnographic, and political conditions of individual countries rather than simply applying uniform economic principles as the World Bank and IMF largely have done.⁴⁴ Sachs's more contextual approach to thinking about development assistance has come through his own experiences in Africa and other countries outside the rich world.⁴⁵ This approach does change viewpoints on thinking about the situation. For example, in the mid-2000s, instituting "good governance" procedures was a standard conditionality for US aid to

⁴⁰ Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005).

⁴¹ John Cassidy, "Always With Us?" *The New Yorker* (April 11, 2005): 72-77. Sachs first gained international notoriety for his involvement with a number of countries that were shifting from socialist to capitalist economies in the 1980s and 1990s. These included Bolivia, Poland, and Russia among others. For a number of years he directed the Harvard Institute for International Development and then went to Columbia University in New York. As an advisor to Kofi Annan, he has also been a key spokesperson for the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

⁴² Sachs, *End of Poverty*, 31.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴⁴ Cassidy, "Always With Us?" 75; Sachs, *End of Poverty*, 74ff.

⁴⁵ "Rich world" is a term that Sachs uses and that can be understood as generally synonymous with expressions such as "Global North" or the "developed world." Sachs encourages students to spend time in developing countries for the life changing opportunities this experience offers. "Saving 8 Million People a Year," The 139th Cutter Lecture on Preventive Medicine (Presented at Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, December 11, 2003.)

Africa.⁴⁶ But Sachs asserts that blaming poor governance is an inadequate explanation for the African condition at present.⁴⁷ There is more to the problem than this and Sachs deserves credit for recognizing such complexity.

Sachs also brings the advantages and disadvantages of his discipline to his work when making his points. For example, his calculations on how aid is distributed internationally can be jolting to Americans, since popular assumptions are that our country is the most generous in terms of foreign aid and development assistance.

Contrary to popular perception, the amount of aid per African per year is really very small, just \$30 per sub-Saharan African in 2002 from the entire world. Of that modest amount, almost \$5 was actually for consultants from the donor countries, more than \$3 was for food aid and other emergency aid, another \$4 went to servicing Africa's debts, and \$5 was for debt relief operations. The rest, \$12, went to Africa. Is it really a surprise that we do not see many traces of that aid on the ground?... Since the "money down the drain" argument is heard most frequently in the United States, it is worth looking at the same calculations for U. S. aid alone. In 2002, the United States gave \$3 per sub-Saharan African. Taking out the parts for U.S. consultants, food and other emergency aid, administrative costs, and debt relief, the aid per African came to the grand total of six cents.⁴⁸

Such stark statistical evidence should get much greater publicity in American mainstream media and among professional development experts. Yet, Sachs's own pragmatic plans for a change of course are still conceived in straightforward quantifiable terms, which say something about how he understands the world himself. For instance, some of his nine steps towards the goal of ending poverty are: redeeming America's international role by donating 0.7% of our national income to international development (rather than simply promising to do so); rescuing the World Bank and IMF by shifting their roles from debt-collectors to

⁴⁶ See details on USAID's activities in Zambia (http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/sectors/dg/index.html).

⁴⁷ Sachs, *End of Poverty*, 312-314.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 310. The U.S. gives the most aid in absolute terms. But of the 22 OECD donor countries, it is second to last when aid is considered in proportion to annual income. "Economic and financial indicators," *The Economist* (May 7, 2005): 96. The OECD, or Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, is an international body with origins in the post-World War II/Marshall Plan era.

facilitators of “enlightened globalization;”⁴⁹ and making greater efforts to have science and technology address the “unmet challenges of the poor.”⁵⁰ Presumably, any concrete solutions Sachs might favor would not consider the pragmatic implications of thinking in such linear terms; doubt the Bretton Woods institutions’ role; or question science and technology’s abilities to provide adequate answers to international development dilemmas.

Despite the important contributions of Sachs’s thinking, African and non-African observers have noticed some biases and omissions. By the end of the same year in which *End of Poverty* was published, Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, a Muslim and General Secretary of the Global Pan African Movement, declared Sachs to be “losing his buzz.”⁵¹ First, focusing on African poverty and misery is demeaning to African people. Second, American prescriptions for solving Africa’s problems suffer from such an enormous “credibility gap” that it is difficult for non-Americans to believe any policies and promises originating in this country. An American Christian commentator with long-term mission experience in Liberia and Lesotho has seen things similarly. In a review of *End of Poverty*, John Gay writes,

Poverty alleviation is made less likely when the west flaunts its wealth in the face of people who see their poverty as due to American and European exploitation and inaction. There is reason for foreigners to resent America. Sachs forgets what Reinhold Niebuhr said...[that] a nation which tries to do good in the world, but ends up profiting by its seeming generosity, makes enemies wherever it goes as a result of its arrogance and exploitation of others...For Sachs affluence means money and consumer goods, not

⁴⁹ Sachs, *End of Poverty*, 366. This stance is in notable contrast to that of Korten, who flatly recommends closing the World Bank. *When Corporations Rule*, 323. Korten’s academic credentials are comparable to those of Sachs and Korten has more practical international development experience.

⁵⁰ Sachs, *End of Poverty*, 367.

⁵¹ This gap includes knowledge that policies and procedures of such American-dominated organizations as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund eventually made grassroots movements such as the Jubilee initiative necessary. Abdul-Raheem also specifically mentioned the *re*-election of George W. Bush as being a factor in America’s international credibility problem. “From Myths to Mobilizing,” Africa Action’s 2005 Baraza Tour (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, November 2, 2005).

necessarily a way of life that is rich with meaning and shared love and that cherishes our environment.⁵²

Sachs's recommendations, then, do less than is necessary when probing underlying assumptions about development policies and practices. While he definitely helps put American donor aid policies in perspective, his viewpoint does not account for foundational issues of meaning that arise through perceptual disjunctures experienced in practice.

1.1.4.1 "It's about justice"

Going a bit farther into overtly religious territory is the Irish rock star, Bono. Jeffrey Sachs's relationship with Bono has become so close that the singer even wrote the foreword to *End of Poverty*.⁵³ And, like Sachs, Bono receives praise in the mainstream media for the attention he has drawn to Africa.⁵⁴ In early 2006, President Bush invited Bono to a National Prayer Breakfast where, after offering appropriate demurrals, he preached a sermon. The progressive Sojourners community praised Bono's performance.⁵⁵ His remarks concerning the AIDS pandemic in Africa deserve note for their forthrightness in contrasting justice with charity.

From charity to justice, the good news is yet to come. There is much more to do. There's a gigantic chasm between the scale of the emergency and the scale of the response.

And finally, it's not about charity after all, is it? It's about justice. Let me repeat that: It's not about charity, it's about justice.

⁵² John Gay, "An Analysis of *The End of Poverty* and the Millennium Development Goals by Jeffrey D. Sachs," *Higher Education in Europe* 30, nos. 3-4 (2005): 249-265. http://www.cepes.ro/publications/pdf/hee_eng_pdf/he3-4_05.pdf.

⁵³ This may have been the first time an economist has had a rock star perform this role, according to Cassidy who goes on to cite some of the imagery Bono invokes, "His voice is louder than any electric guitar, heavier than heavy metal." "Always With Us?" 72.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Sojourners grew out of a voluntary simplicity community near Washington, DC. It now hosts print and on-line journals as part of "a Christian ministry whose mission is to proclaim and practice the biblical call to integrate spiritual renewal and social justice." (www.sojo.net). Sojourner's founding member, Jim Wallis, is one of a few well known ecclesiastical figures representing more moderate to liberal political views in the United States. Since he has confined much of his work to American domestic policy issues, he does not receive coverage in the present study.

And that's too bad. Because you're good at charity. Americans, like the Irish, are good at it. We like to give, and we give a lot, even those who can't afford it.

But justice is a higher standard. Africa makes a fool of our idea of justice; it makes a farce of our idea of equality. It mocks our pieties, it doubts our concern, it questions our commitment.

Sixty-five hundred Africans are still dying every day of a preventable, treatable disease, for lack of drugs we can buy at any drug store. This is not about charity, this is about justice and equality.

Because there's no way we can look at what's happening in Africa and, if we're honest, conclude that deep down, we really accept that Africans are equal to us. Anywhere else in the world, we wouldn't accept it. Look at what happened in South East Asia with the tsunami. 150,000 lives lost to that misnomer of all misnomers, "mother nature." In Africa, 150,000 lives are lost every month. A tsunami every month. And it's a completely avoidable catastrophe.

It's annoying but justice and equality are mates. Aren't they? Justice always wants to hang out with equality. And equality is a *real pain*.⁵⁶

This is a remarkable stance to take and one that comes closer than does Sachs's work to connecting religion and development directly. Two observations are important here, however. The first regards the way in which Bono's Christian faith and action are characterized not just by the media, but by himself. Bono began embracing, rather than rejecting, organized religion because he came to realize that "any effort at social change must include an appeal to Americans' faith-based instincts."⁵⁷ In this view, religion and spirituality are *incorporated into* a larger world of ideas rather than *forming the bedrock* of them. Second, the image of an Irish rock star at a gathering of American religious and political figures preaching a sermon about the Biblical bases of justice deserves note. This can be viewed as a commentary on both our country's preoccupation with entertainment and

⁵⁶ Bono, *Remarks at the National Prayer Breakfast* (Washington, DC, February 3, 2006): <http://www.data.org/archives/000774.php>.

⁵⁷ Kevin Eckstrom, "Bono, After Years of Skepticism, Finds Partner in Religion," *Religion News Service* (February 3, 2006): http://www.sojo.net/index.cfm?action=news.display_article&mode=s&NewsID-5211.

the state of our public religious leadership. As Canadian author Robert Vagacs observed, Bono has reminded church leaders that, “a rock star should not have to be heading this up.”⁵⁸

So, Bono’s thinking suffers some of the same theological deficiencies that Sachs’s does. This is especially apparent in a superficial probing of presumptions underlying general concepts concerning religion and social change as well as his recommending strategies for aid that do not question dominant economic ways of thinking.⁵⁹ But Bono has highlighted the thinness of theological thinking that exists nevertheless. And this is quite important.

1.1.4.2 “Differences in real estate”

Jeffrey Sachs has partially attributed Africa’s widespread impoverishment to geographical features that inhibit agricultural production and exacerbate the spread of diseases such as malaria.⁶⁰ Here, he echoes the views of geographer and physiologist, Jared Diamond. Diamond’s 1999 book *Guns, Germs, and Steel* won a Pulitzer Prize; was adapted for a Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) television series in 2005; and by 2006 had earned a prominent place on the worldwide best seller list of historical works.⁶¹

Guns, Germs, and Steel addresses perennial questions about why the world has come to be as it is by turning around how we usually ask such things. For example, Diamond suggests asking not, “Why are some places and people so poor?” but asking, “Why did

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ For example, Bono and Bobby Shriver, a member of the Kennedy family, conceived of Project RED that would allow corporations to create specially designed products a percentage of the sales for which would go to African AIDS relief. “RED is an attempt to create a win-win situation for consumers, the corporate sector and the world’s poor. Consumers, who are concerned about Aids [sic] and Africa can shop for high-quality fashion items in the knowledge that a percentage from their purchases is being paid by the firms to help those suffering. ‘We’re trying to make it really easy for people to help,’ said Bono.” Paul Vallely, “Get Ready for Bono, the Editor...,” *The Independent Online Edition* (May 12, 2006): <http://news.independent.co.uk/media/article362094.ece>.

⁶⁰ Sachs, *End of Poverty*, 208.

⁶¹ Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999); “The Big Book Index,” *The Economist* (February 4, 2006), 77.

wealth and power get distributed as they did over time?”⁶² Bringing in modern development concerns, he suggests asking, “Why did human development proceed at such different rates on different continents?”⁶³

The book that represents Diamond’s 30-year pursuit of such questions finally settles upon geography as the main answer. Geography had the strongest influence on societies’ ability to form pastoral communities; invent various technologies; and either resist or succumb to disease.⁶⁴ In other words, “the different historical trajectories of Africa and Europe stem ultimately from differences in real estate.”⁶⁵ Diamond goes on to say that even though most people will probably always assume the answers to such big questions lie with racial and biological explanations, “[h]istory followed different courses for different peoples because of differences among people’s environments, not because of biological differences among peoples themselves.”⁶⁶

Religion has also played a part in wealth and power distribution, according to Diamond. He traces the evolution of its role this way. As supernatural beliefs were institutionalized, the resulting ideas known as “religion” were used to justify central authority. One good aspect of this institutional “religion” was that it provided an overarching way of thinking so disparate peoples could live peaceably together. Supernatural beliefs, as the bedrock of “religion” also came to form an overarching ideology. But, institutionalized-religion-as-ideology had some drawbacks. One was that by providing a motive for people to

⁶² Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, 15.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁶⁴ This insight is not unique to Diamond. See, for example, French historian Fernand Braudel as cited in Thomas Sowell, “The Tragedy of Africa: Part II” (2005): <http://www.townhall.com/opinions/columns/sthomassowell/2005/07/13/154643.html>.

⁶⁵ Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, 401.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 25-28. This idea is strengthened by Kwame Anthony Appiah’s book, *In My Father’s House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). In this work, Appiah suggests that “race” is not scientifically defensible because genetic diversity is spread throughout the human population in different ways. In this view, there aren’t biological races even though races have a “social reality.”

sacrifice themselves on behalf of their fellow citizens, religion now helped some to become adept conquerors of others.⁶⁷

In all, Diamond pushes even a bit farther into overtly religious territory and analysis than do either Sachs or Bono. For this he deserves commendation. He also deserves recognition for discussing how the physical or material world has affected Africa's situation in particular. As an historian and scientist, however, Diamond seems to view religion as simply one factor of many in societies' development. So his work stops short of serious grappling with what all this might mean concretely for the world at this time.

In sum, the good thinking that Sachs, Bono, and Diamond have provided concerning development must not be dismissed or under appreciated. They all make significant contributions towards increasing Western understanding about the complexities of policymaking and practice. It is disturbing, though, that such thinking has come primarily from economics, science, and the entertainment industry. What does this say about the general state of theological analysis on development policymaking and practice?

1.2 Theological disarray?

Unfortunately, much current thinking seems to be founded on some problems already mentioned above. One is the predominant role that categories of thought from economic theory and business practice seem to maintain in shaping theological understanding. We have just seen how economic thinking profoundly influences *development* thinking and policymaking. But the influence of economic thought on *religious*, or theological, thinking is also noteworthy.

The implications of this relationship have received much attention with perhaps the most famous analysis being that of Max Weber. His 19th century historical review, *The*

⁶⁷ Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, 276-278.

Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, is still a foundational work in a number of academic disciplines.⁶⁸ In that lengthy essay and using a technique akin to Diamond's reverse questioning, Weber ponders not why some regions are poor, but why modern institutions that made some wealthy arose where and when they did.⁶⁹ Exploring intriguing questions such as "What is the extent to which religious beliefs cause people to be economically productive?" and "What is religion's capacity for reforming attitudes and institutions?"⁷⁰ Weber attributes the root cause to Reformed Christianity. John Calvin's teachings on predestination assumed both that people had no control over their eventual destinies and a responsibility to live as if going to heaven. Calvin's descendants in America, the Puritans, brought with them a combination of convictions that prompted them to work hard and spend little.

Along the way, however, something else happened.⁷¹ It wasn't so much the hard work and ascetic thriftiness that eventually became significant. It was that as people became "dominated by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of [their lives],"⁷² they became economically rich. What began as a religiously motivated ethic

⁶⁸ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, 2nd Roxbury edition trans. Talcott Parsons (Los Angeles, Roxbury Publishing Company, 1998). While Weber is typically credited with first identifying a link between the rise of Protestantism and the development of capitalism, Karl Marx had pointed this out as well. "The money cult implies its own asceticism, its own self-denial, its own self-sacrifice—parsimony and frugality, a contempt for worldly, temporal, and transient satisfactions: it implies the striving for everlasting treasure. Hence the connections of English Puritanism, but also of Dutch Protestantism, with money making." As quoted in Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (New York: Prometheus Paper Back, 1957), 49. Baran himself attributes the environment that Weber analyzed partially to other historical circumstances. These include evolving conceptions of production and accumulation in light of technological change. *Ibid.*, 47-49. See also William Lecky's discussion of how general intellectual tendencies of historic periods affect people's thinking. *The History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe, Vol. 1* (London: Watts and Company, 1910), 4ff. Further, see Ellis and Ter Haar's discussion of wealth in *Worlds of Power*, 131ff.

⁶⁹ Elizabeth Kolbert, "Why Work? A Hundred Years of 'The Protestant Ethic,'" *The New Yorker* (November 29, 2004): 154.

⁷⁰ Willis, "Like Ships Passing," 134-136.

⁷¹ Kolbert, "Why Work?" 156.

⁷² Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 53.

eventually evolved into “an ethic of everyday behavior that conduced to business success.”⁷³

Unfortunately, however, Weber foresaw this situation as leading to “the steady, soulless spread of global capitalism.”⁷⁴

Since asceticism undertook to remodel the world and to work out its ideals in the world, material goods have gained an increasing and finally an inexorable power over the lives of men as at no previous period in history. To-day the spirit of religious asceticism—whether finally, who knows?—has escaped from the cage. But victorious capitalism, since it rests on mechanical foundations, needs its support no longer...In the field of its highest development, in the United States, the pursuit of wealth, stripped of its religious and ethical meaning, tends to become associated with purely mundane passions, which often actually give it the character of sport.⁷⁵

Weber’s thesis was controversial from the beginning and he spent the rest of his life defending it. But it has also become the work by which he is principally known and some say its enduring timeliness makes it remarkably compelling even today.⁷⁶

Timely it seems indeed when we consider current talk of the role of religion in contemporary society and specifically in relation to international development policymaking and practice. In the first instance, consider how the authors of a recent study on religion and

⁷³ David Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations* (London: Little Brown and Company, 1998), 175.

⁷⁴ Kolbert, “Why Work?” 160. Jeffrey Sachs (*End of Poverty*, 316) criticizes Weber’s thesis saying history has shown that such culturally based arguments ultimately give way when economic circumstances change. By the mid-2000s, for example, Catholic Italy and Ireland had overtaken the Protestant UK in terms of per capita income. Sachs’s main disagreement with culturally based explanations such as Weber’s are that they are usually founded on prejudice and that they assume sets of unchangeable values. “What look like immutable social values turn out to be highly malleable to economic circumstances and opportunities. Although not all cultural values change so easily, values deemed to be inimical to economic development are rarely, if ever, unalterable features of a society.” (*Ibid.*, 317). What is significant for our purposes about this line of reasoning is Sachs’s own unswerving fidelity to a particular way of understanding the world.

⁷⁵ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 72. Gendered language, when directly quoted in this study, will not be amended. It is understood as a product of its time and place.

⁷⁶ Kolbert, “Why Work?” 154-155. Kolbert also notes that Weber wrote this essay following recovery from a nervous breakdown.

economic growth (a study one analyst claims “out-Webers Weber”⁷⁷) talk about their findings.⁷⁸

If you think of the ‘religion sector’ as being in the business of producing beliefs, [Barro] suggests, then the way for it to be most productive is to generate a lot of belief without expending a lot of resources or time... ‘If you separate out religious *activity* from religious *beliefs*, then religious beliefs do continue to play an important role in productivity,’ says McCleary. The researchers conclude that strong belief despite minimal practice is the most economically advantageous religious orientation.⁷⁹

Several points are noteworthy. First, the study’s authors identify a common conception that underlies Western assumptions about what religion *is* but that is often taken for granted in everyday situations. This is the close association of *religion* with *belief*, a viewpoint that Western theology can trace back to the early influences of Platonism.⁸⁰ Understanding religion as fundamentally within the realm of belief can weight our perceptions of it towards mental processes and emotions while downplaying religion as experience and action. Second is the preponderance of economic categories of thought (for example, “the business of production,” “expending resources,” and “economically advantageous”) to describe religion and religious experience. In this view, business practices that represent certain economic theories in action seem to define what religion *is*.⁸¹ Further, religion’s most meaningful attribute might be its economic usefulness. Since the authors of this study are economists, it

⁷⁷ Harbour Fraser Hodder, “Devout Dividends: Heaven, Hell, and Profits,” *Harvard Magazine* (September-October, 2004), 13-14.

⁷⁸ Robert J. Barro and Rachel M. McCleary, “Religion and Political Economy in an International Panel” *PRPES Working Paper #10*, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2002), <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/rsrchpapsun.asp?ID=518>.

⁷⁹ Hodder, “Devout Dividends,” 14, emphasis in original.

⁸⁰ Van Harvey, *A Handbook of Theological Terms* (New York: Collier Books, MacMillan Publishing, 1964), 80.

⁸¹ As noted at the opening of this chapter, economic theories that dominate discussions in the Global North and especially the United States arise largely from capitalist principles. These are the sorts of economic principles, rather than socialist principles for instance, that this study understands to be informing development theory and theology more generally at the present time.

is not surprising that they should write about religion from that vantage point. But how does the situation appear from the perspective of the more overtly religious?

Consider how some contemporary influential religious voices talk. Rick Warren, author of the wildly successful *Purpose Driven Life*,⁸² is viewed not as “a theological innovator” but “a straight-down-the-middle evangelical.” Warren quotes management expert Peter Drucker and has been compared by political scientist Robert Putnam to entrepreneurs “Ray Kroc and Sam Walton, pioneers not in what they sold but in how they sold.”⁸³ Warren is also displaying an increasing interest in Africa and he and his wife practice “reverse tithing” or living on 10% of their income while giving away 90%.⁸⁴ As a shaper of thinking concerning religion and international development Warren is a powerful figure. His apparent comfort with economic and business ways of thinking as they inform his theory and practice, however, bears notice.

Similarly, the talk of a large group of evangelical leaders who backed an early 2006 initiative against global warming deserves note. They said they stood against climate change out of faith convictions concerning love of neighbor and stewardship of God’s creation. They also, however, praised hugely profitable transnational corporations such as BP, Shell, General Electric, and DuPont for their “‘innovative measures’ to reduce emissions.” Shell, in particular, has been internationally condemned for its environmental and workplace policies

⁸² Richard Warren, *The Purpose Driven Life: What on Earth am I Here for?* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2002).

⁸³ Drucker was a mentor to Warren. “The Man Who Invented Management: Why Peter Drucker’s Ideas Still Matter,” *Business Week* (November 28, 2005): http://www.businessweek.com/cgi-bin/printer_friendly.pl?chan=mz. Malcolm Gladwell, “The Cellular Church: How Rick Warren’s Congregation Grew,” *The New Yorker* (September 12, 2005): 63. “Rick Warren’s Second Reformation,” Beliefnet.com (n.d.): http://www.beliefnet.com/story/177/story_17737_1.html. James A. Smith, “Legislators Welcome Rick Warren in Session’s Final Week,” *Florida Baptist Witness* (May 6, 1004): www.floridabaptistwitness.com/2523.article.

⁸⁴ “Rick Warren’s Second Reformation.” The success of Warren’s book and related materials has made him a multi-millionaire.

and practices in Nigeria.⁸⁵ So, it appears that from the evangelical Christian standpoint economic and business ways of thinking can comfortably reside with religious understanding.

The situation is not markedly different in some other expressions of Western Christianity. Anglicanism, for example, has a long history of social engagement backed by theological rationales that could offer a solid foundation for informing current development policymaking and practice.⁸⁶ But in the mid-2000s much Anglican based talk seemed to give great authority to economic categories of thought. For example, Episcopalians for Global Reconciliation (EGR), an American grassroots organization devoted to supporting the MDGs has made the case this way:

Half a century ago, in the midst of global violence, a President, who foresaw the tangible possibilities and principles of both peace and justice, drew on his faith as an Episcopalian. From it Franklin Roosevelt had the political courage to conceive of the Four Freedoms, and to support the creation of the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. We now need once again to draw upon that vision. We need to raise our voices and bend our backs to achieve it, for without such a vision, scripture tells us, the people perish (Proverbs 29:18). We believe that a preliminary outline of that vision already exists in the MDGs, set out by the United Nations four years ago and adopted by all member states, the World Bank and the IMF, among others.

⁸⁵ Laurie Goodstein, "86 Evangelical Leaders Join to Fight Global Warming," *The New York Times* (February, 8, 2006): <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/08/national/08warm.html?th=&emc>. In the mid-1990s, the Nigerian government executed Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other activists who were demanding that Shell compensate the people from whose land the multinational was pumping oil. Naomi Klein, "A Noose, Not a Bracelet," *The Nation* (June 27, 2005): <http://www.thenation.com/doc/print.mhtml?I=20050627&s=klein>. By the mid-2000s, internal resistance to the presence of foreign energy company owners in Nigeria was becoming increasingly violent. See, for example, "Oil Workers Kidnapped in Nigeria," *BBC News* (February 18, 2006): <http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/print/news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/Africa/4726680.stm>.

⁸⁶ Anglicans such as F. D. Maurice (1805-1872) developed versions of Christian socialism that preceded what is now called the Social Gospel movement. "Maurice's views are significant because he developed them in circumstances not unlike our own when technological and economic changes were simultaneously creating breath taking wealth and a massive underclass. Further, his own willingness to think both theologically and politically—even though it cost him a couple of professorships—provides a courageous model for us today. Maurice based his scholarship and ministry on the idea that the incarnation represented God's self-revelation in a radically mutual way. God in human form meant not only that people would become co-workers with God but that all creation could be considered sacred: 'God is in everything.'" Elizabeth Parsons, "Bearing Witness Wherever We May Be: The Episcopal Church's Heritage as a Resource Within a Pluralistic Democracy" (unpublished paper, Harvard Divinity School, 1998), 16.

We are not naïve—there are many reasons to assume that the MDGs will not be reached. But if there is to be failure, we need to acknowledge that the reasons for it will lie not in a shortage of material resources, but in a lack of political will and moral vision.⁸⁷

A casual reader of this declaration might not know that the MDGs were, in large part, the brainchild of economist, Jeffrey Sachs, not of civil society representatives. And there is much to admire about an international focus on improving the quality of life for billions of the world's poor; but there is also room for good theological commentary here. For example, what are the theological implications of churches working out of the comfort of the Northern hemisphere to halve the numbers of those living in extreme poverty elsewhere?⁸⁸ The casual reader might also not be aware of the degree to which World Bank and International Monetary Fund policies and procedures have been credibly documented as worsening rather than improving the Global South's poverty rates. But the Anglican Communion was heavily involved in the Jubilee movement of the late 1990s that brought these policies to the world's attention and pressed for international debt relief. That EGR seems not to have made connections between these points is unfortunate at best.

The World Faiths Development Dialogue that focused on “the aims and nature of the development process” exhibited similar domination by economic rather than religious ways of thinking and talking.⁸⁹ Its discussion about power, relationships, and appropriate actions acknowledged the extent to which religion and religious institutions have been ignored by

⁸⁷ “Preach the Gospel at All Times, Use Words if Necessary” (Cambridge, MA: Episcopalians for Global Reconciliation, 2004): 11. More recent versions of this booklet have been somewhat amended. See the 2006 version at <http://www.e4gr-more.org/egrbook2006.pdf>.

⁸⁸ The story of the widow's offering in Mark 12:41-44 and Luke 21:2-4 would suggest that the relative affluence of the donor in relation to the recipient makes a difference for both.

⁸⁹ This was an effort begun in 1998 and headed by then Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey, and the World Bank's president at the time, James Wolfensohn.

development theorists, policymakers, and practitioners.⁹⁰ But the innate, potential goodness of development itself appeared above question. Rist's and Korten's critiques would find this odd. For it is a matter not just of religion having a *place* in international development⁹¹ or of taking spirituality into *consideration* when engaging in development policy and practice.⁹² It is a matter of how that place is understood from the outset; what ideas and ways of thinking set the standards; and whose way of talking becomes the norm.

In sum, we might say that Weber's early analysis has outdone itself.⁹³ A particular set of economic views has become intimately intertwined with our theological views on international development. For development theory to be overly grounded in economic ways of thinking is a problem in itself. It is an even bigger problem if theological thinking that could temper this situation is enmeshed in similar understanding.

1.3 Time to think again

The evidence above suggests that fundamental revision of thinking about international development policymaking and practice is in order and that this should scrutinize theological elements involved.⁹⁴ Thinking revisions already underway in various academic fields could give inspiration for where to start. For instance, Christian missiological understanding has been going through a major shift that gives increasing

⁹⁰ Wendy Tyndale, "The World Faiths Development Dialogue: An Interfaith Response to Poverty and Development in an Age of Globalization," in Reed, *Development Matters*, 111-112.

⁹¹ Willis, "Like Ships Passing," 127ff.

⁹² Ver Beek, "Spirituality: A Development Taboo," 40-41.

⁹³ Although reason hasn't prevailed in Western thinking to the extent that Weber might have anticipated, the money economy's power to incorporate everything—including religious thinking—certainly has evolved as he predicted. In fact, Appiah claims that secularization hasn't taken hold of society so much as religion has become commodified. *In My Father's House*, 145.

⁹⁴ Willis ("Like Ships Passing," 118) cites Farzam Arbab as saying that others have already called for new ways of seeing and understanding that entail different theories and research strategies if religion and development are going to be more properly understood together.

credibility to a variety of viewpoints gained from mutual experience and interaction.⁹⁵ Some scientists are also talking about conceptual shifts that rely less on understanding the world in industrial or technological terms and seeing it more as a living organism.⁹⁶ These different ways of understanding two academic disciplines suggest a means by which thinking about development policy and practice could also be revised. That is, conceiving of the world in more everyday experiential and relational terms could greatly benefit the Global North's theological thinking on international development policymaking and practice. But to do this adequately involves exploring how knowledge is compiled and meaning made in ordinary situations.

1.3.1 A different vantage point

Both science and Western Christianity historically have had a bit of trouble crediting experience as a legitimate basis for knowledge and understanding.⁹⁷ The scientific reasons for this are beyond the scope of the present work. But the reason Western Christianity frequently has had problems taking experience seriously reaches, at least in part, back to Plato's emphasis on form and ideas over the world of the senses.⁹⁸ Such a perspective exalts

⁹⁵ Such thinking represents a shift away from more traditional understandings of mission as being the responsibility of senders without much reference to the receivers. David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 4. There has also been significant scholarly investigation of the history of Western Christian missions and the role they played in what would now be termed "development" efforts. In addition to Bosch, see, for example, Richard Henkel, *Christian Missions in Africa: A Sociological Study of the Impact of Their Activities in Zambia* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1989) and Max Warren, *Social History and Christian Mission* (London: SCM Press, 1967). Unfortunately, current literature emanating from this country on the intersection of missiological thought and development principles is still comparatively slight. Jonathan Bonk's work is probably the best analysis of the impact of money on relationships between Western Christian missionaries and local populations. *Missions and Money: Affluence as a Western Missionary Problem* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991).

⁹⁶ Korten citing the work of biologist Mae-Wan Ho (*Post-Corporate World*, 9).

⁹⁷ The discussion here focuses upon Western Christianity rather than *religion* on the whole since this study is intended primarily for the American context.

⁹⁸ Jonathan Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference: How to Avoid the Clash of Civilizations* (London: Continuum, 2002), 49ff. See also Willis's discussion concerning how neglect of religious concerns within the academic development community has helped produce a reductionist way of conceiving of knowledge on the whole ("Like Ships Passing," 119).

the intellectual grasp of certain ideals and discounts tangible encounter with the physical world.⁹⁹ Since, however, this study's aim is to explore perceptual discrepancies accompanying cross-cultural encounters, what happens in the physical world is extremely important to our efforts. So, the perspective adopted here arises from the sociology of knowledge.

Sociology of knowledge, according to foundational thinkers in the discipline, "must concern itself with whatever passes for 'knowledge' in a society, regardless of the ultimate validity or invalidity (by whatever criteria) of such 'knowledge.'"¹⁰⁰ In other words, overarching questions that can drive Western theological and philosophical thinking—what *is* experience? what *is* knowledge? what *is* relationship?—are not necessarily answerable in the same ways when they are posed in cross-cultural situations.¹⁰¹ Because this, in itself, affects the situation pragmatically and theologically, it is important to have a better grasp of how knowledge, meaning, and reality are constituted from different cultural perspectives. The case study exploring all this will be laid out more clearly in the coming chapters. It will also be analyzed principally via the work of Alfred Schutz (1899-1959), an Austrian scholar-practitioner. So, a bit of background about him and his point of view follows.

1.3.2 Alfred Schutz as primary guide

Alfred Schutz's work has provided much of the foundation for sociology of knowledge as an academic discipline.¹⁰² Schutz had an atypical career in that he taught and

⁹⁹ Harvey, *Handbook of Theological Terms*, 79.

¹⁰⁰ Berger and Luckmann, from whose foundational work the above quotation was taken, say that their objective is to understand the processes by which "knowledge" is developed, maintained, and communicated within social situations so that people in all societies achieve a "taken-for-granted 'reality.'" *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1966), 3.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Most of the biographical and intellectual background information on Schutz's life contained in this section is taken from Michael Barber, "Alfred Schutz," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Summer 2006): <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2006/entries/schutz/>.

wrote about practical philosophical matters while also pursuing a successful career in international banking. Shortly before the outbreak of World War 2, Schutz emigrated from Europe to the United States. Here, he took up a part time post at The New School for Social Research in New York and continued to work in banking. In his teaching and writing Schutz entertained a broad scope of interests, ranging from philosophical thoughts on the social sciences, to politics, literature, and music. Today Schutz's influence comes down to us through the work of many followers. His student Thomas Luckmann, for example, co-authored a posthumously published work of Schutz's¹⁰³ and later joined with Peter Berger of Boston University to produce a classic volume, *The Social Construction of Reality*.

While Schutz's training in Western philosophy could be overbearing for some practical contexts, his additional background in law, social sciences, and business prompted him to focus not just on theoretical insights but on how people make sense of the physical world in which we exist. As he began forming his own views on how knowledge is acquired in everyday settings, Schutz was particularly impressed with the methods of Max Weber. But Schutz disliked the way in which Weber seemed to gloss over some basic ideas about cognition and knowledge that affected people's ordinary existence.¹⁰⁴ To fill in these gaps, Schutz turned to philosophical insights concerning consciousness and time that Henri Bergson offered and to Edmund Husserl's investigations into fundamental human activities.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Alfred Schutz and Thomas Luckmann, *The Structures of the Life-World*, trans. Richard M. Zaner and H. Tristram Engelhardt, Jr. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973).

¹⁰⁴ He liked that Weber didn't completely equate social sciences with natural sciences—which would too thoroughly open up social science to problems of testability and verification that have plagued debates between theology and science—but added to Weber important ideas about interpretation and prior meaning as affecting how people act in real life. Barber, "Alfred Schutz," 3.

¹⁰⁵ Harvey, *Handbook of Theological Terms*, 184. Husserl, a mathematician, used insights from Gallileo and Descartes to "disclose an entirely new sense of the world," during 19th century debates about the ultimate foundations of empirical psychology. Paul S. MacDonald, *Descartes and Husserl: The Philosophical Project*

The sweep of Schutz's work encompasses far more than can be accommodated in this study, but several highpoints of his theories concerning meaning and action are especially pertinent. Harkening back to our opening claim that everyday perceptual disparities involve cognitive processes related to meaning, Schutz maintained that "the meaning problem"¹⁰⁶ of life is perpetually tension-filled because it involves experiences of ourselves and others within what is commonly now called "real time"¹⁰⁷ along with on-going *thinking about* our experiences. He identified one level of our existence as constituting inner thought processes, memories, and reflections upon circumstances. Schutz referred to this state of existence as "duration" and said that we plan future actions and look back upon past deeds through complex processes that choose from and interpret many aspects of duration. Another level of existence is what he termed "the world of daily life."¹⁰⁸ This consists of physical objects, including our own bodies and those of others, and the environment in which we live, move, and simply *are*. Both these inner and outer states of existence are "real."

What is particularly important, though, is that people take the world of daily life for granted. This is so significant because people never question the reality of the everyday world and an "unquestioned and unchallenged certainty concerning the world at large underlies, supports, and enters into every particular mental activity."¹⁰⁹ What is more, since

of *Radical Beginnings* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 20ff. Husserl's inquiries regarding the physical world as well as his employing journey and exploration imagery in his writing have quite obvious counterparts in Schutz's efforts.

¹⁰⁶ Schutz, *Life Forms and Meaning Structure*, 52.

¹⁰⁷ Note the designation of the present as "real" time.

¹⁰⁸ Alfred Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. I: The Problem of Social Reality*, ed. Maurice Natanson (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 208. In other writings, Schutz and his followers referred to this environment as "the world of common sense," and "the everyday life-world." Aron Gurwitsch, "Introduction," in *Collected Papers, Vol. III: Studies in Phenomenological Philosophy*, by Alfred Schutz, ed. Ilse Schutz (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), xi, xii.

¹⁰⁹ Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. III*, xiii.

we all experience the everyday life world in the company of others, we take it for granted that everyone else experiences the world in essentially the same ways that we do.¹¹⁰

Schutz also delineated multiple inner realities that people inhabit. These include (among others) not only the compilation of memories and experiences we carry in our heads; but information handed down to us by others; realities of dreams while sleeping and so on. Since all these inner realities differ from person to person we can get into trouble when we attempt to interpret the meaning of others' actions for we may not know anything about the inner realities they are drawing from as they act. In other words, we could see someone do Action A with Object B and assume that his or her objective in acting was simply to do what was visible or verifiable in that action. But because we have no access to that person's own inner reality or duration, we really can't be certain as to why he or she acted as observed.¹¹¹

In many writings, and particularly a series of pragmatically oriented essays, Schutz often explained his ideas by using map imagery.¹¹² When talking about how people move through an inherently contradictory everyday world, he said we orient ourselves within "zones of various relevance" in order to make things coherent.¹¹³ Since these zones of relevance are not discrete units but intermingle, they can be likened to a topographical, rather than a political, map of the countryside.¹¹⁴ These zones are also related to different roles we play within society—parents, citizens, workers, for example—all of which are "real" yet all of which entail different interests. How we define a given problem depends upon the vantage point (or role) from which we address that problem.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Barber, "Alfred Schutz," 4.

¹¹² These include "The Stranger," "The Homecomer," "The Well-informed Citizen," and others. See Alfred Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II: Studies in Social Theory*, ed. Arvid Brodersen (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976).

¹¹³ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 125.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 125-126.

The significance of Schutz's work for our present concerns should begin to be apparent as we look back on the two opening vignettes. When, for example, we from the Global North or West go to work on African development issues, how can we be sure we are in territory that is adequately accounted for on our "maps?" (My Zimbabwean bishop appeared to understand that supplies and equipment constituted a real lay training program, or at least were adequate enough for him not to be concerned about what that program would teach.) What if our sending organizations give directions and make evaluations using another "map?" (The European mining investors seemed to understand that financial and production data were real enough indicators for them to make adequate decisions about their employee's performance. What had I overlooked by concentrating on imparting ideas and what did they miss by never seeing the environment that was earning them money?) While Schutz undoubtedly did not have such international development policymaking and practice situations in mind when he wrote and taught, much of what he said is remarkably relevant to the case study that follows.

1.3.3 Secondary guides, counterpoint views, and cautions

As our exploration progresses, we will rely on other voices as well. These voices, coming from the academic world and from study participants, will offer additional guidance, ways of thinking that provide alternatives to Schutz, and cautions on how to proceed. We will be challenged, for instance, to take seriously certain Zambian views that Westerners may typically dismiss. We should also be confronted with the lack of knowledge we have about

what we think we already know.¹¹⁵ And we will need to be reminded of potential obstacles along the way.

For instance, this amount of thinking *about* thinking highlights terminology problems. One major scholarly quandary concerns using specific designations to identify types of thinkers such as “Africans” and “Westerners.” Thus far we have talked mostly about the Global North or West and the Global South. But as the work unfolds, more specific terminology will also be necessary in certain spots. By using such designations, however, are we simultaneously assigning immutable characteristics to entire sets of people? Westerners know there are substantive differences between the ways Americans and Europeans experience life; isn’t it reasonable and fair to expect that someone from West Africa will experience life differently from someone living in the southern portion of the continent? Yet, Americans and Europeans seem easily to commiserate about differences experienced when interacting with people from the African continent generally. What can we make of this?

Sometimes this dilemma is termed the “essentialist” debate and the dangers of essentialist thinking include latching on to ideologies; constructing grand narratives about the way the world works; and imposing overarching viewpoints on everyone.¹¹⁶ Ultimately, essentialism can lead to racism and other divisive attitudes that can adversely affect our

¹¹⁵ Robin Horton asserts that Westerners are generally unfamiliar with the bases of our own theoretical thinking. *Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West: Selected Theoretical Papers in Magic, Religion, and Science* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 199.

¹¹⁶ The origins of this term seem to lie with Pan-Africanists and black nationalists who, in attempting to unite people from various African heritages, suggested that there are qualities supposedly shared by all blacks. Danny Postel, “Is Race Real?” How Does Identity Matter?” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 48 (2002): 3: <http://chronicle.com/free/v48/I30/30a01001htm>. Well known Africanists and anthropologists, John and Jean Comaroff, are particularly concerned about the dangers of this approach.

understanding about what and whom we encounter in cross-cultural living and working situations.¹¹⁷

In response, some analysts acknowledge differences without prescribing restrictive labels by talking in terms of worldviews. Marshall, for example, discusses the separate conceptual worlds of religion and development. Willis, in exploring the relationship between religion and international development in the Canadian academic arena, defines “worldview” as “the composite set of beliefs, values, and convictions that influence how a person views the world.”¹¹⁸ Westerner Harold Turner has sketched out a general conception of how Africans might perceive life, terming this a “primal” worldview.¹¹⁹ And Leo Apostel sees things similarly although he speaks of *principles* rather than worldviews.¹²⁰ Such fluid and encompassing designations allow scholars to suggest broad outlines in the ways people experience life.

Still they are Western-devised schemes and how African scholars judge them varies. Some generally agree. Kwame Bediako, for example, affirms what he calls Turner’s six-featured framework, placing special emphasis on the final point—the unity of the whole—as being key to the entire structure.¹²¹ Others, such as Okot p’Bitek, do not appear overly concerned with terminology and categorization. p’Bitek insists that differing viewpoints or

¹¹⁷ As if this tension weren’t complex enough, non-essentialist thinking can also elicit racism charges. Appiah’s critique of essentialism that contends “race” is a superimposed construct has, itself, been charged with unintentionally but potentially leading to racial and ethnic cleansing. Postel, “Is Race Real?” 3.

¹¹⁸ Willis, “Like Ships Passing,” 220.

¹¹⁹ “Primal,” many scholars point out, is not to be mistaken for “primitive.” Rather it denotes something that has come first. Anthony O. Balcomb, “Descartes Meets the Isangoma—The Encounter Between Modern and Indigenous Knowledge Systems Beyond Colonialism and Apartheid” (Paper presented at Indigenous Knowledge Conference, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 2001), 3; Anthony O. Balcomb, “Science and the African Worldview—Rediscovering the Numinous, Re-Animating the Cosmos” (Paper presented at University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 2003), 7.

¹²⁰ There is an entire center in Belgium named after Apostel and devoted to research and reflection on worldviews. It appears to have a decidedly scientific, rather than theological, bias. See www.vub.ac.be/CLEA.

¹²¹ Kwame Bediako, *Jesus in Africa: The Christian Gospel in African History and Experience* (Akropong-Akupem, Ghana: Regnum Africa, 2000), 87-89.

perceptions represent various societies' quests for meaning and *that* is the important point to remember. How a range of peoples address big questions about the purpose of life and the meaning of suffering, for instance, will vary. But the questions themselves are roughly the same.

Some have called these *myths* or *world-views*; others refer to them as ideologies...fanatics refer to them as *Truth*, as if these ideas are about verifiable or indisputable facts, or about the actual state of the matter. These fundamental ideas are concerned with *meaning*. The meaning of being alive in the world. And meaning is wider in scope than is truth.¹²²

Similarly, Kwasi Wiredu does not dwell so much on the appropriateness or inappropriateness of charts and tables delineating differences. Rather, he says the best way to think about African thinking is to compare it with traditional Western folk thinking.¹²³

Helping illuminate the ground of Western thinking, Samuel Huntington has drawn up a list of key characteristics or marks of Western culture. When presented alongside ways of articulating African thinking these marks begin to suggest where some discrepancies in worldviews may lie. Not only is the Western list much more terse than the descriptors contained in the two counterpart African lists. Some ideas appear quite at odds. For example, designating Western culture as individualist over against African cultures' collectivity prompts us to consider the extent to which a preference for individuality may or may not be normative worldwide.

¹²² Okot p'Bitek, "The Sociality of Self," in *African Philosophy: An Anthology*, ed. Chukwudi Eze (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 73-74.

¹²³ Kwasi Wiredu, "How Not to Compare African Thought with Western Thought," in Eze, *African Philosophy*, 193ff. A comparison with American folk thinking can be enlightening here. Slightly over 300 years ago and about 30 miles from where this is being written, our Christian Puritan forebears—the same who imported Calvin's work ethic as mentioned by Weber—were conducting the infamous Salem witch trials. For added perspective it helps to remember that serious Western involvement with the African continent only dates back some 400 years.

<i>Turner/Bediako primal worldview characteristics</i> ¹²⁴	<i>Zahan/Apostel African philosophical principles (selected)</i> ¹²⁵	<i>Huntington Western cultural characteristics</i> ¹²⁶
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kinship with nature: people, plants, and animals • Humanity as innately weak and finite • The world as populated by spirits and beings more powerful and lasting than humans • Humanity in relationship with the protective spirit world • Belief in an afterlife connected to or mediated through the ancestors • No sharp dichotomy between the physical and spiritual worlds; the entire universe is a unified and spiritual system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humanity as basically and universally religious • Humanity, rather than God or the spirits, at the center of the universe • Religion as concerning matter: earth, sky, and the material universe • A person is a person only by way of relationship with ancestors and family • A person is made human by the decisions of others • Time as basically cyclic • Knowledge as acquired through initiation and ritual 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Greco-Roman legacy • Catholicism, Protestantism • European languages • Separation of spiritual and temporal authority • Rule of law • Social pluralism • Representative bodies • Individualism

Recognizing the intellectual pitfalls posed by over categorizing and designating, it should be clearly understood that the primary purpose of a case study closely examining African thought and experience is not to say anything definitive about that. Rather, it is to augment and illustrate the themes raised here about discrepancies in the ways that different people experience everyday life.¹²⁷

1.4 Theoretical summary

Once again, the main points guiding this entire inquiry are these:

- The focus of this study concerns qualitative differences in perception that affect how various actors in cross-cultural situations understand the meaningful and real.

¹²⁴ Bediako, *Jesus in Africa*, 89.

¹²⁵ Leo Apostel, *African Philosophy: Myth or Reality?* (Gent, Belgium: Scientific Publishers, 1981), 142-146.

¹²⁶ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (London: Touchstone Books, 1996), 69-72.

¹²⁷ Anthony O. Balcomb, "Rediscovering the Shock of the Other's Gaze—Constructing Identity in the Era of Postcolonial and Post-Apartheid Africa and in a Globalized World." *Theotherjournal.com: an intersection of theology and culture* 6 (2005): <http://www.theotherjournal.com/article.php?id=87>.

- From the Western perspective, this is symptomatic of certain ways of intellectual thinking but also involves theological concerns heavily influenced by certain economic categories of thought.
- When perceptual disparities occur in international development policymaking and practice, part of the problem involves divides between how we understand the spiritual and the material.
- To more thoroughly explore this situation, insights from the sociology of knowledge will constitute the main theoretical framework by which a specific case study is analyzed.

1.5 The Copperbelt case

As just noted above, the present work examines issues raised in this chapter through study of a particular case or setting. I originally encountered discrepancies in viewpoints within the context of a Church-related setting and began theoretical pondering in terms of Christian missiology. It soon began to appear, however, that the problem was bigger than a focus on the Church could warrant or that current American missiological thinking seemed capable of accommodating. The second vignette recorded at the beginning of this chapter confirmed these viewpoint discrepancies as being vastly more pervasive than I had originally considered. Ultimately that incident is what inspired a case study in the mining communities of the Zambian Copperbelt. The rich history of mining in Southern Africa; the importance of the industry to the country's economy since the 1930s; the mine privatization program as having been a World Bank driven initiative; and mining's powerful, metaphorical imagery all corroborate the importance of studying perceptual disparities in this arena. And, although a mining-based case study does not immediately appear relevant to theological concerns, it

should not take too long for the theological consequences of that environment to become apparent.

1.5.1 Earlier studies

This study is not the first to look at work relationships in Zambia or the Zambian mining community. But it is, so far as I can tell, the most thorough examination of the situation within the last 20 years and the only extended cultural analysis following full re-privatization of the mines in 2000.¹²⁸ Further, while previous Copperbelt studies have touched on matters of religion, meaning, and reality, they have principally done so using anthropological and sociological analyses without directly engaging theological elements. The present study appears to be the most theologically intentional of any to date.

Of the numerous works that have chronicled various Copperbelt matters over the past decades, the most influential on this effort are the following. Raymond Buell's 1928 work contains valuable historical information on the early years of the British South Africa Company.¹²⁹ Walter Cline's late 1930s doctoral dissertation on metals and metal working techniques in the Copperbelt-Katanga (DRC) area records significant information about traditional mining and smelting practices before industrial mining had so completely taken hold.¹³⁰ Andrew Roberts's historical work was particularly valuable for informing this study's review of Zambia's early Industrial Era developments.¹³¹

¹²⁸ The term re-privatization is borrowed from the Zambian president under whom the World Bank led program unfolded. "I was really happy to preside over the period of re-privatization. I say "re-" because it was there before independence." Interview with President Frederick Chiluba, 2005. See the appendices for excerpts from this conversation.

¹²⁹ Raymond Leslie Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa* (Cambridge, MA: Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliff College, 1928).

¹³⁰ Walter Cline, "The Sources of Metals and Techniques of Metal Working in Negro Africa" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1936).

¹³¹ Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1976).

In the 1950s, Hortense Powdermaker's anthropological investigation recorded in her book, *Copper Town: Changing Africa*, documented much about African life as the shift towards independence was progressing throughout the continent.¹³² Around the same time, William Watson examined the effects of instituting cash economy values among communities of Africans who came to work on the mines.¹³³ A. L. Epstein considered politics and urbanization trends on the Copperbelt for a number of years from the 1950s onwards, producing two books about the province and its people.¹³⁴

During the 1960s, President Kaunda's speeches, letters, and essays described a clear philosophical vision for governance of the now politically independent nation. The mines inevitably played a prominent role in how the government went about its business and the record of his thinking on all this has lent a crucial dimension to the study.¹³⁵

The business of the mines received particular attention from other quarters in the 1970s. Michael Burawoy produced *The Colour of Class on the Copper Mines: From African Advancement to Zambianization*, a study that examined the controversial process of moving Zambians into mining jobs previously occupied by European expatriates.¹³⁶ That same year, Antony Martin wrote *Minding Their Own Business: Zambia's Struggle Against*

¹³² Hortense Powdermaker, *Copper Town: Changing Africa, The Human Situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

¹³³ William Watson, *Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy: A Study of the Mambwe People of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1958).

¹³⁴ A. L. Epstein, *Politics in an Urban African Community* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1958) and *Scenes from African Urban Life: Collected Copperbelt Papers* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1992).

¹³⁵ See, for example, Kenneth D. Kaunda, *A Humanist in Africa: Letters to Colin M. Morris* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., Ltd., 1966).

¹³⁶ Michael Burawoy, *The Colour of Class on the Copper Mines: From African Advancement to Zambianization*, *Zambian Papers No. 7* (Lusaka: University of Zambia Institute for African Studies, 1972).

Western Control describing a range of constraints the Kaunda government faced early in its administration.¹³⁷

Although published in the 1990s, James Ferguson's *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*¹³⁸ is based upon fieldwork he conducted in the late 1980s. Ferguson documented a time of decline in the mines' history just a few years before President Kaunda was voted out of office and the idea of privatizing state owned enterprises gained increasing prominence. From Ferguson's examination until now, the most detailed studies of the mines appear to be predominantly economically based and may be found in World Bank related documents and reports.

1.5.2 Organizational outline and thematic highlights

The case begins in chapter two with an historical narrative that attempts to highlight circumstances not widely known or recounted when the story of Zambia's mine privatization program is usually told. The next chapter, describing research methods used to conduct the case study, is placed where it is to represent a clear starting point for the present effort. Additionally, the descriptions of research methods make more sense once some contextual background is known. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 contain the heart of the case. They are organized around basic points at which differences in perspective can so easily first appear. These points concern why, what, and who—questions typically asked as we attempt to make sense of circumstances encountered in our everyday lives. The final chapter will draw conclusions and suggest implications for revised theological thinking to inform development policymaking and practice. ♀

¹³⁷ Antony Martin, *Minding Their Own Business: Zambia's Struggle Against Western Control* (London, Hutchinson & Co., 1972).

¹³⁸ James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1999).

Chapter Two

The History Behind Zambia's Mine Privatization Program

Ask a geologist experienced in mining what skills are important for the job and the response may well concern an ability to think in a particular way.

[A]ny geologist worth his salt will know where he is underground in three dimensions...we've got to...be able to think in three dimensions. When you've got orebodies that are dipping and at varying angles, folds are forming...You've got to be able to think as you move, for example, from one level to another where that particular horizon—whether it be an orebody or something else you're looking at—where it's going to appear, reappear on the next level.¹

2.0 Becoming oriented

Although we typically discuss international development in terms of policies and programs, the vivid geological imagery above can help expand our thinking in a couple of important ways. First, it reminds us that cross-cultural experiences involve multiple dimensions or viewpoints. Depending upon how well oriented we are, we can either be aware of those dimensions or we can get lost. Second, certain themes may run throughout different dimensions. But, just as a geologist tracing an orebody understands that it will disappear and reappear, these themes may be obvious in some places but more subtly apparent elsewhere.

The insights of Alfred Schutz offer us additional tools for the exploration to come. In his essay "The Stranger,"² he picked up the topographical map imagery introduced here in chapter one, showing how "maps" can help us think about what is meaningful and real in other cultures. Schutz had in mind experiences of immigrants, but much of what he said is valid for thinking about Western development involvement in Africa. We still come as

¹ Interview with senior geologist, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

² Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 91-105.

strangers and outsiders to the continent. And, unless we keep ourselves completely isolated will, at some point, be confronted with trying to understand how those around us are making sense of things.

The essay presents “a general theory of interpretation”³ for cases in which a stranger approaches a new social group, attempting to interpret the group’s cultural patterns and become oriented within them. Schutz said that figuring out what knowledge is most needed to get by within the new culture may involve drawing mental lines between things that appear separate and unequal. This is similar to a cartographer’s joining mountaintop height to mountaintop height when sketching out the scope of an entire mountain range. The points may not be within the same space or even the same line but scattered and differently shaped. What’s more, between these “contour lines of relevance”⁴ also lie areas of varying knowledge and complete ignorance. In other words, figuring out what’s most important to know within the new culture, what’s perhaps less important, and then what may be completely irrelevant is not a straightforward process.

Schutz made another key point. The topographical map image also illustrates “that the knowledge of the man who acts and thinks within the world of his daily life is not homogeneous; it is (1) incoherent, (2) only partially clear, and (3) not at all free from contradictions.”⁵ In other words, people may make mental leaps from one mountaintop point of relevance to another without ever crossing through the unknown territory below. This is possible because groups and cultures develop ways (Schutz termed them “recipes”) for making sense of apparently unconnected ideas and experiences. So things that appear

³ Ibid., 91.

⁴ Ibid., 93.

⁵ Ibid.

illogical or contradictory to objective outsiders may seem perfectly coherent to people who live within the context.⁶

Schutz offered one more bit of insight especially pertinent here. Before approaching the group, the stranger may have a prior conception of it. Perhaps the stranger even presumes to understand something about the new environment. This is a viewpoint, said Schutz, that sees “the foreign group merely as objects of...interpretation.”⁷ Once actually in the new environment, though, the stranger may realize that previously “insulated” knowledge does “not stand the test of vivid experience and social interaction.”⁸ In other words, we can think we know what’s going on in a new, foreign environment. But we could be quite mistaken.

With all those precautions in mind this chapter will still attempt to sketch an historical background to the Copperbelt case. A generally linear, narrative approach to this story means that I am identifying elements of relevance that a Zambian analyst might not. But this is also a story that is virtually unknown in my own country even though a subtle relationship between the United States and Zambia runs throughout. Further, stories do more than provide background information. They help us make sense of that information, in fact, help us determine what is real and meaningful.⁹

⁶ Ibid., 94-95.

⁷ Ibid., 98.

⁸ Ibid., 99.

⁹ Anthony O. Balcomb, “The Power of Narrative: Constituting Reality Through Storytelling,” in *Orality, Memory, and the Past: Voices of Black Clergy Under Colonialism and Apartheid*, ed. Philippe Denis, 49- 62 (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2000). In recent work concerning relationships between African religions and politics, Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar make ample use of stories and rumors, for these forms of communication are especially important and credible in the orally based societies of Africa. They go on to link such narratives directly to increasing understanding of how Africans make sense of their worlds. “Studying the rumours and popular stories that abound in Africa also provides us with an outstanding means for investigating African epistemologies, in other words the theory of the methods or grounds of knowledge. Whether or not a particular rumour is true is not of immediate relevance for our purposes: we wish to demonstrate how rumours provide insights into the way in which people apprehend ideas.” *Worlds of Power*, 7. This is the vantage point the present study adopts as well.

So, as strangers, we approach the unknown environment—our “field of adventure”—first by becoming acquainted with some of the people and events there.¹⁰

2.1 Pre-colonial and Colonial Era

2.1.1 Early mining activity

Archeologists and linguists have enough evidence to suspect that Bantu speaking people have been living in what we call “Zambia” since the Stone Age.¹¹ Zambia today has over 70 groups or tribes with the group traditionally thought to have settled on the Copperbelt being the Lamba.¹² This might seem a fine point but it proved quite useful when Zambia became a nation state in 1964. That part of the story comes later.

Centuries before they ever met Westerners, Africans in an area much wider than the present day Copperbelt were doing comparatively sophisticated, extensive mining and smelting.¹³ Copper runs like an arc from an easterly region around Ndola up into what is now Katanga Province, DRC, back down through the Copperbelt and on out towards Kansanshi and Lumwana in Zambia’s Western Province.¹⁴ Evidence of major mining activity dates back to the first millennium BCE¹⁵ and copper workings found out west at Kansanshi and east at Bwana Mkubwa, near Ndola, are among the oldest on the continent. Estimated dates for these and similar finds vary from the 4th to 8th centuries BCE.¹⁶ What is

¹⁰ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 104.

¹¹ Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 19.

¹² *Ibid.*, 109; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 86ff.

¹³ Radio carbon dating implies that “the whole complex process of mining, smelting, and working iron was independently invented in tropical Africa.” Oliver and Fage, *Short History of Africa*, 20. In fact, some say the real reason why Europeans did not take advantage of the region’s mineral resources sooner may have been because Africans were sufficiently well organized to run both the mining process and the metal trade. *Ibid.*, 1-2. See also Eugenia Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa: Copper in Precolonial History and Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 28.

¹⁴ See Copperbelt map in the appendices. Zambia’s oddly shaped political boundaries were created by European interests competing for control of the mines.

¹⁵ Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 34.

¹⁶ Interview with senior geologist, Copperbelt mining company, 2004. Herbert (*Red Gold of Africa*, xi, 24) says that copper was widely used in Africa at least 1,500 years before colonialism. See also Cline, “Sources of

more, these early mining efforts were intentional and sustained. Near Bwana Mkubwa, for example, miners worked a vein of high-grade copper ore down to 100 feet and as far as 20-30 feet across.¹⁷

Much of what they mined they also exported. The Africans' earliest trading partners were probably Arabs and by the 11th to 15th centuries, their trade routes were well developed.¹⁸ These routes also involved the Portuguese who, by the 1400s, controlled both southern coasts and had established a busy sea-route to Goa, India.¹⁹ Eventually, the copper trade became mixed in with the slave trade and missionary movement. Arab slavers dealt in copper exchange; slave convoys carried out copper bound for export.²⁰ Copper alloy made into brass products was re-imported for sale; sometimes it returned to Africa on the same ships that brought European missionaries.²¹

2.1.2 Early European involvement

Like European commercial traders Christian missionaries also came to Africa infused with the confidence and curiosity of the times.²² As the Industrial Era produced electrical power and steam engines, Europeans generally found their expanded days and horizons gave them "a passion for exploration."²³ One apparent by-product of the Protestant-work-ethic-

Metals," 54, 72; Felix Mendelssohn, ed., *The Geology of the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt* (London: MacDonald, 1961), 3; Oliver and Fage, *Short History of Africa*, 111-112; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 36.

¹⁷ Cline, "Sources of Metals," 46.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 53ff; Irving Kaplan, ed., *Zambia: A Country Study* (Washington, DC: The American University, 1979), 17ff.

¹⁹ Oliver and Fage, *Short History of Africa*, 110; Cline, "Sources of Metals," 54ff.

²⁰ Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 150-153; "Zambia's Mining Industry: The First 50 Years" (booklet, Roan Consolidated Mines, Ltd., Ndola, 1978), 15.

²¹ Henry Hamilton as cited in Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 154.

²² In addition to the Portuguese, the Dutch engaged in extensive trade around the southern tip of the continent. Their history makes up much of South Africa's story.

²³ Stephen Neill, *The History of Christian Mission*, 2nd ed. (New York: Viking Penguin, 1986), 208-210.

turned-capitalist-success appears to have been a conviction that this gospel needed to be preached in remote areas.²⁴

Africa's slave trade made this missionary task more urgent and probably the most widely known missionary to Africa was one who preached on the importance of money and religion together. During the early to mid-1800s, the gifted Scottish missionary-explorer and physician David Livingstone became famous in England for his Central African adventures. Livingstone believed that a water trade route across the continent would open the way for Africans to set up workable alternatives to the slave trade. He apparently never converted a single African to Western Christianity but his passionate belief that the best means of ending the slave trade was through introducing Commerce and Christianity inspired scores of Western missionaries to go to Africa.²⁵

Livingstone's association with Zambia was multi-dimensional. His books and journals reveal an extensive familiarity with copper mining activities in today's nearby Katanga Province. And when suffering from foot ulcerations Livingstone recorded that Africans advised him to use "malachite rubbed down with water on a stone and applied with a feather." It seems to have been painful, but effective.²⁶ Some have since speculated that copper's medicinal use in this part of the continent was what attracted the European prospectors who eventually found underground deposits in Zambia.²⁷ Livingstone ultimately died just somewhat east of the Copperbelt without ever having found a transcontinental water

²⁴ Bonk, *Missions and Money*, 18ff.

²⁵ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 227ff. The idea was that trade in human beings would lessen if trade in natural resources and goods could feasibly be undertaken.

²⁶ Livingstone as quoted in Kenneth Bradley, *Copper Venture: The Discovery and Development of Roan Antelope and Mufulira* (Great Britain: Mufulira Mines, Ltd. and Roan Antelope, Ltd., 1952), 31.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

route. But his work and inspiration did—long afterwards—help stop the organized slave trade.

2.1.3 European investing interest intensifies

Another notorious European whose legacy will forever be associated with Zambia also came to the Copperbelt by way of Katanga. The English entrepreneur Cecil Rhodes sent prospectors up from his adoptive home of South Africa in the late 1800s. They were to search for a gold deposit comparable to the huge Witwatersrand that Europeans first learned about in 1886. Prospectors never found significant gold reserves north of the Zambesi River, but through a series of highly questionable and scarcely honored treaties with local African rulers, Rhodes's British South Africa Company (BSAC) eventually took over a large region to use as a buffer zone against Belgian expansion from the north.²⁸ This buffer territory would further represent the northern most English outpost connected to South Africa.²⁹ Rhodes also saw the area's Africans as a superb reserve labor force for the Belgians' Katanga mines and his own in Southern Rhodesia.³⁰ For over two decades from 1899, the BSAC administered first two sections (North Western and North Eastern Rhodesia) and then one

²⁸ By 1890, Rhodes's chartered company had arranged its first mining concession with Lewanika, ruler of Barotseland and, by 1895, prospecting had begun north of the Zambesi River. The principal "Lewanika Concession" that the BSAC eventually used to claim ownership of all mineral rights was based upon corporate actions taken in 1900. See Mark Bostock and Charles Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper: A Case Study of Foreign Investment* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), xvi, 37. Roberts also notes that tribute and building of infrastructure such as schools and telegraph lines promised by the BSAC to Lewanika in return for mineral rights were never delivered (*History of Zambia*, 167). Additionally, Rhodes's plan for extending the British empire up from Southern Africa hinged on using a series of chartered companies like the BSAC from which capital could be drawn for development of the region. Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 55-56. Another of Rhodes's major corporate endeavors, the De Beers Company, was founded as a consolidation of the South African diamond mines. De Beers and Anglo-American Corporation, the mining house that figures so prominently in much of Zambia's history, have operated in tandem for decades. David Pallister, Sarah Stewart, and Ian Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.: The Oppenheimer Empire* (London: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 23.

²⁹ Oliver and Fage, *Short History of Africa*, 168; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 158, 162.

³⁰ Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 177.

amalgamated Northern Rhodesia before turning responsibility over to the British Government in 1924.³¹

By the time Rhodes and other Europeans had begun prospecting in the region, the old traditional mining and smelting done by Africans had almost completely died out.³² Local populations had been decimated by decades of slave trading and remaining communities were unstable after having gone through so much disruption.³³ Additionally, the Copperbelt ore bodies are complex, making them harder to smelt and refine, and they are mostly buried underground. So, Industrial Era outsiders looking for metal workings or mineral deposits didn't easily see much evidence of activity on the Copperbelt proper. Out west at Kansanshi and back east at Bwana Mkubwa there were at least old workings and more easily recognizable mineral deposits for prospectors to spot. But it would require help to find something in the region in between.³⁴ Sometimes European prospectors used scientific means to find copper and sometimes they relied on the guidance of local Africans.³⁵ Sometimes, they might have said they just got lucky.

³¹ Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, xvi; George Kay, *A Social Geography of Zambia: A Survey of Population Patterns in a Developing Country* (London: University of London Press, 1967) 15ff; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 161ff; Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 75ff. Amalgamation of the two territories came in 1911. "Zambia's Mining Industry," 4. The protectorate arrangement was similar to that of Nyasaland's (present day Malawi) but considerably different from Southern Rhodesia's (present day Zimbabwe) arrangement as a self-governing colony of white settlers. Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 59. The 1924 turnover was also the point at which what would eventually become the Anglo-American Corporation first invested in the Copperbelt. By 1928, Rhodesian Anglo-American (Rhoanglo) was incorporated in London Pallister, Stewart and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 43.

³² "Zambia's Mining Industry," 15; Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 32-33.

³³ "Copper and the Copper Mining Industry of This Country" (photocopy, ZCCM Archives, Ndola, 1964), 9.

³⁴ One reason that mining may have begun so early in Kansanshi and Bwana Mkubwa was because the copper deposits were so much more easily identifiable. Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 15. "The Kansanshi and the Congo deposits and Bwana Mkubwa incidentally at Ndola were hills sticking out of the local vegetation. But they were green because they were stained with malachite." Interview with senior geologist, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

³⁵ It is also worth noting that African guidance was not always willingly given. Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 32; Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 53; Mendelssohn, *Geology of Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt*, 7. A pre-Independence note to this effect is particularly rich in cultural assumptions. "The early prospectors were confronted with the difficulty that the natives were chary in imparting knowledge of minerals—a practice possibly forbidden by village headmen and the witch-doctors. It is thus not surprising

Some of the deposits were found by the original prospectors—who weren't necessarily geologists—coming in and wandering around with pieces of malachite in their hand and asking the local indigenous of the areas had they seen anything like this in the past and in some cases that was what led to the discovery of the orebodies. In other cases, it was genuine prospectors.³⁶

At least two points are now worth keeping in mind in relation to how we think of things today. One concerns the nature of the Western entities involved with Africa. We have grown up understanding the world as divided into nation states run by governments and have probably been more aware of Livingstone and missionaries than we have of entrepreneurs and companies. But the BSAC was a company administering a place Westerners called Northern Rhodesia. In fact, it was in charge while the mission stations took care of things company officials didn't see as their responsibility.³⁷ Company interests and mission interests sometimes clashed, though, as was the case for Northern Rhodesia's situation in 1924. That year, the region's mission conference issued a resolution against the Company's making any more land seizures. Since BSAC received half the proceeds from land sales, however, it would not have been inclined to listen.³⁸

Further, the BSAC had all the profitability objectives of any private enterprise today, as a board communication from 1910 makes clear. "[T]he problem of Northern Rhodesia," it reads, "is not a colonization problem. It is the problem of how best to develop a great estate on scientific lines so that it may be made to yield the maximum profit to its owner."³⁹ The solution appeared partially to involve creating and controlling mining terms and conditions.

that many of the first mineral discoveries were made almost by accident, though it should be recorded that early prospecting was assisted to an extent by native knowledge." W. G. Watts, ed., *Commemorative Programme, 7th Commonwealth Mining & Metallurgical Congress, Northern Rhodesia Section* (Kitwe: Northern Rhodesia Section of the 7th Commonwealth Mining & Metallurgical Congress, 1961), 39.

³⁶ Interview with senior geologist, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

³⁷ Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 100. This would have included social infrastructure such as schools and hospitals.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 236-237.

³⁹ Henry Wilson Fox as quoted in Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 26.

This held even if it meant manipulating the British government to satisfy shareholders. In 1905, for instance, the BSAC requested and received permission from government to transfer a significant portion of North Eastern Rhodesia to the oversight of North Western Rhodesia. The Company presented this transfer as helping administrative efficiency but it really strengthened the Company's claims on minerals rights.⁴⁰

The second point of note concerns abilities and expectations of the entities involved. Today, we tend to emphasize fairly rapid self-sufficiency and sustainability in African development initiatives. But Zambia's own history shows a different pattern even when European professionals were in charge. Great Britain had a presence in Northern Rhodesia before officially taking it over as a protectorate. But, in those early days, the British government relied upon subsidies from the BSAC to fund its operations. During the entire period of BSAC administration, however, expenses always exceeded income. Northern Rhodesia was not self-supporting for the quarter century it existed as a Company administered place nor was it for some time thereafter.⁴¹ In fact, it was ten years from the time the UK government took over to the time that mine revenue was significant enough to stop recording deficits.⁴²

Years later Sir Ronald Prain, Chairman of the Roan Antelope Board, would refer to this period in the mines' history by saying that shareholders' funds might have been put to

⁴⁰ Ibid., 27-28.

⁴¹ The Company's total deficit for the years 1891 through 1919 was £1.25 million. Buell, *Native Problem in Africa*, 235. A federation-like concept that would help reduce the BSAC's administrative costs was considered from the early 1920s. At that time, however, the Company was virtually alone in its proposal for amalgamation since Europeans in Southern Rhodesia wanted to continue a process leading to self-rule while Europeans in Northern Rhodesia feared domination by their southern counterparts. Kaplan, *Zambia*, 25. Negotiations to turn administration of the territory over to Great Britain began in earnest in 1921 when European settlers rejected a Company plan to establish an income tax as a way of offsetting operating costs. According to some the Company, incurring deficits of approximately £130,000 annually, was quite willing to consider other arrangements for the territory and reached eventual agreement with Britain in 1923. Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 77.

⁴² Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 192.

better use in government treasury bonds than being invested in Rhodes' copper mines.⁴³ In fact, when the 1910 Board was discussing the nature of Northern Rhodesia's "problem" disillusion with the territory's potential had already set in.⁴⁴

2.1.4 The prospectors' experience

As increasingly restive investors shuffled papers on conference tables in South Africa and Great Britain searching for the right formula to maximize profits, experience on the ground in Northern Rhodesia was considerably different. There, prospectors and adventurers with a taste for the chaotic, dangerous, and perhaps romantic, explored the bush setting up rough outposts near promising sites. Some prospectors were there simply for the possibility of finding great material wealth. Many Europeans—from prospectors to mine company officials—were also attracted to a locale so different from the rainy British Isles.

Everyone who has ever lived in Africa, particularly in its high interior, is homesick for it until he dies and for nothing so much as for the brightening dawns and for the smell of wood-smoke in the still gold of sunset...From May to October there is no rain at all. Until the end of August the air is crisp with a warm sun for all of every day and brilliant stars at night. September and October are hot, but dry; and then the thunderstorms begin. On the Copperbelt the next five months are very wet. In some years over fifty inches of rain fall between November and early April.⁴⁵

But, spectacular sunrises and sunsets along with a climate pattern that still largely holds true did not outweigh the hardships of sheer living in those early days. Mud, malaria, and malnutrition—with which the Africans had contended for countless generations—were especially severe on unaccustomed Europeans. So, frequently, while investors sat mulling

⁴³ "Copper and the Copper Mining Industry," 12.

⁴⁴ Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 26; Kay, *Social Geography of Zambia*, 30.

⁴⁵ Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 18.

balance sheets their handful of sturdy representatives in Africa spent much of their time trying to survive.⁴⁶

2.1.5 Industrial Era mining begins

The BSAC helped ensure its own survival by making arrangements that lessened its accountability to government and inhibited business competition. A series of developments around the time of Company turnover to government make this clear. When Northern Rhodesia became a protectorate, mining provided a majority—but not an economically profitable portion—of government's revenue.⁴⁷ But there was no guarantee of the mines' consistency or longevity. So, the BSAC, anticipating that development and operations might continue in fits and starts, made sure it would receive royalty payments regardless of profitability. But the Company would only pay taxes when things went well. Further, the Company resurrected the old concessions taken from local African rulers to buttress claims for holding all the Copperbelt's mineral rights.⁴⁸ Taken together, such arrangements kept the mining industry comparatively free from involvement with local government and thwarted smaller prospectors who might represent competition.⁴⁹

Larger corporate backers were welcome, though, because geological exploration had begun to suggest that the Copperbelt's potential was enormous. By the late 1920s, financiers had organized two major companies that controlled Zambia's mining industry for the next four decades. Rhodesian Selection Trust (RST) was funded largely out of the United States and United Kingdom. Rhodesian Anglo-American Corporation, a subsidiary of Ernst

⁴⁶ Oliver and Fage, *Short History of Africa*, 167. Kay (*Social Geography of Zambia*, 136) characterizes the mining communities of that era as consisting "largely of hard-headed Europeans and bewildered Africans who...succumbed easily and in large numbers to disease."

⁴⁷ Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 33.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 36ff.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 39, 56.

Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation also had American and British funding but was based in South Africa.⁵⁰ Despite the relative cultural uniformity of their backers, these two companies were very differently run. RST had a more relaxed, open way of conducting business while AAC was more hierarchical and formal. As of the mid-2000s, the lingering influences of these contrasting managerial styles were still noticeable to Zambians with long-term experience on the mines.

Overseen either by RST or AAC most of the major Copperbelt mines, along with Kansanshi, opened for commercial production during the late 1920s and early 1930s.⁵¹ Some fairly promptly closed again as the Great Depression dampened the industrialized world's requests for copper. But they reopened as conditions improved and openings and closings became a pattern over the next several decades.⁵²

From the start of the intensely industrial period, Africans came in droves from the rural areas to work on the mines. Such a major migration from the countryside into town could appear simply as proof that Weber's theory worked with Africans, too: New economic circumstances would produce opportunity, wealth, and additional wants in Zambians just as in Europeans and Americans.⁵³ But the situation was more complex than that. Africans had to seek work on the mines because colonial government policies necessitated it. Pressure for wage work was created by the poll tax. This was a plan the British government regularly

⁵⁰ "Copper and the Copper Mining Industry," 12-13; "Zambia's Mining Industry," 25-29; Kaplan, *Zambia*, 187.

⁵¹ Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 25. Kabwe, or Broken Hill, as it was originally called, had begun commercial lead and zinc mining in the early 1900s but, until the Copperbelt expansion, mining was a relatively minor activity in Northern Rhodesia. Helmuth Heisler, *Urbanisation and the Government of Migration: The Interrelation of Urban and Rural Life in Zambia* (London: C. Hurst and Co., 1974), 3; Kaplan, *Zambia*, 187; Robert Bates, "Patterns of Uneven Development: Causes and Consequences in Zambia," *Monograph Series in World Affairs*, The Social Science Foundation and Graduate School of International Studies 11, no. 3 (Denver: University of Denver, 1974), 5.

⁵² "Zambia's Mining Industry," 34ff; Mendelsohn, *Geology of Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt*, 9; "Copper and the Copper Mining Industry," 12.

⁵³ Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 23-24.

instituted in its colonies to support local administrative activities. Africans were assessed a tax that had to be paid in cash to the colonial government but since there was no cash in the rural areas, men had to go to work in places where they could be paid. Poll tax proponents saw the method as a “civilizing” influence on Africans. They said that it would help involve the local people in paying for services and amenities within their areas such as roadways, schools, and hospitals.⁵⁴ While a miniscule amount by Western standards, the tax meant new ways of being and doing for Africans.⁵⁵ For instance, it represented a new authority that undermined the traditional chiefs’ authority. Migration to urban areas also interfered with the rural agricultural cycles. Farmers were now absent at key times of the season because they were taking stints as miners underground.⁵⁶

As Africans began experiencing the labor environment’s shift schedules, wage work, and taxes, they also adopted some of labor’s reliable responses. With remarkable speed they learned to organize and take action where they could. They chose whom they worked for within the limited opportunities offered and founded support structures outside and inside the workplace.⁵⁷ Western missionaries would have seen some of this activity as pay off for their own labors. For, even though the Copperbelt wasn’t missionary territory,⁵⁸ African miners independently established inter-denominational Christian church gatherings and began skills

⁵⁴ James Eric Lane, *Moment of Encounter* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 51; Heisler, *Urbanisation and Government of Migration*, 4-5, 37ff.

⁵⁵ Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 27; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 177-178. The tax was about 10 shillings per year. Payment for farm work could run about 4 pence and on the mines 6 pence. Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 24.

⁵⁶ Lane, *Moment of Encounter*, 13.

⁵⁷ Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 178. See also Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*; Heisler, *Urbanisation and Government of Migration*; Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*; and Kay, *Social Geography of Zambia*.

⁵⁸ Denis M’Passou, *Mindolo: A Story of the Ecumenical Movement in Africa* (Lusaka: Multimedia Press, 1983), 3.

training programs.⁵⁹ On the job, miners adapted techniques of organized labor even before formal unions existed. By 1935, they were sufficiently well informed and coordinated to create a series of what official reports labeled “disturbances” in Luanshya and Kitwe regarding wage and labor inequities and a midyear tax increase.⁶⁰ These protests prompted the British government to expand its tribally represented judicial and legislative systems and to institute a labor department.⁶¹ Within a few years, all the major mines had formal African labor unions.⁶²

While development of the mines and increasing sophistication of the workforce proceeded, there was not always corresponding build up or refinement in the region on the whole. This is another significant point to bear in mind relative to our present day thinking about development priorities and oversight. Northern Rhodesia’s infrastructure expansion was consistently under funded as the British government and the BSAC drew revenue from

⁵⁹ The non-denominational Union Church of the Copperbelt was established in 1925 by African miners who came from different areas of the country and who had different mission church backgrounds. Indigenous leaders of various congregations from throughout the Copperbelt periodically gathered for meetings at a shady spot known as Mindolo outside of Kitwe. The ecumenical training center eventually established at that site in the late 1950s was a direct outgrowth of collaboration between these Churches and the mining companies. *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁶⁰ Epstein, *Politics in Urban African Community*, 29. Roberts marks 1935 as the year in which the Copperbelt became the center of political gravity for all of Northern Rhodesia (*History of Zambia*, 198). It remained so into the mid-2000s. At the time of the 1935 disturbances, there were 855 Europeans and 6,556 Africans at Nkana; 383 Europeans and 3,078 Africans at Mufulira; and 595 Europeans and 4, 442 Africans at Luanshya—the three areas involved in work stoppages and demonstrations. “Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Disturbances in the Copper belt, Northern Rhodesia Together with the Governor’s Despatch to the Secretary of State on the Report” (n.p., November 1935), 10, 17, 20. Evidence that such disproportionate representation played a part in European nervousness about their own situation derives from the force with which the “disturbances” were met. While work stoppages seemed to constitute the extent of the display in Mufulira and Nkana, at Luanshya about 1,000 Wemba (e.g., Bemba) “natives” were said to have attacked the mine compound. The Europeans opened fire, killing six and wounding others. The firing of arms came after a “native” reportedly struck an armed soldier. Additionally, the Royal Air Force was called up from Salisbury along with 54 European police from Salisbury; 25 European police and 35 “native” police from Bulawayo. There was also talk of securing an airplane that could carry tear gas bombs and the police patrolled the compounds for some time thereafter. *Ibid.*, 7-9.

⁶¹ Kaplan, *Zambia*, 31.

⁶² In 1949, the various African unions came together to form Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers’ Union directed by Lawrence Katilungu. Kaplan, *Zambia*, 31. European mine workers had their own representative bodies. Geoffrey W. Silavwe, *Some Aspects of Personnel Management Practice in the Copper Mining Industry of Zambia* (Ndola: Mission Press, 1999), 298ff.

the Copperbelt while returning only a fraction to the territory.⁶³ For the decade 1930-40 approximately £2,400,000 worth of taxes flowed out and only £136,000 returned in development funds.⁶⁴ Northern Rhodesia's local administrators lived with this lopsided arrangement, yet cost conscious British government overseers sent out an expert on colonial administration to encourage operating expense cuts. Surprisingly, he returned to the UK suggesting a spending increase rather than decrease because "the essential social services are very backward and require to be largely expanded."⁶⁵ World War 2 interrupted any discussion on these recommendations, though, as Britain's need for copper made industrial production more urgent than social service provision for Copperbelt residents.⁶⁶

2.1.6 The era of greatest activity

As production increased, the by products of modernity expanded their presence through the Copperbelt transforming thinly populated bush country into concentrated urban labor market.⁶⁷ During the Second World War and immediately thereafter, Northern Rhodesia's European population rose to its highest levels. Employment on the mines also grew substantially and quickly.⁶⁸ Major infrastructure for the European and African sections of Copperbelt towns was constructed during this time, producing towns and cities of sizes

⁶³ During the Colonial Era, the mines paid taxes to Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia and a portion of that tax was returned to Northern Rhodesia for province administration. After independence, President Kaunda changed this arrangement by insisting that the mines pay royalties directly to the Zambian government and that they pay a higher rate than previously. Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2004; Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

⁶⁴ Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 193.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid. The United Kingdom was in debt to the United States and sought high copper production from its colonies to help offset wartime expenses. "Copper & the Copper Mining Industry," 10; Watts, *Commemorative Programme*, 41.

⁶⁷ Before the 1920s discoveries of underground ore began focusing so much attention on the area, the local population had probably numbered less than 10,000. Richard Hall, *Zambia 1890-1964: the Colonial Period* (London: Longman, 1976), 190.

⁶⁸ The 1951 census recorded almost 20,000 Europeans and close to 90,000 Africans as mine employees. Europeans were immigrating to the area at a rate of almost 8,000 per year. Correspondingly, the Northern Rhodesian Government's income rose from £856,376 in 1931 to £15,632,472 some 20 years later. Production figures went from 16,691 long tons in 1931 to 309,142 in 1951. Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 24, 25.

and complexities unimaginable across most of the continent.⁶⁹ In the old days, hand tools, fire, and ritual had caused stones to melt⁷⁰ and ultimately become bracelets and croisettes borne by itinerant traders. Now, headframes, vast underground networks, furnaces, and cooling towers produced out of crushed rock what eventually became long tons traded on the London Metal Exchange.

Since the mines were now so lucrative and the government so pecuniary, it fell to the companies to do the sort of environmental transformation that would attract both Europeans and Africans to the Copperbelt.⁷¹ For expatriates, the auxiliaries of mine life were staggering and represented the best of Britain in the bush.⁷²

A mere list of the amenities must read like a guide-book or even an advertisement, but there is no avoiding it. At each of the mines there are, for the Europeans, spacious clubs with tennis courts, bowling-greens, billiards and swimming-pools; eighteen-hole golf courses (with *green* grass greens), cricket fields (with *green* grass pitches), and rugby and soccer fields; modern cinemas; extremely well-equipped hospitals and excellent schools.⁷³

For Africans, the starting point was somewhat different. Increasing stays in town had gradually transformed the alternating rural-urban work pattern to one of more permanent settlement.⁷⁴ And now the mine companies had a housing dilemma.⁷⁵ When workers could return to the rural areas it held down the companies' operating costs, but the labor force's stay in town had potential advantages of its own.

⁶⁹ Silavwe, *Some Aspects of Personnel Management*, 5; Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 49ff; Heisler, *Urbanisation and Government of Migration*, 2; Gavin W. H. Rely, "Background to the Zambian Copper Mining Industry," An Address by the Chairman of Anglo-American Corporation (Central Africa), Ltd. On the Producers Day at the Inter-governmental Copper Conference, Lusaka (Ndola: ZCCM Archives), 6.

⁷⁰ Relating what made the traditional smelting process so mysterious a Colonial Era missionary is said to have remarked, "stones are not things which melt." As quoted in Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 36-37.

⁷¹ Kay, *Social Geography of Zambia*, 91

⁷² Outside consultants with worldwide mining experience who came to the Copperbelt in the 1980s remarked that they had never seen anything comparable elsewhere.

⁷³ Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 22-23.

⁷⁴ Heisler, *Urbanisation and Government of Migration*, 114.

⁷⁵ For more on this rural to urban shift and Anglo's housing strategies, see Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 188ff and Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*

Anglo's Ernest Oppenheimer believed that the best means of securing a steady, submissive work force was by offering housing compounds with sufficient amenities to make mining jobs both attractive and necessary.⁷⁶ Oppenheimer had set up a partial model of his workplace housing ideas in South Africa. The model included dining-halls and dormitory rooms with "new standards of nutrition, hygiene, and control"⁷⁷ that the mining companies testified proved popular with the labor force. But South Africa's legally constructed racial divisions with their restrictions on where Africans could live didn't allow the Oppenheimer model sufficient latitude to demonstrate its overriding aim of providing just enough opportunity to maintain interest without relinquishing too much control. But Northern Rhodesia, free from codified apartheid systems, was an excellent place to attempt the full-blown vision.⁷⁸ And, since labor tensions had for some time reminded Europeans of their vulnerability, corporate displays of good will towards the African labor force might help diffuse any awkward situations that could arise.⁷⁹

So, eventually, the companies began supplying cinder block housing for families, plumbing, electricity, and regular distribution of the staple food, mealie meal, in quantities and qualities government simply couldn't match.⁸⁰ Over time, cinemas, libraries, schools and community centers also were set up in the mining compounds along with endless organized sporting activities.

The Oppenheimer model worked—perhaps even better than could have been imagined. It also had some arguably unimagined consequences. One consequence was that

⁷⁶ This overall philosophy was sometimes phrased as: "keep the country quiet, keep the copper coming out," Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 17.

⁷⁷ Anglo-American annual report for 1951 as quoted in Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 42.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

⁷⁹ Further testimony to ongoing settler concerns about their safety may be found in the history of the mines' dispensation of blasting licenses. Zambian workers were not allowed to obtain such licenses until the 1970s. Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

⁸⁰ Kay, *Social Geography of Zambia*, 136.

the very structure intended to keep workers docile seems to have helped their labor organizing. The physical closeness of township dwellings allowed workers easy means by which they could spread organizing information.⁸¹ That ease of communication was still at work in the mid-2000s when vibrant meetings could be manufactured apparently out of nothing just by miners stepping outside to gather in a few neighbors. Another consequence arose from organized labor's effectiveness. As the European mine workers' union agitated for better conditions of their own, the British government pressed mining companies to upgrade facilities within the African workers' areas. This prompted Oppenheimer to complain that things had gone too far.

The people entrusted with the opening of this enterprise (the N'Kana mine) did not create a mining camp, nor even a mining town, but a mining Utopia. The layout of the town, the houses, the amenities, the free services to our employees do not exist anywhere else. The whole thing is a dream town, something which—if mining is carried on in Paradise—one imagines it might be like.⁸²

Perhaps a third unexpected consequence was the model's endurance even long after Zambians had declared their great dislike for colonial patronage. In fact, under nationalization the Zambian run mining companies kept policies and practices begun for the colonial powers' benefit and declared "that a contented worker can be relied upon better than one whose memory is clouded with unsettled problems."⁸³ Long after nationalization had ended, even more than ten years after the Oppenheimer model system had begun to crumble, what Zambian miners most frequently mentioned as the greatest loss associated with privatization was the townships' disintegration.

⁸¹ Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2005.

⁸² As quoted in Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 45-46.

⁸³ *Mining Mirror*, July 7, 1978, 8.

2.1.7 Federation's impact

By the early 1950s, Copperbelt miners were well organized and involved in pan-African nationalist movements. Their interest in taking on more responsible, better paying mining jobs was now a public sticking point for the companies.⁸⁴ As mine management negotiated with the African labor force, it also contended with the European worker's union representing many miners who felt threatened by African Advancement.⁸⁵ It took several years for agreement on an African Advancement strategy to become corporate policy and by then it was probably too late.⁸⁶ The gap between the general worker's knowledge and education and the sophisticated technical skills needed to run an industry of such size and complexity was so huge that a successful effort at training Zambians probably should have started years earlier.⁸⁷

But to this point, African miners had proven themselves determined and resilient enough that the area's Europeans began rethinking Rhodes's old idea of amalgamating with their twin territory to the south. As much as they disliked the thought of being dominated by a larger population of Southern Rhodesians, they preferred that risk to the prospect of black majority rule. Perhaps, too, now that the copper mines had proven profitable after all, Northern Rhodesia would be in a better position to hold its own.⁸⁸ In 1953 Federation

⁸⁴ Epstein (*Politics in Urban African Community*, 157) saw the flourishing African labor unions as a sign that Africans were "fully committed to an industrial system." This would suggest that there was a willingness on the part of the African labor force to accept industrial mining in spite of the vast changes it made in their society.

⁸⁵ "African Advancement" was the term commonly used to denote efforts to train and employ Africans for work in jobs that had previously been held by expatriates.

⁸⁶ The first official African Advancement agreement came about in 1955. Burawoy, *Colour of Class*, 16-17.

⁸⁷ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2006.

⁸⁸ Kaplan, *Zambia*, 32; Anthony St. John Wood, *Northern Rhodesia: The Human Background* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1961), 134.

officially joined the Rhodesias and Nyasaland into a single political union based on a publicly presented theory that Federation would benefit the entire region's development.⁸⁹

In practice, it created just the sort of domination Northern Rhodesians had feared. A satirical cartoon from the time described how things looked from their vantage point. It depicted a cow with its face down, grazing on the Copperbelt while being milked in Salisbury and tended by workers from Nyasaland.⁹⁰ And, in truth, even more money than before did begin flowing out of Northern Rhodesia to fund massive infrastructure development south of the Zambesi River.⁹¹ The first such projects were railway transport systems and roadways that, for decades afterwards, remained markedly superior to those up north. Later, a dam and power plant for use by the mines and originally planned for near Kafue was relocated south to Kariba.⁹² The project entailed forcible removal of 30,000 people and thousands of animals from their lands. Simultaneously it made a statement about the comparative worth of the two Rhodesias.⁹³

⁸⁹ Epstein saw Federation as not only supported by the BSAC but directly related to the Company's handover to the British government some thirty-one years previously (*Politics in Urban African Community*, 158). Anglo-American and other mining companies with British and American interests were all enthusiastic supporters of Federation. Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 44. Frederick Cooper asserts that Great Britain hoped Federation would halt the rising power of South Africa's white ruling class from taking control of more territory within the region. *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 74. See also Wood's discussion of the issue in *Northern Rhodesia*, 68ff.

⁹⁰ Interview with long-term resident, departmental and divisional manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2005.

⁹¹ From 1954/55 to 1959/60, the net drain on Northern Rhodesia due to taxes on the mines for Federation was £56 million. At the same time, Northern Rhodesia could only spend £50 million on capital expenditures within its own territory and, in all, lost £97 million in taxes. Martin, *Minding Their Own Business*, 36.

⁹² See map in the appendices.

⁹³ *Ibid*; "Copper and the Copper Mining Industry," 15; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 213. Shrewd observers have noted that colonial authorities aligned with Southern Rhodesia revealed their priorities about whom they considered important even when engaging in the famed Project Noah that removed wildlife from the area prior to its flooding. The wildlife went to Southern Rhodesia's game parks while the Tonga people were deposited in a dry, barren region on Northern Rhodesia's side of the Zambesi. A few other historical points of note concerning Kariba Dam deserve mention. The £20 million cost of construction was, in part, funded by the Anglo group of mines. Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 45. In the 1970s as tensions between Rhodesia and Zambia increased, the World Bank funded construction of a power station on the north side of the Zambesi that was understood as an effort to give Zambia more autonomy over its electrical power. Peter Stiff, *See You in November* (Alberton: Galago Publishing, Inc., 1985), 85-86. In the mid-2000s, this power station was owned by one of Zambia's remaining parastatals, ZESCO. Further, the population displacement ripple

Africans had always been opposed to Federation and the Kariba Dam seems to have encapsulated just one reason why. The displacement of Africans from their traditional lands caused by the Dam's construction foreshadowed in microcosm what Federation would do on a much grander scale. Federation prompted such heated discussion on land rights that Westerners had to take notice. Different outside observers tried to figure it out. One said that, whatever the root cause, modern progress hadn't overtaken it.

Fear of losing land was widely shared among Africans in Northern Rhodesia. Of all their reasons for opposing amalgamation or federation, this fear carried the greatest emotional force, and it crystallized other fears which were perhaps less easily defined. Land was still of absorbing interest to almost all Africans. The growth of industry on the Copperbelt had done nothing to undermine this interest; rather, indeed, it had strengthened it.⁹⁴

Other assessments appear to demonstrate Schutz's map theory in action. For instance, one analyst explained the situation in Freudian psychoanalytic terms—familiar territory to many Westerners. When sugar sales fell off after word that it had been poisoned and Africans refused to drink beer that they also feared poisoned, he concluded that all these signs had something to do with Federation. And Federation was about something else as well.

[T]he Federation issue produced on Africans an impact akin to trauma which reactivated intra-physic conflicts that had once centered on the earlier stages of libidinal development.⁹⁵

Another commentator saw the subject of land rights as involving territory largely unfamiliar to 20th century Westerners.

effect was still apparent in small, but important details. One concerned the manner in which Tonga people were able to cross the Zimbabwe-Zambia border. Unlike other travelers, they could move between the two countries using just certain paper documentation rather than having to obtain official passports. Another interesting detail concerned responsibility for maintenance and upkeep of the Dam itself. This hadn't been such an issue under Federation or even for decades afterwards as long as Zimbabwe was flourishing. But by the mid-2000s, with that country's economic and political stability shattered, questions began to arise concerning which country actually owned the Dam.

⁹⁴ Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 209.

⁹⁵ Epstein, *Scenes from African Urban Life*, 172-177.

When I began my field work, the meaning of the new political union became quickly apparent to me because the fear of federation and the loss of land was dragged into almost every interview and conversation, regardless of context or relevancy...The mystical relationship among land, fertility, and power has already been discussed. Land was life, and it is therefore easy to understand that loss of land is a symbol for annihilation.⁹⁶

Perhaps Africans in Northern Rhodesia felt this threat most keenly. Many had worked in Southern Rhodesia and were familiar with the territory's restrictive policies on land and trade unions.⁹⁷ Federation, it was feared, would simply speed up the white settler's land grab.⁹⁸ Southern Rhodesians were also a different breed from their northern neighbors. Many expatriates who came to work on the Copperbelt immigrated from mining communities in England, Scotland, and Wales and frequently returned there upon retirement.⁹⁹ Southern Rhodesia, by contrast, was increasingly being settled by farmers descended from Dutch ancestors who had gone to South Africa about the same time that the Puritans had come to America. Over the generations, these Afrikaners, as they became known, developed large farms and strongly held ideas—backed by Scripture reading—about the innate superiority of white people.¹⁰⁰ In all, Africans saw a significant contrast between Northern and Southern Rhodesians. It was one thing to be related to as an inferior economic class by a shorter-term population that liked golf and lawn bowling and quite another to be thought racially inferior by a permanently settled group of well-armed farmers.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 63-64.

⁹⁷ European farming had rapidly expanded in Southern Rhodesia after World War 1 and tens of thousands of Africans from Northern Rhodesia had migrated south over the years for mine work elsewhere. Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 91.

⁹⁸ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 62-63.

⁹⁹ By 1960, only about half of all white expatriates were staying in Northern Rhodesia for the duration of their work lives; and only about 16% of the expatriate population retired on the Copperbelt. This was largely due to cost of living and being in an undeveloped area with not a lot of amenities for seniors. "The Attitudes of White Mining Employees Towards Life and Work on the Copperbelt," National Institute for Personnel Research, in Association with the Institute for Social Research (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1960), i.

¹⁰⁰ Some of their rationale was no doubt similar to defenses of America's slavery system and post-Civil War racial segregation policies.

¹⁰¹ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

With Federation, Africans in Northern Rhodesia felt betrayed by a government they had not asked for but that some at least had come to view as benignly paternalistic.¹⁰² The process of devolution to black majority rule in Northern Rhodesia might have been plodding messily along, but it was apparently inevitable. Federation was a set back, if not worse.

2.1.8 Transition towards independence

The momentum for African independence was, however, too strong for Federation to overcome.¹⁰³ If African Advancement had come too late for the mines' sake, Federation was too late for colonial control of the land. If Southern Rhodesia held onto the idea, a commission studying the situation in 1960 even raised the possibility of Northern Rhodesia's secession.¹⁰⁴

Still, there were a number of impediments facing an anticipated black majority ruled nation and these impediments concerned the mines. Some were more obvious than others; all had significant implications for the economic and political future. By this time, Northern Rhodesia indeed had a flourishing economy and cosmopolitan population. But wealth and opportunity were distributed very unevenly. In fact, the Copperbelt's development was some felt, "a mixed blessing."¹⁰⁵ Copper production had brought great material wealth but, in relation to the rest of the country the Copperbelt Province was "an island of comparative plenty in a vast sea of rural poverty."¹⁰⁶ Northern Rhodesia's lop-sided economy had been set up long before, but it would fall to the new, independent African state to deal with it.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Powdermaker recalls that some Africans referred to the British government as "Father," *Copper Town*, 62-63.

¹⁰³ Kaplan, *Zambia*, 33; Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 62ff.

¹⁰⁴ Kaplan, *Zambia*, 35.

¹⁰⁵ Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 190.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

And here a second problem emerged. Much about how the colonial system worked was never apparent to Africans. This was at least partially due to social distance and partially to physical distance. Unofficial racial divisions kept Africans from even seeing what went on in the upper ranks of European power and control and kept well-meaning Europeans from knowing Africans on more than a superficial basis.¹⁰⁸ Since bureaucracies in Great Britain also complimented much of the local managerial work, it appeared on the ground that relatively few people ran Northern Rhodesia's quite complex society.¹⁰⁹ And many of these people seemed just to sit in comfortable offices and talk. As Africans thought about what independent governance would entail, it may well have looked easier than it actually turned out to be.¹¹⁰

There was also much about how colonial business was done in Northern Rhodesia, some said, that made Zambians less rather than more prepared to assume responsibility.¹¹¹ Education was the perpetual problem; Federation had only made it worse. During that era, European children's education was a federal concern backed by considerable funding. African children's education, on the other hand, was left to each territory. Northern

¹⁰⁸ Powdermaker reports that she encountered a number of European women who were genuinely interested in learning more about Africans but were inhibited from doing so by systemic race and class divisions. *Copper Town*, 69ff.

¹⁰⁹ The amount of control exercised by the colonial office was historically considered problematic for the small European population as well but for different reasons. Kaplan, *Zambia*, 29; Bates, "Patterns of Uneven Development," 10. The sparse European presence on the ground during the period of Indirect Rule, which began officially for Northern Rhodesia/Zambia in 1929, was one of the policy's most remarkable traits and testifies to what Karen Fields sees as an interdependency between the Europeans and Africans involved. "To the question: How did a notoriously small handful of white men rule gigantic territories? indirect rule offers a simple answer: by making black men with legitimate authority appendages of white men without it..." *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 30-31. By 1960, when the British administrative presence was at its height in Zambia, the United Kingdom's government was represented by 274 men in a territory of 290,000 square miles. *Ibid.*, 33-34.

¹¹⁰ Because the colonial governments had limited interests in their territories, they deliberately kept representation there small. Appiah, *In My Father's House*, 164.

¹¹¹ Wood, *Northern Rhodesia*, 135. In the final chapter of his work, Wood outlines a possible strategy for phased devolution of power and responsibility that would build upon Africans' traditions and institutional patterns, eventually leading towards assumption of the Western systems Great Britain would be relinquishing. It is a creative and thoughtful exercise that would have been interesting to see in practice.

Rhodesia, already economically behind, spared few funds on African education and those funds went largely to support primary grades.¹¹² Post-secondary schooling in Northern Rhodesia was even more difficult to come by since the nearest university was in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.¹¹³ As a result, at Independence in 1964 Zambia had about 100 university graduates (including one lawyer, one engineer, and two doctors) and 1,000 secondary school graduates within a population of over 3 million. African education rates in all of Britain's colonies were low, but Zambia's were at the bottom.¹¹⁴ It was hardly a promising sign.

In addition to the education problem, there were structural governance difficulties. The system was set up according to formulas that worked in Britain but that weren't necessarily realistic for conditions in Zambia. When, for example, Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) won a decisive majority of legislative seats in pre-independence elections,¹¹⁵ the parliamentary guidelines they had to work with dictated that in fairness to distribution 41 of the 55 total had to come from rural constituencies. But Zambians had been moving into the urban areas for decades and people with education and skills to take over government jobs weren't in the rural areas. Shifting so much electoral

¹¹² Martin, *Minding Their Own Business*, 35; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 218.

¹¹³ It bears further note that, with an African population of approximately 3 million and of the few schools that did accommodate secondary education, only one was a university preparatory school. Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 45. Mission schools helped address some of this gap. Silavwe, *Some Aspects of Personnel Management*, 2; Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 86.

¹¹⁴ "Roan Consolidated Mines Limited" (unpublished paper, ZCCM Archives, Ndola, 1980), 9; John Kaoma, "The Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa: A Challenge to the Church" (unpublished book manuscript, Mutare, Zimbabwe, 2001), 12. Roberts, citing these same figures, notes that Uganda achieved similar educational benchmarks in 1955 and Ghana in 1943. *History of Zambia*, 234. "It is the most damaging criticism of all against the colonial and federal governments that Northern Rhodesia, despite its possession of the richest economy in Africa north of the Limpopo, found itself at independence with a smaller number of educated Africans in relation to the population than virtually any other of Britain's African colonies." Martin, *Minding Their Own Business*, 49.

¹¹⁵ Africans were first allowed to vote in Zambia in 1962.

power out to the countryside considerably changed the caliber of people who would occupy parliamentary seats.¹¹⁶

2.2 Early independence era issues

Kaunda also appeared to hope that Zambia could create something new. In letters and essays from the early 1960s, he talked of offering the world a novel vision of a truly modern African state. He knew that the educational, managerial, and political ground was very soft on which to build.¹¹⁷ But the economy would be strong, despite its reliance on just one moneymaker. This was at least a place on which to stand.

So, with political independence inevitable, he made a gesture towards economic independence in a famously recorded encounter several hours before the official handing over ceremony. Following extensive legal research and a public relations campaign, Kaunda's new government gave the president of the BSAC 11 minutes to choose between £4 million net of tax to relinquish its mineral royalties or nothing.¹¹⁸ Kaunda founded his case in part on reasoning that the main treaty the BSAC used to protect its rights was made with a Lozi king. But the Copperbelt was Lambaland! Lewanika, the ruler who had dealt with Rhodes's men so long ago, never had jurisdiction over the Copperbelt to begin with.¹¹⁹ The BSAC took Kaunda's offer,¹²⁰ giving Africans added reason to be jubilant when they officially became Zambians at midnight on October 24th, 1964.

¹¹⁶ Bates, "Patterns of Uneven Development," 19.

¹¹⁷ Kaunda, *Humanist in Africa*, 66ff. See also Boahen, *African Perspectives*; Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*; and Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden—Africa and the Curse of the Nation State* (New York: Times Books, 1992) for interesting discussions on what might otherwise have been the case for the new independent African states.

¹¹⁸ In 1950 the BSAC had negotiated to keep all mineral royalties until 1986. Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 43. The year prior to Zambian independence, mineral royalties earned the Company a net £6 million, twice the budget that went into African education. Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 222.

¹¹⁹ Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 47.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 48; "Roan Consolidated Mines," 108-109. The following year, Charter Consolidated was created by a merger of the BSAC, Central Mining, and Anglo-American's original parent company, Consolidated Mines

2.2.1 Kaunda's governance and legacy

Kenneth Kaunda's legacy, like most everyone's, may on balance be judged a mixed bag. He had only a couple of years of advanced education at Munali Training Center but has been an articulate speaker and prolific writer.¹²¹ While working for an independent Zambia, he seems to have been less hated and feared by European settlers than his neighbor, Robert Mugabe, and there were fewer opportunities to accuse him of leading organized violence.¹²² But, once in office, Kaunda was termed a demagogue by some Westerners and some Zambians have subsequently criticized him for cultivating a deification of the presidency.¹²³ Despite the flair of his last minute showdown with the BSAC over mining rights and his extensive criticisms of capitalism, Kaunda's overall connections with capitalist-run mining companies seem less clear-cut. He was said, for example, to enjoy a "warm personal relationship"¹²⁴ with Harry Oppenheimer and, in the early days, he appeared sympathetic to

Selection. The BSAC brought to this merger the money from its 11th hour settlement back in Lusaka. Charter Consolidated went on to become a holding company for operations in the USA, Britain, Canada, and France. Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 82-83.

¹²¹ Kaunda's parents were Malawian his father, David, being well known as a Scots Presbyterian minister and educator at Chinsali's Lubwa Mission. In addition to his own formal training in education, Kenneth Kaunda worked at a couple of Southern Rhodesian mines. Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2005. See also the biographical information as available in "Kenneth Kaunda," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kenneth_Kaunda. The lack of the people's preparedness for governance was something Kaunda seemed never to forget. "[O]ur rulers: 70 years they produced 100 university graduates; 100 university graduates," he recalled bitterly and decades later. Interview with President Kenneth Kaunda, 2005. See the appendices for excerpts from this conversation. The views he expressed over the way education and business had been set up by colonial interests were similar to those expressed by other Africans from around the same time. See, for example, Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove/Atlantic, Inc., 1968), 190ff and Aimé Césaire, "Discourse on Colonialism," in Eze, *African Philosophy*, 222-227.

¹²² Perceptions of the level of violence created in Northern Rhodesia varied among Westerners who, during the course of this study, recalled that period. Some contended that the transition to independence had come peacefully, disturbed at most largely by rock throwing. Others attributed coordinated, periodic violent episodes to UNIP Youth and still others recalled a violent trend lingering on into independence that displayed itself in attacks on the environment. Such attacks included widespread deforestation as part of a government led charcoal producing initiative and mass slaughter of game animals for entertainment and dining at State occasions.

¹²³ Stiff, *See You in November*, 101; Kaoma, "Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa," 13-14.

¹²⁴ Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 178-179.

the idea that the mines under private control represented the country's greatest asset.¹²⁵ Yet, once the mines came under Zambian control, mining management began to appear collectively hostile towards Oppenheimer's Anglo-American—their former main shareholder.¹²⁶ Kaunda's eventual voting out of office in 1991 culminated years of popular disillusionment with his socialist policies. But by the mid-2000s, public exposure to capitalist policies that had been applied shock treatment style produced a resurgence of popular affection for the vigorously fit, elder statesman known as “Super Ken” or simply “KK.”

That said, beyond most of his contemporaries and perhaps more than his successors Kaunda presented for Zambia and the world an overarching vision.¹²⁷ That vision was based upon two inter-related principles. The first was a sympathetic stance towards the socialist values of Eastern bloc countries rather than the capitalist West. During the 1950s and 1960s Zambia, like most of Africa, was used in the super powers' Cold War standoff.¹²⁸ Needing money and expertise for the new country but being familiar with colonial style economic development, Kaunda ultimately decided that friendship and resource sharing with the USSR

¹²⁵ Martin, *Minding Their Own Business*, 115.

¹²⁶ The mines under government ownership never profited sufficiently to warrant dividend distribution to Anglo and, during the privatization process, the Zambian government was averse to the idea of Anglo's re-engaging beyond its minority shareholder position. Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2006.

¹²⁷ Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2004. Ellis and Ter Haar observe that Kaunda was generally portrayed sympathetically by the international media, as he was a skillful politician for most of his entire presidency as well as personally charming. *Worlds of Power*, 70.

¹²⁸ For more on the Cold War's effects on sub-Saharan Africa, see Peter Schwab, *Africa: A Continent Self-Destructs* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). Martin's *Minding Their Own Business* also contains an excellent recounting of the background for Zambia's transition to a socialist state. He maintains that Kaunda's stance towards the West shifted in part by disillusion over the way Zambia was treated by Britain following independence.

and China was preferable. So, as with most of Africa's first generation leaders, he recommended socialist economic policies for Zambia.¹²⁹

The second principle was a Humanist philosophy that, when infused into governance, would help make Zambian society more like traditional African societies.¹³⁰

The underlying motive of all our methods and policies is the creation of a modern African society—a society which will reflect the genius of our people. Hence many of our ways of going about things will appear strange to Europeans, but that is not to say that we are wrong or that we do not know what we are doing...Our methods are different but it has yet to be proved that in the long run they are less effective.¹³¹

In actual practice, both Kaunda's humanism and socialism seemed to look different from the vision. For one, the ordinary citizenry was not involved in deciding how Humanism and socialism related to traditional cultural values.¹³² Further, the extent to which Kaunda meant socialism in the Biblical have-all-things-in-common¹³³ sense or socialism in the Marxist control of the means of production sense seemed to shift. By the 1970s, Kaunda's strong links to the Marxist ideologies of the USSR and China were so beginning to affect policies and practices that Zambia's church leaders took strong public stances for alternative

¹²⁹ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005. Some Zambians assert that the entire African independence movement should be interpreted from a socialist point of view in that political independence was an opportunity to reclaim the means of production from those who had been illegitimately taking the land and the people's wealth. Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2005. In Zambia's case, for example, during the ten years immediately preceding independence, the two major mine company owners in Northern Rhodesia had sent £260 million out of the country in dividends, interest and royalty payments. From 1923 to 1964, the BSAC received £82 million net for its mineral royalties. Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 84.

¹³⁰ Kaunda early on defined Humanism this way. "I have a passionate belief in the worth and possibilities of man and I expect him some day to achieve perfection. By perfection I do not mean sinlessness. But for all his weaknesses, man is growing in self-knowledge and will one day fully realize his capabilities." *Humanist in Africa*, 19. Kenneth D. Kaunda, "The Imperative of Human Dignity," Address presented at the Inaugural Session of the Non-Governmental Organisations International Conference on Human Rights, Paris September 15 (Lusaka: Zambia Information Service, 1968), 3. Elsewhere, he delineates the three key factors of tribal society as 1) mutuality, 2) acceptance, and 3) inclusiveness. *Humanist in Africa*, 24-26.

¹³¹ Kaunda, *Humanist in Africa*, 68-69.

¹³² Kaoma, "Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa," 18. There was also very little public discussion about copper and the mines in the early days of Zambia's existence. This was in marked contrast to the situation in other countries such as Chile. Martin, *Minding Their Own Business*, 132. Martin also states that Humanism's weakness was its vagueness and lack of applicability to concrete situations. *Ibid.*, 107.

¹³³ See, for example, Acts 4:32.

viewpoints.¹³⁴ But in later life, Kaunda spoke of a clear compatibility between Christianity and what he had tried to do with Humanism.

[T]he humanism we are talking about is something which accepts human beings as a fellow human being regardless of anything artificial. And...when we were given the opportunity to lead ourselves—to rule ourselves—we came to analyze this this way and...our motto was “One Zambia, One Nation.” All of us are the same nation regardless of 70 different tribes. More—because some other tribes came to join us. And the English, some French, the Americans, some Portuguese—all of us are his. So it’s “One Zambia, One Nation.” We all are one nation. His nation...[Y]es, some might say it’s religious, well we’re talking about God so it must be religious but it’s not something that was saying we were going to be humanists and—but not Christians. Or we’re going to be humanists but not Hindus, you know...I believe that that love of your neighbor simply means that love. And if you love your colleagues, you love your brother or your sister, you can’t at the same time go against Christ’s teaching, “love your neighbor.”¹³⁵

These shifts in thinking and discrepancies between ideal and actual may have been because the theories simply couldn’t match practical constraints of the environment or Zambians’ expectations.

Kaunda, like most national leaders in the third world had a generalized view of how things should be in this new independent state. In the quest of addressing the issue of under development, he developed an ideological program, which combined economics, politics, social relations, spiritual and international relations with the hope of transforming the country within the shortest possible time. Unfortunately, this vision does not fit in the grand vision of the State and though it blindly convinces the masses that a major transformation is possible, experience shows that such programmes are short lived.¹³⁶

Too, outside events also limited the vision that Kaunda had for a rapid transformation of Zambian society. Shortly after Zambia’s one-year anniversary, Southern Rhodesia’s settler government made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Great Britain,

¹³⁴ Kaoma asserts that this opposition took place in part because of the Churches’ own foundations in Western Christianity. “Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa,” 17. See also Zambia Episcopal Conference, Christian Council of Zambia, and Zambia Evangelical Fellowship, *Marxism, Humanism, and Christianity* (Lusaka: Teresianum Press, 1979).

¹³⁵ Interview with President Kenneth Kaunda, 2005.

¹³⁶ Kaoma, “Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa,” 21.

constituting itself as white-ruled Rhodesia. It had been scheduled for independence at around the same time as its two former Federation members. But Southern Rhodesia's European minority, realizing this would mean becoming a majority ruled black nation, went out on its own.¹³⁷ A long civil war began as African nationalists decided to fight for independence. Britain backed the African insurgents and requested Zambia's cooperation in isolating Rhodesia economically.¹³⁸

Even though independence struggles were also going on in neighboring countries, the fight for Zimbabwe was particularly important given the sibling style history of the two Rhodesias. Zambia, operating under an official state of emergency from 1965 to 1990 harbored freedom fighters, brokered peace talks, and endured major damage to its own roads and bridges.¹³⁹ Much of this latter hardship resulted from South African and Southern Rhodesian sympathizers who infiltrated Zambia and attempted to disrupt coordination between various African groups.¹⁴⁰ Kaunda's resolute stance in support of African liberation put him out of favor with some Western countries. It also encouraged more expatriates to leave and both of these developments, in turn, had bad effects on Zambia's economy.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ UDI was declared in November, 1965. Similar to Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland had become independent Malawi in 1964.

¹³⁸ "Roan Consolidated Mines," 4; *Annual Report of the Mines Department for the Year 1968* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1969), 1.

¹³⁹ During the early days, the effects of this situation were not so apparent on the white community that remained following independence. In fact, some recalled that era with a bit of nostalgia, for curfews imposed to accommodate African rebel troop movements became invitations to weekend house parties. As long as everyone bought enough supplies in advance and cleared off the roads before dark, an official curfew had little residual effects.

¹⁴⁰ Anglo's transportation company, Freight Services, also supported Ian Smith's regime by helping oil companies evade British sanctions under UDI. Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 66. See also Stiff, *See You in November*.

¹⁴¹ Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2005. Ultimately, Zambia helped free neighboring countries that then began their independence eras in better financial shape than Zambia found itself. Kaoma, "Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa," 15. The country's military budget increased 4 fold from the late 1960s through early 1970s. Armed forces grew from 5,000 in 1964 to 16,000 by 1973. Military expenditures as a percent of GNP doubled by the early 1970s and arms imports were more than \$50 million USD by 1973. Kaplan, *Zambia*, 43.

Things got worse as the war and UDI dragged on. Transportation was especially hurt as Federation era rail routes through Southern Rhodesia could no longer be used. Following UN sanctions guidelines, Zambia now had to export copper by sending trains on circuitous routes south to Mozambique's ports. Also in the Federation days, oil imports had come in to Zambia by the same route. But, under UDI, until a pipeline could be constructed to Dar-Es-Salaam, Zambia had to airlift in fuel.¹⁴² And, before the north side power station was built at Kariba, the mines had an added worry. Their power source was on Rhodesian soil and could be switched off at any moment.¹⁴³

In addition to these worries, Zambia had to contend with outright cash flow problems made worse on at least one occasion by a painful illustration of discrepancies in understanding. When Britain had asked for Zambia's cooperation with the United Nations embargo against Rhodesia, the UK government had promised its former colony compensation for sanctions-related expenses. These could amount up to £14 million by June 1967. More long-term support would come afterwards "for the duration of the emergency." Such support would include financing for Zambia to build alternate transport routes and power supplies. In late 1967, however, the British government suddenly refused future payments. It also threatened to withhold the original promised amount because Zambia was being too slow in completing its work.¹⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the mines continued producing but problems for the country meant problems for the Copperbelt. Zambians' lack of educational preparedness was now obvious in how the country was being run. Where trained people could be found were in mine

¹⁴² The pipeline was financed by the Chinese, further entrenching the Kaunda government's relationship with Communist powers. Some Western sources had said the pipe was impossible to construct. Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2005.

¹⁴³ Martin, *Minding Their Own Business*, 52-53.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 79.

management positions. So with increasing frequency, government came to rely on mine personnel to take care of managerial needs everywhere. Many important mining administrative posts were already unfilled because there simply weren't enough skilled personnel to go around.¹⁴⁵ Now the problem got worse. There was also the urgent need to reinvest in mine infrastructure. Government claimed this hadn't taken place under European management.¹⁴⁶ But, it didn't happen after Independence either and exploration for new mineral deposits stopped, too. It also appeared as if mine accidents were on the increase. An independent investigator assigned to look into the matter said lax discipline and deteriorating standards seemed at least partially to blame.¹⁴⁷

Any one of these issues could portend big problems for the industry, but there was also an entire country to consider. The people's general expectations for innumerable development projects from road construction to schools and hospitals remained extremely high.¹⁴⁸ So, Kaunda's government took whatever it could from mine revenue to pay for things elsewhere. At first, the government's draw upon copper revenues was fairly painless because production was good. The world copper price was also high thanks in part to the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War. Then there was talk of the need to spread economic responsibility around so as not to overly depend on copper. But it soon began to appear that promises of diversifying by increasing agricultural activities were not being realized even though huge sums of money were allocated for the purpose.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 100.

¹⁴⁶ In 1968, President Kaunda stated that the mining companies had been distributing over 80% of their annual profits as dividends and had not been recapitalizing the mines. *Ibid.*, 123.

¹⁴⁷ Alastair Heron, *Accidents in the Zambian Mining Industry* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1968), 17ff.

¹⁴⁸ Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 229; Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 91; "Roan Consolidated Mines," 5ff.

¹⁴⁹ Roberts, *History of Zambia*, 231ff. Economic diversification was also an area in which the Kaunda government was at a disadvantage due to Colonial Era policies. Throughout the period of BSAC administration and British protectorate status, the territory's development had been largely confined to the rail line leading

Years later, a technical consultant integrally involved in the re-privatization program speculated about why things began going the way they did. Zambians didn't reinvest in the mines; didn't explore for new deposits. They didn't go around to see what other countries in similar circumstances were doing. Instead, they talked as if all the copper had already been found. They seemed, he said, to have an attitude that God gave them the mines and so everything would work. They seemed to think, "Somehow magically we can do this."¹⁵⁰

2.2.2 Nationalization

Only a few years after Independence it was becoming apparent that the Kaunda government's visions for creating a new African society weren't meeting expectations. The state wasn't creating jobs as hoped. Foreign private investors were also not coming to Zambia at the anticipated rate. Some of the investors already there were problems as well. They were subsidiaries of Rhodesian companies and sympathetic to the Smith regime.¹⁵¹ A change in strategy seemed necessary.

By some accounts, Kaunda had repeatedly assured the public and mine executives that Zambia would not take over the mines.¹⁵² But, in late 1969 he invited the mining companies to sell 51% shares to the government effective January 1, 1970.¹⁵³ The announcement came within a much longer speech to the UNIP National Council at Matero

from Southern Rhodesia up to Katanga. This meant that the route from Livingstone, through Lusaka and Kabwe and into the Copperbelt was most favored for infrastructure improvements while the vast expanses where rural dwellers stayed was largely ignored. Parastatal organizations instituted by the new Zambian government pressed President Kaunda for more and more subsidization as there were few means for establishing profitable enterprises in the rural areas. See Bates, "Patterns of Uneven Development," 15ff, for a comprehensive discussion of problems inherent in Zambia's early urban-rural development dilemma.

¹⁵⁰ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

¹⁵¹ Ravi Gulhati, "Impasse in Zambia: The Economics and Politics of Reform" (EDI Development Policy Case Series, Analytical Case Studies, no. 2, The World Bank, Washington, DC, 1989), 14.

¹⁵² Kaplan, *Zambia*, 188. Nationalization of a number of other state enterprises was announced at a UNIP party conference at Mulungushi in early 1968. Martin, *Minding Their Own Business*, 94-97.

¹⁵³ *Annual Report of the Mines Department for the Year 1969* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1970), 1. This announcement took place 11 August. A fascinating and detailed account of the entire nationalization initiative is contained in Martin, *Minding Their Own Business*.

Hall, Lusaka. Looking back, some observers felt the announcement was such a surprise that it overshadowed other things Kaunda said about Zambian workplaces. He said, for instance, that there would be a complete wage freeze and that union strikes were banned.¹⁵⁴ Other observers were more prepared for nationalization. Perhaps the reason the mines had been distributing annual profits as dividends all along was in anticipation of eventually being taken over by the state.¹⁵⁵

Following on Kaunda's announcement, a government pamphlet asserted that the nationalization plan really flowed from the original Colonial Era mineral concessions.

The Constitution granted to us at the time of Independence by the British government was so designed that it denied power to our government to act against such concessions and companies...[But the President] has announced he is abolishing all these concessions. And the rights to mine the minerals in our Zambia come back to where they belong: to us today; to our children tomorrow; and their children the day after—and so it will go on for all time. Never again will these rights to our minerals belong to any foreign companies or any individual.¹⁵⁶

At the time, the President indicated that nationalization would still allow significant capitalist involvement in mining. Government would become the majority shareholder, but various tax and foreign exchange incentives would keep the private companies interested. Apparently unwilling to jeopardize the country's economic base just to make a political

¹⁵⁴ Kaunda may have been prepared for direct and public opposition because he had disbanded the National Council several days earlier and instituted security measures immediately following the Matero speech. Martin, *Minding Their Own Business*, 156-157. Government pamphlets subsequently assured the public that the strike bans and wage freezes were temporary. *Towards Complete Independence: What it all Means* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1969), 7.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

¹⁵⁶ *Towards Complete Independence*, 4-5. Writing the year before and from an entirely different country Fanon (*Wretched of the Earth*, 152-153) analyzed nationalization quite prophetically. He observed that to ordinary Africans nationalization would represent, "the transfer into native hands of those unfair advantages which are a legacy of the colonial period." Unfortunately, all that seemed usually to follow was an African bourgeoisie's assuming places formerly occupied by colonials without demonstrating any ambition to transform the situation for the common good. Instead, they seemed more like conduits between the citizenry and outside capitalist interests while, at the same time, benefiting handsomely on their own.

statement the government carried on negotiations with the mining companies for several months.¹⁵⁷

There were sharp disagreements over how much the government should pay for its share buyout. When payment should be made was also a question. Ultimately, they all settled on bond issues payable, in Anglo-American's case in 12 years. The Roan Selection Trust payment would be completed in 8 years. With payment arrangements also came government assurances that the mines' minority shareholders could keep a substantive role in management and sales.

Ultimately, the government's nationalization program went far beyond a 51% share ownership in the mines. Many other private companies were taken over and a wholesale restructuring of Zambia's mining industry reduced private investment as well.¹⁵⁸ State corporations that served as holding companies were formed and the chairmanship given to the President himself. Roan Selection Trust was changed to Roan Consolidated Mines, Ltd. (RCM) and the Anglo-American group became Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd. (NCCM).¹⁵⁹ Changes in the ways the mines were taxed appeared to signal government's increasing interest in its share of the profits. Slightly over three years later, Kaunda terminated the management contracts of RCM and NCCM's former owners in a measure that

¹⁵⁷ Martin, *Minding Their Own Business*, 114-117; Burawoy, *Colour of Class*, 101. Nationalization may also have taken place due to disillusionment with the foreign private investors of the time, many of whom had ties to multinational companies operating in Ian Smith's Rhodesia. Gulhati, "Impasse in Zambia," 14.

¹⁵⁸ One private contractor with long-term roots in Zambia attested to having been "nationalized" twice. The first government take over was an ancillary mine contracting company for which he was not compensated. Rather, he characterized it as suddenly becoming an employee of a company he had just owned. The second nationalization was of a guest lodge he owned and operated and from which he was given one day's notice to leave. This second time, the Zambian government did compensate him, although at the controlled kwacha rate rather than market rate. Independent contracting companies were generally subsumed into two major companies: Amalgamated Construction (AMCO) and Cementation Co.

¹⁵⁹ "How the Mines Sustain Our Economy," *Mining Mirror* (October 22, 1984): 3; "Zambia's Mining Industry," 37. The differing management styles that had originally characterized the two companies remained in place even with nationalization and the name changes.

indicated its increased involvement with industry management. RCM and NCCM became self-managing companies with Zambian directors.¹⁶⁰

For all the disadvantages that Schutz said strangers encounter when trying to understand new cultural surroundings, there is an ostensible advantage. This is the advantage of objectivity.

[T]he normal way of life is always far less guaranteed than it seems. Therefore, the stranger discerns, frequently with a grievous clear-sightedness, the rising of a crisis which may menace the whole foundation of the "relatively natural conception of the world," while all those symptoms pass unnoticed by the members of the in-group, who rely on the continuance of their customary way of life.¹⁶¹

From our vantage point as outside strangers many years later, it is possible to detect a rising crisis for Zambia's mines. But for Zambians at the time, perhaps it didn't appear that way. They, after all, saw what they had been without for so long.

2.2.3 Zambianization of the workforce

The formal program of Zambianization that the Kaunda government initiated was described as a way of reducing the country's dependence on imported skills and promoting Zambian interests. Tied in spirit to the African Advancement initiatives of the 1950s Zambianization came officially into being in 1966.¹⁶² By the mid 1970s, it was producing mixed results. There were at least two major problems with the arrangement. One concerned the mechanics of having Zambians take over jobs formerly occupied by expatriates. The other concerned skills training for those jobs.

¹⁶⁰ Dick Hobson, "ZCCM, the story that began at Matero about 13 years ago," *Mining Mirror* (March 26, 1982): 10; Email to author from former ZCCM general manager and current senior executive, Copperbelt mining company 2006.

¹⁶¹ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 104.

¹⁶² "Zambia's Mining Industry," 75.

By industry accounts, the logistics of coordinating such a shift were simply monumental. A Roan Selection Trust publication said that the operation involved over 60,000 people in more than 3,000 job categories.¹⁶³ The industry's publication, *Mining Mirror* noted that at the program's outset there were about 7,800 expatriates occupying skilled and semi-skilled positions. The Zambian workforce by comparison numbered about 41,000. But, at least 20% of that total had only primary school education and were "virtually illiterate."¹⁶⁴

Zambianization also fueled the old 1950s resistance to African Advancement by European line workers.¹⁶⁵ Expatriates, especially those in highly vulnerable day labor positions, were reluctant to train Zambians in the skills needed for their own jobs as it inevitably put themselves out of work.¹⁶⁶

But, European resistance or not, all jobs held by expatriates were announced as vacancies and Zambians moved especially quickly into positions of authority within the mine personnel departments.¹⁶⁷ To hasten things along, jobs formerly occupied by Europeans were also often fragmented. Two or three Zambians might assume duties that had previously all been assigned to one person. While this definitely sped up the transition, it also contributed to the eventual bloating of ZCCM's workforce.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ "Introduction to the Mining Industry for Students," *Roan Selection Trust* (Ndola: ZCCM Archives, 1979).

¹⁶⁴ "Zambianization: Steps That Led to a Big Success," *Mining Mirror* (October 22, 1984): 6-7

¹⁶⁵ A trend that Powdermaker noticed during the 1950s and that was also documented in a 1960 study revealed that salaried mine personnel and better educated Europeans were more inclined towards working and socializing with Africans than were daily paid white mine workers and those with less education. See Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 69ff and "Attitudes of White Mining Employees." Many of those in higher positions, however, were from the UK and US while daily paid laborers came more frequently from the Afrikaner population. Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

¹⁶⁶ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2005.

By the early 1970s, outside resistance was joined by inside apathy that, according to an independent report, threatened the entire Zambianization process. In an ironic twist, the report claimed that apathy to Zambianization was coming from the African trade unions and the government. This meant that the mining companies themselves had responsibility for the program.

Recalling the long fight for African advancement and considering the nationalist aspirations that Zambians should control their own economy and in particular the mines, the legacy of African suspicion and mistrust of the mining companies, the widely held belief that expatriate miners have a vested interest in retaining their “lucrative” jobs, the costly business of recruiting expatriates from Europe and beyond, and the problem of a dual wage structure which follow in their wake—in view of all these factors it would appear paradoxical that the Government is so little interested in Zambianization.¹⁶⁹

The mines did sponsor staff members for further training, but management maintained that finding enough secondary school graduates to take technical training was a constant problem.¹⁷⁰ There were other problems relative to workers who received education and training overseas. Sometimes, the ones chosen to go for training were simply not the best candidates.¹⁷¹ Sometimes, the best candidates hardly completed their education before being “poached” by other companies and so never returned to Zambia at all.¹⁷²

More and more expatriates began leaving the country and staff turnover at the mines continued at a “disturbing” rate.¹⁷³ The companies reiterated concerns about being able to

¹⁶⁹ Burawoy, *Colour of Class*, 99ff.

¹⁷⁰ “Zambianization: Steps That Led to a Big Success,” 6-7.

¹⁷¹ One analyst recalled an instance in which the mines sent six students for study in the UK, only three of whom passed, yet the news was greeted with apparent aplomb by Zambian mine managers. Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

¹⁷² *Mining Mirror* (February 23, 1979): 10 & 11.

¹⁷³ *Annual Report of the Mines Department 1969*, 1-2; Bostock and Harvey, *Economic Independence and Zambian Copper*, 124. At independence, the number of expatriate employees on the mines was approximately 7,300. Four years later, it had dropped to 4,800. *Annual Report of the Mines Department 1968*, 1. By 1970, the Zambian workforce had increased from 41,000 to 46,300, a 13% rise. “Zambianization: Steps That Led to a Big Success,” 6-7. Wood recorded that the artisan and clerical class, many of whom were of Afrikaans descent, were “bitterly opposed” to African Advancement and began returning to South Africa in great numbers even before independence. Many had also either lived beyond their means while in Northern Rhodesia or

find suitably skilled replacements. Eventually, the remaining expatriates held largely financial and technical jobs¹⁷⁴ while managerial jobs were frequently filled by loyal politicians without proper training or experience.¹⁷⁵ The result, according to present day observers, was predictable.

If, by increasing production you have lowered your operating costs to where you are now making money this does not necessarily mean that the shareholders will be receiving dividends/getting their money back. A lot of it you have to put straight back in as capital investment to sustain and improve future operations. What happened in the early Kaunda days when the mines were making good money is that he used this money to build houses and do all the politically popular things he did to remain in power and neglected re-investing in the mines. Mines need continual investment in new equipment and infrastructure has to be maintained so they run properly. This is generally referred to as *sustaining capital*. The mines were making money but they didn't put enough back in—they sucked it all out and things started to breakdown/stop.

The copper price was good, the mines were working well and all they did is went and nationalized and Zambianized way too quickly with guys being stuck in positions they didn't have the experience to handle. The decline was gradual, but if you look at the statistics, it was continuous until they eventually re-privatized. Since privatization, it has gradually and continuously improved.¹⁷⁶

2.2.4 Enter the multi-laterals

When Kaunda nationalized the mines in the early 1970s, the country already had accumulated some external debt.¹⁷⁷ Zambia needed capital projects and managerial expertise; it seemed to get both by borrowing from the international banks and using their

acquired wealth and property beyond what they could afford in South Africa, making their resentment that much stronger. *Northern Rhodesia*, 144-145.

¹⁷⁴ Kaplan, *Zambia*, 188.

¹⁷⁵ Kaoma, "Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa," 12-13.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with chief executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2005.

¹⁷⁷ The International Development Association is a subsidiary of the World Bank that provides interest free loans and grants in developing countries. Total bilateral and multilateral debt was approximately \$155 million USD in 1965 and high copper prices over the first few years of independence allowed the Zambian government to meet its repayment obligations while continuing moderate borrowing. By 1969, the country's debt was still only \$246.6 million. It shot up to \$548 the following year due primarily to external funding for the TAZARA rail line. From 1975, as Zambia's financial crisis deepened, so did its indebtedness. Kaplan, *Zambia*, 208.

consultants.¹⁷⁸ As the mines' income didn't appear to match the country's development needs, government began increasing borrowing. Until 1969, this external debt appeared manageable. But, only a few months after the nationalization announcement, things began to change.

The most spectacular change event was a massive cave in at the Mufulira Mine in September, 1970. The Mufulira Disaster—to this day the country's deadliest mining accident—was not the seminal event in Zambia's economic deterioration but it suddenly made things worse.¹⁷⁹ Production dropped markedly while the mine was closed for rehabilitation. Then, between 1969-71 the world copper price also dropped significantly.¹⁸⁰ Zambia now struggled to meet obligations to the World Bank.

By 1973, the global oil crisis and Zambia's own economic difficulties prompted the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to step in.¹⁸¹ Although Zambia had been a member of

¹⁷⁸ Kaunda was clear in drawing distinctions between foreign aid and "charity" and seemed completely cognizant of the risks inherent in taking foreign aid. These included the rich nations' view that aid was actually charity—which continued the old patronizing relationship—and the inability, due to lack of proper training, for countries such as Zambia to survive without outside help. See, for example, Kaunda, *Humanist in Africa*, 121ff.

¹⁷⁹ The accident "had a disastrous effect on production both at Mufulira and for Zambia as a whole. Production fell from an average of 617,000 tonnes per month of ore hoisted during the period May to August, 1970 to 30,000 tonnes in October, 1970." Commission of Inquiry Appointed by His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, *The Mufulira Mine Disaster: Final report on the Causes and Circumstances of the Disaster Which Occurred at Mufulira Mine on the 25 September, 1970* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1971) 7. Burawoy (*Colour of Class*, 91-92) further notes, "Copper mining is inherently risky and uncertain, if only because of the technological problems involved in any mining enterprise and the unknowns that lie beneath the 'surface.' A single unexpected blow such as the Mufulira disaster can kill tens of people and put a whole mine out of action for a period of months or even years. In addition, the copper producer has to gear his production and expansion, and indeed the distribution of profits, to a fluctuating copper price sensitive to all sorts of changes all over the world which can be neither controlled nor predicted. Thirdly, the mining companies have had to be continually adjusting to the changes in the distribution of political power amongst the interested parties." The importance of Mufulira to Zambia's overall economic condition has been further testified to by evidence that Rhodesian sympathizers attempted to take the mine out of commission in 1978. A foiled plot to bomb the plant arose as part of Rhodesia's effort to sew confusion amongst various groups participating in the southern African liberation struggle. Stiff, *See You in November*, 199ff.

¹⁸⁰ See chart in appendices.

¹⁸¹ See the work of the New Economics Foundation (www.neweconomics.org) for a detailed accounting of links between OPEC's investment decisions and the initial rounds of multilateral loans encouraged upon newly independent African states. See also Lishala G. Situmbeko and Jack Jones Zulu, *Zambia: Condemned to Debt. How the World Bank and IMF Have Undermined Development* (London: World Development Movement Report, 2004).

the IMF since 1965, the country's first loan was only taken from it eight years later. The Kaunda government signed for a one-year agreement in which the IMF offered temporarily to help Zambia meet its debt obligations to the World Bank. Zambia simply had to comply with a few conditions the IMF wished to impose. These included elimination of price controls over certain goods and services.¹⁸²

Price controls were popular with the people even if government administration and distribution were haphazard.¹⁸³ And the extent to which they were simply Kaunda's ideals of socialism and humanism at work may have been questionable.

When the government realized that its policies were failing and people had lost confidence in it, it bribed people by providing free mealie meal and other commodities at highly subsidized prices. Since this did not improve production, it only led to severe shortages.¹⁸⁴

For now, government agreed to the IMF's conditions and soon the copper price rose as well.

Still, by the end of the 1970s, income from the mines just couldn't keep pace with demands. Less income meant less financing for maintenance and improvement of the Copperbelt's social infrastructure; living standards began deteriorating.¹⁸⁵ In the townships, streetlights and telephones were vandalized and the industry's local newspaper reported an increase in general social problems. Government publicized several interventions such as reducing copper sales and shutting overly costly sections of the mines. But the industry was

¹⁸² Situmbeko and Zulu, *Zambia: Condemned to Debt*, 20; Interview with Zambian economic policy analyst, 2004.

¹⁸³ The coupon subsidy program did nothing to help increase food production and was also abused. Some of the rioting that subsequently arose can be traced not just to removal of food subsidies but to general frustration with a distribution system that did not function well. Kaoma, "Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa," 18-19.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Europeans had noticed problems developing with the infrastructure that was important to their way of life even earlier. Many had departed the country as a result. Stiff, *See You in November*, 86ff.

now obviously suffering from what President Kaunda acknowledged as a combination of management problems and generally difficult economic times.¹⁸⁶

Mounting chaos within the mining community mirrored turmoil within government. The one-party democracy Kaunda had introduced in 1972 was supposed to align Zambia more closely with African traditional values. But it also allowed the president to consolidate power. Within his cabinet there was internal dissention and Kaunda frequently reshuffled ministers' assignments. Ordinary citizens had already begun registering their disapproval by dropping out of the voting process.¹⁸⁷

2.2.5 The ZCCM era

By some accounts, the next major consolidation effort was the beginning of the end. In 1981, government announced merger of the two self-managing companies (RCM and NCCM) into one huge conglomerate—Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM). Billed as an efficiency move, the consolidation was further said to be the logical conclusion to the mines' initial nationalization.¹⁸⁸ To those in the industry as well as outside observers, RCM was better managed and reasonably profitable at the time. But NCCM predominated in the merger even though its operations were "limping."¹⁸⁹ NCCM's CEO took over running the new, huge corporation, and brought with him the former company's hierarchical and formal work style.¹⁹⁰ Even though ZCCM's new logo combined the old Roan Antelope and

¹⁸⁶ Mention of this appeared frequently in the industry's publication: *Mining Mirror* (March 31, 1978), 1-3; (July 27, 1979), 7; and (October 26, 1979), 10-11.

¹⁸⁷ Symptoms of Kaunda's waning popularity began to appear years earlier, particularly in voter turn out that dropped sharply from 1964 to 1972. Participation went from 94% in 1964 to 82% in 1968 and then 39% in 1972—a more than 50% drop. Kaoma, "Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa," 12; Kaplan, *Zambia*, 39, 130.

¹⁸⁸ Hobson, "ZCCM," 10-11.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with former RCM and ZCCM administrator, 2005. Government had also increased its shareholding in NCCM from 51% to 60% in 1978, Kaplan, *Zambia*, 188. Shortly before ZCCM's first board meeting NCCM was loss making while RCM's production was down. *Mining Mirror* (February 26, 1982): 2-3.

¹⁹⁰ Expatriates familiar with the two companies at the time seem universally to agree that RCM's executive would have made a better CEO of ZCCM, but that the CEO of NCCM was more popular with the government.

Nchanga's copper alchemical sign, Zambians joked the only thing consolidation changed was that the N in NCCM had fallen over on its side.¹⁹¹

The company was huge. And "Mother ZCCM," as it was sometimes referred to in casual conversation, was relied upon for mass employment and continuation of the social programs and infrastructure maintenance that previous mine ownerships had begun.¹⁹²

[A] parastatal is a parastatal; it's a socialist approach to things. And the agendas are different. So [ZCCM] became an employment vehicle for obvious reasons when 95% of the people are in informal employment. You know, a huge percentage of the people are informally employed—gainfully but informally. So staffing went up, the population of workers went up but production was going down. Investment wasn't there for a number of reasons. But, quite frankly, it comes down to whether you're in business or you're in politics. The CEOs were all appointed from State House...And it just went the way of most parastatal companies, government owned companies. Inefficient, lethargic; there's a lot of hokey pokey going on where the money went.¹⁹³

Such nationwide reliance upon ZCCM also stretched the company's resources in numerous, perhaps unexpected, ways.

[B]ecause [ZCCM] was the most efficient company in the country, had more disciplined labour and so on with procedures, government then started to extend it to run busses so...Mulungushi Investments then started to run a fleet of...busses on the Copperbelt...and even going out into the provinces...We started a timber company...We had two of our own planes...[W]e went into farming. We developed—in fact the largest farm probably in Southern Africa was developed by ZCCM called Mukumpu—next to Mpongwe. It was designed to feed Copperbelt Province, Luapula Province, and Northwestern. Three provinces from one farm...We went into construction...We went into lodges. We started running the Kasaba Bay up in the North...So we got extended...And all those resources now were coming—the managing director of the bus company came from within the company. The engineers were taken out from the company...to go in there. They would recruit. But they

Some outside observers saw an excessively formal work style in a mine setting as ultimately indicative of bad management. In imitation of British executives, those directing ZCCM would go to work in suits and ties, but "are you going to go out and see how things are really running if you're all dressed like that in your cool office?" pondered an expatriate consultant who regularly wore jeans and T-shirts. Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2006.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Interview with senior manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004; Hobson, "ZCCM," 10-11.

¹⁹³ Interview with long term resident, departmental and divisional manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2005.

would say, "Go and help out. Go and do that,"...and then it got to a position where if the government had a problem procuring medicines because we had a procurement agency in London, in the UK, they would then ask us, "Can you buy medicines for government offices because we haven't got medicine."...

When the Pope came to visit Zambia, he had a mass in Kitwe. We did everything. We cleared land. This was a bush. We cleared, put up a platform for him, all the things and so forth. Now the vice-chairman of ZCCM was in charge because he was a Catholic anyway. He was in the Church. But because there was nobody—you would look to nobody else. So this was a grand thing, successful, run by...ZCCM. So we did this thing.

When there was a mess in the football association of Zambia, you know, the whole of Zambia football association, they picked a guy from ZCCM. "Go and be the president." Somebody with influence to be the president. And therefore the secretariat would be somebody from ZCCM. So all that provided by ZCCM. And that's how the resources became so extended that there wasn't much now going back into developing the mines...We basically...were running this country.¹⁹⁴

Still strapped for cash, government began negotiating a first Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) with the World Bank and the Bank's outside consultants began arriving. Technical experts examined all aspects of the mines' operations, wrote numerous reports, and made recommendations. Their assignments were originally viewed as short term, lasting only a few weeks at a time. But several experts ended up spending the equivalent of five or six years on the Copperbelt from the mid-1980s until 2000.¹⁹⁵ On the Zambian side support work for the outside consultants was sufficiently heavy to warrant a full-time staff member for a number of years as well.

The policy measures accompanying Zambia's new SAP were typical for such situations. They included abolition of certain import restrictions, further removal of price controls, liberalization of interest rates, and restrictions on government expenditures. At this

¹⁹⁴ Interview with former ZCCM general manager and current senior executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

¹⁹⁵ The consultants' presence was controversial not only among Zambian staff but for remaining expatriates who apparently saw them as threatening to their own job security. Interviews with independent technical consultants assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005, 2006; Interview with ZCCM-IH administrator, 2005.

point, however, the Kaunda government began objecting to directions about subsidy dropping when the orders came from countries that controlled prices themselves.

[A]t that time they were making us reduce assistance...And we reduced [multiple subsidies] until we came to about three: It was mealie meal, fertilizer, and oil—fuel for transport and so on and so forth. And the argument then—they insisted that we should just scrap all of them. And we said, “Look at the list—what we have done. We have reduced—accommodated you up to—but mealie meal is critical to the needs of our people. We cannot do that. Fuel affects—the price of fuel affects the whole economy because transport and all the costs of production are going to go up if the price of fuel goes up. Fertilizer is agriculture. We want to promote agriculture so that our people can continue to sustain their production...We’ve gone as far as we can go...”

Subsidies are used in America very heavily. Subsidies are used in France...So in a way they were asking us to do what they themselves were [not] doing in one way or the other...It was not a question of simply saying “We don’t want to do it” because we had been working with the IMF and the World Bank all along and supporting the programmes and undertaking the programmes that they were recommending us.¹⁹⁶

Confusion and conflict erupted among policy makers and the public. The World Bank gave Zambia mixed signals on how to handle its monetary policy.¹⁹⁷ And, when government did finally do away with mealie meal subsidies, riots broke out on the Copperbelt.¹⁹⁸

The world copper price dropped again and in 1987 Kaunda’s government abandoned the World Bank’s Structural Adjustment Program, implementing its own New Economic Recovery Programme (NERP).¹⁹⁹ Bilateral donors responded to these changes by freezing

¹⁹⁶ Interview with former economic advisor to President Kaunda, 2005.

¹⁹⁷ Situmbeko and Zulu, *Zambia: Condemned to Debt*, 20-21.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2004; Kaoma, “Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa,” 19.

¹⁹⁹ Kaunda’s government had produced other comprehensive development plan documents for the nation in the 1960s and 1970s. The program of the late 1980s did not forfeit its repayment obligations but did limit debt service payments to 10% of net export earning after required foreign exchange reserve quotas had been withheld. The government had also suspended payments to the World Bank once before. See Situmbeko and Zulu, *Zambia: Condemned to Debt*, 20-23, 57ff and Silavwe, *Some Aspects of Personnel Management*, 7-10 for excellent discussions of these events.

2.3 A change in government

The one party system had prevented much organizing by opposition parties. But, soon after Kaunda acceded to multiparty democracy a group of church leaders, disaffected UNIP party members, intellectuals, and business persons cobbled together the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD)²⁰⁵ and named trade union organizer Frederick Chiluba as its head. MMD blamed Kaunda and his party for the state of the economy and the popular vote concurred. In 1991 Frederick Chiluba became Zambia's second president.

2.3.1 Chiluba governance and legacy

As with Kenneth Kaunda's legacy, Frederick Chiluba's record is likely to be mixed. Western business people have seen him as the political leader who began restoring Zambia's economic well being despite rumors that Chiluba was more of a foil for hidden interests than a capable, visionary leader on his own.²⁰⁶ By the mid-2000s, Zambians generally seemed to regard him kindly despite their distaste for the privatization that he had so enthusiastically embraced. A smaller contingent of Zambian critics have seen Chiluba's tactics as less altruistic than opportunistic.²⁰⁷ Here, too, the overall context has several important reference points.

The early period of Zambia's Second Republic, now being governed by a new party and president, was a hopeful time. Coinciding with Chiluba's coming into power, the World Bank and IMF restored normal relations with Zambia. The worldwide copper price was back

Assembly, established an electoral commission, and allowed presidential candidates to stand from other than the ruling party.

²⁰⁵ There is evidence that the United Kingdom and other nations helped finance the "Yes" campaign that forced the Kaunda government to reintroduce multi-party elections. Kaoma, "Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa," 28-29.

²⁰⁶ Interview with small mine and private contracting company owner, 2005.

²⁰⁷ His sale of township houses to miners as recounted below in the text has been seen by some as Chiluba's own pre-election bid for the populace's affections. Further, it is possible that the change in government was not so much a public agitation for multi-party elections as it was simply a change from Kaunda himself. Kaoma, "Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa," 33.

up and, for a brief period in 1994, ZCCM actually increased production. With the return of multi-party democracy, it appeared that many new ideas for governance and business enterprise were also in the offing. More goods in local shops appeared and investors began coming in from South Africa and elsewhere.²⁰⁸

2.3.2 A change for the mines

The increased production, however, appeared unsustainable. After a couple of bad years, the World Bank began pressing Zambia to do something different.

[The World Bank]...used to come regularly like once a year or once every other—they would bring out a technical team to audit the mines...This was about 1994...And they picked up—we had just initiated something that had never happened before and this was to lease machines because we didn't have capital. So we went into a lease-purchase arrangement with...Tamrock. And once we got into that arrangement we were always on target...We went about 30 months back to back making target every month.

But...when [the World Bank] came 'round...they...recommended that certain of our general managers should be relieved of their positions....They visited each mine. They spoke to the general managers. They spoke to management. In some cases, they went underground. They looked at performance of the division. But they went and made a decision that now, because now we were looking for money from them and all that, they were going to be instrumental in lending us money. So they said, "If you want money from us you've got to make these changes..."

And the Chief Executive had very little time—probably only had a month. And the best therefore that he could do was get an expatriate who was a consulting mining engineer...He went for a guy that had retired from ZCCM—an expatriate. Pulled him from retirement and made him general manager here. To suit the World Bank requirements. And, upon that, the World Bank released the funds.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

²⁰⁹ Interview with former ZCCM general manager and current senior executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

By this time, the Bank's interventions were also more extensive than previously. They focused upon a three-pronged "strategy for renewed growth."²¹⁰ The three prongs were trade liberalization, economic diversification particularly through agricultural development and privatization of the country's parastatal industries.²¹¹ This last step was to involve selling controlling interests in over 200 state-owned enterprises ranging from travel companies to drilling firms to stores, banks, and utilities. Privatization was not the only possibility in theory. But for Zambia, it was said to be the only realistic option. Commercialization would involve re-outfitting the mines' infrastructure. But government had 60% of the shares and no money. Liquidation would have cut over 50,000 jobs—equivalent to disbanding the nation's army.²¹²

Additionally, from Chiluba's vantage point, privatization was not something new but a return to familiar territory.

Before independence the Zambian economy was not a command economy. That's what you've got to understand. It was a free market economy. There was no such thing as ZCCM in 1964 and before. You had Roan Selection Trust controlling a certain number of mines including Luanshya and Mufulira. And then you had Anglo-American running Nchanga, Konkola, and Rokana. Then you had, I cannot remember how many private companies which were working for the mines, supplying to the mines, and contracting to help the mines in one way or the other....And so we didn't have a command economy at the start of it all. And at the peak of economic boom in Zambia it was a private economy which was running. So the private sector was there even before independence.

²¹⁰ "Zambia Country Assistance Review," Operations Evaluation Department Report no. 15675 (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1996), 18.

²¹¹ Ferguson severely criticizes the early work of Jeffrey Sachs who was highly influential in developing the types of Bank policies Zambia had to implement at this stage. Ferguson specifically mentions that agricultural programs designed to turn retrenched miners into agronomists were poorly thought out in terms of land and disease conditions. *Expectations of Modernity*, 240. "Zambia Country Assistance Review," 18; Situmbeko and Zulu, *Zambia: Condemned to Debt*, 23-26.

²¹² "Mining Industry Under New Era" (Photocopy, Chamber of Mines of Zambia, Kalulushi, 2004), 10; Interview with ZCCM-IH administrator, 2005; Interview with former ZCCM senior executive and current ZCCM-IH manager, 2005.

When we got into independence, there was this one very common approach by African states after defeating colonialism we believed strongly and we thought it was not coming, but it has come, after defeating colonialists we knew that they were no longer going to come with their colonial heads in politics. They would come as neo-colonialists trying to control us by using resources. Our own resources. And we have seen it today. What Nkrumah said in 1958 has come true today.²¹³ So every African government, not only in Southern Africa but in many parts...the majority of them felt the best way to fight colonialists was not only to win political independence but also turn the economy from the market to the office. From being market economies to being centrally planned economies where government could control the planning every single day. That way we could say, "Let's stop that bus which is run by Western imperialists and only set up...set up a company run by comrades who were freedom fighters. We are sure they will not overcharge the passengers."

And so we had in Zambia, before it came to its peak the intentions were good...And so here we tried to swing because we were reacting to imperialist and colonial forces that had oppressed us. So we tried to swing not only politically but also economically by introducing economic systems which were contrary to what the West believed.

But we over did it. We over nationalized. We went up to 80% of the economy totally nationalized. And the results were catastrophic. The results were catastrophic. So when you talk to me about privatization, it is not as if we were dreaming about something that had never happened. In fact returning to the status quo before independence. The status quo that proved extremely successful...I remember in 1964 when Dr. Kaunda and UNIP came to government they were able to build roads, they were able to build schools, universities. They were able to do all the infrastructural layout foundation work. Why? Because the economy was strong and the economy began tottering also at the height of the freedom struggle in Southern Africa—in Zimbabwe, in South Africa, in Angola, in Mozambique. So we paid a high price partly because of our commitment to the liberation struggles. But also partly because of mismanagement.²¹⁴

The World Bank and IMF also buttressed their arguments for privatization by repeatedly criticizing the country's lack of economic diversification and over dependence on

²¹³ Kaunda, a loyal admirer of Nkrumah, foresaw the development of neo-colonialism, writing at length and in terms that are startlingly prescient of the global situations of the mid-2000s. See Kaunda, *Humanist in Africa*, 115-117.

²¹⁴ Interview with President Chiluba, 2005.

the mines.²¹⁵ It was squandered opportunity, the Bank contended, that came from the new government's failure to anticipate worldwide market developments; too much internal change; and a general "enthralment" with copper.²¹⁶ Still, there must have been something of value to all those "wasting assets" on the Copperbelt, for the World Bank also pronounced that, out of Zambia's entire privatization process, the mines represented, "the biggest prize."²¹⁷

2.4 The re-privatization process begins

What privatization would generally mean and why it should be done were vigorously debated questions. When it came to the mines—the crown jewels of Zambia's parastatals—debate escalated to a "raging controversy"²¹⁸ that went on for years. ZCCM had already begun pruning its huge workforce in 1993.²¹⁹ Now, since many of the most experienced employees took severance packages and left, more inexperienced workers had to carry on. The mines were also soon in arrears to private supply contractors and their daily losses were

²¹⁵ Criticism of Zambia's over dependence on copper appears regularly in World Bank publications. See, for example, "Turning an Economy Around: The Challenge in Zambia," OED Précis no. 132 (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1996); "Zambia Country Assistance Review;" "Zambia Country Assistance Strategy," Country Department 3, Africa Region Report no. 27654-ZA (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2004); and "Zambia Prospects for Sustainable Growth 1995-2005," Economic Management and Social Policy Group, Africa Region Report no.15477-ZA (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1996).

²¹⁶ The "Zambian economy has been a captive of copper. Initially this captivity took the form of an illusion of abundance...if the country is to escape the thrall of copper..." "Zambia Prospects for Sustainable Growth," 11.

²¹⁷ This sort of talk about the mines appears to have begun in the Kaunda era. Industry publications in the late 1970s talked of mining as a "wasting asset" and recommended Zambia's diversification into agriculture. See for example the *Mining Mirror* (December 28, 1979): 12. By the mid-1980s, economic diversification was being stressed more urgently, "Let's Grow More Food," *Mining Mirror* (October 22, 1984): 1. Kaunda himself was predicting that within 15-30 years the mines would no longer be viable, their contribution to Zambia's economy "insignificant." "Tough Days Ahead—KK," *Mining Mirror* (July 27, 1984): 1. "Zambia Country Assistance Strategy," 94; Donald McNeil, Jr., "For Sale: Zambia's Rich Copper Mines, All of Them," *New York Times* (August 11, 1996): <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/zamcoper.htm>.

²¹⁸ McNeil, "For Sale"; Interview with President Chiluba, 2005. The decision to privatize ZCCM was depicted in these graphic terms in local publications. See "Penza Weathers MUZ Storm," *Sunday Times* (23 September 23, 1992).

²¹⁹ *Mining Mirror* (May, 1996), 1. The term "pruning" is typically used by Zambians to describe retrenchments or layoffs. See personnel statistics in the appendices.

said to be fantastic amounts of money.²²⁰ But, since this information frequently came from the World Bank, some Zambians remained skeptical.²²¹

Uncertainty over re-privatization combined with the mines' now dire straits diverted management's attention and that made things worse.²²² It wasn't just the uncertainty of the process, it was the concept of the sale itself. The prospect of re-privatization was not a simple change of ownership but represented something much more.

[T]he people in production engineering...went back into short cuts. Washing a used bearing...things that they had thrown away to the salvage yard. You would go back and see how we could clean it up to fit in because there was no bearing on the shelf in the stores...So they started to realize they were taking short cuts...“Let's keep these mines going; let's keep these things—let's keep some production going.” So they realized that we were short of funds...

Anglo said this to us—that they were amazed at how we managed during the last four or five years of ZCCM to keep it going. Yes. They were amazed. Without money. They were amazed at how the whole thing was kept going. There was just that commitment. It was like nationalism; it was like a national duty. Because even our—our salaries including myself—were not as good as we are being paid here under privatization. But we just said, “This is our country. We cannot afford to see these things sink.”²²³

2.4.1 Manner of sale questions

All the country's parastatals were divided into tranches for sale. The first to go were Eagle Travel and Auto Care. The mines were much farther down on the list, but should ZCCM be sold in one piece or broken up into smaller companies?

²²⁰ The Zambian Revenue Authority, however, pressured these same companies for payment of taxes and supply company owners found themselves in the ironic position of trying to convince one arm of government that their tax delinquency was due to non-payment by another arm of government. Interview with long-term Copperbelt resident and independent supply company owner, 2004.

²²¹ Some reports listed the figure at \$1 million USD/day. Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2004. Others speculated on \$500,000-\$750,000/day. Interview with former ZCCM senior executive and current ZCCM-IH manager, 2005. Eugene Appel, Deputy Minister for Commerce, Trade, and Industry was quoted in the *Daily Mail* (July 17, 2004): 1 as saying that ZCCM losses in 1994 were \$157 million. From 1996-2001, there was an average of \$15 million USD lost per month.

²²² Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2004.

²²³ Interview with former ZCCM general manager and current senior executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

There were arguments on both sides and things got stuck at this point for another two years. Experts from Anglo-American advised that for chemical reasons ZCCM should be left intact. The orebodies of the Copperbelt are sufficiently different within the space of even 50 kilometers that specialized mixing is required to produce the concentrates properly. Who could say whether there would be adequate cooperation across new companies to see that such production details worked?²²⁴ Experts from the investment bank N. M. Rothschild & Sons, however, drew up a plan that called for “unbundling” of ZCCM’s assets.²²⁵ Breaking the company into various pieces would allow individual companies control over the entire copper production process from underground development through smelting and refining.²²⁶ Unbundling would also make clear which assets were core business concerns and which weren’t.²²⁷

By the mid-1990s, the mines’ non-core assets were considerable. The most obvious were all the townships themselves. If the mines were sold as a unit or in pieces there would be workforce reductions either way. But if people owned their own homes, at least they would have somewhere to live. Chiluba dealt with the non-core housing issue by selling homes to the workers who lived in them. This was a popular move that may have been conveniently timed as well.

²²⁴ Interview with long-term resident, departmental and divisional manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2005.

²²⁵ Both the investment firms and lawyers brought into the mine privatization process were paid for by World Bank funds. McNeil, “For Sale.” Rothschild clearly controlled the process; the Zambian government was the client. Interview with former ZCCM senior executive and current ZCCM-IH manager, 2005. Rothschild also had representatives on the De Beers Company board. Pallister, Stewart, and Lepper, *South Africa, Inc.*, 16.

²²⁶ The configurations upon which various investors bid, however, did not end up this way, some resources were unevenly distributed. Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2004.

²²⁷ From a technical and economic standpoint, Luanshya had not been profitable for years, but ZCCM’s interest in job creation and maintenance seemed to have been the driving force behind keeping the mine open. Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005; Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2005. It was also made clear that the new, privately held mines would not be responsible for municipal and social services. “ZCCM Transformation Plan” (Item 14.3.9E, ZCCM Archives, Ndola, September 16, 1998).

[T]hey talked about mass redundancies which were on the way; coming up. And these people were going to be declared redundant. Where on earth were they going? They had stayed in those houses for many years. They had brought up their families in those houses. Their families have been going to school in these areas and not anywhere else. But if they were declared redundant, they were going to lose their houses. They were going to be destitute. And I decided never to allow that to happen because these are the people that built those houses for many years. And so I said we are going to take away all the non-performing assets, reduce the balance sheet by taking away the non-performing assets and leave only plant and equipment. Plant, machinery, and equipment to sell to them—which included houses. And we also left a small portion of a number of houses, maybe between 50 and 100, for management. But the rest of them we sold—I don't know—what price you call it? It's not market price...It's not giveaway price. It's—I don't know what price but it was a wonderful price which everybody afforded. And so today we don't have any war to fight. People have been declared redundant but they have turned elsewhere. As long as they have their shelter, they have a roof. They have just turned elsewhere and begin to do some business on their own. And they live and survive.²²⁸

2.4.2 Kafue Consortium deal collapse

The privatization process may have reached its dramatic high point in the late 1990s during negotiations with a consortium put together by several multinational mining houses. By some accounts, the Kafue Consortium was interested primarily in ZCCM's Nkana, Nchanga, and Chambishi assets.²²⁹ By other accounts, Kafue Consortium wanted the entire company, something Chiluba insisted he would never accept.

Had we accepted Kafue Consortium we would have made shifting ZCCM as one unit—a public monopoly—into Kafue Consortium—one unit. But this time a very dangerous private monopoly. And as a trade unionist I could not accept that. I could not. So my government stood firm.²³⁰

Discussions had reached a very late stage in London when a last minute disagreement caused the Consortium to walk away. The official version was that the \$400 million bid was

²²⁸ Interview with President Chiluba, 2005.

²²⁹ The consortium consisted of Avmin out of South Africa, Noranda from Canada, Phelps Dodge from the USA, and the Commonwealth Development Corporation from Great Britain.

²³⁰ Interview with President Chiluba, 2005. See the transcript of this interview in the appendices for his further comments on the background and motivations behind the Kafue Consortium's actions.

too low for the Zambian people. Private speculation was that perhaps some bribes were expected. Yet another possibility was simply confusion over the point at which copper becomes meaningful.

[S]omebody sat down and calculated what they thought they would get by privatizing. And they thought they were going to get millions of dollars because they—I think the guy that did it calculated the sales revenue if you got a certain tonnage of copper over a certain number of years. And when the companies came in and started offering them 70-80 million, because that's all it was worth to them, there was such a shock. And then recoil, "These people are out to gouge us again. They haven't stopped. You know it's just the eagle with the talons again ripping us off big time."

So there was a major schism between actual and expectation. So that stalled the privatization process for a good year or more. And then the first consortium walked. And it—the guys in the ZPA they, I think they were smart cookies and they understood it wasn't worth anything. Copper in the ground is worth nothing. You've got to invest in it; mine it; get it out and then get to sell it. Then take what you've left over is what it's really worth. And if you're expecting a certain amount of profit then how much of that profit can you pay up front? And of course, you always try and give the lowest price; that's business.²³¹

2.4.3 Other purchase possibilities

With the Kafue Consortium deal collapse, talk turned to questions of other buyers. Should old familiar investors, such as Anglo-American, be invited to resume more significant roles? Anglo-American had all along retained a minority share ownership in the mines. It was also becoming increasingly involved with Konkola Deep Mining Project (KDMP), casually known as Konkola Deeps, not far from Chingola.²³² The company's attachments to Zambia came primarily from Harry Oppenheimer and he was now elderly, but pushed the

²³¹ Interview with long-term resident, departmental and divisional manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2005.

²³² According to expert judgments Konkola Deeps represents, for its size and grade, one of the greatest undeveloped copper properties in the world. Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005. It had long been understood that ore reserves at KDMP were sufficient for about 100 years. *Mining Mirror* (August 31, 1979): 1.

Company's board to return.²³³ What about management buyouts? Some ZCCM executives attempted to put together plans.²³⁴ Should new foreign sources be sought and, if so, whom should they be? There was talk of diversifying mine ownership around the globe. The Chiluba government appeared to think that inviting investors from various parts of the world to purchase individual mines would help bilateral relations.²³⁵ What about the Zambian government's and people's interests? Finance minister, Ronald Penza, assured the public that government would retain a "golden share" in each privatized package. This would give government limited special rights concerning such things as changes of ownership and mineral asset disposal.²³⁶ As to the people, government would eventually float its shares on the newly established Lusaka Stock Exchange (LuSE). This, said industry reports, would "enable Zambian participation in the ownership of the new company."²³⁷

More vacillation and uncertainty delayed the process and now the world copper price dropped. Zambia then found itself being "a very, very willing seller" looking for "a very reluctant buyer."²³⁸ But, since the World Bank and IMF were refusing further funding, the privatization program went forward.²³⁹

²³³ Harry Oppenheimer was the son of Ernest Oppenheimer. Anglo also had a 27.3% share in ZCCM.

²³⁴ "Kafue Deal Collapse May Delay Privatization," *Sunday Times* (April 5, 1998): <http://www.btimes.co.za/98/0405/comp/comp4.htm>. With the notable exception of Copperbelt Energy Corporation (CEC) proposals for Zambian share holding in the newly privatized companies appeared to be ignored or overlooked. Interview with former ZCCM general manager and current senior executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004. By the mid-2000s, CEC, ZCCM's former power division, had some local shareholders but was majority owned by National Grid out of the United Kingdom and Cinergy GP from the United States. "Copperbelt Energy's Changing of Guard," *Sunday Times of Zambia* (March 5, 2006): 8; "Copper Studies," *CRU Analysis* 32, no. 11 (May, 2005): 4.

²³⁵ Interview with former ZCCM general manager and current senior executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

²³⁶ "Luanshya, Chibuluma Sale Pact Sealed," *Mining Mirror* (September, 1997): 1. ZCCM-IH, the mines' holdings company generally retained from 10% to 20% share in the re-privatized companies.

²³⁷ *Mining Mirror* (July, 1997): 8-9. The LuSE was set up in 1994. As of 2004, the second stage of the overall process had not been implemented. Interview with former ZCCM general manager and current senior executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

²³⁸ Interview with former ZCCM senior executive and current ZCCM-IH manager, 2005.

²³⁹ Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2004. See also timetables of these events as rendered in Situmbeko and Zulu, *Zambia: Condemned to Debt*, 24ff and "Zambia Country Assistance Strategy," 59ff.

By 1997, the first sale was completed. Kansanshi mine, the site of some of Africa's oldest copper mining and smelting activities, went to Cyprus AMAX based in the USA.²⁴⁰ Some of ZCCM's other assets then went to various companies that had formerly been part of the Kafue Consortium. Avmin bought what became Chambishi Metals while Phelps-Dodge took over Zambia Metal Fabricators (ZAMEFA) in Luanshya. Anglo-American once again assumed a more active role, purchasing the largest company, Konkola Copper Mines (KCM), based on hopes for Konkola Deeps. The mine privatization exercise then continued until 2000 when the sale of the Nkana and Mufulira sites to a small consortium running a company called Mopani Copper Mines completed the process. But, according to officials, ZCCM's debts were actually more than cash receipts from the mines' sales covered. Whatever revenue Zambia received at the time of sales went to pay off arrears.²⁴¹

By late 2001, Chiluba himself was out of office, his attempt to amend the constitution giving him a third term thwarted by public opposition from a now weary and unsettled public.

2.5 A re-privatized world

All these arrangements were in place and the new mining companies—represented by brightly colored logos of alchemical signs, indigenous trees, and animals—operating when I came to live on the Copperbelt in November, 2001. From a vantage point just outside the city, it was impossible to travel main roads without encountering trucks loaded with supplies and equipment as well as small groups of miners walking to and from work. Shift change

Technical documentation submitted with ZCCM's proposal to dispose of Mufulira and Nkana indicates that, as of 31 January 2000, ZCCM had accumulated \$90.7 million USD in debt to bilateral and multilateral donors.

²⁴⁰ "ZAAM Sale is Set in Motion," *Mining Mirror* (June, 1996): 1; "ZCCM Copper Lower Than Estimates," *Mining Mirror* (February, 1997): 4. Later, Kansanshi came under the ownership of First Quantum Minerals of Canada.

²⁴¹ Interview with former ZCCM senior executive and current ZCCM-IH manager, 2005.

sirens and periodic underground blasts kept those of us on the periphery mindful of the non-stop production cycle and, in the rainy season, huge thunder and lightning storms demonstrated copper's conductibility. There was a general air of confident expectancy at the time, strengthened undoubtedly by Zimbabwe's simultaneous unraveling just to the south.

2.5.1 Early trouble

The entire arrangement's fragility, however, became apparent in early 2002 with the announcement of a major change for KCM. Less than two years after purchasing the mine Anglo-American announced it was pulling out of the venture—shocking the region and shaking the confidence even of the World Bank.²⁴² KCM's management gave purely economic reasons for the decision. The copper price was so low that it made more investment in Konkola Deeps not worth it.²⁴³ With the price per pound hovering around \$0.67 while break-even was at least \$0.70, AAC saw no reasonable way it could continue restoration of old sites or take on development of new ones. So, of its 11,000 employees, 7,000 to 8,000 would gradually be laid off or retrenched and the Nchanga open pit would continue on schedule for closure by 2010.²⁴⁴ And, with Anglo's offices now in London rather than Johannesburg and Harry Oppenheimer's death the year before, the board was

²⁴² The World Bank's published documents from the late 1990s praise Zambia's overall privatization programme as a model of best practices for sub-Saharan Africa. Situmbeko and Zulu, *Zambia: Condemned to Debt*, 26. See also the various World Bank reports cited herein. After AAC withdrew, the Bank commented that, "significant progress had been made on privatization up until the unraveling of the ZCCM privatization. By the end of 2002, a total of 254 out of the 280 parastatals under the ZPA had been privatized. The withdrawal of Anglo from Zambia, coupled with the widespread perception that privatization is largely responsible for rising unemployment, created a strong political and popular backlash against privatization." "Zambia Country Assistance Strategy," 94.

²⁴³ In 2002 the price sank to its lowest level in 30 years. Interview with former ZCCM senior executive and current ZCCM-IH manager, 2005.

²⁴⁴ KCM chief executive, as cited in "Enhancing Economic Diversification in Zambia's Copperbelt," Report of a Fact Finding Mission to the Copperbelt by Private Sector Donor Group (August 11-14, 2002): 7.

simply less inclined to stay.²⁴⁵ Within a few months, a number of newer ancillary businesses such as restaurants and guesthouses began shutting down.

A second mine, the famous Roan Antelope Mining Company (RAMCOZ) in Luanshya, also stopped production in 2002. Its owners, the India-based Binani Group pulled out leaving, among other things, millions of US dollars' worth in unpaid terminal benefits to its workers. Miners staged demonstrations demanding back payment and at one dramatic public gathering briefly held hostage the Province's deputy minister and the Minister of Mines.²⁴⁶

After agonizing waits by the labor force, new buyers moved in to take over KCM and Luanshya in 2004, but the people were now quite suspicious. The ultimate configuration of Zambia's remaining large parastatals, Zambia Telecommunications (ZAMTEL); Zambia Electric Supply Co. (ZESCO), and Zambia National Commercial Bank (ZANACO), became highly contested as passionate debate carried on in the popular press as to whether they should be left with the government, commercialized, or privatized.²⁴⁷ But by mid-2005, 262 of 284 possible companies had been sold to private investors.²⁴⁸

2.5.2. Lessons learned and questions unanswered

The World Bank and IMF, drivers of a process for which they had initial praise, ultimately admitted perhaps there had been some miscalculations.

Privatization has had mixed results in Zambia mainly due to problems with the implementation and communication of its results to the public at large. The privatization program originally was driven by the need to stop the financial hemorrhage of loss making state-owned companies and reduce their

²⁴⁵ Interview with long term Copperbelt resident and contracting company owner, 2004; Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

²⁴⁶ "Kafumukache: Refined politician," *Zambia Daily Mail* (December 9, 2004): 7. See Situmbeko and Zulu, *Zambia: Condemned to Debt*, for a case study of the RAMCOZ mine.

²⁴⁷ "Privatization: Opportunities Still Abound," *The Investor Magazine*, no. 2 (Quarter 1, 2002): 19-22.

²⁴⁸ Zambia Privatisation Agency (2005): <http://www.zpa.org.zm/>.

burden on the national budget. This approach, with a strong focus on “asset sale”, enabled potentially profitable companies to survive. As such, the major achievement was “damage control” for almost all of the companies privatized after the establishment of the *Zambian Privatization Agency (ZPA)* in 1992. A number of key lessons can be drawn from Zambia’s experience with privatization. One relates to the need for accountability, for transparency of behavior and communication during the privatization process. The Privatization Act and institutional framework to implement it were judged as “models” and execution of large numbers of privatizations through this mechanism was carried out satisfactorily. However, key privatizations in the mining area were implemented in a much less transparent way, at great cost to the *Zambian economy*. A second lesson is that the private sector resists operating in an environment where fundamental rules are unclear. For example, the rules governing employment and retrenchment are currently ambiguous. This raises expectations of retrenched workers and raises contingent liabilities for Government. A third lesson is that privatization could not be the answer to Zambia’s economic difficulties, because privatization could only deal with “survival” issues, but not with “development” and the creation of a vibrant public sector.²⁴⁹

Lessons the Bank said Zambia’s experience taught fell almost entirely within the realm of economics and management, an unsurprising analysis considering the nature of the organization. It bears noting, however, that upon at least a few occasions, the Bank admitted that important cultural issues might have been overlooked in a strategy too quickly implemented.²⁵⁰

Many Zambians’ expectations were that privatization would bring immediate benefit to the central bank and the country’s economy. But, even though the first mine sales took place in the late 1990s, by the mid-2000s, most people were still waiting for the promised

²⁴⁹ “Zambia Country Assistance Strategy,” 7.

²⁵⁰ See various World Bank reports cited throughout this study, especially the country assistance documents of 1996 and 2004. Within the larger picture, the Bank also funded retrenchment and relocation packages for laid off workers. “Basically the huge value at all mines of accrued terminal benefits made the purchasing of the mines an unviable proposition for investors. To assist Zambia, WB gave USD45million, shared amongst the mines. [Our company’s] allocation was USD8.75million - and up to them to manage it within the WB rules. These funds were to be used to pay the terminal benefits and to re-train the retrenched into a skill which could be used for self-sustenance in the future. The money was very strictly controlled and claimable in arrears of paying out the funds for terminable benefits. Training providers were paid via an auditing company. In addition to doing the counseling and teaching, there was loads of administration.” Email to author from departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2005.

better life. Some business owners and managers, while being pleased over their own increased business, recognized that their vantage point wasn't that of the average Zambian.

With privatization they throw you all this jargon about how things are going to get better. We should look at the wider picture, but you will never see the wider picture if you're never totally at grips with what is on the ground...Some people are doing much better [under privatization]. But what has it actually done for the majority of people who aren't head hunted? What has it done for them?²⁵¹

2.6 Summary

The preceding narrative has tried to help, in Schutz's terminology, "*define* the situation."²⁵² If we as outsiders are going to presume to any degree at all a comprehension of the new environment we enter, we must not just have knowledge about the situation. We must also have "explicit knowledge *of* its elements"²⁵³ before we can begin to consider motivations or reasons behind what we see. Before proceeding to deeper inquiry, it is important to take note of a few points.

One is the consistency with which economic ways of thinking as set out in chapter one appear to run as themes in the version of this story that relates especially to European or Western interests. If we use an economic "map" to review all that went on in Zambia's mining history, then various actions of the BSAC, Great Britain, and so on seem reasonable regardless of social consequences they may have entailed because the actions conformed to outlines and expectations of economic theories. If such a "map" further accounts for local reactions elicited by those decisions and actions then a particular viewpoint, or way of conceiving of the Africans involved, emerges as well.

²⁵¹ Interview with former ZCCM-IH administrator, 2005.

²⁵² Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 103, emphasis in original.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, emphasis in original.

A second point concerns discrepancies in viewpoint among Europeans or Westerners depending upon their relationship to the situation in Zambia. The points of importance for the BSAC's board, for instance, were radically different from those of their representatives on the ground especially early in the region's prospecting and development history. This might be a concrete example of what Schutz terms differences in belief and experience: "the level of environmental experience of social objects is incongruous with the level of mere beliefs about unapproached objects."²⁵⁴

Another point is that despite the consistency of economic themes emanating from the Western side of this story something else occasionally seems to jut out from the landscape occupied by Zambians in the story. The most noticeable example is the Federation land issue that Western observers attributed to wildly different causes. But these jut-outs also bear watching in relation to other things that went before the involvement of Western interests. This is particularly the case knowing that Africans had already practiced copper mining and smelting centuries before Europeans brought in Industrial Era mining. There appears to be something decidedly un-economic in a mystical, life-death association with the land or a mysterious, ritually defined smelting process, for example.

Finally, it is worth remembering the several points at which little known details about this history seem to go against our generally taken for granted thinking on development issues and the points at which they seem to corroborate our present understanding.²⁵⁵ One such example is that our view of the world is divided into political nation states rather than corporately controlled administrative areas. Another is the possibility that contemporary

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 98.

²⁵⁵ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 95ff calls this sort of thing "thinking as usual" and says it includes the normal assumptions that we make about the how the world works. These assumptions include such ideas as life generally continuing the way it has gone so far and that we may rely on the information handed down by certain authorities.

development plans may expect things of present governments that even private corporations used not to accomplish. Yet a third is the consistency over time of the power of economic means and motives.

So much for the *that* of the situation; it is now time to inquire as to the *why*.²⁵⁶ Following chapter three's description of research methods used, the case study picks up in chapter four with just such a question. ♀

²⁵⁶ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 103.

Chapter Three

Research Methods

Perhaps the biggest challenge of qualitative cross-cultural research is making sure that approaches taken are appropriate for obtaining the information sought. When the researcher is a Westerner—especially an American—working in Africa, this is particularly difficult. The reasons for this are many and I hope the study overall will, at least in part, explain them. But this chapter describes the mechanics rather than the reasons.

3.0 Background

The following pages discuss methods used to gather information and to identify procedural difficulties or challenges posed by the research questions as well as strategies used to address them. There is, for example, the challenge of having enough knowledge about the place being studied to gain reasonable familiarity with its issues and to know whom to talk to about them. One can, in effect, parachute into an area and attempt to study it. But it would be legitimate to ask in such cases how the researcher knew where and what to look for.

In the present study's case, even though it doesn't constitute part of the fieldwork, the time I spent as a teacher/trainer in Zimbabwe and Zambia helped me gain familiarity with the area.¹ Experiences living and working in Africa provided historical and cultural information that could never have come from books. During those years, I also learned much about how to interact with Africans; what to look for when trying to determine people's priorities and what to question; the types of situations and people to trust and those to be skeptical about. Living and working with Zimbabweans and Zambians of both African and European

¹ Zimbabwe: February 2000-November 2001; Zambia: November 2001-June 2003.

heritages blessed me with a small circle of trusted friends and colleagues who provided insights and contacts that would have been impossible to find had I simply come to the continent for this study alone. Time spent on the Copperbelt also allowed me to absorb much about the country and province that has been integral to this study's context and that gave the research a head start.

Following completion of full time residency in Southern Africa, I returned six times to the continent to conduct fieldwork for this study. Between the latter half of 2003 through the end of 2005, I spent a combined total of almost eight months on site and, in the interim, kept in contact with a network of study participants in Africa via email and telephone. Two research assistants also maintained contacts and gathered information when I was not present; more will be said about them below. From my home in the Boston area, I was able to conduct background reading; monitor international news via the Internet; and interview other study participants in the United States and Canada.

3.1 Principal groups of informants

Last chapter's survey should have clearly documented that historical divisions between expatriates and Zambians have been present throughout Zambia's industrial mining period. Although only one expatriate remained with ZCCM up through the privatization era, a number of them began arriving when the new foreign owners brought in their own managerial staffs.² The percentage of expatriates to Zambians, however, remained considerably lower than in colonial days, with mine officials estimating that expatriates made

² In 1998, all but one or two expatriates (not all of whom were white) were given termination notices and severance packages by ZCCM. The last couple of expatriates finished their contracts and were then released. Shortly thereafter, one expatriate was invited to return to assist with various aspects of the privatization process. Email to the author from long-term resident and departmental and divisional manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2006.

up between 1-3% of the overall workforce.³ And also unlike colonial days expatriates in the re-privatized mines were only in managerial and highly technical positions. Day labor or union jobs that in earlier times might have been occupied by either Westerners or Africans remained completely Zambianized in the 2000s. Another change from Colonial Era privatization was that in the mid-2000s, Zambians sometimes occupied offices in the mines' executive suites. There were also expatriates and Zambians in positions of power and authority at ancillary private companies that supplied the mines with goods and services.

Still, the basic socio-economic division that generally exists in any industrial setting was present on the Copperbelt's re-privatized mines. There was the executive or managerial class and there was the worker or labor force class. Even though the executive/managerial group was not composed strictly of Westerners, Western influences were dominant within the workplace. So this socio-economic divide that encompassed the various people participating in this study also largely constituted a cultural divide. More complete terminology explanations follow.

Maintaining a database that included information on the many study participants helped us make sure we had broad representation from both groups. We used small forms to collect this information, completing a form after each contact with a new contributor. In many, many cases we had repeated interactions with study participants even though their information went into the database only once. In all, a total of 212 persons contributed to this research project. Statistics from the database as well as a copy of the data collection form may be found in Appendix B.

³ A human resources departmental manager at one of the mines reported an average of 1% expatriate employment from the point of that company's privatization through early 2006 and estimated that all together the expatriate workforce on the Copperbelt would probably be no higher than about 3%. In the mid-2000s, expatriates came not only from Commonwealth countries, but also from Latin America and Asia. Very few were American.

3.1.1 Workforce/popular group

The term “workforce/popular” designates private Zambian citizens, the majority of whom were miners with non-office based jobs. Others were members of mining families; had various connections to the industry; or were simply worthwhile informants by virtue of being Zambians with perspectives on and interest in the situation. In America, members of this socio-economic status group would be termed “working class.” I have expanded the definition here to include teachers and office workers, for many educators and clerical workers were still closer in economic terms to the average mine worker than to the average mine manager. Unlike America’s racially diverse working class, everyone in this group with whom we spoke was black.

3.1.2 Executive/managerial group

The term “executive/managerial” is used to designate those who were generally in managerial and company ownership positions. Quite a few of the individuals who contributed their insights had spent considerable time underground as engineers or technicians and had then moved into management positions.⁴ While many in this group worked directly for the mines, a number of study participants worked for and/or owned companies that supplied labor and equipment to the mines. For the most part, those in this category came from Western backgrounds—usually from South Africa or the United Kingdom. No one in a managerial position on the mines with whom I talked was an American although a few of the independent consultants and others who fall into this socio-economic group were. Several key contributors to the study from this group were black Zambians, the most notable being the country’s two past presidents, Kenneth Kaunda and

⁴ These days, large mines in more developed parts of the world may be run by executives from non-mining backgrounds. Many mines in Africa, however, continue to be run by people who began their careers underground and assumed managerial positions later on.

Frederick Chiluba. Some “white Zambians” were integrally involved as well. White Zambians were residents born into European families when the country was Northern Rhodesia. They did not, however, automatically become Zambian citizens.⁵

3.2 Information gathering process with executive/managerial group

The challenge of knowing whom to talk to in the first place was mentioned above, so a word needs to be said about procedures for making contacts in both groups. Fortunately, the mine official who led the underground visit described in chapter one became my chief contact and advisor for this project from the managerial side. With his support and oversight, I was able to meet a wide range of expatriates in mine management positions. Those initial contacts yielded others through what is sometimes called the “snowball” technique: one person recommends another person who recommends another to be interviewed. I also already knew a few other expatriates on the Copperbelt; those acquaintances led to other connections in the same way. Through a serendipitous lead arising from archival reviews, I came to know one of the chief independent technical consultants who had spent years in

⁵ The story of one white Zambian, as emailed to the author, illustrates the complexity of this issue. “I passed my Matric at the end of my 16th year and as there were no funds for further education I started work in Zambia at the age of 17...At that time I was on a resident permit with my British passport. In those days, residence permits were quite common being granted to non Zambians born in ‘Northern Rhodesia’ and work permit holders who wanted to stay and had lived in Zambia for 4 consecutive years. Had I wished to become a Zambian citizen then I would have had to revoke my British status and been subjected to 2 years of compulsory National Service. A frightening thought even in those days. As a Brit and resident permit holder, I could remit 1 third of my net salary. At that time a whopping 1/3 of my K100.00 first salary. In ‘96 I investigated the possibility of taking out Zambian citizenship. As the Government was getting very difficult about permits, I thought I would be more useful as a Zambian and perhaps protect [my husband] from being ‘refused’ a permit. As we now know, men married to Zambian women have no protection at all. The British government allows citizens in ‘difficult countries’ to renounce and reclaim their passport once only. The Zambian government does not allow dual nationality. I would have had to renounce my British passport, obtain a Zambian one then reapply for a British replacement. With this information I approached the relevant Zambian department but was told...that I had made my choice at the age of 21 and therefore I would not be allowed a Zambian passport and he would make sure that I did not get one. I did seek a second opinion and was told that I could take my case to a ‘reclamation court’ and maybe, just maybe they would approve. I was also advised that a ‘Resident Permit’ is nearly the same as a Zambian passport (however no voting power etc etc) and should be happy with that. I was also told that Resident Permits are no longer being issued and instead Entry Permits were granted to those who qualified. An Entry Permit is not as flexible as a Resident Permit. The thinking behind the discontinued ‘Resident Permit’ is that current holders are a dying breed and once gone we are no longer a problem for the government. How sad is this.”

Zambia on World Bank contracts during the lengthy ZCCM privatization process. He, in turn, gave me entrée to a number of longer-term Zambian residents (black and white) who provided particularly valuable historical information. In a testimony to the power of Christian churches within Zambian society interviews with Presidents Kaunda and Chiluba were obtained through the Zambian Anglican Council. In virtually all cases, I was warmly received and many informants in this group expressed genuine interest in and sympathy for the research project.

Information gathering techniques varied but were generally done under more formal conditions than was the case for the workforce/popular group. Interviews usually took place in informants' offices.⁶ And, in general, it was easier for me to talk with executives and managers with an audiotape recorder running than it was with members of the general Zambian populace.⁷ Informants were always asked permission to be tape-recorded and, in some instances, either refused or asked that the machine be turned off when discussing particularly sensitive material. Such information included candid reflections on historical and cultural issues; details regarding corporate procedures and policies; information on specific interactions with individuals and the like that could put the speakers at professional and personal risk if repeated openly. Usually, I was able to have follow-on meetings with executives and managers to clarify information or ask further questions. A number of managers also provided secondary checks and additional information via email or telephone.

⁶ Very rarely did information gathering from the executive/managerial group take place in social settings. When the atmosphere was more casual, informants were still aware that they were participating in the study.

⁷ A notable exception to this were the gatherings, or *insakas* in Chingola, where our local contact would remind us to run the tape player if we forgot to put it on! Reasons for this disparity of technique most likely had to do with greater commonality between my background, socio-economic status, and/or work experience and the backgrounds of executives and managers.

The appendices contain a list of dates and job classifications for those individuals with whom I conducted formal interviews or meetings.

In all cases, except for the interviews with Zambia's two past presidents, sources were promised confidentiality. For this reason, no names of executives or managers or their specific titles appear in connection with insights I gained from them. Because Presidents Kaunda and Chiluba are public figures and our discussions centered on matters of public record, I did not offer them confidentiality nor did they request it. Further, because the international mining community is comparatively small, I have not included copies of transcripts from interviews with executives/managers in the appendices nor have I written biographical sketches of key informants as is the case for the workforce/popular group.⁸ Exceptions to this rule are Presidents Kaunda and Chiluba; excerpts from their interviews do appear in the appendices.

Extended direct quotations from executives and managers that appear in the text were taken from taped conversations. Shorter direct quotes of a sentence or phrase were either taken from tapes or from notes I took during interviews. To ensure accuracy, I emailed specific quotes plus the context in which they were to appear back to the speakers so they could confirm, edit, or even refuse permission to use the material. No one refused permission. Several did edit what they had previously said. Usually these edits simply adapted their words from a less formal, conversational style to one more suitable for written work. On only one occasion did a manager add to what he said so substantively that it changed the tone of his earlier remarks. On only one occasion did a manager excise

⁸ This decision was based primarily on the desire to protect my sources' confidentiality. It was also done on the assumption that any Westerner wishing to replicate this study or to check its findings would have an easier time obtaining expatriate managerial/executive contacts than local contacts.

something that subtly changed the tone of what he had said in conversation. In neither case, however, did these changes alter the statements' overall meanings.

In addition to all the semi-structured interviews conducted, I was able to get excellent first hand information in other ways. These included five tours of underground mining operations (four in Zambia's copper mines and one in Nova Scotia's coal mines) and three of surface operations as well as attendance at a few key corporate or industry functions.

Once I began drafting material, I also sought review and accuracy checking from members of the executive/managerial group. Copies of early draft chapters went to the mine official who acted as my advisor and to another expatriate manager at the same company. This work is by no means, however, a case study of that specific company. Two other members of the executive/managerial group reviewed early drafts of material and provided helpful corrections. One was the independent consultant mentioned above and an American. The other was a former member of ZCCM's senior management and a Zambian.

3.3 Information gathering process with workforce/popular group

As the first two chapters should have made clear, this study concerns an attempt to understand ourselves better by more fully experiencing another environment. For this reason information about ordinary Zambians is more substantive throughout the text than is the information gained from executives and managers. The appendices also contain more primary material gleaned from the workforce/popular group than from executives and managers.

Contacts within the wider Copperbelt community arose from friendships established during the time I lived in Southern Africa. Since my initial assignments had involved working with Africans via the Anglican Church, I actually had closer relationships with

Africans than with expatriates going into this study. These contacts served as the starting point for entrée into the workforce/popular group. I was also fortunate to maintain formal affiliation as a research consultant with Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation (MEF) in Kitwe where I had previously taught.⁹ Mindolo is well known and respected among Zambians. Its connection gave the study credibility and assured members of the workforce that I was not affiliated with corporate management.¹⁰

3.3.1 Situational analysis survey

That promising beginning aside, there were still numerous challenges to deciding where to begin and with whom to begin. From my own experience, I knew something of the pressure Africans can feel to say what they think Westerners want to hear. I also knew how easily I could accidentally stifle conversation with them simply by speaking too quickly, posing closed rather than open-ended questions, or generally being more direct and assertive than they were customarily. Additionally, I was familiar with Friarian teaching techniques that emphasize starting from what people know and building upon that.¹¹ If I picked out the problems I saw as demonstrable of viewpoint discrepancies, I might not identify the problems that Zambian workers saw. So it seemed imperative to begin at a point of Zambians' choosing rather than my own. I had further been advised that Zambians were "allergic" to paper questionnaires and surveys because these connoted past government

⁹ MEF's director was also a crucial advisor especially early in the fieldwork process.

¹⁰ This did not thoroughly allay suspicions and concerns. According to my research assistants and other trusted Zambian colleagues, some suspicions arose simply from the nature of the inquiry itself. Since the study took seriously ideas and concepts not associated with modernity and the West, there were occasions when participants appeared truly puzzled—and therefore hesitant—as to why we were interested in the subjects we discussed. Towards the end of the fieldwork, one of my research assistants said it was as if we had gone into people's homes and they had offered us the best of whatever they had there but we said, "No. We are interested in the trash you have thrown out back."

¹¹ Friarian methods were used heavily in MEF's curriculum, especially classics such as the *Training for Transformation Series*. See Anne Hope and Sally Timmel, *Training for Transformation: a Handbook for Community Workers* (London: ITDG Publishers, 1999).

efforts at control and monitoring. Whatever was done would have to be conducted orally, in the vernacular, and informally.

It should now be obvious that this was not the sort of research a white, American, non-Bemba speaking female could conduct on her own. So I was extremely fortunate to have two young Zambian men—Enock and Lubasi—who worked with me from this point onwards and who are described in greater detail below.

Ultimately, I decided to adapt a technique that had been used in setting up the HIV/AIDS program of the Anglican Church in South Africa. This, I learned later from the person who designed it, was based on neuro-linguistic programming (NLP). Neuro-linguistic programming is said to deal “with the structure of human subjective experience.”¹² It assumes that human behavior arises from how we experience the world through our senses and that we use language to order our thoughts.¹³ Further, neuro-linguistic programming understands that our beliefs act as perceptual filters and that qualities of curiosity and open interest are more effective when approaching others than are simply our acting on assumptions about them.¹⁴

Deciding that simplicity and openness would be best, we settled on having Enock, my principal research assistant, do a small random survey within the mining compounds. This

¹² Joseph O'Connor and John Seymour, *Introducing Neuro-Linguistic Programming: Psychological Skills for Understanding and Influencing People* (San Francisco: Thorsons Publishers, Harper Collins), 3. Although this introductory book appears to suggest that knowledge of NLP can be useful in getting other people to do what we want them to, that is not the part of the whole that I want to emphasize here. It is also interesting to see that O'Connor and Seymour use map imagery when discussing how people make sense of their worlds, but they do not appear to be familiar with Schutz's work on the subject.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 5-6. The Church of the Province of South Africa had used this model when designing what was intended to be a culturally appropriate way of doing HIV/AIDS education and prevention. They wanted to begin by getting an assessment of the current situation, or a situational analysis. Asking South Africans what they saw, felt, and heard allowed them to speak from a plane of sensory experience and perception. The designer/director of that program also noted that sensory related questions can yield very different answers than can cerebrally related questions. When people talk about what they feel, they are generally more genuine; asking people what they think gives them time to devise “acceptable” answers. The designer/director of the program also said they used the technique because “it got us out of being white people.”

survey consisted of two questions. They were a sensory question: 1) "Regarding the mines, what do you see happening around you?" and a cerebral question: 2) "Why do you think these things are happening?" We also conducted these brief interviews in disparate locations as a way of gauging the broadness or narrowness of concerns expressed and to guard against respondents conferring with each other before participating. As a further guard against overly influencing people's responses, I did not share with my research assistant in great detail my own ideas or specific points of focus for the study. He knew broad generalities only.

We originally intended to take a large sample: begin with 50 participants and see how wide ranging or how uniform their answers were, then make a decision about what to do next. After 20 interviews,¹⁵ Enock remarked that it was as if everyone lived in the same house. The uniformity of responses was quite remarkable. And, as the study unfolded, we received repeated corroboration of findings first expressed in this little situational analysis survey.

In retrospect, it probably would have been better to ask more sensory related questions than we did but the survey accomplished two important things. First, it gave us a good starting point: Many people mentioned that they saw mining accidents as on the increase since re-privatization. I was not aware of this sentiment and it would not have occurred to me to pursue that line of inquiry. But, as the next chapter explains, mining accidents made a very good departure point for the investigation. Second, the cerebrally related question gave good testimony to differences between thought based and feelings based responses. When people talked about why they thought things were happening, particularly in relation to accident increases, the responses they gave during the situational

¹⁵ A tabulated chart of responses is contained in the appendices.

analysis survey were quite different from what was ultimately expressed as we delved more deeply into the issue later on. This should become clearer in chapters four and five.

3.3.2 Identifying local contacts

There were at least three reasons why I wanted to have a large and disparate group of local contacts or informants for the entire study. As with the situational analysis, the first reason was as a double check on the information gathered. If we had informants in various Copperbelt towns, the chances of our obtaining candid insights would be higher because people would be less able to coordinate their stories. Second, spreading out the study would be another way of dissipating concerns as to what we were really up to.¹⁶ By saying the study was of the Copperbelt situation and not specifically of one mining company we were able to reduce possible feelings of intrusion or threat.¹⁷ Third, taking in a larger swath of the Copperbelt would allow us to explore information or situations about which I was already aware and curious. These included the complex relationship between Nchanga/Chingola and the Anglo-American group of companies; the history of the Roan Antelope Mine in Luanshya; and the disaster in Mufulira.

We began looking for local contacts in towns throughout the Copperbelt and ultimately found some in Chingola, Kalulushi, Kitwe, Luanshya, and Mufulira. Brief biographical sketches of our main Zambian informants as well as how we found and worked with them follow below.

¹⁶ And this held true for members of the executive/managerial group as well as the workforce/popular group.

¹⁷ In fact, just such a problem scuttled an earlier version of the case study. I had originally planned to work closely with a Zambian colleague and look at perceptual differences that were manifest within a single mining company's HIV/AIDS education and prevention program. Even though I received permission from the company's chief executive to do the research, I was blocked by mid-level managers who apparently perceived my presence as threatening. It was only possible to proceed with a redesigned case that pulled back from tight focus on a single location. Even then, I detected occasional hints of distrust within that company for the duration of my involvement with it.

In general, information gathering within the local communities took a much different approach than that used when I talked with executives and expatriates. Most interactions were quite informal and we spent considerable time in people's homes, at church functions, and in the townships including their marketplaces and bars. Much of the best information came through conversations not conducted under obvious or heavy Western influences. This meant emphasizing the use of Copperbelt Bemba rather than English and, upon occasion, sending the research assistants into settings where it simply would not have been appropriate for a foreigner to go.¹⁸ My presence tended to be obtrusive at first but rarely unpleasantly so. Over time and after repeated visits, it always seemed a success when those we talked with began using more Bemba than English and addressing each other or the research assistants rather than the principal researcher.

The ambivalent influence of Western Christianity also deserves mention here. It provided a common starting point, for instance, in that we were able to move with credibility into the townships using church connections rather than mining connections. But Christianity could also appear threatening. For example, there were a few times when overt references to it obviously changed the dynamics of conversations. One such instance is recorded in chapter five. I will never know the extent to which this affected the overall study but my research assistants and I made efforts not to pose our questions in relation to Christianity or to be perceived as offering judgments about informants' responses based on Western Christian interpretations. In other words, when people talked of witchcraft or the supernatural we did not "correct" them or allude to typical Western Christian attitudes about these subjects.

¹⁸ Bemba spoken in the Copperbelt Province differs from pure Bemba in that it contains a mixture of English and slang words in addition to the Bemba found principally in Luapula Province.

Still, we found that when we asked direct questions on spiritually related matters and phenomena typically unfamiliar in the West, such as witchcraft and the supernatural, we almost invariably got evasive answers. One of our principal local contacts, for example, exhibited a level of candor within his home that dissipated when with drinking buddies in the tavern. A folklorist introduced us to much traditional background in the following manner.

It is a pity that, you know, we have lost some traditionalism. Elizabeth, you may not believe, these things are there! For example, in Chingola, Kapisha. There is that fountain—spring—that brings out hot water. Our mining engineers—white to be specific—our white men—they wanted to commercialize that kind of water or to domesticate it nicely. They wanted to put some pipes there such that it could be pumped in some homes, used as geezer water. Each time they put that, the pipes could burst. Each—up to now, they have failed. As the Chinese were putting this rail line, TAZARA, there is a place known as Katayi. You know balya bamulenga wampanga, ba Katayi, kulya kumusumba, kumusumba, [*the spirits like the Mulengas¹⁹ of the Forest, the Katayis, those who reside in royal palaces*] meaning some place like but with mysterious powers. They wanted to pass the rail line through that place. And the chiefs warned them but they couldn't believe. They were all bitten by black mambas and they all died. There were eleven of them.²⁰

But when pressed by a zealous research assistant as to whether or not the folklorist himself believed, our informant replied that he did not.²¹ We had much better success asking people in small, casual settings to comment on what they had heard others say.

Discussions on spiritual matters and supernatural phenomena were, however, among those we most wanted to have so we made special attempts to audiotape this kind of talk. When we could tape record conversations we asked permission. When tape recording was inappropriate, we sometimes jotted down notes but most frequently taped our own recollections and observations immediately following interviews.

¹⁹ The translator notes this refers to the Bemba deity.

²⁰ Interview with Copperbelt folklorist and radio personality, 2004.

²¹ This same zealous assistant later said that our informants' admission in English was completely counter to the impression he created on a weekly vernacular language folklore radio program.

Conversations usually took place in a mixture of Copperbelt Bemba and English. A few interviews were conducted in Chokwe and Lamba. Taped conversations were transcribed and translated by my research assistants, then double-checked by mother tongue speakers of the vernacular languages who were also fluent in English.²² I have left their translations virtually intact even though some points do not conform to strict English grammatical usage. Upon occasion, we were able to return to the speakers and ask for clarification on certain points. This was not done as easily as with executives/managers, however, since work schedules, transport difficulties, lack of access to technology, and the generally fluid nature of Zambian life did not ensure we would ever see some participants again. The vernacular and translated conversations that appear throughout the text were taken from tape recordings; longer excerpts and additional conversations appear in the appendices.

Trying for further clarification of what we heard, towards the end of the fieldwork process, we produced a brief summary sheet of salient points. We took these to each of our local contacts and my research assistants explained the concepts in Bemba. Then, we either discussed them on the spot and in the vernacular as needed or left them along with paper, pencils, and self-addressed stamped envelopes for participants to write impressions in letters addressed to me.²³ Copies of the feedback sheet and responses are in the appendices.

Zambian speakers also put themselves at considerable risk when talking with us, especially when they offered unfavorable opinions on government and corporate officials.

²² Exceptions are the Lamba translations. These were translated and/or checked by a mother tongue Bemba speaker who also speaks Lamba. The two languages are closely enough related that my research assistants could ask questions in Copperbelt Bemba and informants could answer in Lamba.

²³ We encouraged participants to write in Bemba if they wanted to, assuring them that this could be translated. We were aware that written communication of this sort was a less than perfect way to get feedback, but felt it was worth attempting.

For these reasons, the names used in this study for my research assistants and principal local contacts are not their own.

3.4 Workforce/popular biographical sketches

There is one other reason for giving additional details about workforce/popular study participants. This concerns the general lack of familiarity with Africa that most Americans have. By offering brief biographical sketches of our principal local contacts, I hope to create a more tangible sense of the real people and surroundings that constituted this study. The following represent the lives of our principle informants as they were at the time we conducted the research.

3.4.1 Roger Chaba, Mufulira

My research assistants, Enock and Lubasi, met Roger through a mutual friend, Wilson. Wilson owns a township shop where we spent time drinking soft drinks and people watching. Some interactions with Roger also took place outdoors near a large tree we nicknamed our *insaka*²⁴ tree and in local pubs.

Roger has what is sometimes referred to as a Person-in-Charge, or PIC job, underground. As a casual employee of a mining company, he oversees arrangements for various supplies that are hauled up and down and throughout the mine. This seems like a very responsible job for someone so young; he must be just in his mid 20s. He has been working on the mines for a few years and occasionally lets his friends know when a mining job comes open. But many of them would rather stay on surface even without the better salary that underground jobs offer. Roger himself wants only to work for another year or two and then go into the chicken rearing business.

²⁴ *Insakas* were traditionally meeting places where village men would gather to discuss issues of community life. In mid-2000s Zambia, the term also often applied to small, thatched huts or open shelters at restaurants and beer halls where people could drink and talk.

Roger lives in a better section of one Mufulira township. In Mufulira, more so than the other towns, the distinction between compounds that were owned and run by government and those that were owned and run by the mines is obvious. Houses in the mining compounds were somewhat larger than government houses and better maintained. Even though everyone has difficulty keeping things up these days, the historical difference between these two sections is still apparent. One thing everyone near the mine site shares, though, is the effect of the old smelter. Areas closest to the mine are arid; what grass, trees, and flowers do survive are stubby and straggly looking. Sometimes, depending upon wind direction, it becomes difficult to breathe. A bit of good news, though, is that the re-privatized mining company has recently installed a new smelter that will remove this acid from the air.

3.4.2 Frederica Chipongoma, Luanshya

Frederica, a petite and energetic young woman in her early 40s, is a counselor for one of the local high schools and has responsibility for several hundred students. She also teaches English composition. Her husband is a mechanical engineer by training and worked in the mining industry for 15 years before being retrenched under privatization. Now he works at a training institution in Ndola that contracts services for the mines. Since commuting from Luanshya each day is very expensive, he frequently stays in Ndola during the week, returning home on the weekends.

The Chipongomas live in what used to be a European section of town. The streets are wide and paved, even if pot-holed, and the brick houses are considerably larger than township homes. Each house has a substantial yard and many also have what were servants' quarters out back. Frederica was born in Luanshya into a mining family and grew up near where she now lives. By the time she came along, that section of Luanshya was already

racially mixed with African families being scattered about among European and Indian families. Frederica can remember when machines owned by the mines kept the streets swept and water pumped from the underground made lawns green. Back then, the yards would have been well tended and filled with flowers. The hardiest plants from that era still survive in many places and, with only a little imagination it's possible to see in the area a modest middle class neighborhood similar to those in Britain or the United States.

Frederica is extremely involved with her Church. Originally Roman Catholic, she joined her husband in the Anglican Church when they married. Today, her leadership abilities mean she is put charge of many things. During the course of this study we attended a Mother's Union fundraiser she coordinated. It was remarkable in its ecumenical involvement and for its cause—a hospital in Southern Province with which the Church has had a long-standing association. Frederica was much relied upon by the former priest-in-residence at the Church who recommended her as a participant in this study. When we went to Luanshya, Frederica was always well prepared with a slate of interviewees for us to speak with or parts of town for us to tour with her.

3.4.3 Matthew and Martha Kapumba, Kitwe

The Kapumbas live in a township outside of Kitwe. Matthew, who is in his early 50s, is from Northwestern Province and spent his youth in Mufulira. He is a tall sinewy man with a clean-shaven head. Martha's family comes from the Lundazi area but she was born on the Copperbelt and went to school near Kitwe. She is a tall, elegant woman just about 40 years old. The Kapumbas have a number of children, the oldest of whom is also a miner. Matthew's father lives with them as well.

Matthew began work on the mines as a lasher in 1975. He describes this job as “very tough”—the worst of all. When blasting takes place, the work progresses at about 2 meters per blast. Lashers have the job of going in and physically removing—with shovels, picks, and wheelbarrows—all the rocks and rubble created by the blast. After working as a lasher for about a year, he had other short-term assignments and then spent 18 years as a driller. Today, Matthew is a shift boss for one of the mines and has approximately 600 men for whom he is accountable.

The Kapumbas have a small home that they bought when President Chiluba sold miners’ houses to them. Now they are adding on to the house as they can since Matthew will retire there in a few years. It is a typical township dwelling that sits in a grid-like pattern of dust lanes a few kilometers from the town center. These homes are built of concrete blocks with tin roofs. Each one is fenced in by hedgerows that have grown so high it’s really only possible to see the tops of the dwellings. Once inside the hedgerow, there is a neat yard. A water tap runs next to the house and empties into a concrete basin on the ground. This is where the family does dishes and laundry. The front door leads into a kitchen that has an electric stove but no refrigerator. Blue paint peels off the walls of the living room and bits of sheets hang in the windows acting as curtains. At night, one bulb suspended from the ceiling provides light. A color television set, frequently switched on, sits in one corner.

There are a few pubs nearby where Matthew goes from time to time. Upon occasion Martha will join him in drinking beer. Matthew does not, however, seem to spend a great deal of time at these places since when he is not at work, he is often doing things for his church or visiting in the homes of friends.

Matthew and Martha are both leaders in their local Anglican parish. Martha is a prominent Mother's Union member who coordinates activities such as cooking meals for women in the local prison and hosting members of other churches for choir competitions. Matthew is a member of Men's Anglican Fellowship. We met the Kapumbas through the Church when Enock made an announcement asking for volunteer study participants. Our subsequent interactions with them have been many and pleasant, occurring at church, over meals in their home or mine, and a few times in local drinking establishments.

3.4.4 Sunday and BanaAlice Mutale, Chingola

The Mutales are close friends of Enock's. They live in one of the townships and Sunday works as a section boss for the local mine. He is a wiry man of medium height in his late 30s. In Zambia it is often customary to call parents not by their given names but by the name of their oldest child preceded by either Ba for a man or Bana for a woman. So Sunday's wife goes by the name BanaAlice, after their first born, a young girl who has just completed secondary school. BanaAlice is a lovely woman in her early 30s with a sparkling smile.

The township in which the Mutales live is similar to that of the Kapumbas but in somewhat better shape. The roads are dust but wider than in the Kapumba's compound and the houses are larger. Most also have small yards with grass and flowers in front, vegetable gardens out back. Since miners now own these homes, their conditions vary according to the occupants' abilities to keep them up. So it's quite common to see very nice, tidy dwellings next to those that are run down.

This is the case in the Mutale's neighborhood where their house is one of the best kept around. The living room has a couple of large windows that let in lots of light and the

walls are painted bright yellow so the whole effect is open and cheery. Furniture jammed into the small space consists of a couple of red plush sofas and two chairs, all accented with embroidered doilies. There is a coffee table and a large china cabinet is shoved against one wall. This holds the television set, VCR, and working telephone with answering machine, various dishes and supplies. The Mutale's kitchen has a stove and sink but no refrigerator. Two bedrooms and a bathroom are located behind the kitchen.

Sunday's family comes from Eastern Province, but his father moved to the Copperbelt for a mining job and stayed with his sister who was married to a miner. BanaAlice's family was from Northern Province but her father, too, had come to work on the mines and so both Sunday and BanaAlice were born in Chingola. BanaAlice's father worked as a driver in the huge open pit mine and occasionally she would see him in his truck as she walked past to school. Once her grandmother also saw her son driving when the truck was very full. She kept saying, "That's too much for him to carry," thinking that her son was using his own energy to haul all that material.

The Mutales are members of the United Church of Zambia and BanaAlice sings in the choir. They have five children, the youngest of whom is a toddler.

Sunday chose to involve himself in this study by regularly organizing *insakas* with his many friends and co-workers. He routinely gathered anywhere from 8 to 20 neighbors (a few of whom became regular attendees) for animated discussions which we tape-recorded. These gatherings were populated completely by men until, for the penultimate meeting, the men suggested that women be invited.

3.4.5 Enock Muthwejile, principal research assistant

My principal research assistant was a student in one of the classes my husband taught at the Anglican Seminary in Kitwe.²⁵ His exceptional performance in the classroom as well as his background and demeanor recommended him for work on this project.

Enock is Chokwe, in his early 30s, and was raised by his grandparents in a little Copperbelt village. In addition to Chokwe and English, he speaks Copperbelt Bemba and understands Lamba. His grandfather came from Angola in the 1940s and helped construct many of the mine township houses near Kitwe and Kalulushi.

Enock Muthwejile's village sits about a kilometer off the dust road leading to Chibuluma South mine and is probably 8 kilometers in total from Kitwe. His grandparents, an uncle and aunt, one of his siblings, and numerous cousins still live there. It is a typical Zambian village of mud walled, thatched roof houses. There is no formal land application process so people just settle where they want and move on when necessary.

The family is quite self-sufficient. There is a small well on the premises and a spring about a 10-minute walk away. They have several plots of land where they grow sugar cane, maize, potatoes, and other crops. A number of goats and chickens wander around, but it's not certain to an outsider how many of these belong to the family. Not far from the village is a Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church under construction. Enock and his family are members of the SDAs and his uncle and aunt are very involved in the building project. There is no electricity in the village but Enock always takes his cell phone when he visits so his grandparents can talk with relatives in Lusaka.

²⁵ At the time, the Seminary was running a teacher education program in conjunction with Kitwe Teacher's College. Enock was a student in that program.

Enock can tell numerous stories about his childhood that illustrate a very traditional upbringing. When he was small, everyone gathered around the fire at night and that was when he learned many customary lessons and sayings. On the way to his first day of school, a snake passed over his foot and Enock's relatives taught him that this was an extremely important sign. During those years, his grandfather would also get up early in the morning to ride his bicycle into town to sell things at market. Enock recalls getting out of bed very early with his cousins to help pack up the bicycle and then push his grandfather up a particularly steep hill at the start of the journey.

After attending secondary school, Enock went to Ndola where he has some relatives and then to Chingola where he operated various small businesses and even a preschool. While in Chingola, he ran for a city council position and almost won. After completing his teacher's certification, Enock started his own after school tutoring program in Ndola before working with this research project.

3.4.6 Lubasi Mwangala, research assistant

Lubasi was the youngest member of the teaching staff at the seminary where my husband and I taught. While a student at that same institution, he had been identified for his outstanding academic abilities and so moved into the staff ranks following graduation.

Lubasi is in his late-20s and grew up primarily in Livingstone. His father is Lozi and his mother is Tonga so Lubasi speaks both languages along with Copperbelt Bemba and English. Because of the family's mixed heritage, they commonly spoke English in their home. His parents are teachers and his father served as a headmaster in Livingstone and Serenje where the family lived for a few years. They are also quite prominent leaders in local Anglican Church activities.

This urban, academic, comparatively comfortable background inspired Lubasi's own pursuits. It gave him few formal teachings in traditional African beliefs, but he learned quite a bit from childhood playmates. He also learned early about economic and social stratification when he went to school with peers who were significantly less well off financially than he. After secondary school, Lusbasi entered seminary to study for the Anglican priesthood. Shortly after ordination he also completed a bachelor's degree in theology.

He is married to a young Kunda woman whose father was also a teacher. They have one small girl.

3.5 Other information gathering

In addition to personal interviews, considerable historical and technical information for this study came from key archival sources in Zambia. These included the Chamber of Mines library in Kalulushi; the National Archives in Lusaka; and the ZCCM Archives in Ndola. Many hours spent in these institutions along with monitoring of ZNBC-TV and the local newspapers yielded material that significantly enriched our personal interviews as well as the study.

3.6 Study limitations

All the foregoing has described efforts to ensure that I got as close as possible to identifying issues important to informants and that informants' responses were candid. Still other challenges or limitations to the study deserve note here.

The most significant limitation was related to the very point of the study. That was my background as a white Westerner coming from outside the African continent. While my own experience helped me to know what to look for from the Western side, it also hindered

me in several ways. For one, it put distance between the Zambian labor force and me. Without the close involvement of my research assistants, I would not have been able to gain access to the many homes and social institutions we visited. My lack of knowledge of Zambian vernacular languages was a limiting factor only partially mitigated by an elementary proficiency in the Bantu language of Shona. Understanding something of how Bantu languages are constructed was a definite help in thinking about how Bantu speakers think. But not actually speaking the vernaculars meant I missed far more than I picked up on. My gender also apparently presented hindrances and helps. Being female excluded me from most cultural elements associated with a very male dominated industry, but a female inquisitor may have been less threatening than a male.

Two other limiting circumstances may have had benefits as well. My lack of familiarity with the mining industry was a problem partially made up for by reading and the patient explanations of various experts. Sometimes, however, naïve questions can also yield good information and I hope this was the case at least once in a while with this study. Not being able to spend more time in Zambia also placed limits on what I could do with the fieldwork. But it did afford access to the world-class library system at Harvard University that strengthened the theoretical portion of this work and buttressed data in the appendices. There may also have been merit in repeatedly experiencing the shock of traveling between cultures as it reminded me about why I wanted to do this research in the first place.

Although I have tried as much as possible to stay focused on central questions of meaning and reality as experienced in this Copperbelt case study, questions always lead to other questions. Wherever the study touches on important areas particularly deserving of further study beyond this work's mandate, I have attempted to point them out. ♀

Chapter Four

What Accidents Say About Why Things Happen

On the road from Kitwe to Chibuluma South mine are a series of small, thatched lean-tos. In these huts men pound out metal axe and hoe blades, affix them to whittled wooden stick handles, and line them up outside for prospective buyers. Fires for heating the metal thrive off oxygen that the craftsmen pump through drive trains scavenged from old vehicles. Over the entrance to one lean-to is a sign reading "Safety is your responsibility." The proprietor got the sign from one of the mines. Since some of his work resembles what goes on in a mine boiler room, he wanted the sign as a reminder.

This sign also can be the starting point for exploring differing perceptions of what we will term "causation," or how people think about the *why* of actions and events. Safety-being-your-responsibility implies a causative relationship between a person's actions and what happens within that person's environment. Causation, in turn, is important to Africa's development context since development, at a basic level, is about events and actions, doing things and accomplishing tasks. Yet, how closely do Western and Africans "maps" or "zones of relevance" align when we think about why things happen? And when things go wrong, who or what is to blame?

4.0 Schutz's "world of working" and the *why* of actions

Schutz recognized that actions both affect the environment and are themselves potentially meaning laden. In fact, he considered actions centrally important to how people understand reality. Humans are not simply brains pumping out abstract ideas, but beings

with bodies that, by what we do, can change the physical world in which we exist.¹ Schutz called this aspect of our existence “the world of working”² and thought it the most important, or primary, facet of our reality. By “working” he didn’t mean jobs or employment. He meant our capacities to “provoke”³ changes in the outer world and to have those changes ratified or rejected by others and ourselves. In the physical present we “work” by communicating with others and enacting changes upon our external surroundings based on our internal motivations.⁴

But, here again is that tension between present time experience and ongoing thinking about that experience. We act based upon what we understand to be the most relevant and important things from the past and future.⁵ But what one person sees as a point of relevance to act on is really only available to that person, not to anyone else. So, how do we know if people are acting illogically or irrationally or if they are acting on points of relevance we simply can’t see?⁶

Schutz became fascinated with trying to decipher how people gather all the ideas that we consider pertinent to guide our actions. He decided that the central point everyone uses by which to gauge what is relevant is death—the one thing we all collectively experience.

¹ Alfred Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 227. In the introduction to the third volume of Schutz’s collected papers, Aaron Gurwitsch, writes about specific problems upon which Schutz elaborated in his theories about the “world of common sense” or the “world of daily life.” These ideas closely followed Husserl’s influence and stressed that the taken for grantedness and familiarity of our daily existence incorporates a kind of knowledge that is completely different from intellectualized, scientific knowledge. Husserl explicitly distinguished knowledge used to navigate the world of everyday life as being independent of and prior to scientific knowledge. Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. III*, xiiff. This is especially important to bear in mind as we continue with an investigation aimed at improving development policymaking and practice since these involve activities conducted in the world of daily life, not just conceived of in intellectual theory.

² Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 226ff.

³ “By my working acts I gear into the outer world, I change it; and these changes, although provoked by my working, can be experienced and tested both by myself and others.” *Ibid.*, 227.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Barber, “Alfred Schutz.”

Knowing that we will die, he said, constitutes “the fundamental anxiety.” And anticipation of this affects everything we do.

From the fundamental anxiety spring the many interrelated systems of hopes and fears, of wants and satisfactions, of chances and risks which incite man within the natural attitude to attempt the mastery of the world, to overcome obstacles, to draft projects, and to realize them.⁷

4.0.1 Mining and *the fundamental anxiety*

Mining is one of the most dangerous jobs in the world so considerable attention goes towards avoiding incidents that can cause injury and death.⁸ Here, all the interests of the company and community vividly coalesce around Schutz’s reference point because no one, from the most recently hired lasher to the longest serving CEO, wants a miner to die.

[W]hen someone dies underground, it’s a very depressing thing for everybody. You know? That’s the last thing that you want to hear—that someone has died underground. Because one: it puts you as management in a very awkward position. What do we do? What should we have done? And so a lot of questions are asked as you would imagine. Was the place properly protected? Was it barred down? What happened? What shouldn’t have happened? All sorts of things. And then the Mine Safety Department comes in with a lot of questions by their own inspectors and independent people to look at the accident scene and find out really who was to blame. So, when someone dies underground, we all get shattered, really. It’s a very disheartening thing. It’s the last thing that we want to hear.⁹

But, beyond that shared point of focus, how did executives and managers on the Copperbelt perceive the reasons for accidents and how did members of the workforce see them? What points from the past and future motivated the actions of both groups as they sought to avoid mining accidents? And how did each group interpret the other’s actions? These are questions this chapter addresses.

⁷ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 228.

⁸ It is considered the most hazardous industrial profession. In America, from 1980-89, it had the highest annual rate of traumatic fatalities as compared with construction, transportation, public utilities, agriculture, forestry, and fishing. U. Aswathanarayana, *Mineral Resources Management and the Environment* (Exton, PA: A. A. Balema Publishers, 2003), 123.

⁹ Interview with administrator in senior executive suite, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

4.0.2 Chapter organization

The chapter consists of three parts. The first and second sections present similar information given in different ways. This information concerns how members of the two informant groups appeared to account for and deal with mining accidents. Part one, sections 4.1 and 4.2, approaches the task in what Robin Horton would say is a very Western manner: the *whys* of accident causation are classified, grouped, and compared.¹⁰ Various actions that people take to avoid accidents or correct the situation once an accident has occurred are similarly classified, grouped, and compared. Part two, section 4.3, uses a more storied means of giving information by narrating two significant points in Zambia's mining history relative to accidents. Because we are strangers trying to learn from this environment, the focus of these narratives is much more on viewpoints offered by Africans than by Westerners. The remainder of the chapter offers a summary derived from the first two sections, compares this information with a counterpart American example and with scholarly literature.

4.1 Executive/managerial theories on why accidents occur

Although our situational analysis survey indicated Zambians thought mine accident rates had increased under privatization, executives and managers in the industry disagreed. They countered that the mines were actually less accident prone under privatization than under nationalization. Estimates varied as to what the trend was back then—perhaps losses of about a man per month; maybe 20-30 miners per year.¹¹ Unfortunately, statistics couldn't be as definitive on the subject as might be hoped, either. Calculation methods had changed

¹⁰ Horton (*Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West*, 303) warns that linguistic translation of ideas from African vernacular languages into international lingua franca such as English or French, involves "searching for the appropriate Western conceptual pigeon-holes for African concepts and thought patterns." This caveat should also be considered valid when Westerners attempt to analyze African concepts and thought patterns themselves.

¹¹ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005; Interview with former ZCCM senior executive and current ZCCM-IH manager, 2005.

over the years, as did the personnel who were keeping track of things.¹² While expatriates and Zambians couldn't agree on which time in the mines' history was the deadliest, they did find unhappy common ground in that the mid-2000s' total numbers were too high.

Both groups cited various reasons for the situation and their observations loosely fit into what we will call "inwardly directed" and "outwardly directed" causes. Inwardly directed causes can be considered those precipitating factors that people attributed more locally to themselves, their families, fellow workers, or their own cultures and work environments. Outwardly directed causes more broadly related to attributions beyond individuals, their families, work mates, cultures, and so on.

4.1.1 Inwardly directed causes of mine accidents

Before enumerating what the executive/managerial group had to say about the *whys* of accidents, it's important to note that they didn't talk so much about "accidents" as about "safety." Mine safety, or accident prevention, was regarded as a shared concern of everyone in the industry. That is, managers thought all mine employees should feel a responsibility to guard their own lives and those of their fellow workers.¹³ Yet managers were frequently

¹² See the statistics table in the appendices. Gathering information on accidents was instructive in itself. The most recent published information I could find at the Chamber of Mines library dated from 1987. Information from that point on that appears in the table was obtained through the direct intervention of a former ZCCM senior manager via connections at the Ministry of Mines. Even so, my source said that he would not vouch for the accuracy of the numbers provided. The privatization era is not the only one in which there has been a perception of increased accidents. In 1968, an inquiry investigated the industry's accident rate during the years right around independence. The Heron Report, as the results of this investigation became known, explored reasons why statistical evidence indicated a sharp and steady rise in serious injuries and fatalities from 1962 to 1967. Certain circumstances that Heron describes in the report closely resemble current conditions. This suggests that some issues raised by present day managers were long standing by nature. There is one major problem with the Heron Report, however, in that the casualty and fatality statistics upon which the report is built do not correspond to statistics kept by the Chamber of Mines or the Mines Safety Department. A present day safety manager at one of the Copperbelt mines considered the Heron Report statistics dubious at best. See graphs and charts in the appendices.

¹³ This viewpoint prevailed in private interviews with mine managers and contractors as well as public statements emanating from the mining companies. See for example, "Mine Safety is Not Management's Responsibility Alone—Henderson," *Zambia Post* (June 18, 2005): <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200506200211.html>.

baffled at what they saw as a widespread cavalier lack of concern among Zambians for their own well-being. This wasn't true just in the mines; it prevailed throughout general society and was particularly evident on the roadways.

While they couldn't explain the risk taking they saw, managers generally speculated it had something to do with Zambian thought processes. "You've got to think safe to be safe," said one adding that *the idea of being safe* just didn't seem inherent in the Zambian psyche.¹⁴ Everybody has to think safely, offered another. Until everybody does, there will be accidents.¹⁵ That workers seemed not to think in this way was something managers credited to a combination of poor education, carelessness, and ill discipline. It wasn't that Zambia's mines were inherently more dangerous than others in the world. They were remarkably deadly because "stupid stuff" was done in them or careless mistakes made.¹⁶ Poor discipline and carelessness were also considered reasons why some miners fell asleep on the job or arrived at work drunk despite heavy corporate pressure that included random alcohol testing and well-publicized penalties. Falling asleep near dangerous equipment or trying to operate machinery while inebriated, said managers, were open invitations to accidents and such incidents happened with more regularity than the general populace realized.

These same sorts of characteristics or behaviors appeared to be behind why workers would circumvent standard safety procedures on their own or allow men under their supervision to work in unsafe ways. Standard safety procedures are part of the industrial mining world because the work is so dangerous. But managers said one principal reason why

¹⁴ Interview with contracting company owner, 2004.

¹⁵ Interview with chief executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2005.

¹⁶ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization process, 2005. The words "stupid" and "lazy" were highly charged in this setting for reasons that will be discussed in chapter six. The possibility that physiological conditions such as poor nutrition and dehydration might affect miners' concentration and contribute to accidents was never mentioned by the executive/managerial group.

accidents did happen was that workers took short cuts with these procedures. For instance, the mines' blasting fuses were customarily cut in lengths that could burn for several minutes allowing time for the men who lit them to retreat before the charge detonated. But, occasionally workers would cut off a few minutes' worth of fuse. If something then delayed them on their retreat from the blasting area they could be injured or killed. Likewise, guarding against rock falls involved making sure that work areas were properly supported. If supports needed to be moved, workers were taught how to do so according to a standard procedure. Yet, this often didn't seem to happen. An executive once related in frustration that the company had just had a fatality because a miner hadn't done this. In fact, when told what to do, reports said he turned in a different direction and removed other supporting timbers obviously still needed where they were. The result was literally deadly. Since the potential risks were so obvious, why would anyone do such a thing? Short cuts or just not wanting to walk the extra few meters to get the proper posts were the only reasons that the executive could discern.

Similar problems seemed to prevail with worker supervision. The most basic level of supervision in the Copperbelt mines involved one man overseeing as few as ten others within his area. These first line supervisors, said some managers, were also at the front lines of monitoring safety procedures so they were the ones responsible for enforcing the standard practices. Laxity in this supervision was frequently behind mining accidents. As one executive observed,

guys don't get injured when they do something for the first time. I think you'll find the guys do something wrong everyday for ten times. Then he gets injured and then you want to nail a guy who got injured and that's not right because people have seen him do that and have done nothing about it.¹⁷

¹⁷ Interview with mine site manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

Could there be other reasons for mining deaths, however, such as suicide or murder? Members of the executive/managerial group said suicides did sometimes take place underground. But these incidents were statistically negligible. And, when post-accident investigations on suspicious fatalities took place, they usually uncovered motives such as trouble at home, too much drinking, or heavy financial debts.¹⁸ Murder, or “score settling,” also occasionally happened and not just in Zambia’s mines.¹⁹ But odd signs usually tipped off investigators to these sorts of deaths as well. A safety manager at one of the mines recalled some recent examples.

[I]t was claimed that [the miner] was decapitated by a train. And they found his body lying neatly here and his head lying about 3 metres down from his body. And the cut was surgical. Now if a train goes over your head, I mean, over your head it’s—...Then we had the guy that fell down the shaft. Still don’t know where he fell from. The rumor was going around...that he was involved with a lot of different women in town and—personal scores to settle over him...And I believe when we get a surgical cut around the neck it’s a problem. When you get—when you cannot find a place from where a person fell when you have searched every single inch, it’s very suspicious.²⁰

4.1.2 Outwardly directed causes of mine accidents

In addition to the above reasons, executives and managers thought there were a number of other extenuating circumstances that explained why mining accidents were happening on the Copperbelt. The reasons seemed generally to involve mechanical, or operational issues. For example, some managers said that the accident rate had to take into account the numbers of miners on the job then versus during the late 1990s. According to one senior executive, there were approximately 5,000 more men working in the re-privatized mines as compared with the last few years of ZCCM’s operation. This many additional

¹⁸ Interview with chief executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004 followed by email to author, 2006.

¹⁹ Executives who had worked in Latin American mines, for instance, had experience with this sort of thing happening there.

²⁰ Interview with safety manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

workers naturally increased the chances of accidents. Also, by the mid-2000s, technology had evolved so that underground areas were being mined that couldn't even be reached before. Since these areas were deeper into the earth where heat and rock stress were worse, there was more risk of accidents simply because of the places where miners were. Similarly, equipment that the privatized mines had inherited from ZCCM was dilapidated since the nationalized mines had virtually no infrastructure maintenance for 20 years.²¹ So, some accidents were caused by machine breakdowns as well.

Managers and executives were aware that many Zambians said mine accidents were being caused by greed and hasty production methods on the part of the companies. But members of the executive/managerial group responded to these accusations by describing the larger context in which they worked. For example, production haste had to do with the need to increase the mines' output after so many years of decline.²² The mines had always been Zambia's top foreign exchange earners. Considering how badly production had deteriorated, there was urgency to ramp up production on behalf of the country's economy.

Second, if greed was involved, then some distinctions needed to be made as to who was at fault. From the perspective of mining company managers, private contracting companies were the worst culprits. They had no real grounding in the communities and so didn't sufficiently invest in safety training. A senior mining executive said, for example, that each contracting company was legally supposed to have a person in charge of safety issues for every 40 workers. But the contractors seemed to pick their safety people by simply counting off heads, designating every 40th person as the representative—training or no

²¹ Annual reports from the latter years of the ZCCM era did indicate infrastructure maintenance problems.

²² See the production chart in the appendices.

training.²³ Contracting companies, by contrast, said the mine company owners had primary responsibility for what happened in their mines. But these bigger corporations' interests in quick profits prompted them simply to ignore safety concerns. One contracting company owner told of a nearby shaft where temperatures were well beyond the legal limit. How could the mine company executives not know this? Clearly, some accidents were simply caused by company negligence.

4.1.3 Measures for protection and reprisal

As was touched on above, the mining companies had elaborate strategies to prevent accidents from happening. These included providing items that workers were expected to wear and initiating systems for reminding them about and rewarding safe behavior. Depending upon workers' assignments, miners were issued safety gear such as goggles, earplugs, and ventilators in addition to standard hard hats, overalls, boots, and gloves. Faithful, proper wearing of protective gear, said executives and managers, went a long way towards preventing accidents and injuries. The mines also had signs on surface and underground that could remind workers of ways to prevent accidents. These signs ranged from the tersely directive ("If it's not safe, make it safe. Then do it.") to the inspirational ("Our future is in our hands.") to the arguably obtuse (A hand painted depiction of headframe, bird, and snake with the caption "Remove that hazard.").

In addition to such static visual reminders, mining companies held routine training sessions on particular safety procedures; printed instructional materials; conducted safety

²³ Many contracting companies were paid per blast, which created incentive to work quickly. Interview with former ZCCM general manager and current senior executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004. The practice of hiring less expensive, and presumably less well-trained, casual workers was also cited as a potential contribution to mining accidents. "Mine Safety is Not Management's Responsibility Alone—Henderson"; "Zambia: Clambering back," *The Economist* (July 2, 2005): 43.

talks prior to each shift;²⁴ and participated in international programs that established benchmarks for safe production practices. Managers hoped that these efforts would help stop accidents before they ever happened.

But, when accidents did occur, mining managers also had strategies for using accidents' aftermath to improve the future work environment. The most obvious strategy—one dreaded by the workforce and sometimes argued about by managers—was to discipline or punish those viewed as responsible for causing an accident. Different managers held different views about whom should receive punishment and when. For example, one manager said the best guard against future accidents was to impose immediate discipline on anyone found negligent when an incident occurred. He made his point this way.

[T]here's an argument about disciplinary action when accidents happen. I mean my view is you take disciplinary action because that's the way to stop it...[I]f you have an amnesty and say you will never take disciplinary action, if people have an accident and you take no disciplinary action, well it doesn't matter. You know "he didn't have any protective clothing on; he didn't have his goggles on or he used the wrong tool." But if you don't take disciplinary action, the next guy will do the same thing because he knows nothing's going to happen to him. Whereas if you nail people for not using their protective clothing or not using—not using the right tool, it gets the message down to everybody else.²⁵

Another managerial view was more pre-emptive and encompassing. In this view punishment, or discipline, could affect not the person who had been involved in the accident, but the supervisor. For there could be cases in which someone performed his duties unsafely but got away with it because of lax supervision. If such a worker eventually became injured, some managers felt this was not the right time for punishment.

It's not right. You know the answer is to discipline people before they get injured. And it's—I don't really believe in disciplining people once they're injured. I think it's too late...I believe you discipline the worker and/or

²⁴ These typically described the hazards of the day's work area.

²⁵ Interview with senior mining manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

supervisor when the worker...doesn't follow the procedures before someone gets injured. Once an injury occurs and disciplinary action is required, I believe in disciplining the supervisor because he's allowed the bad practice to occur. There are obviously some exceptions to this 'rule' though. Every now and again the injured has just done something ridiculous that the supervisor couldn't prevent.²⁶

4.1.4 Post-incident investigations

Potential discipline as well as any other corporate follow-on was decided according to post-incident investigations. These could be protracted affairs lasting for months, involving the workforce, management, and government's Mines Safety Department (MSD). From the managerial perspective, these investigations were principally "fact finding" procedures that they hoped would not only reveal why an incident had occurred but also teach preventive lessons for the future.

If the guy is fatally injured or there's the potential for him to be fatally injured in all the cases we stop in the area—barricade it off. The inspectors come out...whether it's the same day or the next day—try and have a look and see what's happened. On the fatality side there's an investigation done by the mine safety department as well as our internal investigation...[We] start off with the injured guy and find out what happened. Ask the witnesses what happened. Very often you might get five people with five different stories so you have to battle through the injured, and the witnesses, and the first line supervisor who would have been there. It's sometimes a battle to get the real story out of them...Obviously, if we find the guy has done something blatantly wrong there's a big chance then we will have a disciplinary hearing later. So, obviously they are worried about that...but 90% of the time they are worried about that for nothing. We really just need to get the facts so that we can put something in place or change something if we need to. Very often it's actually the supervisor who's more in trouble than the injured.²⁷

The "battle" for facts that this manager described was quite a common experience among members of the executive/managerial group. In their eyes, it constituted an unhelpful resistance that could begin with the workforce the moment an incident took place and could

²⁶ Interview with mine site manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

²⁷ Ibid.

frustrate attempts simply to find out what should be corrected next time. As a safety manager explained,

[T]he more you start scratching, you get these non-committal answers. And the lies...And the contradictions of the people...[I]t's as if—if you tell the story often enough, and we get it more or less right, that'll be good enough...[T]he first [rule] of investigation—is you get to the scene, you separate the witnesses...You separate them and you get people to take statements before they can talk to each other. Because if you don't do that, you've lost the battle.²⁸

Resistance also came from government officials, managers said. Sometimes post-accident investigations evolved into lengthy legal cases or drew conclusions in final reports that simply misrepresented what the investigation had actually found.²⁹

4.2 Workforce/popular theories on why accidents occur

When mine managers talked about why accidents happened, they usually began from the point of individual worker responsibility—or what we are terming “inwardly directed” causes—and then moved outward to discuss the larger context in which accidents occurred. Members of the workforce popular group, by contrast, tended to start from an external level then move to a more inward focus.

4.2.1 Outwardly directed causes of mine accidents

This study's early situational analysis, in asking its cerebrally-related, “why do you think these things are happening” question first touched on general Zambian views about the causes of mine accidents. Participants in that survey repeatedly mentioned two reasons for the increased mining accident rate under privatization. These were production pressures that made people work too quickly and the manner in which operations were being carried out.

²⁸ Interview with safety manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

²⁹ Interview with senior mining manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004; Email to author from chief executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2006.

And, as managers knew, Zambians identified corporate greed as the motivating factor in both cases.

Greed inspired the companies to emphasize production so strongly that even safety concerns became ancillary. For example, in the past, miners were issued different colored overalls and hardhats that the company had regularly replaced. Under privatization, everyone seemed just to wear the same nondescript outfit until it looked shoddy. Underground infrastructure, such as the mines' ventilation, was also old and needed repair. In some places the air was so poor that cloths wrapped around workers' mouths turned black in 15 minutes.

Old supplies and equipment, however, weren't the only reasons why accidents had increased. Nor were they the only evidence of corporate greed. Miners said that the way mining was being done also created problems. Experienced miners such as Matthew Kapumba felt that the companies' increased accident rates were due at least in part to their using methods inappropriate for the Copperbelt's orebodies. And they did so either out of mismanagement or misplaced priorities. Mismanagement happened because greedy foreign investors brought in their own people who knew nothing about mining. Misplaced priorities happened because the companies valued efficiency over the orebody itself. So the companies would abandon whole underground areas rather than take the time to extract carefully what remained there.³⁰

When miners and Copperbelt residents talked about how they saw the private companies conducting business underground they sometimes used vivid imagery or analogies. Research assistant Enock Muthwejile encountered this while walking with a miner underground one day.

³⁰ Interview with underground manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

[H]e asked me, "Do you know that you can motivate somebody just by words? You know?" Then he said, "You know, here we have a lot of accidents one, because people are frustrated. Two, these people—*amabunhu*—these South Africans" that's what he said, "*amabunhu*—they have come here and the way in which they are digging this copper is a very, very greedy way." He gave me an example of a baby trying to eat food to make sure that before anybody else come that food is finished. So that this one eats faster—almost in a careless way—other things are dropping and so on and so forth. That's the way in which these people are digging this copper.

Digging copper that way was considered sloppy by Zambians—as sloppy as if someone were to mess up food intended for guests. So the mining companies, in their haste to extract every bit of ore as quickly as possible, were neglecting safety procedures; their workers' welfare; and destroying the earth itself. Anytime there were incidents, considerable public discussion would go towards these reasons for mining accidents.

But in casual, or private, conversation another level of causation appeared important. This more inwardly looking level attempted to explain the *why* of accidents by considering individuals' circumstances. In this more personal or focused respect, such talk resembled executives' and managers' concerns about workers' short cuts and slack supervision. But there the similarities seemed to end.

4.2.2 Inwardly directed causes of accidents

On the Copperbelt there was a concept known in Bemba as *chisomo* or *ichisomo*.³¹ Other regions of Zambia had similar ideas sometimes carrying names as in the Chokwe *kumumbilako* and sometimes simply known by descriptive stories and teachings. Zambians in their mid-20s and older had learned about *chisomo* formally through direct instruction by

³¹ The words *chisomo* and *ichisomo* are used virtually interchangeably throughout this text with the difference in spelling being due to usage issues. *Ichisomo* is more specific to particular instances than is the generalized term, *chisomo*. The imagery of *chisomo* suggests something that comes loose and strikes out. A mother tongue Bemba speaker defined the term this way, "*Ichisomo* is an 'unexpected' misfortune that happens to a person (such as injury, death) especially in an accident (car, bicycle, falling from a tree, falling in a ditch, etc). This sometimes could be in circumstance where one would not otherwise be expected to die or where many survive and only one person dies or gets injured. Often *ichisomo* is caused intentionally by another person, most times out of jealousy." Email to author, 2005.

their elders and/or by picking it up informally from playmates and casual interactions.³² *Chisomo* suggested that evil spirits could prompt people to do destructive things. Such spirits would not come to just anyone but would be sent to specific individuals in much the same way that an evil spirit was said to have attacked King Saul in his periodic rages against David.³³

At least two situations could elicit *chisomo*. First, would be any individual death. This was because death was not an isolated occurrence but something that affected family members and friends in ways beyond the emotional or psychological. Through supernatural forces, the death of a person could suddenly take control of a close relative's physical actions whether or not that person was aware of being newly bereaved. Because *chisomo* could attack without warning, those who had just lost someone were considered to be in very vulnerable positions. For example, during the course of this study, the wife of a senior level administrator at MEF died in Kitwe while he was in a remote part of the Northern Province. There was no way to communicate this by telephone so a staff driver went to fetch him. The story subsequently went around campus that the driver madly rushed the distance to Mbala, anxious to retrieve the administrator before anything else bad could happen to him. Even without knowing his wife had died, the administrator was the potential target of a spirit that could attack, causing him to harm himself or someone else.

A second situation in which *chisomo* was said to operate involved bad relationships between people. One person's jealousy of another, for instance, could incite *chisomo*. Punishment for errors committed against someone else might also bring on an attack. Such

³² The extent to which younger Zambians were aware of the concept was not possible to tell. By the mid-2000s, my research assistants said they thought young, urban youths would not be very aware.

³³ This comparison to events in I Samuel was suggested by my research assistant, Lubasi, a Hebrew Bible specialist.

an attack would generally be recognized by its suddenness and unpredictability. Enock's grandmother talked with him about this when they were discussing what we would term "freak" road accidents.³⁴

EM: Chuma nakwiva chikwo ngwo muthu kumotoka amumbilanga, kuchi chakupwa?

Gdma: Eeh. Auze twa kwamba ngwo kamutakwila ko kananwene haze makwachila yoze unambe kumu lya, hiku mwamba ngwenyi akuze maya amupupa kuli motoka-auze mukwamotoka muze aneza aye mamona ngwe kanawa anende mba auze muthu aye mbwangu kumotoka ukholekhole-
nowo auze muthu kamutakwilako

EM: The other thing I hear is that a person was "thrown" to a vehicle. How does that happen?

Gdma: Yes, that one we say he has been thrust there by the person who wants to "eat" him. Such a person may have to find a situation to disguise his act, so he will set things such that his victim is hit by a vehicle. As far as the driver of such a vehicle was concerned he was driving just all right but

an attack would generally be recognized by its suddenness and unpredictability. Enock's grandmother talked with him about this when they were discussing what we would term "freak" road accidents:³⁴

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EM: Mba athu kuchi akunyingika ngwo kamutakwi lako?

Gdma: Mumu keve kanyingikine ngweni kumafa, hanji nawa nyingwe nwazwelele acho mba muthu kuya kuze hafa mba ngwo kamutakwilangako. Kufa chacho chakukomwesa-yize yakulinga muthu aye kanapalikila kulumbu lyeka motoka neyo kwekha mba kutungumuka muthu hamupupa!

EM: The other thing I hear is that a person was "thrown" to a vehicle. How does that happen?

Gdma: Yes, that one we say he has been thrust there by the person who wants to "eat" him. Such a person may have to find a situation to disguise his act, so he will set things such that his victim is hit by a vehicle. As far as the driver of such a vehicle was concerned he was driving just all right but then the victim hits himself there—mbuuh! Then fatality results. Then we say that person has been thrust there.

EM: But how do people know that he/she has been thrust there?

Gdma: Because it was very unlikely for someone to die in a particular situation or that he quarreled with someone before meeting his death. So it is said he has been thrust there. It's a death that surprises people—what happens is that a person may be walking on this side and the vehicle on the other side, but suddenly the person has been hit!

As strangers looking in on the situation, we might assume that such talk only took place among older, rural Zambians. But this was not the case. Not only was *chisomo* present in Zambia's mining environment, similar ideas in nearby areas of the continent were quite strong. A Zambian mine physician offered this from his experience:

[I]f, for example, somebody's disaffected or you know for one reason or another people don't like him and then something happens they would, you

³⁴ Enock and his grandmother spoke in Chokwe. See the appendices for a longer excerpt from this conversation.

know, there's a tendency to blame him. That "perhaps he went because we don't like him"... You know, the relation between safe working practices and accidents, although it is being taught and you have, at the change of shift, there's always a safety pep talk where they talk about issues related to safety—5-10 minutes or so. "This area's not safe. We need to do this. We need to do this." And so on. That has been with a view of trying to get each individual to take responsibility for their own individual safety and for the safety of the section they are working in.

But still when something happens it does not happen because they took short cuts. It happens because the guy who worked there before, and maybe he died in an accident or whatever, he may be calling others to join him or something like that. But...following a fatality [if a miner's] conscience is clear he had no ill feeling towards that person he'll go back and work. If his conscience is not clear, if he had some ill feeling against that guy, you'll find him come, you know, "I've got a back ache, I've this and this" for a good 2-3 months. Or he may even wish to be changed from that particular section. Because he feels that that person's spirit will come and visit him.

An expatriate safety manager discussed experiences from his work in South Africa and Mozambique. There, a fatality in a key section of the orebody could palpably affect workers' attitudes. But the company's limited access to orebodies meant work would have to continue in the area where the fatality had occurred. For the miners, however,

people will never be happy and anything that ever happens there will be pointed back to that specific incident.

This manager further related a story from his time at a South African open cast mine.

[W]e had a bulldozer that went over the high wall...So what happened is that they pushed the overburden away from the high wall and he went too far and drove over the edge. So he dropped about 30 metres into the pit. And that happened just as I arrived there. I'll never forget that. And he was trapped in the cab and he drowned as a result. Now as traumatic as that was, no one accepted it as just being an accident because when everyone rushed out of there to do an investigation and they started moving further afield following his tracks, they actually found a graveyard, okay? Because this was old farmland and I mean, you know, it's underground and some of the graves were 80 years old. Now there is a procedure that you've got to follow to exhume graves and things like that...But, of course, no one knew that this was there. So everything was laid out to the fact that we were now mining into a graveyard. And this was the reason why this happened.³⁵

³⁵ Both quotations taken from interview with safety manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

Another idea closely related to *chisomo* was *iminyama*.³⁶ *Iminyama* was considered worse than bad luck. It was like an evil aura that would attach itself to a person and go wherever that person went. Ultimately, *iminyama* could cause someone to do strange or bizarre things. And, like *chisomo*, *iminyama* could select people regardless of their physical proximity or awareness.

This had special import for the mines where *iminyama* had the potential of harming laborers who were already at risk. Underground, miners were physically cut off from their families for their entire work days making them—it would seem—totally removed from what was happening on surface.³⁷ While, in other settings, these work arrangements might be perfect for those interested in having illicit affairs above ground, in this setting such relationships could be complicated by *iminyama*.

The Copperbelt has certainly seen its share of dalliance and infidelity and, during the time of this study, the euphemistic term for an affair in some communities was “private sector.”³⁸ So a woman seeing a man other than her husband was said to have “a private sector.” Certain rules pertained as to how these affairs could be conducted, however, since the wife’s behavior on surface could affect what happened to her husband underground. If a miner’s wife was engaging in a private sector, other women would ask her to refrain from seeing the boyfriend while her husband was underground. Her infidelity while he was on the

³⁶ *Iminyama* was considered Copperbelt Bemba slang. The proper Bemba term was *ishamo*. A mother tongue Bemba speaker and Anglican priest used the Biblical example of Jonah to explain *iminyama*. Jonah’s running away from his unfulfilled mission caused the storm at sea. “The people on the ship/boat basically started looking for someone whose ‘bad luck’ could have been responsible for such an experience - Jonah was such a person.” Email to author, 2005.

³⁷ By the mid-2000s, technology existed that allowed officials on surface to communicate with individual miners underground, but this technology was barely being used in American mines much less African mines. U.S. Congress. Senate. Appropriations Committee, Hearings on Mine Safety, June 23, 2006.

³⁸ See Epstein, *Scenes from African Urban Life*; Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*; and Powdermaker, *Copper Town*.

job could bring on *iminyama* that might precipitate a rock fall or tangle with a machine, causing the miner to lose life or limb.³⁹

Iminyama or *chisomo* were also frequently judged to be the reasons why particularly bizarre accidents might occur. For example, the miner who pulled supporting timbers down on himself was, according to those Zambians who commented on the incident, most likely the victim of *iminyama* or *chisomo*. This could be the only reasonable explanation because the consequences of such actions were so obvious.

Miners such as Matthew Kapumba recognized, however, that talking with expatriate managers about these incidents was particularly difficult. How could they explain deaths possibly triggered by *chisomo* or *iminyama* when a worker's own mates might not know the cause and when the concept of evil spirits just didn't fit with industrial production schedules? So why such deaths happen, "*katwisha*," he said. "We just don't know."

Such not knowing could affect talk about accidents even when the conversation occurred only among Zambians. Once, when Sunday Mutale had gathered a group of miners and miners' wives, the topic of inexplicable deaths came up. As he analyzed an odd underground death for the assembled group, Sunday showed a keen understanding of how corporate politics could affect accident attribution and how more could be going on as well.

Mr. S. Mutale: Ciba so, like uyu uwafwile ifyo caliniso, ine mombela kulya kwine ukwafwilile ulya. Ne libwe lilya line afwililepo naliya nyantapo no lukasa. Lyali libwe ilitali kwati lipulanga ili, lyaponene ifi; alipona ifi, bonse 4 ngabafwilile kulya kwine. Nomba lyakonkelefyekafye. Ilyo afwile umulumendo following day balishile

Mr. S. Mutale: It is like this: like this one who died it was like this. For instance, I work in the same area where that man died. Even the very stone that killed him, I stepped on it. It was a long stone like a plank, and it dropped like this. If it dropped like this, all four of them would have died on that spot. But the stone just followed him alone. The

³⁹ Sexuality and gender relationships were particularly sensitive topics in the mid-2000s Copperbelt environment. But it is important to note the idea of *connection* contained in the above instance. Whether or not such a rule was concocted by men to keep their women under control is not so much the point as noting that the conduct of one person could have physical implications for another who was elsewhere.

more than 30, ba majestri, mine police Chingola, ba safety aba kuChililabombwe, Kitwe. So ifyo baishile kulya kufwailisha bushe umulumendo acifwa shani, elyo icilibwe epo cafumine apa paipipa. Nomba balya bene abaci bosses besu kufwaya ukucingila ulyo mulandu, nomba ishuko ulu majestrate wapa town nibawishikulu elyo ba safety nine nalebasenda mulikamotoka. Baikele safety, government inspector na majestrate baleitotosha baikele babili. Baisa bepusha bamanager, uyu wine, Njovu balisa mwipusha ati imwe bashimwana bushe mwalishiba ati iyi ground yaliba bwino nangu tayaba bwino [unintelligible] mukwasuka bena baeba ati twaishiba ati tayaba bwino—mwaumfwa baikaka apo one. Baisaipusha futi uwa mukonkapo bushe ground iyi, yaliba bwino, ati iyo taya ba bwino, alelemba. Nomba ilyo baishile kumanda ekwali ubwafya. Kwamba ukuba shobaula ukuba shobaula, elyo aisa beba ati no muntu uwalemipusha tamwamwishibe. Nalimwipwishe nati bushe ground yaba shani iyi mwajebele ati ground tayaba bwino nomba if ground tayaba bwino ninshi mwaiingishishe abantu? Mwamona so abene beka baikaka. Icasheleko nomba kulasumina fye. Pantu bena balefyaye ukucingilila, bainashisheko, babikepo ifya ifyo, so abene baishina. Emilandu shashala umu nanomba na mailo balelubulula. *[He explains more about the victim's jobs and then continues.]* Ubushiku afwile ali na banankwe four, ena afumapo apaikele abanankwe ayaiikala eka filya. Epamusangile ilibwe.

EM: Nomba ifyo nshishibe emo mwinga filosha umuntu aya ikalefyo. Ngacakweba ati tuli pacililo tuleshimika ifyo finshi abantu bengalanda.

Man: Ati balimusunkilapo fye.

Woman: Pantu ico cine icalengele ati cimufumyepo palya pa banankwe

following day after the young man died, more than 30 people came. Among them were magistrates, mine police of Chingola, and safety people from Chililabombwe and Kitwe. The reason why they came was to investigate the cause of young man's death since the stone fell from short distance [e.g. low level]. When the very bosses wanted to hide the evidence, luckily enough, this magistrate from Chingola is the grandfather to the young man who died. I am the one who carried them in the car. They sat like this: safety people, government inspector and magistrate. So the government and the magistrate whispered to each other. Then they asked the manager, this very one, Mr. Njovu, "You Mr. Do you know whether this ground is safe or not?" In answering he said, "We know that it is not safe." Can you hear that? He convicted himself. They asked again the next one, "Is this ground safe?" He answered that it was not safe and they wrote down those statements. Now when they came to the graveyard that is where trouble begun. They told the mine bosses off. Then he said to them that they even did not know the person who asked you those questions. "I asked you whether the ground was safe or not and you said it was not. Now if the ground is not good, why did you send people to work there?" So you see they convicted themselves. What remained was for them to admit that they were wrong. Because they wanted to protect themselves in order to make things easy for themselves by ignoring the real issue. This is the case which is still there. Even yesterday they were still sorting out the same issue. *[He explains more about the victim's jobs and then continues.]* The day he died, he was with his four friends but he left them and sat alone a few meters away. That is where the stone found him.

EM: Now I don't know how you would explain a person leaving his friends and sitting like that. If we are at a funeral house

ecamupamfishe ukuti afwe eka.

Mr. S. Mutale: Awee ifyo ndelondolola nifi, ifwe fino twikele batatu na mafosholo natukwata tulelaisha, ine kulya mpelele napwa abapa tabalapwisha, elyo nomba naisafumapo naisa nakuno kunuma ndefwaya ukutushako nanaka, mwamona, elyo nansunsumanakofye nelibwe lyaisa, mukulanda kuti twatilafye nicifye caba. Otherwise nici ilibwe lyaponene so, aliponefi bonse ngabalifwa.

and we try to explain that, what will people say about it?

Man: That they just pushed him there.

Woman: Because the very thing that caused him to leave the place where he was with his friends is the very thing that forced him to die alone.

Mr. S. Mutale: No. What I am explaining is this: just like we're seated the three of us here with shovels in our hands lashing, I finish my part while my friends have not yet finished. So that is when I go behind them to get some rest because I am tired. Just as I squat, the stone falls. If we have to talk, We'll just say that "he was just unfortunate." Otherwise, only that the stone fell like this, if it were like this, all would have died.

4.2.3 Measures for protection and reprisal

The company-wide protection and safety programs mentioned above were activities in which Zambians freely participated. But, they also appeared to have other means of keeping themselves safe and explaining where faults might lie when accidents did occur. Some of their protective or preventive measures had versatile uses beyond the mines. Others seemed more specific to mining. Women walking through tall grasses near the major Copperbelt cities might tie straw-like strands around their necks and wrists for protection against snakes. Township healers sold shells, bits of wood, and seeds that men could wrap in paper and put in their pockets or tie with a handkerchief around their genitals. These items were said to guard against all sorts of misfortunes in offices, court cases, and so on. Necklaces and forehead

tattoos were also available for miners at small medicinal shops in Chimwemwe outside Kitwe.⁴⁰

Beyond employing physical items, members of the workforce understood that use or non-use of certain words could have an effect on miners' safety. Kapumba's wife, Martha, for example, said that each time he left for work they had to say good-bye in a special way because they never knew if he would return. Likewise, when he arrived back home they had a special greeting. Even though the words essentially meant, "How did work go?" they carried a connotation that Matthew was kept safe and that Martha, through her own actions on surface, had played a part in this. Miners also knew never to say, "*Mwabombenei*?" ("How is work going?") underground but only after arriving back on surface. Underground, one never knew what might happen.

Another protective measure that some miners employed involved practices traditionally associated with Western Christianity. Zambia is distinct in the world as being the only officially declared "Christian nation."⁴¹ In the mid-2000s, roughly 86% of the population identified as Christian and public conversations frequently contained references or allusions to a shared Christianity.⁴² In this regard, quite a number of miners would say simply that they survived underground by the grace of God or that God alone protected them. Matthew Kapumba once related that, upon being given a book of Christian prayers, he began copying down a sample each day and placing the bits of paper in his pocket before going on shift.

⁴⁰ Township traditional healers seemed to shift locations over time. These shifts were apparently to help customers maintain anonymity.

⁴¹ President Chiluba mandated this designation and it is now part of the country's Constitution. There are questions about the extent to which his decision to designate the country this way arose from theological or political convictions. See also Willis, "Like Ships Passing," 203.

⁴² According to the World Christian Database, 9,605,588 out of a population of 11,043,312 were affiliated with some form of Christianity at the time of this study. <http://worldchristiandatabase.org/wcd/esweb.asp?WCI=Results&Query=583&Key=Zambia&PageSize=100&Records=40>.

Miners complimented such preventive and protective schemes with an understanding that supernatural forces could send warnings and assign blame for what they considered improper conduct towards the underground workplace. The mines were viewed as having spirits that could discern which relationships with humanity were appropriate and which not. The experience of a newly hired mine physician as told by his colleague illustrates this.

You know, we try to arrange underground visits for our doctors here so they can appreciate the environment in which the miners are working. And the chap who was leading them around underground, you know, you get ground moving—it starts creaking. And he just said, “The spirits of the mine are not happy. Let’s leave this place.”...[T]hat is the sort of thing, you know, they have respect for the mine. “The spirit of the mine is not happy that we are walking in here. You guys” almost implying that “you’re not miners you’ve got no business being here. So let’s get out.”⁴³

Similarly, some Zambians saw a multiple fatality incident at KCM’s open pit as signifying the mines spirits’ disapproval of Anglo American Corporation. In 2001, an earth wall collapsed at the Chingola open pit killing 10 miners and stopping production for a month.⁴⁴ It was not long after this incident that AAC, reporting huge losses and lack of sufficient funds to proceed with developing the underground site at Konkola Deep, announced its departure as controlling partner in the company.⁴⁵ But popular interpretations of the Chingola incident said the mine spirits had already made their decision. Anglo American would have to go. And so they went.⁴⁶

⁴³ Interview with mine physician, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

⁴⁴ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005; United States Geological Survey, *Mineral Industry Surveys: Copper, 2001 Annual Review* (January, 2003): 22.7, <http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals>.

⁴⁵ As chapter two’s mention of these events has already suggested, conversation in the public media about Anglo’s pull out was conducted in purely financial terms. Westerners who knew more about the situation added that personal reasons played a role in the Corporation’s withdrawal as well. Zambians contributed yet another level of analysis as seen here. See also comments in the transcript from the tavern feedback session as contained in the appendices.

⁴⁶ Interview with mine physician, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

4.2.4 Post-incident investigations

The workforce/popular group employed a two-tiered approach to post-incident investigations similar to what they used to explain accidents in the first place. An outward, or public, discussion would first identify accident causes lying with the company. The company should have implemented better protective measures, for instance, or production pressures and haste had led to the incident. This was the level at which executives and managers would experience employee resistance to the company's fact-finding endeavors. To the workforce, these formal proceedings could be very intimidating. Everyone lined up in the manager's office with summary dismissals seeming always to follow were not encouraging means of producing free discussion. So, from their vantage point, prevarication wasn't meant to frustrate the company so much as it was to protect the miner's job. Some Zambian executives and managers knew this and talked about it.

[W]ith the type of information gathering that, sort of like, puts the spotlight on the individual they will just lie. They will just lie. Because he says, "I'm saving my skin. I'm saving my job." [If management asks,] "Did you see this? What happened?" "It just happened." "But the way the body was found and so on, it's like something dropped." He says, "No. It's just loose rocks from somewhere." You know? And they would lie just like that.⁴⁷

Beneath this more obvious level of investigation and blame assignment, a second, more hidden level of inquiry might take place. Focusing on individuals involved, this exploration would try to determine why the accident happened to that particular person at that particular time. This more private, personal search could take place simultaneously with the company's formal inquiry.⁴⁸ Family members might ask if something unusual had occurred

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ This type of inquiry seemed to take place frequently at what Zambians called "funeral houses," the homes in which people held vigils to mourn immediately after someone had died. In these settings, women wore *chitenges*—cloths wrapped around their waists to form a skirt—and sat on the floor. They alternated between

just before the miner left for work that day. Had he, for example, done anything untoward such as showing disrespect for an elderly person? Through hindsight, Zambians would try to determine why the incident had happened by examining signs and actions even if they didn't appear immediately related to the accident. Conclusions would not necessarily be definitive and could encompass a mixture of supernatural and human-derived causes. Still, they helped to account in some small degree for why the misfortune had occurred.

This type of inquiry could take place with any accident or death and was not limited to the mine environment. The following examples will illustrate the wide-ranging nature of this search for clues and assignation of reasons *why*. When my research assistant Lubasi had been in secondary school some years previously, a male student was found keeping company with a young female at a time and place that the headmaster considered inappropriate. He received a reprimand. Then some papers in an office went missing and about that same time there was a funeral. People from the area who knew about all this added the principal's reprimand plus the missing papers together to conclude that they foretold the funeral. In 2004, an Anglican evangelistic crusade took place on an open space just outside Kitwe along the Chingola road. The busy stretch of road from the Buchi township turnoff near Kitwe to Chimwemwe farther out of town was regarded as particularly treacherous territory, being haunted by the spirits of those who had died there.⁴⁹ The day before the crusade began, there was a major accident in that area and a number of people were killed. The next day, at the very same spot, a pedestrian was run over. Some Zambians concluded these incidents meant

periods of silence, singing, crying, and praying. Simultaneously the men sat outdoors on furniture removed from the house. Rather than singing and praying, the men tended to chat and drink.

⁴⁹ The term designated for spirits in this condition, *ichiwa* (sg) or *ifiwa* (pl), signified a ghost or phantom of a dead person. When someone did not die peacefully that person's spirit was said to seek others to join it. This sometimes happened at the location where the person died but was not limited to that particular place. The term was used in connection with the section of road between Kitwe and Chingola. Because many people had died tragically there it was assumed that unhappy *ifiwa* awaited others.

that those running the crusade were seeking people's blood to help ensure a successful event. In 2005, a young man who was doing piecework at an educational institution outside Kitwe learned that his grandfather had killed himself. But, suicide was unheard of among Zambia's elderly. Furthermore, the grandfather had just come from the village and had successfully collected his son's terminal benefits from the mining company. Yes, he had quarreled with his wife before leaving home, but someone wouldn't end his life "over a woman." So, cultural, financial, and relational reasons for the death had to be ruled out. The only reasonable explanation was supernatural—*chisomo* or *iminyama*.

The foregoing discussion illustrates the potency of Schutz's *fundamental anxiety* at work within the Copperbelt environment. Executives/managers as well as miners and the general public seemed united in their desire to avoid mining mishaps, especially fatalities. The different reasons that the two groups found for why they thought accidents happened, however, were instructive for demonstrating the variety and complexity of people's actions as they tried to avoid this fundamental anxiety.

The next portion of the chapter will, through narratives, try to identify possible reference points that Zambians compiled concerning accidents in the mines. If we apply Schutz's theory about present time actions and ongoing thinking about such actions, what can we discern about the points of relevance that seemed apparent to Zambians?

4.3 Two narratives of accidents and their causes

The first story recounts events that took place soon after President Kaunda announced his nationalization scheme. The second talks of things that happened a few years after full mine re-privatization had been completed.

4.3.1 The Mufulira Disaster, 1970

Chapter two records the Zambian government's decision to assume a 51% share in the mines effective January 1, 1970. Before the process was even finished, the worst mining accident in the country's history took place in Mufulira. Mufulira is a town near the Democratic Republic of Congo border, which at that point draws a somewhat arbitrary line across the road leading towards Zambia's Luapula Province. Without the mine there would probably be no reason for the town and, at first glance, Mufulira seems more isolated than Kitwe or Ndola. Internet access, for example, is sparse by comparison and there are not as many shops and restaurants as can be found in other Copperbelt urban areas. But, with a closer look, Mufulira may be less isolated than it appears. It has a long-standing role as a way station for those traveling south and west from Luapula through the Congo, areas where supernatural activities are said to be particularly strong.

The night of September 25th, 1970 a tailings dam on the north side of the waste rock dump collapsed and more than one million tons of mud and water slid into the mine.⁵⁰ In 15 minutes, huge sections of the mine were inundated and only 31 miners on duty there emerged alive. Another 89 mostly Zambians workers were counted as dead; the bodies of at least 50 were never recovered. In addition to this human tragedy, the Disaster's immediate effect on Zambia's copper production was monumental. Monthly averages dropped from 617,000 tonnes of ore hoisted earlier in the year to 30,000 tonnes during October.⁵¹

Official reports then and observations of executives and managers in the mid-2000s explained the *why* of the Disaster according to the mechanics of what had happened. They also assigned blame largely in line with the inward and outward directed causes recorded in

⁵⁰ "Mufulira Disaster Correspondence September 1970 – August 1975," (File 15.2.6AP, ZCCM Archives, Ndola).

⁵¹ Commission of Inquiry, 7.

the first part of this chapter. In sum, the sinkhole was an old problem, warning signs for which had been missed, ignored, or perhaps even covered up for decades.⁵² Something simply happened that September night to make the old mine tailings more liquid than solid. Scientifically speaking, this could occur under the right circumstances—an earth tremor for example.⁵³

But such an explanation was apparently insufficient for the general Zambian populace. At the time of the Disaster, rumors circulating about the actual cause of the accident included supernatural forces and malevolent impulses.⁵⁴ Additionally, many Zambians, then and now suspected the cave-in had been planned.⁵⁵ Matthew Kapumba was a teenager in Mufulira at the time. In his experience, published reports concerning the numbers of dead were woeful underestimates. He recalled at least 50 funerals in his own township section while others had 30 to 100 funerals. Looking back at the Mufulira Disaster, the real reason it had occurred, he said, was because whites, upset over nationalization and Zambianization, secretly dug tunnels in the direction of the slag dump to provoke a cave in. Resentful that they were being “chased” from the mines, as Robert Mugabe would later chase whites from Zimbabwe’s farmlands, expatriates committed sabotage.

⁵² Ibid., 8ff. “Danger that went unseen: Muf inquiry reveals wrong diagnosis,” *Zambia Daily Mail*, (February 18, 1971). Reports in the 1970s talk of studies that, in retrospect, should have been made 20 years previously. “Mufulira Disaster Correspondence.” An independent technical consultant recalled credible reports of mud oozing in two days before the Disaster. Apparently the expatriate manager who had seen it was subsequently “banished to Nampundwe.” Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005. It is important to remember that, in 1970, the expatriate management presence would still have been significant. So, blame assigned by contemporary executives to management of that time implicated expatriates as much as Zambians, if not more so.

⁵³ The technical term for this phenomenon is “liquefaction” which is defined as “1. The catastrophic collapse of a pile of waste material under the influence of gravity due to internal water build-up; 2. Change of state from solid to liquid.” Earle A. Ripley, Robert E. Redmann, and Adèle A Crowder, *Environmental Effects of Mining* (Delray Beach, FL: St. Lucie Press, 1996), 304.

⁵⁴ “Miners Want Muf Report Translated,” *Zambia Daily Mail* (February 19, 1971).

⁵⁵ “Resumption of Subsidence Mining at Mufulira” (photocopy, ZCCM Archives, Ndola, April 4, 1975).

Official explanations from the time and the re-privatized company's moving on in operations decades later still didn't take away the significance or the mystery of the Mufulira Disaster.⁵⁶ Even though the underground area was sealed off, the old tailings dump no longer used, and mine development proceeding in an opposite direction from the inundation, the Disaster continued to affect the Mufulira community.

Roger Chaba, who worked there, said that occasionally body parts were still being retrieved.⁵⁷ He thought an old European cemetery in a lone grove of trees near the mine was the burial ground for those who had died in 1970. And a friend of his who knew the Disaster's specifics were fading from general public memory still noticed significant characteristics about the place.

As we were growing up I remember the area which—where the tragedy happened—I don't know the way things happen. There's a lot of guava trees; a lot of guava trees. So it has been put to be a restricted area, you know? It has been put as a restricted area one, on the basis that the place is not safe to go there. You can easily fall into a ditch because there are still some openings. Once you fall into a ditch you may not be able to come out...The other thing is there is a belief to say the people who died from the same tragedy you never know if you go there maybe you can—you may not come back! You will not know what has taken you. So it's somehow restricted. Though I'm sure those were beliefs of those during those days when memories were still fresh.

As it is now, well, people are, they are tending to forget about it. I remember while I was in Mufulira as we were going to our fields we could pass through the same place. It's no longer that restricted now. It was really a tragedy.

As to the guava trees,

Well, this is what surprises me. I never really inquired as to how the guava trees found themselves to be that side. I don't know whether they were just being planted—of which I don't believe they were just planted. I don't know. All I know is there is a lot of guava trees.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Under the circumstances, the official conclusion "that no human being consciously engineered the disaster, or could have exercised any control over it," (*Commission of Inquiry*, 18) was an especially pointed remark.

⁵⁷ See his written comments in the appendices.

⁵⁸ Interview with former Mufulira resident and mining family member, 2004.

The Mufulira Disaster was not something that really concerned expatriate mine managers in the mid-2000s. To them it was history—useful to learn from and an important memory for the community—but no longer potent. As such, it almost never got mentioned.

In casual conversations with members of the workforce/popular group, however, the Mufulira Disaster would spontaneously arise as a topic. When it was discussed in such settings, there could be an uneasiness to the memories suggesting that why it had happened and what it might mean were still unanswered questions.⁵⁹

If you were to go to Mufulira and try to mess about with the area where there was the Disaster, you would be in trouble with the miners... You have to have respect for that particular area. That particular incident happened and, over the years, people have forgotten the details—the geological, the mining reasons—why you had the Mufulira mine disaster. But everything that is related to that, you know, or the area—you don't go messing about—it is held with the same reverence that they do, you know, or that we had for graveyard cemeteries. You don't go messing about there... you don't point at the graveyard and you never went through the graveyard. In fact, in those days, people didn't die that often. But [with] AIDS now and poverty and so on that has changed. But, here—the mine itself—that Disaster itself some would say the mine was not happy with something so it happened.⁶⁰

4.3.2 The spate of accidents, 2005

In early 2005, five years after the last of Zambia's mines had been sold, a series of accidents prompted heated debate about the country's privatization program. The precipitating event was a multiple fatality incident at Mindola sub-vertical shaft in February. Miners working in this shaft came on foot from townships nearer by such as Mindolo North or Chimwemwe, or were bussed in from Wusakili further a field. Shortly after this incident, near the entrance gates to the plant site a crowd of miners' wives gathered, demanding

⁵⁹ This could be seen in Zambian public media discussions as well. See for example, comments made in a newspaper article analyzing privatization: "Mining accidents in Zambia have in fact become as endemic as HIV/AIDS. For some inexplicable reason, the three major disasters recorded in Zambia's mining history, have taken place at Mufulira Mine which, paradoxically, has reputable mining topography, well-deposited copper ore body, and noteworthy mining infrastructure." "Has privatization of mines really backfired in Zambia?" *Times of Zambia* (February 21, 2006): 8.

⁶⁰ Interview with mine physician, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

dismissal of certain managerial staff. An expatriate shaft manager was temporarily removed by the Mines Safety Department and after a few days all again seemed normal.⁶¹

Then, in mid-April a truck carrying school children from Kawambwa, Northern Province overturned and 45 young people were killed. Accidents of this type earn news coverage in large countries such as the United States. For a small nation such as Zambia, the event warranted headlines for days.

Things got worse less than three weeks later when, back on the Copperbelt, a huge blast destroyed the BGRIMM Explosives factory. The factory was owned by Chinese investors and sat on the grounds of Non-Ferrous Corporation (NFC) Africa Mining near Chambishi.

The story of what Joseph's family experienced that day was probably typical of what other families encountered. The morning of the blast, father, mother, and their 21-year old son Joseph had gotten up early to go for morning prayers at their church. He and Joseph had then gone to work together, Joseph at BGRIMM, his father in the rewinding department of NFC. When the explosion occurred, Joseph's father heard it but couldn't tell the direction from whence it came. When it became apparent that the explosives factory was involved, he tried first calling Joseph's cell phone and then text messaging him. But he got no response. He then telephoned his wife and went to the plant site. There, rather than seeing the large steel supported building where his son worked, the father found only rubble. Later in the day he found his son's body, recognizable by the clothes he had been wearing that morning.

⁶¹ Ultimately the manager was reinstated. "Mopani Miners' Wives Protest," *Zambia Post* (February 24, 2005): <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200502240163.html>; "Mopani Mine Manager Schultz Fired," *Times of Zambia* (February 24, 2005): <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable.200502240049.html>. "Kitwe High Court Reinstates Mindolo Shaft Manager," *Zambia Post* (May 27, 2005): 2

Once he found his son, Joseph's father tied a cloth around the young man's ankle to guard against mix-ups when time came for official identification.

The next few days were chaotic. According to the first media broadcasts from the site, families that gathered to locate and mourn their dead shouted such questions as "Is this the price we have to pay for privatization?" into the cameras. President Levy Mwanawasa, who received news of the explosion as he was about to board a flight from Ndola departed for Lusaka rather than hastening the few miles back to Chambishi.⁶² When he eventually arrived, he was initially upstaged by former President Frederick Chiluba who had gotten there first. Both men met with grieving families at a nearby schoolhouse to which they had been shunted. And to mourners, the President's delayed appearance and the haphazard arrangements for gathering together suggested the government was not taking their suffering seriously.

There were harsher words for the Chinese investors and management, however. According to some reports, local Chinese supervisors had told workers and some eight students from Copperbelt University (CBU) there on attachment,⁶³ that temperatures in the plant were too high. They asked everyone to address the problem and left. Fifteen minutes later, the building exploded. To observers, the conclusion was obvious: the managers had been aware of the problem and gotten out in time to save only themselves. The eyewitness who survived to relate this story was a young man who reportedly had been blown into a barrel that subsequently rolled to safety.⁶⁴ Now speculation was that the young man's life might be in danger for he knew more than management would want disclosed.

⁶² "Bishop O'Regan Blames Government for Chambishi Deaths," *Zambia Post* (April 26, 2005): 1.

⁶³ Attachment operates similarly to what is known as "internship" in the US.

⁶⁴ "Sad Memories of Chambishi," *Zambia Post* (May 1, 2005): 1 and various news reports on ZNBC-TV.

Public antagonism increased when company officials' first statement in the media contained a promise of financial compensation for victims' families. Recovery and identification of victims' bodies were ongoing so it seemed to Zambians callously out of place to talk about money right then.

In truth, ordinary Zambians never really expected the recovery to be complete. Most of BGRIMM's employees had been poorly paid casual workers and personnel record keeping was highly suspect.⁶⁵ When authorized reports came out with estimates of between 49 and 51 people killed, popular opinion suggested a significantly higher total. In fact, rumors went around that a number of the coffins eventually assembled actually contained only body parts and stones. Zambians said the owners knew the blast had taken many more lives than they could account for. This explained why their officials hastened to Kitwe Central Hospital to witness the caskets being filled and sealed. Zambians also understood why more people had died than the media reported. Over pizza and beer a couple of weeks later, Matthew Kapumba explained this to friends. Having spent his career underground, he knew that just a small amount of explosives could pulverize rock. Imagine what would happen to human bodies torn apart by the blast of an entire factory. The people inside would have been vaporized. Any found body parts were more likely from passersby near the factory gates than from BGRIMM workers.

People were particularly outraged that the Chinese managers had apparently sacrificed Zambians while saving themselves. If this were truly an accident, why hadn't any Chinese employees died? The day of the funerals some CBU students faced off with

⁶⁵ The Mineworker's Union of Zambia (MUZ) had already criticized NFC Africa Mining for employing so many casual workers. Out of over 880 employees, the Union estimated that 90% were non-permanent laborers, some earning less than \$50 per month. "NFC Africa Mining Employs 90 P.C. Casual Workers," *Sunday Times* (November 7, 2004.): 1

President Mwanawasa's entourage. They said they wanted Chinese buried along with their fellow citizens.⁶⁶ After police handcuffed the student protestors, however, mourners of the dead appealed for their release. They said they couldn't grieve properly when others were in pain.

For the funerals, BGRIMM created a graveyard on cleared land within eyesight of the Kitwe-Chingola road. Red clay mounds typical of Zambian graves were interspersed with the charred remains of tree stumps and grasses. Despite doubts about the accuracy of body recovery, each grave had a name marker. Joseph's family said his body was in spot number six. In front of the array of graves was a small, oddly shaped brick structure that appeared prepared for a plaque. When Joseph's cousin took friends to visit the cemetery, there was no plaque. But a hand-lettered sign at the foot of the brick heap began with the question, "Are we investing?" and concluded, "We don't want the Chinese. They don't care about our lives. We are not slaves."⁶⁷

Subsequent to the explosion, Joseph's father said his wife had also been ill and in hospital. He himself had suffered a bout of malaria and a large boil had appeared on his buttocks. Their daughter had been ill as well and his brother, a miner at another company, had gone missing.

Public speculation concerning why the disaster had occurred began immediately after the explosion. In a newspaper commentary, Sikota Wina, a former member of Kenneth Kaunda's cabinet declared,

⁶⁶ "Bishop O'Regan Blames Government for Chambishi Deaths," *Zambia Post* (April 26, 2005): 1.

⁶⁷ In Copperbelt Bemba it is possible to have entire conversations in the first person while meaning the second or third person. "Are we going?" said to a friend in the company of an unwanted third party could well mean, "Is that other person going?" So, the question about investing or creating slavery, while phrased as if to fellow Zambians, may have been aimed at the foreign owners.

These are dark days for Zambia and BGRIMM is a name which will go down in the history of the privatisation of the former ZCCM mines as confirmation of the fears which many people held that privatisation was not carried out properly and some of the companies which bought these properties had very little experience in mining.⁶⁸

Wina reminded readers of the Mufulira Disaster, the sporadic ownership of the Luanshya mine under privatization, and the “unprecedented spate of underground mine accidents” beginning at Mindola and said such ills were “due to failure to observe safety regulations.”⁶⁹ Similar talk excoriating the privatized companies for failing in their responsibilities dominated public discussions and the media over the next several days and weeks.

In private, or casual, conversation speculation about the reasons for the incidents encompassed different subjects and suspicions. The day of the BGRIMM blast, Enock who first heard about it from a colleague near NFC, sent hurried emails to friends.

People are saying all sorts of things including accusing Mwanawasa of sacrificing citizens to satanists! Especially when he “refused” to visit the accident site when it actually happened when he was in Ndola, but instead rushed to Lusaka giving a lame excuse...The Kawambwa boys were 45 and these are 51, so people are comparing numbers and suspecting whatever...[W]e are Africans, and when people are dying like this we know no thing as mere accident and not even the president can spared! There also talking of the month April, we lost our entire national soccer squad the same month years back.⁷⁰

The series of accidents extended into May. Nine people died in a car crash near Kabwe. Rock falls at Nchanga in Chingola and at Luanshya killed one miner each and the president of the Mine Workers’ Union of Zambia (MUZ) wanted mine owners charged with murder for such on-the-job fatalities.⁷¹

⁶⁸ “Sikota Wina on Tuesdays: BGRIMM Explosives,” *Zambia Post* (April 26, 2005): 5.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ This quotation is extracted from two emails. The comment, “[W]e are Africans...” came in response to my request that Enock be non-directive in his questioning so as to minimize influence on peoples’ responses. On 27 April 1993 the entire Zambian football team perished in an airplane crash in Gabon.

⁷¹ “Mine Owners Should be Charged for Murder,” *Daily Mail* (May 16, 2005): 2.

Then, on May 18th Mufulira was hit again. It was Roger's day off at the mine. Sometimes on off days he would meet friends and chat beneath a large tree at an intersection just outside the mine grounds or go to the township shop owned by his friend Wilson. But that morning he went to the plant when he learned there had been a major accident in one of the shafts. People were saying that a cage door had come open and miners had fallen to their deaths. Roger's uncle had been on shift then and Roger was eager to know his uncle's fate. By afternoon when he met up with friends at the bus stop, he still had no information. So, they all decided to go to a local pub and wait for more to emerge. On the way they could see and feel tension among people moving about in the township. Someone shouted Bemba at an anonymous white woman driving by: "You are the ones who are killing our people!"

At the entrance to Joggers Pub, two or three men stood around animatedly recounting what had gone on a few hours earlier. "These Mopani guys are killing us," said one. Another cluster of men talked out back in much the same terms. But they also speculated about witchcraft and possible Satanic sacrifices. The sequence of events was just too odd not to suspect the extraordinary. In addition to everything else that had been happening in the country, barely 48 hours before this latest incident, Mopani had delivered about 12,000 plastic bags to Malcolm Ross Hospital in Mufulira. Management was said to want them for body collection should something like the Chambishi explosion take place. And now this. How could management have predicted it? Something must be going on.⁷²

Back in town, family members and friends confronted police at the mine site and at Malcolm Ross Hospital where the injured had been taken. ZNBC-TV recorded an angry

⁷² A member of the managerial staff subsequently explained that this incident represented a routine supply delivery that coincidentally took place close to the time of the cage crash. Email to author from departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2005.

encounter between government and mining officials and some people threw rocks at passing vehicles. Police responded with tear gas.

By the end of the day official reports held that two miners had died and four others were missing. Popular assessment was of a much higher death toll and, as news of the accident worked its way around the Internet, estimated fatality numbers varied from the fifties to the hundreds. What exactly had happened was something of a mystery because mine cage doors open inward. In this case the three-tiered apparatus—large enough to hold half a 747 jetliner—had its front door come open, perhaps caught on something. A vacuum must then have ripped off the back door as well. Workers nearby had fallen out, perhaps grabbing onto others as they fell.

That same afternoon a Zambian military airplane crashed in Mongu, Western Province killing all 13 people aboard.

A couple of days after these two accidents, ZNBC-TV News produced a special report featuring Minister of Mines Kaunda Lembalemba, who was a former miner and an ordained Pentecostal preacher. In the early 2000s Lembalemba had had a regular evangelistic television show of his own. Asked how he accounted for the situation, he offered that so many accidents were attributable to spiritual warfare.⁷³

Other public officials and private citizens also speculated that events bringing death to some Zambians were indicative of larger struggles. On radio, Michael Sata, the leader of a prominent opposition political party, declared that things such as the BGRIMM explosion

⁷³ “There is this wind of accidents in the country which is very, very bad. And I think us, on the side of the Church, it’s important for us to say to you that there must be some wars in the heavens. There must be some wars in the heavens because I have not seen such accidents happening in the country, be it mining or road carnage. I’ve never seen such accidents happening in the country. I definitely think there must be some war in the spiritual realm.” Kaunda Lembalemba, Interviewed on “Special Report,” ZNBC-TV, May 20, 2005.

were deliberate attempts by investors to reduce the Zambian population.⁷⁴ Popular speculation continued that the President, having run out of family members to sacrifice in his quest for sustained wealth and power, had begun offering up miners. A group of Sunday Mutale's friends talked with research assistant Enock Muthwejile about this.⁷⁵

Man: ...Mwalishiba ifintu ngafi lecitika ifisoswa fingi, palasoswa ifintu ifingi sana. Nabaleti ati niuyu wine President (kabili mulefwaya tulande ifilecita) ifi filefuma uku kwina bekala kuLusaka uku. Ababene (ba president) eko baile kuIndiako mukupalwa, kuti aya shani mukupalwa kulya kuli mwenye. Ukucila kumuntu munabo. Ukufuma apo babwelela kulya ifintu fyalikonkana: banyina bafwa, ama nieces na brothers bafwa.

Another man: Ico bailiile kuIndia kukupalwa, babapela nama Rice ayengi sana. *[everyone agrees & laughter follows]...*

Man: So ukufumapo ifintu nafikonkana sana ukufuma apo bafumina musamba kuIndia. Abantu baleilishanya daily...

Another Man: Ifyo mwalanda bamayo cinshika banyina waba president ukufwa muli minibus!...

EM: Kwaliba imfwa shimo shilya balanda ati bamuposelekofye, kuti mwa landapo shani?

Response: Eifyo tulandapo ati babwelafye kuIndia—kuti twayeba ati chisomo.

Man: ...You know when things are happening, much is said. Some people are saying it is this very president (didn't you say you want us to say what is happening?). These things are being caused by the president, who lives in Lusaka. The president went to India to be blessed. In any case, why should the president seek blessings from Indians rather than from his fellow black people? Since he came back from India, disasters have been happening one after the other: his mother died, his nieces and brothers died.

Another man: When he went to India to be blessed, he was also given plenty of rice. *[everyone agrees & laughter follows]...*

Man: Since he returned from having been cleansed⁷⁶ in India, bad things have happened, one after the other. People are complaining daily...

Another man: What you have said my mother is very true, the mother of the President dying in a minibus! ...

EM: There are some deaths that they say s/he was just thrown him/here there, what would you say about it?

Response: That is what we're saying—

⁷⁴ This was also during the time that Zambia had achieved the HIPC completion point in relation to its international debt with the World Bank and the IMF. A similar concern about the potential extinction of the entire Zambian populace was overheard on a minibus that Zambia's having met the HIPC Completion Point actually meant reaching the People Completion Point.

⁷⁵ This conversation was carried on in Copperbelt Bemba. See the appendices for a longer excerpt.

⁷⁶ e.g. bathed. See also Ellis and Ter Haar's discussion of Kenneth Kaunda's use of Indian mystics during his presidency. *Worlds of Power*, 70-72.

EM: Kuti mwa citondolola shani (ichisomo) kuli ine ne ushili umubemba?

that he just came back from India—we can say *chisomo*.

Woman: Kuti twalondolola ukutila balya baile ku kupalwa kuIndia, after fye balebwela kuIndia, bapalilwa muli ba nyina bapya umulilo ati bapya banyina. Babalilapo umulopa/umubili waba nyina ba ucita sacrifice, after ba cita sacrifice umubili wabanyina nomba baya ukulakonkanyapofye abantu babo, na bana bene aba kumasukulu uko bafwa, bene nimpiya shonse shilya nimpiya shalitulama muState House. Uku bashimine balefwafye.

EM: How can you explain (*ichisomo*) to me who is not a Bemba?

Woman: We can explain like this: that man went to be blessed in India, just after he returned from India, he was “blessed” through the death of his mother in fire. He started by sacrificing his mother’s blood/body, then his own relatives, then school children died. What he is after is money which is piling up in State House, while the miners continue to die.

Another woman: Talangako (president) nobulanda filya ati alemonekako no bulanda awe. Chiluba alelilako mwamonako nefilamba. Nomba uyu ena awee. Aumfwa na accident anina aya. Elyo nama church yafula. Mailo asepako uku aleka asepako uku aleka—president, icimweneno cesu cilesankanyafye ama church. Umuntu asha abantu bali muaccident, anina indeke aya asha abantu balelosha.

Another woman: He doesn’t even show sympathy, not at all. Chiluba would cry and we saw his tears. But this president does not. When he hears of the accident, off he flies away. In addition, he has claimed membership of many churches. The other day he worships in this church; he stops. Then another church; he stops—President is our role model but he is the one who mixes⁷⁷ churches. He flies out of the country, when people are in an accident and families are moaning.

The mining incidents, although statistically claiming fewer lives than the roadway and air tragedies, ultimately garnered the most public attention and heated debate.⁷⁸ And there were no accounts of public protests regarding road safety that matched the demonstrations and debate over the mines.⁷⁹ This was, perhaps, a point that the Mines Minister seemed eager to note.

⁷⁷ The translator notes that the word used for “mixing” here is the same one employed when speaking of a man freely switching girlfriends.

⁷⁸ A prominent Copperbelt folklorist and businessman even referred to the BGRIMM incident as Zambia’s 9/11.

⁷⁹ It also bears noting that public demonstrations (when they happened at all) regarding exorbitant death tolls from HIV/AIDS and malaria were calm affairs usually constituting marches or rallies at which T-shirts were distributed. They did not carry the urgent sense of outrage that the mining accidents elicited.

And on the mine accidents on the Copperbelt, Mr. Lembalemba said that more people were dying in road traffic accidents than in the mines but the responsible ministries were not taken to task as much as he was. "Forty-five pupils died in Kawambwa before the Bgrimm accident. Fifteen people died on the road and another 9 people died in a short space of time. Thirteen people have died in a plane crash. If you add up these numbers, they are more than the people who have died on the mines, but no one is troubling the Ministry of Communications and Transport or the department of roads," Mr. Lembalemba said. However, he attributed the mine accidents on the Copperbelt to negligence by the mine owners.⁸⁰

On Sunday May 23rd, an emergency prayer service took place at the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Lusaka, Zambia's official house of prayer. Organized by the three national Christian clerical bodies, the service was promoted as an opportunity for Zambians to pray concerning why the series of recent accidents was occurring and to commemorate those who had died. The homilist that day wondered:

"What is God telling us?...Let's together plan for the safety of our people, even the unborn. All these accidents, not only in the mines, but also road traffic accidents, could mean that maybe there is something that we have done."⁸¹

President Mwanawasa attended and read from Psalm 46.⁸² Former Presidents Kaunda and Chiluba sent condolences and urged the Zambian people to pray.⁸³

A few more miners died at Nkana during June and Mines Minister Lembalemba threatened to withdraw Mopani's operating license.⁸⁴ The company shot back with a public demand to know its status⁸⁵ and the rash of accidents then seemed to subside.

⁸⁰ "One Month on—What Caused the BGRIMM Explosion?" *Times of Zambia* (May 22, 2005): 1.

⁸¹ "Let's pray at all times—Levy," *Zambia Daily Mail* (May 24, 2005): 1.

⁸² *Ibid.*, "Mopani Owns up Over Mine Accidents," *Times of Zambia* (May 31, 2005): 1.

⁸³ "Only God Can Comfort Us—KK," *Daily Mail* (May 23, 2005): 1; "Levy Urges Zambians to Approach God at All Times," *Zambia Post* (May 23, 2005): 1; "Christians Pray for Peaceful Zambia," *Sunday Times* (May 23, 2005): 1; "Zambia Needs to Turn to God—Chiluba," *Sunday Post* (May 22, 2005): 2. This latter article also contained pointed references to April as the month when the series of tragedies began. A further day of prayer to seek God's protection was set for June 4th. "Do Not Gain from Disasters," *Daily Mail* (May 27, 2005): 1.

⁸⁴ "Zam Threatens to Close Mines," *The Namibian* (June 27, 2005): www.namibian.com.na/2005/June/marketplace/05BE825C8F.html.

⁸⁵ "Mopani Demands Government's Position Over its Fate," *The Post* (July 1, 2005): <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200507010292.html>. "Zambia to Let Mopani Mine Operate For Now," *Creamer Media's Engineering News Online* (July 1, 2005): www.creamermedia.net/eng/news/today/?show=

Public argument continued for some time, however, with accusations and blame being widespread. The government and miners unions prevaricated about who was responsible for what. And the only thing they seemed able to agree on was that the mining companies valued production over worker welfare.

Lembalemba said while acknowledging that most accidents did not just happen but were caused, some of the accidents occurred due to negligence by the mine owners while others were caused by the mindset of workers themselves.⁸⁶

Accidents just do not happen. They are caused. The cage is one of the most important machines...and maintenance is often overlooked...These deaths are artificial.⁸⁷

Mr. Mutale said with the current situation, mine owners were always blaming the dead miners because they were in the forefront of making a report on how the accident happened.⁸⁸

The media and ordinary Zambians also generally agreed that the investors' ruthless pursuit of quick profitability had come at the expense of safety measures.⁸⁹ In fact, miners and their families routinely held that such accidents were evidence of the companies' lack of regard for them as human beings.

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⁸⁶ "Lembalemba Puts Blame on Mopani Management for Accidents at Nkana," *Zambia Post* (June 27, 2005): <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200506271215.html>.

⁸⁷ MUZ deputy general secretary Rayford Mbulu as quoted in "Two Die in Mine Accident," *Zambia Daily Mail* (May 19, 2005): <http://www.daily-mail.co.zm/front03.htm>.

⁸⁸ "Mine Owners Should be Charged for Murder."

⁸⁹ "Mufulira Mine Floods Again," *Times of Zambia* (March 29, 2005): 1. In fact, there was widespread doubt that companies were investing at the rate and with the quality they said they were. Many Zambians claimed that old materials were routinely being refurbished and passed off as new. This sentiment was not limited to black Zambians as a white Zambian small mine and contracting company owner expressed the same doubt. General speculation was that the companies showed new equipment purchases on their books but actually just repainted old trucks, tanks, and so on for a fraction of the stated costs. Numerous comments in the newspapers referenced the current mines' poor equipment and expectations that the private companies should be doing something about this. Public coverage and analysis also highlighted the issue of casual labor. "No Zambian Should be Employed as Casual Worker—MUZ," *Times of Zambia* (May 12, 2005): 2; "The Evil of Casualisation," *Zambia Post* (May 22, 2005): 23. From a managerial standpoint hiring casual or contract workers was extremely sensible as it was much cheaper. In Zambia as in other Southern African countries hiring casual workers was also more attractive from a corporate viewpoint because the local laws governing employee taxation and benefits were so onerous. From a practical standpoint, contract workers frequently went to the most dangerous points of operation and were more commonly injured or killed than the mining companies' permanent employees. They also received fewer company benefits and lower salaries. Interviews with multiple contracting company owners and business people, 2005.

Although the general public also often claimed that nothing like this spate of accidents had occurred when the mines were nationalized, they did not spare the government from a share of the blame. There was disgust at the way Zambia's government had implemented the privatization program; disgust at the President's initial non-responsiveness to the BGRIMM explosion; and disgust regarding how various officials were thought to be advancing their own economic positions despite the citizenry's suffering.

Virtually absent from any debate about the spate of accidents was analysis of individual Zambians' potential ability to have pre-empted problems. But, on at least some occasions, warning signs and opportunities for people to take preventive measures had been present. Zambian police, for example, had allowed the obviously overloaded Kawambwa truck to pass a roadblock in exchange for a K60,000 bribe (about \$15 USD at the time) and the driver apparently knew he had faulty brakes. A young female BGRIMM worker was recalled as relating misgivings to her boyfriend about the plant's operation. But neither she nor he acted ahead of time.⁹⁰

Among the executive/managerial group there was anger as well. One contracting company owner suggested that the mines needed to take the situation more seriously or "it could bring down the government." A mining company executive, in turn, noted that many in the contracting business were experienced miners trained in safety during the old ZCCM days. But they seemed unconcerned about it under privatization. Irritation expressed by government and unions towards the companies was generally reciprocated. And, as to the investors, there was largely silence. Most within the executive/managerial group simply

⁹⁰ Church leader and educator, 2005. The phenomenon of not taking pre-emptive action seemed apparent in the mines almost 40 years ago to Heron who wrote, "There was fairly general recognition of the fact that *it was not at all the practice for underground miners and workmen on the surface to warn one another of potential danger, or on their own initiative to take preventive action.*" *Accidents in the Zambian Mining Industry*, 6 (emphasis in original).

didn't talk about the investors' roles. The few who did thought that the investors generally gave no indication of long-term interests in Zambia. Such an attitude naturally affected how the companies approached general operations and safety concerns. Even company executives who defended their safety strategies occasionally noted the awkward communications vacuum that seemed to develop between the local mine and foreign corporate headquarters when accidents took place.⁹¹

By late June, the promised government investigations into the spate of accidents had not progressed very far and victims' families remained frustrated.⁹² In late July, mining explosives were discovered on the roof of a house in the isolated township of Mpatamatu near Luanshya and miners at KCM embarked on a violent strike over disputes during union salary negotiations.⁹³ Michael Sata, the politician who had speculated about investor attempts to reduce Zambia's surplus population, claimed responsibility for inciting the riots and President Mwanawasa ordered his arrest on sedition charges. By early August, Minister of Mines Lembalemba had been sacked as well.

4.4 Relevancies to accidents and their causes

At least four points from these narratives deserve mention even though we will reserve fuller analysis of the situation for further on in the study. The first is a palpable sense of life and death threat that seemed to arise in both accounts. We might view worries about white sabotage and efforts to reduce the Zambian population as demonstrative of sheer

⁹¹ For instance, in 2004, a senior executive commenting on a multiple fatality incident said he had sent three emails to the corporate headquarters that day and received no reply.

⁹² "Public Inquest for BGRIMM Victims Fails to Take Off," *The Post* (July 7, 2005): <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200507070875.html>; "AF Plane Crash Report Inquiries Concluded," *Times of Zambia* (July, 19 2005): <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200507190340.html>. The official report on the series of mining accidents during the main spate of accidents was completed and sent to government late in the year ("State Receives Report on Mine Accidents," *Zambia Daily Mail* (December 6, 2005): 2.

⁹³ Mpatamatu was traditionally a township where miners working at the Luanshya sites had lived. Since only miners would have had access to explosives, this incident was further indication of the community's volatile frustration.

paranoia or political opportunism. But why would such thoughts occur in a nation state that was, by then, more than two generations old and how would opportunistic politicians know that these ideas could so effectively manipulate the citizenry?

Second is the prevalence of connecting what to our minds may appear as unconnected ideas and events to draw conclusions about why the tragedies happened. In the Mufulira Disaster story, popular views linked Kaunda's mine nationalization program to racial tensions and those two things together formed at least a partial basis for why the sinkhole happened. During the 2005 spate of accidents, not only was the Mufulira Disaster itself resurrected but also the air crash in which Zambia lost its football team figured in as did links between accidents in seemingly unrelated settings throughout the country. Before we dismiss these as more indication of undue paranoia, poor education, or political opportunism, what if there was a way of understanding things that did make the connections reasonable? We know what Schutz said about points of relevance as being more topographical than linear, allowing people to make mental leaps between mountain peaks of meaning while passing over areas underneath. We also know that ancient and well-respected scholarly practices such as traditional rabbinic Midrash can find importance and meaning everywhere.⁹⁴ If philosophers and theologians can justify such inter-relatedness intellectually what about the experiential inter-relatedness of ordinary Zambians? What if a systematic reasoning out of the related and unrelated in these Zambian incidents was not so much the method for discovering meaning as was something else?

⁹⁴ Jacob Neusner, for example, maintains that traditional rabbinic Midrash operates on the assumption that everything in Scripture was recorded for a reason. Therefore even ostensibly superfluous passages contain important teaching elements. Further, all Scripture is inter-related and a verse from the prophetic writings may be used to explain something in the Torah and so on. *The Way of Torah: An Introduction to Judaism*, (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1993), 54-63.

This leads to a third note of consequence. The complex relationships and motivations among the various actors involved defied dualistic or binary divisions between management and labor; black and white; expatriate and national.⁹⁵ How well would economic, political, or historical analyses on their own deal with this variety of tensions and sympathies? When we think about development policy and planning discussions of the sort inspired by Sachs, Bono, and Diamond where should we fit such factors as the brutally incisive analyses of ordinary Zambians concerning their own government leaders? What of the passionate protectiveness the people had for the mines? On the other side, what about the stymied frustration of expatriate managers who encountered resistance and silence from both ends of the working spectrum and from the government that had ostensibly invited them in? What, further, can be made of the government's stated aim of wanting the mines to be restored to pre-eminence followed by its antagonistic actions towards the workforce and managers?

Finally, both stories incorporated religious as well as economic thinking.⁹⁶ It was well known, for instance, in 1970s Zambia that supernatural elements were suspected in the Mufulira Disaster. That suspicion lingered more than 35 years later. During the 2005 spate of accidents, mention of supernatural or spiritual involvement was unabashed and apparent in public as well as private conversations. And also by this time, mission Christianity's God appeared involved as well. Moreover, such analyses by Zambians appeared unmatched by similar counterpart thinking within the expatriate community. What might this suggest for efforts to arrive at broad consensus over why things happened?

⁹⁵ See Ellis and Ter Haar on the propensity for Westerners to think in such terms. *Worlds of Power*, 5.

⁹⁶ This study presumes a link between the spiritual, the supernatural, and religion generally, although sociologists of religion have debated this point. Willis, for example, points out that Emile Durkheim "rejected any definition of religion in terms of the supernatural" ("Like Ships Passing," 81) while Weber asserted that unhooking the supernatural and magical from "religion" came as part of society's overall modernization. (*The Protestant Ethic*, 86). Willis himself assumes that worldviews, cosmologies, religious memories, and the supernatural are interrelated. "Like Ships Passing," 131. See Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, on this as well.

This last point becomes more noticeable when we summarize the different attitudes about accidents exhibited by both studied groups. So, the table below illustrates key points derived from the first two sections of this chapter. In addition to exhibiting different categorical starting points—the workforce beginning with more outward, encompassing explanations while managers focused on individual issues before moving outward—the table shows what appear to be substantive differences within categories.

<i>Workforce/popular theories & concepts</i>	<i>Executive/managerial theories & concepts</i>
Outwardly directed accident causes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Haste and greed of private companies • Manner of treatment of the environment 	Inwardly directed accident causes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual thought processes • Mental conditions, physical, and emotional attitudes
Inwardly directed accident causes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spiritual and supernatural forces • Errors of omission/commission 	Outwardly directed accident causes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-existing poor physical conditions • Haste and greed of other corporate actors
Measures for protection and reprisal: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Medicinal items, charms, and words • The company as providing proper environment • God • Actions by mine spirits 	Measures for protection and reprisal: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving individual worker knowledge • Provision and application of appropriate tools and equipment • Interpersonal accountability • Potential disciplinary action
Post-incident investigation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal and informal inquiries • Interpretation of seemingly unrelated past events 	Post-incident investigation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal inquiries and fact finding • Procedural changes for the future

Since life is never as tidy as a chart, the above summary is not meant to be definitive. It should, however, help identify—in Schutz’s imagery—some of our own mountain peaks of meaning. It should also highlight the extent to which religious elements as causative agents—supernatural forces such as *chisomo*, charms, mine spirits, and so on—figured into the way Zambians talked about why misfortunes occurred. Further, the table summary should help show the extent to which this was not the case for executives and managers.

Before jumping to any conclusions based on this evidence we will briefly compare and contrast the situation within a wider context to see how this case holds up. A quick look at what others have observed will show that this sort of causative analysis has appeared in

various African settings and Africans themselves understand it to be religiously or spiritually oriented. Another brief look at a similar American mining situation will further show some of the differences in this way of thinking when contrasted with an example of Western experience and analysis.

4.4.1 The African *why*?

Sometimes the ideas we are investigating here are discussed in terms of “witchcraft,” a topic to be more fully investigated in chapter five.⁹⁷ Here, and since this study concerns a broader religious perspective, we will work with more encompassing terms than “witchcraft” alone.⁹⁸ We will talk of spiritual or supernatural forces to designate a way of thinking about why things happen that hasn’t seemed to figure into Western ways of reasoning for quite some time.⁹⁹ Perhaps the best example of this difference may be seen in the way official explanations of the time and later expatriate analyses dealt with the 1970 inundation in Mufulira versus the way Zambians have continued to talk about it. In our more Western view, we can accept scientific theory as saying that something can trigger physical events that had precipitating circumstances in a series of human blunders and coincidence. In this view, we will never really know what caused the cave in to take place at the precise moment

⁹⁷ See Peter Geschière, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1997); Max Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963); and Hoyt Alverson, *Mind in the Heart of Darkness: Value and Self-Identity Among the Tswana of Southern Africa* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978) for example. This study will address witchcraft more specifically in the next chapter.

⁹⁸ Recall how Ellis and Ter Haar note that Tylor’s definition of “religion” encompasses “magic” and other experiences of the supernatural. *Worlds of Power*, 3.

⁹⁹ This seemed consistent with Ellis and Ter Haar’s observation that the spirit world does not figure into “the secular frame of mind of most Western expatriates” regardless of their involvement with the continent. *Ibid.*, 58.

it did,¹⁰⁰ but we concern ourselves with finding out how it happened and preventing something similar from taking place in the future.

In the Zambian view, this was obviously not good enough. There had to be a more profound motive. And the Mufulira Disaster's popular link with sabotage, witchcraft, and ghosts appears to put such thinking in line with what scholars such as E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Max Gluckman, Robin Horton, John Mbiti, and others have been saying all along. The same appears to be the case for the 2005 spate of accidents.

More than three decades ago, for example, Mbiti noted that the difference between general African and Western perceptions on the *whys* of misfortunes drew in spiritual or supernatural concerns. He said Africans typically ascribed these incidents to something most Westerners wouldn't consider. In this view,

there will always be accidents, cases of barrenness, misfortune and other unpleasant experiences. For African peoples these are not purely physical experiences: they are 'mystical' experiences of a deeply religious nature. People in the villages will talk freely about them, for they belong to their world of reality, whatever else scientists and theologians might say. Nothing harmful happens 'by chance' everything is 'caused' by someone directly or through the use of mystical power.¹⁰¹

Max Gluckman, writing at about the same time and using the more restrictive "witchcraft" term, described the thinking process this way.

For every misfortune, like every piece of good fortune, involves two questions: the first is 'how' did it occur, and the second is 'why' it occurred at all. The 'how' is answered by common-sense empirical observation: the son died because he was bitten by a poisonous snake. But this does not explain why that son was bitten by that snake and at that time and place, and

¹⁰⁰ Evans-Pritchard discusses this sort of void in Western thinking, by contrasting it with Azande thinking. He notes the difference between our tendency to explain *how* accidents occur without addressing the specifics of *why* they do. Edward E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 70. See also Ellis and Ter Haar on this point: Science and technology provide good *how* explanations, but in the absence of answers to the *why* question in the West, conspiracy theories *involving unseen forces* (even if they arise from the material world of CIA plots, for instance) may surround misfortunes. *Worlds of Power*, 25ff.

¹⁰¹ John Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969), 200-201.

not by another snake at another time and place; or indeed why that man was bitten and not some other man altogether. Beliefs in witchcraft explain why particular persons at particular times and places suffer particular misfortunes—accident, disease, and so forth. Witchcraft as a theory of causation is concerned with the singularity of misfortune.¹⁰²

More recent remarks specifically about mine accidents from a Western educated Zambian unfamiliar with these scholarly works suggest that such earlier theoretical analyses held in the mid-2000s Copperbelt:

[T]here are the logical reasons why things happen and then there are those things which, “I won’t talk about it but I’m sure there is something that we have not been doing that has led to this.” Forget about “this was an unsafe act” or “unsafe practices” and so on....[T]here’s always something behind. There’s no such thing as a natural death or a natural illness.¹⁰³

To what extent does this suggest a point of Zambian relevance, a spot on the miners’ “maps” that is unaccounted for in our current Western view? A brief comparison with an American mining tragedy that occurred the year after the spate of accidents will be helpful here.

4.4.2 The Western *why*?

On January 2nd, 2006 an explosion at the Sago coal mine in West Virginia, USA trapped 13 miners, 12 of whom eventually died from carbon monoxide poisoning.¹⁰⁴ Private citizens, government officials, religious leaders, and—no doubt—mine managers began asking *why* questions from the moment of the disaster through its bitter conclusion and for weeks afterwards. As copper has long been recognized the lifeblood of Zambia, for the time this story dominated American news coverage coal was recognized for the prominent role it

¹⁰² Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict*, 83-84. See also Geschière’s discussion of witchcraft as being used to explain unexpected misfortune. *Modernity of Witchcraft*, 69ff.

¹⁰³ Interview with mine physician, Copperbelt mining company, 2004. See Ellis and Ter Haar on *why* discussions happen in African everyday life even if such talk, in the West, is typically left to theologians and philosophers. *Worlds of Power*, 26.

¹⁰⁴ This was the state’s worst mining disaster in 40 years. Ken Ward “Numerous Faulty Safety Checks Found,” *The Charleston Gazette* (January 11, 2006): <http://www.wvgazette.com/webtools/print/News/2006011026>.

plays in this country's economy. As with the Zambian situation in 2005, blame was batted back and forth between the government and the private coal industry. Government investigations into why the accident had occurred acknowledged production pressures similar to those expressed by Zambians about their privatized mines.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, some American critics recognized that the Bush administration and the mining industry had colluded to relax safety standards and these changes echoed the Zambian citizenry's critique that its elected officials pandered too much to private corporate interests.¹⁰⁶

Religion also played a prominent role in the Sago Mine disaster's aftermath and the various ways this was true deserve mention. Miners' family members waiting for news gathered at a Baptist Church. At initial reports that the men were alive, the community's Christian faith appeared to be boosted; at later reports that the exact opposite was true, some people's Christian faith appeared to be severely tested.¹⁰⁷ The major religious service that took place following the disaster was publicized as a memorial and healing service; not an emergency service to discern where the country had gone wrong.¹⁰⁸ That issue seemed to be playing out in the political, rather than the religious arena. The only public mention of a possible link between a divinely caused incident and human responsibility in bringing on

¹⁰⁵ Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia noted that there had been four years of cuts in federal funding for mine health, safety, and personnel resources prior to the Disaster. He also stated that profits should never come before protection and safety and raised questions about cronyism between the federal mine safety and health administration and the industry. President of the United Mine Workers of America, Cecil Roberts, stated that the federal agency was created in 1969 and, in 2001, the coal industry was put in charge of it. Since that time, 17 key safety regulations had been withdrawn. U.S. Congress. Senate. Appropriations Committee, Hearings on Mine Safety, June 23, 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Ward, "Numerous Faulty Safety Checks"; Nancy Zuckerbrod, "Lawmakers Question Bush Choice to Head Mine Agency," *Newsday* (January 31, 2006): <http://www.newsday.com/news/local/wire/newyork/ny-bc-ny—mineadministrator0131jan31,31,0,6122657>; Laurie Gindin Beacham, "Mining Deaths a Wake-Up Call to Preserve Civil Justice" (February 7, 2006): <http://www.commondreams.org/cgi-bin/print.cgi?file/views06/0207>.

¹⁰⁷ Susan Lenfestey, "The Hand of God—and Bush—at Sago" (January 12, 2006). <http://www.commondreams.org/views06/0112-35.htm>.

¹⁰⁸ "A Service of Honor, Hope, and Healing" (Conducted at West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, WV, January 15, 2006).

such an attack came from a small fringe Baptist element based in Topeka, Kansas. This group was known for virulent opposition to homosexuality and members of the group picketed some miners' funerals claiming that the disaster represented divine judgment upon a "fag-infested" state.¹⁰⁹

Official post-incident investigations eventually concluded that a lightning strike had been the precipitating "cause" of the event.¹¹⁰ Undoubtedly, individual families pondered why their men had been at that particular place and time on January 2nd but the community's collective thinking seemed to stop at the point of trusting that God knew the answer.¹¹¹

4.5 Summary

This chapter has begun to address the theological disarray affecting current Western thinking on development policymaking and practice by exploring differing views of causation or *why* events, especially misfortunes, happen. We have considered the perspectives of the Zambian mining workforce and management as to why accidents take

¹⁰⁹ "Thank God for the lightning bolt that caused the explosion that trapped the Sago miners. God killed them and cast them into Hell. WBC will picket their funerals, warning sodomite America that West Virginia symbolizes [sic] this Hell-bound nation, and worse and more of it is on the way from God." Westboro Baptist Church flier (January 4, 2006). See http://www.godhatesfags.com/featured/epics/2006/20060115_buckhannon-wv-preparation-epic.pdf for details. The action was condemned by other Kansas residents. "Sago Memorial Pickets Misguided," *Charleston Gazette* reader's forum (January 11, 2006): <http://www.wvgazette.com/SagoMineDisaster/TheCharlestonGazetteEditorials.htm>.

¹¹⁰ "Lightning 'Caused' U.S. Mine Blast," *BBC News* (March 15, 2006): <http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/email/news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/Americas/4809046.stm>.

¹¹¹ "At Sago Baptist Church, where inaccurate first reports of the survival of 12 miners brought euphoria that later turned to grief, the Rev. Wease Day stood in front of a huge picture of the Last Supper during regular Sunday morning services and tried to make sense of it all. Wearing a blue tie with the face of Jesus on it, Mr. Day told the congregation, 'The other night when we received what we all believed to be good news, we all shouted and rejoiced, but you know when the other news came it broke our hearts as well.' But, he said, God would never forsake his people and was with them throughout the heartbreaking ordeal even if they could not understand or answer the unanswerable questions. 'Many times people think, "Well, it was God's fault," Mr. Day said, 'but God has a master plan, and everything comes together in that master plan. He was in control every minute. 'We were in this building the other night and it came to mind that the spirit was so great here and it was so great outside and God had just covered these old hilltops with his holy spirit, his holy power.'" Gary Gately, "Hundreds Express Grief and Faith as Six Miners Are Buried," *New York Times* (January 9, 2006): <http://select.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=F50914FB34540C7A8CDDA80894DE404482>.

place and have identified what appear to be points of relevance for each group.¹¹² According to Schutz, these points of relevance help determine how we all act in our daily lives and it is here that we encounter the most basic levels of what we understand to be real and meaningful.

Since Zambia's mine privatization program was originally touted as such a successful model by that foremost of development agencies, the World Bank, it seemed curious that ordinary Zambians generally agreed privatization was so problematically tied to mining accidents. On further investigation, it became apparent that the reasons many Zambians gave for this situation were substantively different from those of expatriate mine managers. Among other things, the Zambian conceptions assigned central importance to spiritual and/or supernatural forces. In fact, religious experience and analysis generally seemed to figure into the Zambian viewpoint more prominently and differently than it did for Westerners. This dichotomy between the two studied groups seemed to correlate with scholarly theory and held up when compared with a counterpart American example.

Leaving aside, for now, any discussion of practical policy implications this situation might suggest we will continue the investigation by considering questions having to do with what Schutz termed our "stock of experiences."¹¹³ *What, exactly, are these?* ♀

¹¹² "[A]ll anticipations and plans refer to previous experiences now at hand, which enable me to weigh my chances. But that is only half the story. *What* I am anticipating is one thing, the other, *why*, I anticipate certain occurrences at all. What may happen under certain conditions and circumstances is one thing, the other, why I am interested in these happenings and why I should passionately await the outcome of my prophesies. It is only the first part of these dichotomies which is answered by reference to the stock of experiences at hand as the sediment of previous experiences. It is the second part of these dichotomies which refers to the system of relevances by which man within his natural attitude in daily life is guided." Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. 1*, 227-228.

¹¹³ Ibid.

Chapter Five

The Substance of What's Really Going On

During the course of this study, major commercial operations at Kansanshi mine in Northwestern Province commenced amid much publicity. Africans knew all about Kansanshi centuries before European prospectors discovered remnants of ancient workings there in 1899 and its re-opening as one of the mid-2000s ventures attracted scores of Zambian men back out there in search of jobs.¹

Around that time, as Enock was working at his house and garden one day, a nephew to Chief Nkana happened to pass by and the two men began to chat.² Once Enock realized who his guest was, he turned the subject towards Zambia's mining situation and his guest related the following incident concerning Kansanshi's recent industrial re-opening.

Nephew:...Elo, ifi fine ifya mipashi fyena fycishinka naba abaleisula maine kuSolwezi, balibulile amadrinks yabili, Coke na Fanta, baingisha pa underground pamine, kuKansanshi, baingisha amadrinks yabili elyo baletampafye pa surface pamulu. So after babika filya bapepelela no kupepelela filya fine bafipepelela, baishile sanga ukutila Coke basenda, pashala Fanta. Again baisa bula naimbi Coke, naimbi Coke na Fanta pakati, so icalesanda yalya amadrinks cindo? Yali mipashi, ilya Coca Cola yale miniga ukwebati nifwebo fweba nkande ifitile, fwebene bacalo, fwebali koti kuno kwa baNkana. Elyo Fanta niba abanensu abeshile mukutwafwako imibombele, ifyapala abasungu eba Fanta, so baishile mukusanga futi pafuma, Coca Cola na Fanta inga itatu.

Nephew:...The Spirits are real. For instance, those mining at Solwezi [e.g., Kansanshi Mine] took two soft drinks, Coke and Fanta underground when they were just starting on the surface. So after placing them underground, they prayed to the Spirits and later found that Coke was taken and Fanta was left. And again they took Coke, and another Coke and half of Fanta, so what took those drinks? The Spirits! Coca-Cola meant it is "US" the blacks like the people of Nkana, who are the owners of [the] land. Fanta refers to our friends, who have come to help us in our work such as the whites. They found Coca-Cola was taken and only Fanta was left. This after three bottles had been taken. Two Cokes and one was Fanta. The Spirits used to carry these drinks to show that

¹ "Kansanshi Fact Sheet," *First Quantum Minerals, Ltd.* (April, 2006): http://www.first-quantum.com/i/pdf/Kansanshi_Fact.pdf.

² The Lamba people customarily linked their Chief Nkana with mineral deposits. They said that wherever the Chief resided copper was discovered. This happened in spots throughout Kitwe, where one mine was located in the Nkana section of town, and even Kalulushi where emeralds in addition to copper were being mined in the mid-2000s.

Nomba ninshi paya amabotolo yanga yatatu. So yabili ya Coca Cola imo ni Fanta. Ifya lesendefyo mipashi ne kusuminisha ukwebati okey kanshi abafitile koti nifwebo fwebene babukuno kwesu ne bakashikile na abasungu kuti twabombela pamo, nomba fwe bengafulamo nifwebo fwebafita.

EM: Nomba aya amalyashi abamishimila nibalya bene ababomba kulya?

Nephew: Aha! Ebatushimikilako ifyo, no kushininkisha kwena twalishininkisha.

EM: Mwashinikishe shani?

Nephew: Elyo nashininkishe abakalamba bandi ilyo baleya ku Kagem, elyo nashininkishe ukwebati kanshi cacine, kuli fintu ifya kutonde mipashi, ukupepelele mipashi ishaba mu mushili ifyaapala King Solomoni pakweba ati nangu mwaenda filya, ne imipashi shaba King Solomoni konse shilesanika bwino bwino yalya amabwe pakweba ati yaleisa pamulu.

we black people are the owners; however we can work with the whites but we must be the majority.

EM: Are these stories told by those who work in that mine?

Nephew: Aha! They tell us but we have evidence as well.

EM: What kind of evidence do you have?

Nephew: I became convinced when my brother was going to seek employment at Kagem.³ That's when I realized that for sure there is need to appease the Spirits which are in the soil like the Spirits of King Solomon so that his Spirit can shine on the stones and bring them to the surface for you to mine them.⁴

5.0 Realities and their interpretations

Schutz emphasized "the world of daily life"⁵ as being the arena in which we encounter basic questions about the meaningful and important. Crucial to our successful navigation of this everyday world is the "stock of knowledge" from which we draw. This

³ Kagem was a gemstone mine in Luanshya.

⁴ He did not go on to talk specifically about what that evidence might have constituted. But that may have been less important to him than it would be to us. It is significant, however, that he noted the sort of evidence-based reasoning we Westerners insist upon before believing that something is "real." See the appendices for a longer excerpt from this conversation. Enock spoke in Copperbelt Bemba, the nephew in Lamba.

⁵ Schutz defined this world as "the intersubjective world which existed long before our birth, experienced and interpreted by Others, our predecessors, as an organized world. Now it is given to our experience and interpretation. All interpretation of this world is based upon a stock of previous experiences of it, our own experiences and those handed down to us by our parents and teachers, which in the form of 'knowledge at hand' function as a scheme of reference." *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 208. By "intersubjective" he meant the world as a common, public place rather than a private one. Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. III*, xii.

stock is based somewhat upon our own experiences but stands much more firmly on a foundation of inherited insight and experience.

Given that the type of development policymaking and practice of interest to this present study also plays out within the world of daily life, the nephew's observation above offers an intriguing starting point for considering how different understandings of *substance* itself may affect ordinary, shared situations.

To begin with, recall Marshall's observation that the tendency for development thinking to overlook religion rests, in part, on splits between the spiritual and the material. As this chapter so closely concerns the substance of Schutz's everyday life world, or the material of Marshall's analysis, we will want to discern several things. For example, it will be crucial to have a better sense of what the Zambian stock of knowledge concerning material substance actually entailed. And since we've already witnessed differences in Zambian and expatriate understandings of the spiritual, how did this circumstance affect Zambians' stock of knowledge concerning the everyday or common sense world? Finally, what might this have said about how we should interpret actions taken in the shared arena of the everyday world?

5.0.1 Recognizing and interpreting provinces of meaning

Thus far we have noted at various spots a Western propensity for thinking in systematic or organized ways. This tendency corresponds quite well to our culture's heavy reliance upon scientific and mathematical ways of making sense of the world. According to Schutz, however, what goes on in our heads as we move through the day is really far less systematic, or segmented, than we might imagine.

In a lengthy essay written towards the end of World War II, he expanded his ideas about “working”—bodily actions as we affect our environments and seek to avoid the fundamental anxiety of death—to include the notion that people can inhabit many different “finite provinces of meaning.”⁶ Meaning further involves interpretations of past experiences viewed from the present and in anticipation of the future.⁷ Taken together, action and interpretation comprise a stock of knowledge out of which people make sense of the everyday world.

Each province of meaning has its own logic, sense of time, and assumptions about how people should interact.⁸ Another term for these provinces could be “sub-universes”⁹ of reality and Schutz gave various examples as being,

the world of dreams, of imageries and phantasms, especially the world of art, the world of religious experience, the world of scientific contemplation, the playworld of the child, and the world of the insane.¹⁰

Three things about these provinces or worlds are especially important. One is that they aren’t static or sharply divided but permeable. We inhabit various finite provinces of meaning at the same time that we live in the everyday world and we can move among multiple sub-universes in a single day.¹¹ A second item of note is that meaning itself isn’t made by these different realities but results from how we interpret various situations. And our interpretations arise from past experiences and reflections.¹² The third point has to do with how we shift sub-universes. Schutz said that the principles governing each sub-universe

⁶ Barber, “Alfred Schutz,” 8-9.

⁷ Schutz, *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 208-210.

⁸ Barber, “Alfred Schutz,” 9.

⁹ Schutz borrowed this term from William James. *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 207. Ultimately, however, he preferred his own “finite provinces of meaning” designation, emphasizing the extent to which people “confer the accent of reality” upon these provinces. Schutz and Luckmann, *Structures of the Life World*, 23.

¹⁰ Schutz, *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 232.

¹¹ Barber, “Alfred Schutz,” 9.

¹² Schutz, *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 210. See also his comments about the everyday world, above.

seem coherent and reasonable while we are thinking from within that universe or province. But, when we shift to another province, we have to adopt new sets of ideas about what is coherent and meaningful within the new arena. Because these shifts can be radical, the only way to accomplish them is by mental “leaps”¹³ entailing “shocks” that help us break through the limits of one universe and assume the point of view of another.¹⁴ He gave examples such as falling asleep and leaping into the world of dreams; going to the theatre and forgetting our surroundings as the curtain rises; appreciating a joke and momentarily participating in a world of absurdity.¹⁵

His second point is especially pertinent here, for interpretation is key to existing in any of our multiple realities and for our shifts between these provinces of meaning. Interpretation was also the second of the two taken for granted that Schutz maintained characterize our making sense of the everyday world. First, we take for granted that the material world of our experience actually exists. We also take for granted the means by which this world is interpreted.¹⁶ In other words, the actions in which we engage as we move through our days are far less the result of explicit thought processes and choice than they are the products of our “biographically determined situation.”¹⁷

In the Copperbelt case, it has already become obvious that workers and managers interpreted things very differently regarding workplace accidents and misfortunes. We could

¹³ This is a term he borrowed from Kierkegaard. Schutz, *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 232.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 231.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers*, Vol. III, xviii. Note that Schutz distinguishes between “assuming” and “taking for granted.” The idea of assumption carries more choice than Schutz seemed to believe was the case with actual human experience. In other words, much about how we interpret the everyday world arises from the condition in which we find ourselves as a result of inherited history and circumstances and has less to do with conscious decisionmaking.

¹⁷ “Questions as to why somebody acts as he does, pursues certain goals rather than others, has conceived for himself this life plan and not a different one, refer to “because motives” and cannot be answered except in terms of the life history of the person concerned.” *Ibid.*, xx.

attribute these differences of interpretation to ideas already familiar in the Western context such as company politics, power differentials, and varying degrees of individual self-confidence and education. But the story recounted above offers us new challenges for considering interpretation in the everyday, physical world. An expatriate manager who might have happened by that Kansanshi Coke and Fanta set up would hardly have guessed that he had stumbled upon a spiritual appeasement ritual.¹⁸ Yet, in that setting one of the world's foremost symbols of modern, corporate life—Coca Cola—meant something completely different from what we would expect. What comprised the stock of knowledge upon which those miners drew? Further, how did they appear to shift between provinces of meaning involving industrial mining and those provinces relevant to traditional spiritual understandings?

5.0.2 Chapter organization

Acknowledging Schutz's assertion that shifts between provinces of meaning involve cognitive leaps, the remainder of this section will offer a sensory depiction of the miner's work environment. It is startlingly alien ground for most Western policymakers and development practitioners so all the more reason to strive for an understanding of what it physically involves. Next, section 5.1 discusses some of the traditional understandings that members of the workforce/popular group would have inherited as part of their "biographically determined situations." This information focuses particularly on how the

¹⁸ A senior expatriate manager at Kansanshi was unaware of this incident. But see Appiah's discussion (*In My Father's House*, 112) of symbolic gestures in African religious practice that allow people in the present to interact with ancestors. An expatriate mining official at one of the Zambian mines mentioned having experienced appeasement rituals at sites outside the country. In an email to the author (2006) he wrote, "I have been involved with two projects which have involved pre start rituals – one in Ghana and one in Zim. In Ghana we had to procure a feast for the local chief and slaughter a few chickens and goats over the new pipeline we had installed through the jungle to ensure it would work. In Zim before we started mining or building the plant all the local chiefs...had to attend a ceremony involving a few cows (for food), lots of purple cloth (for the making of ceremonial robes) and a few chickens and goats. There was no direct slaughter (apart from for food) but a ritual carried out on the sites to appease the gods which involved much singing and dancing."

physical world and substance of copper would have been perceived and interpreted by their ancestors. Section 5.2 presents evidence that backs up Schutz's argument concerning the permeability of provinces of meaning and section 5.3 then moves the discussion back towards the other side of our development-religion split: the spiritual realm. A short section 5.4 offers counterpoint views from the executive/managerial side. Then the fascinating history of Luanshya forms a narrative illustrating several of the principles enumerated in this chapter as they appeared in lived context. The chapter concludes with summary observations.

5.0.3 The miner's world of work

Probably just behind environmentalists the last people on earth to romanticize their profession would be miners themselves. Environmentalists are rightly raising alarms about how the global economy uses mining to devastate lands, animals, and peoples while creating stupendous paper wealth for a relative few.¹⁹ Yet, individual men and women who have been born into mining families or for whom geology, engineering, and metallurgy are fascinating endeavors often appear completely pragmatic about what they do. If they reflect on it at all, miners frequently use terse characterizations such as the work's being "tough" or "uncivilized." Usually it's the people around them who, knowing what the job entails, write poems and essays containing awed superlatives.²⁰

The experiential aspect of mining can teach a lot that economic analyses of the industry leave out. For beyond the numbers and commodities talk, industrial mining as an activity symbolizes much about modernity itself. It embodies the physical intrusion of

¹⁹ Paul Harrison and Fred Pearce, *AAAS Atlas of Population and Environment* (Berkeley: American Association for the Advancement of Science and the University of California Press, 2000), 83ff.

²⁰ See "Tribute to a Hard Working Miner," *Mining Mirror* (April 1996): 5 and Homer Hickam, "Sago Miners Memorial Remarks" (Buckhannon, WV: West Virginia Wesleyan College, January 15, 2006). Both items are in the appendices.

people and machines on the earth along with the earth's occasional response through rock slides, cave ins, and fires. Here are creation, humanity, and technology, together in a relationship far more dramatic and dangerous than industrial agriculture, the closest possible parallel.²¹ This symbolism was especially evident in Zambia where the industry was principally the reason for the nation yet where, by the mid-2000s, many of the latest technological innovations in use elsewhere still hadn't arrived.

The Copperbelt isn't the prettiest part of Zambia; not much above ground would suggest it as a likely tourist destination. There are rivers, but they seem like streams compared to the Zambesi with its Victoria Falls down south. There are some rolling hills, but no grand escarpments, vast forests, or herds of game as can be seen out east towards Malawi. Mostly there are scrub trees, open spaces of fields cut through by little tracks where people walk back from the roadways to their homes, huge expanses of sky, and then the cities and townships. Downtown areas need paint; the townships would greatly benefit from regular rubbish disposal. They are busy, noisy places especially compared to the countryside and the relative order and punctuality of American cities.

The mines are usually on the outskirts. They are quite obvious both by the mounds of slag—waste material accumulated from underground—and by their superstructures, although these represent just a fraction of what goes on underneath. The easiest mine areas to spot are those around Kitwe where the road from Ndola—the only dual carriageway in the entire country—begins to run downhill just as the land opens up. In the distance, the headframes for two or three shafts and the Nkana cooling towers are by far the tallest things in sight. The Chambishi mines are also quite evident, particularly at night. The road from Chingola to Kitwe, like all Zambian roads outside of town, has no lighting. And, since there are also no

²¹ "If you can't grow it, it has to be mined." Interview with chief executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2003.

businesses, strip malls, or petrol stations along the way, the only nighttime illumination drivers have—other than moon and stars when it's clear—are their own headlights and those of other vehicles passing by. It's easy to tell when Chambishi has been reached because the sky glows golden orange. The hoist plant is brilliantly illuminated—various parts of the operation easily identifiable provided one has time to look out the window on the way past. After that it's pitch dark again.

The mines operate on three shifts: day shift, afternoon shift, and night shift—usually called back shift. Day shift starts early. In some areas of the Copperbelt everyone knows when it's time for the men to get ready. A siren—the type Americans growing up in the Cold War remember from monthly air raid tests—sounds around 4 AM. Most miners seem able to adjust their sleeping schedules so that they sleep when they can and awaken when they need. By 6 AM, they're ready to go underground.

Regardless of shift, the procedure coming into the mine is the same: to the changing room, pick up cap lamps and hardhats, then crush in. Crushing in is when miners pass the checkpoint and give their gang or mine number to the shift boss who marks them present. Every miner has his own number and, in the old days, miners' kids knew this as well as the men themselves. Nothing moved without that number; it was good for signing off at the company stores and health clinics and it's still crucial in cases of underground accidents. Management can determine who's missing by who fails to check back in after an evacuation.

Compared to the vast gold mines of South Africa, Zambia's copper mines are quite small, but it still can take awhile for men to get to their places of work each day. They go underground in cages—sometimes two and three tiers containing a few hundred men in total—that move on strict, military like schedules. In South Africa, where the different

underground levels aren't necessarily connected, if a miner misses his cage as it starts down, he might as well go home. Zambian miners are a bit more fortunate; tunnels and haulageways are often connected so a miner can walk from a different level to his station if need be.

The apparatus for the cages is what people on surface can see. They operate on a system that winds and unwinds rope around a huge drum. Depending on the design, sometimes the giant wheel that helps coil this rope is exposed at the top of the headframe. When the wheel is spinning around, miners or supplies are traveling up and down. In some of the Copperbelt mines, these cages drop straight down a half-mile or so. From there, miners may have to walk or take small trams to get to their stations for the day. In some cases, they may take yet a second, smaller cage ride until they are well over a mile down inside the earth.

Underground around the cage areas it can be noisy and bright. People are always moving about at these points. Information and safety signs are posted and the rock surface may be painted white. It usually doesn't take much of a walk, though, to get back to where the painted surfaces stop and the dark begins. In Zambia's mines, this is typically around the same place where water comes up from below. Sometimes there can be more than a foot of water to slog through. When a pipe burst in one of the mines a few years ago, water so completely filled up the haulageway that they had to send in divers to fix it.

The farther down the mine goes the hotter it gets. There's more heat and stress on the rock, as drillers and timbermen can testify. Timbermen install the supports that keep things from collapsing while the drilling and blasting proceed. Drillers are sometimes known as those at the sharp end of the operations. They are on the front line moving the work along.

Sometimes they have to stand all day in water up to their knees holding a jackhammer, attacking the rock. They've been known to shed their overalls and work naked when that seems to help with the heat. The drilling affects the air: little particles everywhere. So sometimes the men wear cloths tied around the lower parts of their faces. It helps keep out the dust and absorbs some of their sweat.

The other thing that gets out into the air are the fumes and haze from blasting. Blasting happens after the drillers have put holes into the rock that other miners fill with explosives. Depending on what the company's geologists have determined about the orebody's location, drillers have different fan-like patterns they cut into the rock face. Once the holes are bored and filled with emulsion, a miner sets the fuse, again according to a strict schedule. Miners arrange the blasts to coordinate with their own retreat out of the area. They have to make sure they know how the air and ventilation are flowing so that they don't send noxious fumes out into stations still being worked. When his section of the rock is blown away, each miner who oversees blasting then reports to the next person who's scheduled to blast. They're supposed physically to see each other so there aren't mix-ups with somebody left behind as the charge goes off. Major blasting usually happens towards the ends of the shifts. This is because it takes the earth a while to settle after being so severely shaken.

Supervisors on later shifts have to see when their men can go into these new work areas. They look at the slopes and sides of the mine and also determine if the poisonous fumes have dissipated enough to make it safe to breathe. Men charged with this responsibility don't have meters they take along to register vapor levels. They use their noses and their instincts.

Even if they judge the air to be okay, there's another deadly hazard to watch out for. Hanging rocks can look just like small chips of stone overhead. But, if they drop they can travel with such force that a square hit on the head, regardless of hardhat, can be fatal. Miners are supposed to take long poles and poke at these hanging rocks to make them fall down before anyone goes inside the blasted area to work. Still, it's not always possible to see where or when a rock fall might happen. Occasionally even expatriate bosses wonder about acts of God when there are peculiar rock falls. One day a group of miners was prying and prying at a rock that just wouldn't cut loose. They went out, then came back in. When they came back in, the rock fell. A miner lost his foot to that one.

Once the hazards are out of the way and the place all supported, then it's time to clear up the rubble and haul it out to the surface. In the past, all this was done by hand with shovels and wheelbarrows. Now there is considerable underground machinery that scoops, crushes, and hoists the ore out of the ground. In some places huge front loaders can be seen roaring out of haulage ways, like prehistoric animals emerging from their dens, dumping loads of ore into rail cars that then transport it away. Miners who operate some of these machines can do so by using joy sticks. They stand back to the side and send the loaders into the stopes or areas where the ore has collected. This is safer for the miners and more efficient for the mine.

The hoist is what the company's geologists and production managers watch so carefully. The amount of tonnage brought up from the night before is the first thing they look for at the beginning of each day. Before computers, mine managers would gather to review these figures in early meetings sometimes called Morning Prayers. The prayers are electronic now. Figures get typed into emails and are on manager's computer screens by 7

AM each day. If there's been a problem—if a machine has broken down, for instance—management will immediately know. They'll be able to tell because the hoist will be low. They'll also know what sort of day they're going to have.

Underground, if everything goes according to schedule miners work for 8-10 hours a day. They don't go back onto surface for breaks; they can't. The cage schedule is so tightly controlled that once a man is underground he has to stay there until his shift is over. Some of the men bring water bottles with them. Some may bring something to eat. Most just say they are used to the work pattern. They eat before they go down and, perhaps, again when they get home. They may, however, simply want to have a beer and go to sleep.

Meanwhile the ore they've dug and hoisted is refined and smelted and taken away. Tiny bits of Zambia must be everywhere around the globe by now—in jewelry, piping, cell phones, and computers. In those forms they help make up other people's everyday worlds.

5.1 Provinces of traditional meaning

Mining probably wasn't what Schutz was considering when he wrote about *the world of working*. But what he has said is significant here nonetheless. For, to understand Zambian miners' viewpoints it is necessary to know something of the Zambian stock of knowledge about mining. This knowledge includes much about the material world in which Zambians exist as handed down through traditional stories, memories, and ancestral experience. Two important elements of the tradition concern copper itself and the mines where it is found.

5.1.1 Traditional views of copper

African cultures traditionally valued copper more than gold or silver. These latter metals interested Arab and European traders. But Africans knew that copper's malleability

and inherent beauty made it more useful than other metals.²² Africans in pre-colonial times worked copper into wire forms and shaped it into tools, basins, and jewelry. Copper's decorative use also said impressive things about the wearer's wealth, status, and leadership abilities.²³ Archaeological evidence further reveals that copper was used as a medium of exchange in Central Africa. Cross-shaped bars of a design surviving in Zambia National Commercial Bank's logo were widely available along sub-Saharan trade routes.²⁴

None of this is newly discovered antiquarian detail. But some who have studied the situation claim that pre-colonial Africans chose their materials with deliberate reason, not simply by taste or convenience. In this way, copper was "part of a language of materials expressing values or beliefs integral to the culture."²⁵ These values and beliefs went beyond the purely economic into the religious and spiritual. Diviners used copper; Africans guarding against witchcraft used it as well.²⁶ In Zambia, copper—the Bemba word for which is *umukuba* or *mukuba*—was also symbolically bound to the wider physical creation through an association with lightning. The Copperbelt's spectacular thunderstorms testify to the appropriateness of this powerful connection.

In traditional society, copper's religious attributes encompassed production processes and personnel. Before mining proceeded, local chiefs and workers would pray to ancestral spirits who presided over the mines, being especially careful to plan excavations that maintained harmony between the technical work of digging and the earth being dug.²⁷ Traditional smelting took peoples' imaginations into entirely new realms as they found

²² Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 70, 297; "Copper and the Copper Mining Industry," 1.

²³ "Zambia's Mining Industry," 14-16; Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 242-245.

²⁴ Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 38ff; "Zambia's Mining Industry," 16.

²⁵ Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 209, 210, 241.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 261, 302.

²⁷ Cline, "Sources of Metals," 303.

themselves able to transform one natural substance into another.²⁸ Sacred mysteries surrounded the marvelous process of melting stones and the experts who accomplished this feat were especially revered.²⁹

There is much still to be learned about the extent to which Africans in the old days conceived of copper's power and mystery. To what extent, for instance, did the religious aspects of copper production and copper's symbolic use influence its economic applications?³⁰ To what extent, in turn, did economic and political concerns have impacts on religious matters and practices involving mining and smelting?

And what of traditional experiences regarding the underground itself? We have already seen evidence of a passionate protectiveness by Zambians towards the mines during the privatization process. Many scholars have noted that pre-colonial Africans generally regarded the mines in terms associated with land and that land was long understood as intimately related to life.³¹ As with the land on surface, the mines were collectively owned and connected relationally to those who worked them.³² Further, while modern policy discussions don't talk in supernatural terms when discussing Zambia's natural resources, traditional understandings of the environment certainly did.

²⁸ Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 4.

²⁹ Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 33, 193; Bradley, *Copper Venture*, 34-37. Fire was also considered a sacred symbol of morality. Lane, *Moment of Encounter*, 32.

³⁰ Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 303.

³¹ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 64; Epstein, *Scenes from African Urban Life*, 184. See also Mbiti, *African Religions*, and Tsenay Serequeberhan, "Colonialism and the Colonized: Violence and Counter-Violence," in Eze, *African Philosophy*, 234-254.

³² Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 43.

5.1.2 Traditional Copperbelt guardians of creation

In traditional Copperbelt life, beings with supernatural powers guarded the environment.³³ These differed from region to region according to what the local people revered but in all cases they rewarded those who treated society well and punished those who did not. The power on land was sometimes understood to be a lion. The power associated with water was frequently likened to a mermaid and the power of the underground was said to be a snake.

On land, if someone wronged or carried a grudge against another person and then encountered the guardian lion, he or she might well be consumed on the spot. But, if one had a clear conscience towards the rest of the community an encounter with the lion might bring food for the family instead. This supernatural guardian could kill fresh game and leave it for such well deserving individuals.

The guardian of the waters was referred to as the donafish, derived from the Italian word for "woman" and connoting a beautiful female mermaid. Typically, this mermaid was a well-endowed white woman with long black hair. Frequently she wore a wristwatch and had jewelry around her neck. There may also have been a snake entwined in her tail.³⁴

³³ For much of this background, I am indebted to a Kitwe folklorist and local radio personality who was the nephew of the renowned Zambian author, Stephen Mpashi. These traditional guardians in Zambian life seem specific examples of Apostel's claim that Precolonial societies generally had masters of the mines, land, and water. *African Philosophy*, 292.

³⁴ Although the name and characteristics of the donafish are obviously highly Europeanized, evidence of a mermaid or water spirit can be found throughout Southern African regions. Ellis and Ter Haar, *Worlds of Power*, 49. The image may have been imported into traditional African society or layered upon pre-existing mythologies. There is, for instance, a primordial sister in one Bantu genesis myth who finds copper ornaments in the Kasai River and then disappears into it herself. Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 287. Ellis and Ter Haar recount a popular story about the underworld as being populated by spirits of those who, in life, were controlled by fallen angels. *Worlds of Power*, 49-52. Dr. Bush, a traditional healer in a Kitwe area township adorned his stall with a large donafish painting. He explained that a number of angels came down from heaven long ago and then turned into different beings including the donafish. Since these angels were originally white, the donafish is white as well. The choice of the Italian word for woman is puzzling but, since many Italian rail line workers came to Northern Rhodesia, it may have derived from that influence. It is unclear whether Dr. Bush's

The donafish, it was understood, could leave something of value near a stream or other body of water.³⁵ Those who had the strength and courage to find and retrieve this valued object would become wealthy. Some retired miners said that such stories encouraged them to come from outside the Copperbelt and work on the mines back in the colonial days.³⁶ Martha Kapumba recalled that, as students at Mindolo High School, she and her girlfriends would linger near the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation dam in hopes of spotting the donafish or at least any jewels or money she might fling onto the banks. Gabriel, a Lusaka taxi driver, said a man had kept one in a swampy area near the city where banana trees grew. People came to see the mermaid and Gabriel once glimpsed her face and head but not the fishy tail. Eventually, he said, the local people sought traditional medicine to kill the man keeping the donafish. He died and some days later, the donafish died as well.

The underground's snake guardian was well known to Zambians for many reasons. Zambian traditional culture associated snake imagery with maleness and Zambian miners, like miners everywhere, enjoyed renown for their bravery and strength.³⁷ On the Copperbelt, the Lamba word for "snake" was the same as the word for "chief," signifying to everyone that reverence was due it.³⁸ While snakes could be frightening, their Copperbelt presence

story was in the same vein as Ellis and Ter Haar's but many elements seem appropriate to the Copperbelt setting.

³⁵ Water as constituting entrance to the spirit world is a widespread theme in Central, Western, and Southern Africa. Ellis and Ter Haar, *Worlds of Power*, 52. See also their discussion of the water spirit Mammy Wata who, in large regions along the Atlantic coast, was understood to bring great wealth as well. *Ibid.*, 121-122.

³⁶ Even though underground mines do not appear directly involved with water, Zambia's copper mines are among the wettest in the world. Underground mining proceeds only because constant water pumping makes it possible. This condition would have been widely known and could make the donafish's association with mines more comprehensible.

³⁷ It may not be co-incidental that copper is traditionally associated with femaleness in African cultures that have gendered nouns in their vernacular languages. Further, the alchemical sign for copper is modified from the Egyptian hieroglyph for eternal life a symbol that, in ancient Greco-Roman culture, became associated with Venus/Aphrodite. Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 288; "Zambia's Mining Industry," 6.

³⁸ Since the Copperbelt was traditionally Lambaland, these views would have been quite pervasive in the area prior to the influx of other groups coming to work on the mines. Snakes and the mines of Luanshya had a

was originally intended as a miraculous guide to greater things along the lines of the donafish. A miner in his late 40s explained that big snakes, greenish in color, could pass by and shake the ground. Those who saw such snakes should not be afraid but should pay careful attention to the location and then dig for copper there.

The snake's power was said to reside in its breath and it was customary for people to offer gifts to it before digging for copper. These offerings were protective measures against accidents. Gifts could be cartons of soap or several meters of white cloth thrown into a river or other area inaccessible to retrieval by others. Without such demonstrations of respect, the snake might breathe against the miners, causing accidents and mysterious deaths.

In the same conversation that marked the opening of this chapter, Chief Nkana's nephew talked about the supernatural snake.

Nephew: ...eko icili iyi tuntulu, icili ilepita, ilapita cila mwaka.

Nephew: ...there is a living one, which is still passing, it passes every year!

EM: Yamusango nshi iyi insoka?

EM: What type of a snake is it?

Nephew: Iyo insoka ilapita panshi kwati ni earthquake. Ilapita panshi nga yapita panshi, nomba nga kwacilamo kulya kwafula abakweba ati imitima yabo ya bufwiti, ne mano yabo tabalingile ukubombela kulya nga taipitile insoka, ninshi amasanso kuti yatatika ukusangwa kumine. Kulaba limbi filya ati nga taipitile ilye nsoka ba amba ukulafwa bamo bamo filya balefwa limbi cimakalota camushika mu matipa, limbi driver talemonako, limbi engile pamugodi caputuke icibumba ca mwilikisha. Nga baya mukupupilila pupilila filya fine ba pepelela ifimupashi iya cilya cine, elyo chief nabebo babeta, nga basuminisha ukwebati konkanyenipo kubomba, nga bakonkanyopo nacena ninshi cayamba ukupita, ico cine,

Nephew: That snake passes underground like an earthquake, it passes underground. When it passes, miners can work properly. However, if miners are highly wicked due to witchcraft, snake would not pass. Miners are not supposed to work before the snake passes, or else many accidents are likely to occur. Sometimes, if the snake does not pass, some people start dying, at times the machine would bury one in the mud, at times the driver would fail to see, maybe when he is underground the tunnel collapses on him. When they go to appease in accordance with the Lamba tradition and the Chief also gives consent to continue working, and when they start, then the snake would pass. When it passes, it comes to check on the miners

particularly long-standing association. In fact, "Luanshya" is the name of the snake that was said to reside underground there.

capita caisa mukupempula nomba, oh uku balemfwaya, capempula caya. Nomba ninshi nomba kutampo kubomba ninshi pawama nomba, na maeligo nabena, nabo nga capita ico, nabo elyo bakwata sana indalama, mulandu wakweba ati, abene baselula amabwe.

saying that "people want me" and goes back. Afterwards, they continue to work in peace since the mine has been cleansed. When it passes even the illegal miners also make a lot of money because the owners have brought the stones to the surface.³⁹

In the mid-2000s, Zambians understood that supernatural snakes still played an active role in their society. This sometimes seemed to conflict with Western Christian values and could cause problems on a number of fronts. A retired Luanshya miner discussed this with Enock, Lubasi, and Frederica Chipongoma.

Mr. N.:...So na nomba line because of that belief insoka shilacita operate muli ilya ine inshila, filya fine abantu basuminamo. Kabili that's how nga kukonka noma ifi ifya kuchurch, that's how we say the Devil works because there he is also threatening people to say "I also exist." Pantu ngamwasumina, he can perform wonders. Tefyo balanda ati nabo bene bakalacita perform ama miracles. So the devil performs wonders in those beliefs icakweba ati naine balentina ati eko naba. So eko fyaba elyo filacitika and they will continue to happen. Nalilya twali naba Kasanga pakutampa Church ilya iya ku Ashford, even up to now there is a very big snake which comes there.

Mr. N.:...So even now, because of the belief, snakes operate in that belief system of the Lambas. If we follow the Church things, that's how we say the Devil works because there he is also threatening people to say "I also exist." Because if you believe, he can perform wonders. Is not what they say that he'll be performing miracles. So the devil performs wonders in those beliefs so that he can be feared. So these things are there and they will continue to happen. Even when I was with Mr. Kasanga, when we were starting to build that Church in Ashford, even up to now there is a very big snake which comes there.

So balanda ati kano mukalambe kumfumu mukayelanda ati palibe nsoka apa. Bene bacalo, ba Mushili abaLamba abene bali kulya. Mukachite nani kulya, mukaye kwiLamba kuli baMushili mukayelanda fyakuti fyakuti, aaah. It's a problem to us to do that, tulacisanga filya fine cafumapo cabutuka caya, mwaisayako limbi limbi mwaya cisanga muchurch from nowhere mwacisanga nacikalafye mucorner, lulya mulelanda so, efyo fiya! Muletonkanya

So they say that the snake will only go when you pay homage to the chief and say there is a snake here. It is the owner of the country, Mushili, a Lamba who is down there. They have told us to go to Chief Mushili and to do such and such, aaah. It's a problem to us to do that, we find it but it vanishes just like that. You go another time you find it in the church. From nowhere, you find it in the corner of the church. As you are speaking, it vanishes! Just when you are thinking of finding a stick to use to kill it, disappears just

³⁹ The translator notes that the word for "owners" (*abene*) connotes spirits, not economic investors or modern managers.

ifyakufwaya icimuti, disappears just like nothing icakwebati tamwishibe napo cafumina. It's there, kulya kuchurch kulya kuAshford.

Mrs. Chipongoma: Niyi church mulekula uku?

Mr. N.: Eeeh, it's there.

Mrs. Chipongoma: It's not far. So ndeingililamo ati limbi ni kwa Mushili—

Mr. N.: Awee, palya pene palya it is there. In most cases nangu abantu kuti mwabepusha bakamyeba ati, balacisanga limbi bacisanga muchurch mulya mwine, baleti pu, kuluba nefyo caya.

like nothing, such that you can hardly tell how it came out. It's there at the church in Ashford.

Mrs. Chipongoma: This church you are building down there?

Mr. N.: Yes, it's there.

Mrs. Chipongoma: It's not far. So I thought it is far in Chief Mushili's area—

Mr. N.: No, it's just there.⁴⁰ In most cases if you ask people there, they will tell you that they find the snake in the church but just when they make any sound it vanishes.⁴¹

The brief summary above should illustrate that earlier African understandings of copper as a material went beyond the historical, political, and economic analyses we typically use when discussing African development issues. Copper within the traditional Zambian stock of knowledge was not simply a traded commodity. It had tangibility and potency, as did the mines themselves.

5.2 Permeable boundaries between provinces of meaning

If we think about all this in *provinces of meaning* terms, then the conversation recorded immediately above seems especially pertinent to Schutz's observation that boundaries between such provinces can be porous. Snakes, chiefs, beings that appeared and disappeared were just as real in this Luanshya resident's everyday environment as were Satan and urban building projects. But to what extent did this type of talk represent more broadly held understanding? We will consider additional examples and, in doing so, will touch on two themes important to Schutz: language and the body.

⁴⁰ e.g., at Ashford.

⁴¹ This conversation was conducted in Copperbelt Bemba and English. See the appendices for a longer excerpt.

5.2.1 Linguistic evidence of permeable boundaries

Narrative descriptions of the miner's work and living environments can't accomplish for the outsider a complete leap into such a radically different world. But Schutz maintained that language does impart knowledge about provinces of meaning that we can't directly experience.⁴² In fact, he devoted quite a bit of attention to language generally because he recognized the crucial role it plays in providing knowledge about meaning and shaping meaning itself.⁴³ That is, when we consider the stocks of experiences that we all accumulate, we learn about issues beyond our own experience through descriptive and narrative language. At the same time, language affects our stocks of experience, shaping them through what is said, what is left unsaid, and how topics are talked about.

Schutz offered other points about language in his essay, "The Stranger," that are pertinent for us as strangers to the mid-2000s Copperbelt environment. He said, for one, that "fringes"⁴⁴ surround words and sentences, connecting them to the provinces of meaning out of which they are spoken. Further, these fringes are themselves surrounded by "a halo of emotional values and irrational implications which themselves remain ineffable."⁴⁵ But such aspects of words are beyond translation.⁴⁶ In the case of the Luanshya miner's talk above, some verbal fringes might have included knowledge about Western Christian church policy and practice; memories of tales told about supernatural snakes of the past; perhaps lingering fear of these snakes, and wariness over how such things were viewed by Western Christian missionaries. A second point Schutz stressed was that, while individual terms can have

⁴² Schutz and Luckmann, *Structures of the Life World*, 248.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁴⁴ This is another term he borrowed from William James. Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 100.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 101. Perhaps when Zambian public leaders talked about the 2005 spate of accidents, they used words such as the deaths were "caused" or "artificial" knowing that such ideas in that setting were emotionally tied to fears of *chisomo* and *iminyama*.

several dictionary connotations, they also have secondary meanings acquired from their contexts. These meanings are far less definable than we might expect. Further, he observed that languages have aspects no outsider—however fluent in the actual words—can learn. These remain known only to particular social groups and every such group, he said,

has its own private code, understandable only by those who have participated in the common past experiences in which it took rise or in the tradition connected with them.⁴⁷

Before we speculate about the implications of these language theories on our Western development thinking and talking, it will be helpful to document a few pertinent examples from the Copperbelt context. The following instances concentrate on shared terminology that had different definitions and terms for which fringe meanings seemed present yet different from what might be understood in the executive/managerial realm. We will also examine cases in which dissimilar or even missing vocabulary hinted at significantly disparate provinces of meaning and occasions when language was especially evocative.

Western development jargon of the mid-2000s used the term “ghost worker” to designate non-existent or deceased people whose names, left on African payrolls or hospital patient lists, could contribute to corruption. Money for teachers, for example, could be siphoned off into fictional accounts while drugs designated for genuinely sick people might be sold on the private market.⁴⁸ In Zambia, popular stories abounded of miners encountering a different kind of ghost worker.⁴⁹ Underground, these laborers were known generally by their ability to work non-stop; their silence when spoken to; or perhaps their appearance just as flickering lights down a far tunnel. Such ghost workers were more closely akin to what

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ “The \$25 Billion Question,” *The Economist* (July 2, 2005): 24-26. See also Ellis and Ter Haar, *Worlds of Power*, 123.

⁴⁹ An example of this appears further on in this chapter. See also the conversation with Chief Nkana’s nephew in the appendices.

Westerners might term “clones of the living” since they allowed one person to work two jobs simultaneously. In each case, the motivation of the ghost workers seemed essentially the same: to increase someone’s material wealth. But it also appeared that, in Zambian experience, a ghost worker could be a “real” worker while, from the Western perspective, a ghost worker was just a made up name on some list.

“Protection” was another such shared term. We first encountered linguistic discrepancies pertinent to “protection” when examining differences in how the executive/managerial and workforce/popular groups talked about workplace accidents. For one, they tended even to start from different points of terminology: management emphasizing “safety” while the workforce discussed “accidents.”⁵⁰ From the managerial perspective, “protection” involved wearing appropriate safety gear on the job. Zambians might put on this gear, but some were also inclined to add traditional healer’s shells, seeds, and other items stuck in a pocket on the way underground. Which objects—the corporate gear or the healer’s charms—could be considered the most potent protectors was not a settled question.

There were also occasions when linguistic differences suggested divergent viewpoints of the executive/managerial and workforce/popular groups towards the mines themselves. For example, from a Western managerial perspective, modern industrial mining involved *exploiting a resource* that, as a *wasting asset*, had a *limited lifespan*. An expatriate manager,

⁵⁰ This distinction found its way into popular discussions about why the privatized mines were perceived to be so much more accident prone than their nationalized predecessors. Several Zambians (including Minister of Mines Lembalemba) pointed out that the new mine owners had “safety departments” whereas ZCCM had had “accident prevention officers.” In the experience of others, however, the Chief Safety Officer position during those days was essentially a way station for people about to be retrenched. Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

illustrating this vantage point recalled a story that, for him, encapsulated the mining enterprise evolving in mid-2000s Zambia.

This actually came from an Anglo American director when they were looking at coming in here first. I was doing some work for them at the time as well. And he was asking a group of people, a cross section of the mine management, "What are we looking at here? What are we looking at? Are we talking about a copper mine? Talking cobalt mine? A gold mine? Diamond mine? What sort of an operation are we running?" And he got different answers from different people. He said, "You're all wrong." He said, "This is a money mine. Fundamentally we are here to make money. For ourselves, for the company, for the country, whoever. It's a money mine. How we make it whether it be copper, cobalt, diamonds, gold, asbestos, timber, whatever is irrelevant."

From this standpoint, there was urgency to the mining endeavor and limitation as well since the resource itself could run out while commodities price changes could make or break the entire operation. Yet, executives and managers knew Zambians generally didn't see things this way. For why else did the country stop geological exploration and just continue with the mines they had inherited at independence? Why did the government wait almost two decades to make any sort of economic analysis regarding the country's premiere revenue source? Sometimes, virtually dumbfounded that Zambians seemed not to have grasped what they had in the mines, members of the executive/managerial group speculated that Zambians must simply have thought, "there was copper down there and copper makes money."⁵¹

Zambians, conversely, exhibited their own bemusement at managerial and industrial development jargon. "National asset," for example, didn't have any local language equivalent.⁵² And to talk of a natural resource in terms of limited lifespan, seemed strange.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Interview with underground manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004. After a puzzled discussion among mining personnel and my research assistants during which the underground manager pointedly interrogated, "Why do you ask me these questions?" the assembled group finally settled on *ifyuma fyesu* (our wealth) or *ifyuma fyachalo* (our country's wealth) as the nearest equivalent. And in both cases, *fyesu* would imply shared, not individual, ownership. One expatriate manager also thought that such differences in vocabulary had direct effects upon the work environment. "[T]he education system in the earlier days was better than it is now. So

In fact, the term “lifespan” as associated with the mines didn’t really appear in public discussions until the economic problems of the 1980s. Zambians in the mid-2000s recalled the idea as becoming especially prominent in Chiluba’s era with all the general talk of privatization. But, no matter when the terminology arose, it appeared out of kilter with how the populace thought of the mines. “It’s God who put [copper] there and we’ll never determine for how long and how much. Copper is copper!” said Lubasi summing up the citizenry’s viewpoint. He further related that, when leading teacher training students in a discussion of renewable and non-renewable resources in the early 2000s, no one in a class numbering over 40 students classified copper as non-renewable. When he told them otherwise, the students argued saying copper would be there forever. One student, Lubasi recalled, maintained throughout his two-year program that, “if God wanted s/he would create more copper, so there was no need for us to worry about it.”

Finally, the role of symbols and symbolism—which was of interest to Schutz—also appeared to play a part in how Zambians understood and talked about the mining environment.⁵³ When they discussed great symbols of modern Western development such as corporate logos the boundaries between provinces of meaning appeared particularly fluid while possible fringe qualities to their words were highly charged. One day, a passenger in a vehicle, while complaining about potholed public roads that the nationalized mines had formerly maintained exclaimed, “Ah, this tree! This tree! It doesn’t have any fruit. It

there was—and of course English—nobody spoke anything but English on the mines. Now a lot—most of it is Bemba again. There’s nothing wrong with that although I always thought that perhaps the vernacular languages didn’t have—couldn’t encompass the industrial set up to deal with it and be able to control and manage it enough because it just wasn’t in the thought process in...the vocabulary. And...I think they’re doing a lot better now because it’s a mixture of English and then experience. They’ve invented words and added words and borrowed words to compensate.” Interview with long term resident, departmental and divisional manager, 2005. What Zambian vernaculars did seem well suited for, though, was “the handling of personal relationships.” Epstein, *Scenes from African Urban Life*, 103.

⁵³ Alfred Schutz, *Life Forms and Meaning Structure*, trans. Helmut R. Wagner (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982), 19.

doesn't even drop any leaves." When asked what he meant, he fished out of his pocket a piece of paper bearing the logo for Mopani Copper Mines and indicated the tree depicted there. In addition to cleverly making his point, he may have alluded to the Bemba proverb, "we will shake the tree until it gives up its fruit" meaning that people would nag their chief until he divided up his supplies.⁵⁴

A group of Chingola miners analyzing their company's logo once had this to say:⁵⁵

EM: Inga imwe mucimona shani, malyashi nshi mulanda pali ici cine ici, nangu utumashina mutwita? Nangu tabamyeba at least limbi mulalanda ati...

EM: How do you see it and what do you say about it or what nicknames have you given it?⁵⁶ Even though they have not explained to you, at least you talk about it...

Man 1: Ok, ifwe ifi, naifwe tumonafye ififine, fyebo teti ulande icintu ico tawaishibapo iyo—

Man 1: Ok, we just look at it because you cannot speak about something you know nothing about—

Man 2: —Icituku—

Man 2: —Like the bream—

Man 1: —nembafu, limbi manani ya kumyabo uku, ku masasafrika ukukwine fyafuma, pantu ifi baishile tweba ati KCM yaba muno, elyo na musasafrika nakwisa kumbi...naku Canada [*discussion about where mines are found*]. So twalishiba ati eko yafuma iyi symbol nomba tabatweba ati ifyo yapilibula ni fi ne fi awe...Umuntu nga afwa balabikapo umusalaba ati uyu capwa afwa uyu. So ici na co, baisa nomusalaba

Man 1: —and ribs,⁵⁷ we think that maybe it means something in their country, South Africa where they come from since we are told that KCM is in Zambia, South Africa, and somewhere else...Canada [*discussion about where mines are found*]. So we know that this symbol came from there but what it means we do not know at all. When a person dies, they put a cross, which means that that person is dead, it is over forever. Likewise,

⁵⁴ Powdermaker, *Copper Town*, 38. The logo is illustrated here.



⁵⁵ KCM's logo is illustrated here.

⁵⁶ e.g., the corporate logo.

⁵⁷ The translator notes the miners' references to ribs were an allusion to suffering. When people suffer from hunger their ribs stick out. Associations of the cobalt symbol with the bream fish and the copper symbol with a cross are visually obvious. Another participant in this discussion also likened the cobalt symbol to a "mupango" which is a headscarf that Zambian women twist and wear on their heads when mourning.

ukweba ati, “mwebo twaipaya capwa.” So efyo caba ifyo...

Apo limbi nga twaipushisha sana, kuti batulondolwelako. Pantu apo icaishila, nomba four years, tapaba umuntu uyo naumfwako ukulanda pali ici.

EM: But you should have asked. Nga mwalipushako...

Man 1: Pantu ifwe fye bashimaine tefyo, abenga tulondolwela pali ifi, twalikwata baUnion. Ilyo baKCM baishile, bafwile ukwisa eba baUnion, pantu ilyo babika ifintu apa, maka maka ilingiline, bafweile ukwisa kuli baUnion. “BaUnion, mwebe abantu benu ati ifitwabika cilifi ne fi, nefi.” Nelyo muntu amwipuusha, afwile ukulondolola ifi, nomba tatwakwatako information kuli baUnion ukuti ifi babika apa, filepilubula ifi ne fi, awe. Ifwe tatwaishibapo akantu nelyo kamo. Ifwe tumonafye ati ni KCM symbol, yafuma uku kwine KCM yafuma...

Man 2: Elyo nelingi pantu baishila baKCM, baises nasymbol yabo nemikalile yalilubana. Ahee, eico umuntu imikalile yakwe nga yalubana tatontonkanya nakulifimbi nangu ukwishiba finshi nomba aletontokanyafye pamikalile yakwe nalaikala shani? So kanshi abantu abengi, nangu ntile bashimaini abengi ukwikala kwabo nomba kwa mantontokanyo.

they came with the cross to tell us that, “You miners, we have already killed you, it is over!”⁵⁸ So that is what it is...

Maybe if we had asked, they would have explained to us. Because since it came, it is now four years and I have not heard anybody explain it.

EM: But you should have asked.

Man 1: For us miners, the ones who are supposed to explain for us is the Union. When KCM came, it should have gone to the Union with the new symbol and asked the Union to explain it to its members so that when people ask, we would be in a better position to explain its meaning. Unfortunately, we have had no information from the Union about this symbol. We know nothing about it and we have always thought that it is a KCM symbol, which came from wherever KCM comes from...

Man 2: In addition, since the coming of KCM with its symbol, living conditions have changed for the worse. As you know, when a person’s living condition deteriorates, he does not think about anything else or have interest in knowing something but only thinks about his living situation, saying, “How am I going to survive?” Many people, and especially many miners, their lives are now full of daily worries and deadly thoughts.

5.2.2 Bodily evidence of permeable boundaries

Schutz had clear ideas about the role and significance of the human body and objects in general. In fact, he described everyone’s “stock of experiences” as integrally involving

⁵⁸ The translator notes that this is an idiom meaning, “Miners, watch out, we are going to kill you; it is over.”

knowledge that the world we live in is a world of well circumscribed objects with definite qualities, objects among which we move, which resist us and upon which we may act.⁵⁹

The job of our bodies, he said, is to work on, or affect, these objects that can also resist us. People must either overcome or be overcome by such resistance. At the most basic level of reality we experience the world as a place we either modify or that modifies us.⁶⁰

Within the Copperbelt arena it also appeared that objects might be as permeable or changeable as people's more interior provinces of meaning.⁶¹ Physical things were definitely capable of resisting and yielding as Schutz predicted. Yet, numerous examples of living beings and objects acting in ways a Western perspective couldn't accommodate suggested something beyond Schutz as well. The following four examples will illustrate.

An employee at the institution where Lubasi taught, a man in his mid-40s, related the following stories from his days as an ambulance driver working at the Kitwe smelter.

Q: Imibombele mwalebomba, kuSCAW, limbi kwalipusana nabalya abakumine, in terms of ama accidents, mwalekata amasanso?

Mr. T: Amasanso ya lesangwa nombamba mainly ifyo twasangile yaleba ya ma magic.

Q: Ifyapala shani?

Mr. T: Okay filya ifya kweba ati, crane yaimya basket, pantu ama basket, tuyeta ati ama bin basket, then baisula furnace pakwebati inshimbi shiye mu furnace. Ba shidumbwishamo pantu panshi palya kukakapo sisal. So sisal ilya nga yapya

Q: Comparing with the mines, what about accidents in Scaw?⁶²

Mr. T: Accidents were found. But mainly we attributed them to magic.

Q: Like what?

Mr. T: Okay, like crane lifts a basket because the baskets, we call them bin/pin basket. Then they open the furnace so that the metals will go into the furnace. At the bottom of the furnace, you tie sisal so when that sisal burns, it opens. Then they release the chains to allow the metals to go into the furnace and then you close the lid. After this,

⁵⁹ Schutz, *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 208.

⁶⁰ Schutz, *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 209. Here Schutz was influenced by Merleau-Ponty's idea that the body is the point of reference for all human experience. Ibid., 102. See David Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-Than-Human World* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996) for expansions on Merleau-Ponty's views concerning perceptions as involving the body and objects.

⁶¹ He referred to "working" as overt while thinking was covert. Schutz, *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 212, 223.

⁶² Scaw was an Anglo-American subsidiary producing supplies for the mines.

kwisuka, baikisha amacheni, inshimbi shaya mu furnace, so kwisa isalapo ci lid. So kupresa ama electrodes, fyamba ukocha palya. Nga fya sungulika palya fyabafye amenshi nga polegi, kulaba ukufumyapo slagi, filya ifiko fisa pamulu. Kwaliba umungwala, kulya kumungwala mwabikako icimuti icibishi. So palya pene kuti alefumya umuntu filya fine, amonafye mulyamwine mu furnace, limbi ni n'gwena yafumamo, mwamona. So nomba ena mukutilimuka kabili palya apaba ama furnace ni pamulu, mukutoloka palya, esemukutoloka nipa nshimbi panshi palya, umuntu alemana. Limbi umulilo wa fuma fye ku furnacee wa mwikata ku li ovalo nakuli chi epulo.

Q: Ninshi fyalecitikila ifyamusango yo?

Mr. T: Okay like ifyaba life, pantu Scaw muno muKitwe tamwali, yali ku Livingstone, abaishile nayo banensu aba Lozi, yalifye kwati yabo. Tabalefwaya umutundumbi awe. Tabalefyaya umutundu umbi. So nga baingishafye umutundu umbi awe filya, ninshi awe fya shupa, mwandi...

Q: Ifya lechitika ifya maaccident, Bushe abasungu cinshi balecita nangu bamwenya balefisumina nangu balelandapo shani?

Mr. T: Ok ba mwenye basangile ninshi ba Mwanza nabafipyishako. Abachikulile balya balisa ba pruna sana, balisaba pruna. Eko ali shikulu umo epaishilesumina na Director wesu, ati cacine kwaliba magic.

Q: Director umusungu?

you press the electrodes and they start to melt until they melt and become like water or porridge. Then you remove slag, that dirt that comes on top. There is a bar to which you put a fresh log. So as one is removing, he just sees a crocodile coming out of the furnace, you see. So out of fear, and considering the level where the furnaces are, one jumps on metal to the bottom and as expected one becomes lame. At times, fire comes from the furnace and catches his overalls and apron.

Q: Why were these things happening?

Mr. T: Okay, the reason was that we did not have the original Scaw here in Kitwe. It was not here but in Livingstone. The ones who came with it are our friends the Lozi. It was just like theirs, they did not want any other tribe. They did not want another tribe. So if another tribe is employed, then there was trouble...⁶³

Q: What used to happen about accidents, did the whites and Indians believe you or what did they have to say?

Mr. T: Okay, the Indians found that Mr. Mwanza had reduced them. Most old people were pruned. They were pruned.⁶⁴ There was one old man, that was when our Director believed that, yes, there is magic.

Q: Was the Director a white man?

⁶³ The translator notes that the Bemba implication is the Lozis were the ones causing these deaths.

⁶⁴ This expression refers to layoffs or retrenchments.

⁶⁵ e.g., he would finish his shifts yet it always appeared he was working.

⁶⁶ e.g., disagreed or denied.

⁶⁷ The translator notes the reference to Malawi is an allusion to the widespread understanding that expert witches come from that region. Therefore, such an employee would be the only one who could figure out what was really going on. This scene has described what some Zambians refer to as a "ghost worker." Banda, a real employee, had essentially split himself into two people in order to work two shifts and collect two salaries.

Mr. T: Eeh. Mr. Watson Mudala uyu alebombela kusteel foundry ali ni Crane Driver. Alekomboka elyo alemoneka talekomboka. Nomba kwaishile isa mudala umo uwa kuMalawi, ewo baishile ingishe inchito. So aisalolesha aleingilafye mulya; “Imwe ngeci cilebomba mu?” “Ati iyo niba Banda.” “Te Banda uyu.” Ati “Awe niba Banda.” “Banda crane kuno.” Chaisa ci crane, apa. Aka na sana uwa kuMalawi. “Kabiyeni ku nganda muye mumone Banda.” Ukuya fika kunganda, ukuya sanga ba Banda bali kun’ganda. “Banda tuleya kunchito.” Ukwisafika, ukusanga cilya icimuntu mu crane. Bonse naba mona no kumona ati Banda uyo muCrane. No musungu asumina nokusumina ati, kwaliba magic....

Mr. T: Yes. Mr. Watson. This old man was a crane driver at the steel foundry. He used to knock off but again he looked like he never knocked off.⁶⁵ The company finally employed a man from Malawi. So when he entered the plant, he asked, “What is that working in there?” They answered, “It is Mr. Banda.” “This is not Banda.” “No this is Banda.” They called out, “Banda Crane here.” The crane came. The Malawian refused totally.⁶⁶ “Go home and see Banda.” When they reached at home, they found Banda and they said to him, “Banda, let us go to work.” When they came back, they saw Banda in the crane. Finally, even the white man believed that magic is there...⁶⁷

Enroute to a gathering in Chingola, a miner in his 50s told a car full of friends the following story of a co-worker who had a mysterious encounter with a crocodile.⁶⁸

Q: Nomba abo bashitata ninshi bale chitila fye kanshi? Ukalamoneka ifyo elyo? So nomba balicita litaya kuli bu lecturer bali?

Q: Now that man, why was he doing that?⁶⁹ And had he retired from being a lecturer?

Mr. M: Okay balebomba filyafine mumiine ukufika apobacitile retire. Palyapene epo baishile luba ilyo line. Baluba na bantu bashininkisha ati, umuntu nafwa pantu Ing’wena naimwikata.

Mr. M: Okay he was working in the mine until he retired. That is when he disappeared. When he got lost people believed that the person⁷⁰ has died, the crocodile has caught him.

Q: Baile kukamana?

Q: Did he go to the stream?

Mr. M: Baile no mwipwa wabo kukamana.

Mr. M: He went with his nephew to the stream.

Q: Mukwikate sabi?

Q: To catch fish?

Mr. M: Katwishi ifyo baile mukufwayako .

Mr. M: We do not know what they went to

⁶⁸ Crocodile references are quite common on the Copperbelt. The reptiles inhabit many streams and the local newspapers carry fairly frequent accounts of crocodile attacks on unfortunate citizens who happen to be in the water at the wrong times. See, for example, “Chilubi Couple Suspected as ‘Human Crocodiles’ Killed,” *Daily Mail* (February 7, 2006): 2. In traditional Bemba understanding crocodiles were important symbols of ritual and royalty. Lane, *Moment of Encounter*, 31-45. The appendices contain a longer excerpt from this conversation conducted in Copperbelt Bemba.

⁶⁹ e.g., appearing like a crocodile.

⁷⁰ e.g., the man who is the subject of this conversation.

So kulya kwine baeba umwipwa wabo ati, naisa nsambe ko. So ekufula ifya kufwala basha babika. Ekuya napamumana, palya pamumana In'gwena ekubekata. So balelwisha filya balepunda, umwipwa wabo ayako ukuti abadonse. Cilya ati abadonse, aisamona uku [unintelligible] cilya icakunuma [unintelligible] yabebisha napamenshi. So ebele bayama bafwa, in'gwena yabasenda. Yafika palya futi baisafuntuka. So efyo baile ifyo fine. So umwipwa wabo kusendafye ifya kufwala. So palipita, ni 3 weeks yapitile po ayi? Eee papitile 3 weeks, ninshi necililo baliteka. Nalamilanga pamwabo apobaleikala. Pamupundu apa. Kanshi kuLuanshya kulya bayabatola balifye ubwamba, bafwelefy kwati amasaka fye so.

do. So right there he told the nephew, "Let me take a bath." So he undressed and put the clothes aside; that is how he went into the river. Whilst in the water, a crocodile caught him and he started struggling, and shouting. His nephew rushed to the scene and wanted to pull him out. Unfortunately, he only saw the backside of the crocodile pull into deep waters. So he concluded that, "My uncle has died, a crocodile has taken him."

After some time, the crocodile emerged again.⁷¹ So that is how he disappeared, just like that. So the nephew took his uncle's clothes and went home. After three weeks had passed, yes, three weeks, and the funeral had been conducted, the man reappeared. I will show you where he used to live. Here at the mupundu [tree]. He was found in Luanshya naked. He was just naked, and dressed in sacks.

One day when Enock and some friends arrived unannounced at his home village near Kalulushi, his grandmother told him that she was not surprised, for she had already been advised that visitors were due.⁷²

Gdma: ...nguna thwama muno mwene phuka yomeze wiiii phuka, ngunamu khuphula, yomeza nawa wiiii ngwami ami chishi nyi yoze meza nyingu meneka. Mumumwene nguna twama amu phuka yoma ya kuku. Yo nguna holo hano hene ngwami yome zako akuno, thungumuku ena nyi ngezi hiweza. Nakananga ngwami chishi nyiyoze meza. Kumbunge nyikumuliwu chenacho kwakula. Ethu twatwama kuno kuyambu muwanda temo ngwe uye kuwande wambila haze, ngwe uye muwiva kumbunge pwii, mutwama kanda kuchitoka mutala muthu hathula...Chenacho, kumbunge kunala acho

Gdma: ...it's just today I was seated right here a bee came—wiiii!—a bee. I chased it, it came again—wiiii!—and I said to it that I didn't have or expect people to visit me. I was seated right here. The bee then went this side and I remained quite wondering who may come when suddenly you and the guests have come in spite of me refusing that I had no one to visit me. That's how the heart and neck "become dark." We who live here in the village; you would pick a hoe so you could go to the field but you involuntarily throw it back on the ground. Again you try to pick it and go but you would hear your

⁷¹ The translator notes this refers to a widespread belief that, when crocodiles claim their prey, they submerge themselves then re-emerge to show what they have caught. Therefore, the speaker refers to this belief as a way of saying that the man was really taken. He was seen twice.

⁷² See the appendices for a longer excerpt from this conversation that was conducted in Chokwe.

yeswe ayize hinalyange kukuheta.

heart dark and will then just stay. But before sunset that day you will receive somebody with news...That is how when the heart is dark it means things have reached you in advance.

Enock's grandfather began a conversation about underground snakes that abruptly shifted to mechanized pumping systems.⁷³

EM: ...muze nwapwile hathuda, a weze apwile ha mugodi mwapwile uyikazata yuma yika apwile nyi kunuwambulwila, nyiku nu lwe zako? Akwo thunapu nyiku hulako kanapu nyikulwezako ngwo: akwo kakuwanako thuphela hashi aze, akwo hanji mawanako yikayika, enu yika nwapwile nyikwiva ngwo athu apwile nyikuwana wanaho?

Gdpa: Ize akuwana hamugodi?

EM: Eeh.

Gdpa: Eeeh, thuphela hwatwama, mba mapwa muze nawa kwatwama nyingwe auze machine wayoze wa kuphophya meya ngwe kaphophele auze mugodi muzala athu mafa. Kashikha kuha twamine sondu, kuhatwamine kuhwima lye tangwa lye swa lwo chipwe muchi pwa kuchi ndo athu makilikita hamugodi. Cho chakwambulula.

EM: Mba thuphela a twamaho amu thundu uka?

Gdpa: Uchi kwahava kwanyingika, ene katwama mumawe athuama. Eeh mumawe athwama muze waze akwiza a saveyo akwiza myi kuphima, muze maphinma, mamba ngwo aha kuyaho kha, ndo matalikisa kuze anamono ngwe kwa mokomoko-ndo kwathwama akwa kuphima waze matala aha kuchatele kunjilaho. Mba aze thuphela keshi kusoloka kwathu, nyi

EM: ...when you were on the surface, those who were underground in the mine, what things and stories did they use to tell you? Those we have already asked have been telling us that others find snakes underground there; others find this and this, what about you? What sort of things have you heard of which they used to find there?

Gdpa: You mean things which they find underground?

EM: Yes!

Gdpa: Yes, snakes stay there, but again, if the machine of the one who pumps water does not pump, that mine will be full and people die. That is why there's no Sunday, there is no resting any day everyday no matter what people have to work underground. That's what they explain and tell us.

EM: Now these snakes found there, what type are they?

Gdpa: You are not able to know them, them in the stones. That's where they stay. Yes, that's where they stay. When those who come, the surveyors to come and measure, when they measure, they will say that "Here don't go there," no, until they direct where they will see that there is nothing—unless there are those who can

⁷³ They spoke in Chokwe.

muthu mamumona muthu kumafa.

EM: Ooh.

Gdpa: Ooh, keshi kusoloka kumuthu ene ha twama.

EM: Kalipusana nyiwawa thuphela atwana helu?

Gdpa: Eeh, O mumu numawe atwama katenuka chinji chikolo, kashile kumumona hanga umumone nyingwe umu shihe wande mutondo ah ah, uchikhasa.

measure, those who can see that "Here it's not alright to enter at." Now those snakes don't make themselves seen to people anyhow. If a person is seen, that person may die.

EM: Ooh!

Gdpa: Ooh, they don't appear to a person, but they stay there.

EM: They differ from these snakes which stay above?

Gdpa: Yes, them because they stay in the stones, they are very scaring⁷⁴ such that you can't even pick a stick and try to kill it. Ahh! You just can't!

When asked later about his linking of what we would consider animate and inanimate objects, Enock's grandfather responded that both the underground snake and pump needed proper care or respect for the mine to function well.

Gdpa: Aze thupela mumawe athwama, so, aze asalufeya akuya nyi kuphima matala nyiku tala hapemene hikuya kwekha kechikupali kilako chenacho hatwama, awaze meya no mu mawe atwama, kakwaphopha machiza haze. A cho chipwe muchipwa kuchi chimwe muchipwa kuchi lume auze mukwakuphopho meya kanjililemo lume mugodi muzala nyimeya.

Gdpa: Those snakes live in the rocks. So those surveyors, when they "measure" and see that the place is not okay, they go elsewhere. They wouldn't pass through there. That's how it is. That water also lives in the rocks. They are pumped out onto the surface. No matter what, no matter what if that one who pumps water out does not enter underground the mine floods.

The above discussions suggest that Schutz's theories about provinces of meaning may be tangibly evident in the Copperbelt case. Boundaries between provinces appeared fluid or permeable; much about how Zambians made sense of their experiences seemed to derive from particular interpretations of those events; and how they shifted mentally between provinces was not gradual or even obvious. The Zambian experience also had a sense of

⁷⁴ The translator notes that the Chokwe word communicates the fierceness of something to be revered rather than feared.

active elements beyond what our everyday Western experience can contain. Symbols and pictures carried messages while words could be meaningless. Supernatural creatures existed and acted. Evil forces were tangibly present as were good influences that communicated through non-human creatures. People died but then they were seen again or they duplicated themselves and were found in two places at once. Meanwhile, machines and tools may have had animation of their own.

5.3 The meaning of matter

On the Copperbelt, some of Schutz's observations about how people understand the make up of the material world seemed evident as well. In particular, the solidity and tangibility of the everyday world upon which Schutz continually commented appeared quite important to Zambians.⁷⁵ Schutz said that stocks of knowledge help us comprehend the physical world by teaching how people and objects should typically be understood.⁷⁶ But curious disparities in how Zambians and expatriates appeared to understand physical items suggested that the way things were typically thought about in one context, wasn't necessarily the way they were conceived of in another. In fact, Copperbelt residents may have had markedly different ways of understanding what physical matter itself meant.

On one level, similarities to what Nigerian author Chinweizu has termed Cargo Cult Maldevelopment were present here and there.⁷⁷ Chinweizu's discussion of Cargo Cult

⁷⁵ He said it consists of "natural material things and cultural objects, like utensils, tools, objects of value...animal creatures [and] human beings." Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. III*, xi.

⁷⁶ Schutz talked extensively of "typification" as being integral to how we perceive our experiences. Typification may be understood as our propensity to view objects and creatures as certain types or kinds. "What we perceive are houses, trees, animals, and the like. We expect of them a more or less well defined type of behavior—for example, a typical mode of locomotion—even though the animal perceived displays no such behavior at the present moment. *Ibid.*, xiv.

⁷⁷ The term derives from Melanesian citizens who, in the colonial days, believed that gods and spirits packed and shipped the goods they saw arriving in port from Europe. They also assumed that what summoned the goods to their land were rituals such as parades and flag raisings that accompanied a ship's entry into port. When the Melanesians similarly tried these rituals but no cargo ships arrived, they blamed their disappointment

Maldevelopment maintains that failures in African development initiatives are at least partially traceable to a superficial grasp of the values and ideals of industrial culture. African nations, he says, may emphasize development's material aspects. But they may not buttress that infrastructure and the formalities associated with development projects with the intangible systems and priorities that drive developed societies.⁷⁸ As a result, tremendous importance goes towards what Westerners might consider merely components of the process such as business suits, briefcases, and workshops while the overall conceptual context is neglected or ignored.⁷⁹

Similarly, disagreements among Zambians and non-Zambians in the mid-2000s sometimes revolved around finding a balance of priorities between physical objects and intangible processes or ideas. What often happened was that Zambians would treat as essential some items that expatriates felt weren't that way at all. For instance, workers might request office equipment such as fax machines or new chairs that their expatriate bosses judged completely unnecessary to the workers' jobs.⁸⁰ In my own experience of the early stages of this project, one of my research assistants was quite anxious to make sure he had a cell phone and business cards. Even though I didn't judge either item as immediately

on malicious Europeans who must have intervened and sent the cargo elsewhere. Chinweizu, *Decolonizing the African Mind*, 15ff.

⁷⁸ By this he means such things as having task forces, think tanks, and ceremonial events. Ibid., 15-17.

⁷⁹ Chinweizu delineates nine characteristics he says were integral to the industrial revolutions in the USA and USSR. These include such characteristics as primary allegiance to the nation-state; a high value on efficiency and cultivation of productivity; a commitment to increasing national wealth and power; and cultivation of a rational, problem-solving approach to life, Ibid., 19-20. His analysis is especially intriguing considering the long and bitterly held distinction America and the Soviet Union made between their capitalist and socialist economies respectively. Chinweizu is also careful to point out that priority disparities of the sort he identifies as Cargo Cult Maldevelopment are understandable on the part of ordinary Africans who have received little exposure to industrial culture. He is far less tolerant of failures by what he terms "Third World elites" who, as well trained professionals, "have had intimate access to the industrial societies of the North." Ibid., 18.

⁸⁰ Interview with departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

imperative to the tasks he needed to accomplish, he said he felt he lacked credibility without them.⁸¹

It also sometimes appeared to expatriates that Zambians' over emphasis on certain procedural details or on obtaining material items came at the neglect of efficiency and production. For example, a British contracting company owner who had formerly worked for ZCCM in Lusaka said he liked the amenities of the head office. But they couldn't get any work done there because they were always having meetings. And "it's not about having meetings." The senior financial officer for a privatized mining company observed that he had had great difficulty getting his office staff to produce accounting reports based on projections rather than on actual bills. It seemed that the workers wanted a physical, paper bill in hand before they posted entries even on expenses known to be generally the same month after month. Consequently, waiting on actual bills meant that accounting reports could take up to two months to produce, whereas reports created on intangible projections could be done in two weeks.

Sometimes, from the outsider's vantage point, disparities concerning the balance between material and immaterial affected not just efficiency and productivity but something more puzzling still. One example concerned an archival source that we regularly visited during the course of this investigation. The archival office boasted a very well appointed, quite tidy and air-conditioned director's suite into which we were graciously received and offered tea. Just down the hall, however, a windowless room contained archival materials literally piled, as if thrown, into haphazard stacks up to three or four feet high. I found this a very dissonant experience for, in the US, the intangible information on those archival

⁸¹ And recall that what tripped me up in that early meeting with the Zimbabwean bishop was his interest in training supplies and mine in training ideas.

documents would be considered the most valuable items in the place. Consequently, archival papers would be well tended to probably even before appointments and furnishings in the director's office were considered. So a typical Western analysis of the archival office's situation might include questioning the Zambian director's competence for his job.

But something else about these sorts of situations suggested that explaining them in terms of competence versus incompetence alone could be inadequate. This was partially because such disjunctures were so pervasive. In sub-Saharan Africa, the trend was noticeable enough for a prominent African scholar to have analyzed it and assign it a name: Cargo Cult Maldevelopment. For another, such disjunctures weren't necessarily indicative of straightforward educational problems. In the case of Zambia's copper mines, differing priorities about the material and immaterial were observable at the highest levels of operations and among well-educated and trained individuals. This was apparent in the observations by that contracting company about the plethora of meetings at ZCCM headquarters, for instance. An example from the mine's technical operations seems to corroborate this as well.

The circumstance involved changeovers in the copper reserves and resources classification systems that happened during the re-privatization phase. Prior to the mines' sales, ZCCM had used a classification system that divided ore into "fully developed," "partly developed," and "undeveloped" reserves based on the number of drilled samples taken and on the amount of underground development already in place within the mine.⁸² By contrast,

⁸² Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Limited, *Proposed disposal of the assets forming the Mufulira Division and the Nkana Mines, Concentrator and Cobalt Plant and grant of a second option over the Nkana Smelter Refinery and Acid Plant*, (Photocopy, ZCCM Archives, Ndola, February 24, 2000), 63. This system was most likely designed by expatriates during the Colonial Era and subsequently taken up as Zambians rose into highly skilled ranks during the 1970s and 1980s. Email to author from geologist, Copperbelt mining company, 2006; Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

newer systems brought in later did things differently. The London Stock Exchange (LSE) system, for instance, that some of the new companies adopted grouped reserves into “proven” and “probable” categories.⁸³ In addition to relying on sampling results, the LSE system was based on intangible commitments to do the mining, on economic ways of thinking, and on market forces.⁸⁴ In fact, under the LSE system there was no need to have infrastructure in place at all for ore to be considered “proven” or “probable.”⁸⁵ From a corporate standpoint, it was in the mining companies’ interests to adopt more universally recognized classification systems for formal reporting and dealings with investors. But the old, palpable ZCCM system continued to be used informally and understood by many Zambian mining employees even several years into the re-privatization period.⁸⁶

In this case, both professionally trained Zambians and non-Zambians understood what they were doing and could talk with each other about the shared situation.⁸⁷ But the newer ways of understanding things reflected an emphasis on intangible factors, specifically on economic and monetary means of evaluation while the former system made the mining process far more concrete and sensory. Further, while Zambians in the mine’s technical services departments could work with the LSE system they continued to make sense of the

⁸³ Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Limited, “Proposed disposal,” 62.

⁸⁴ Email to author from geologist, Copperbelt mining company, 2006; Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

⁸⁵ The “proven” and “probable” categories relate to confidence levels with “proven” equating to a high degree of confidence that the ore is present and economically feasible to recover. Zambia’s copper ore deposits are of a good continuity and have a low level of grade variability. So Zambians could make projections about future deposits by using comparatively few drilling samples. Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

⁸⁶ These included the South African system (SAMREC, or South African Code for Reporting of Mineral Resources and Mineral Reserves) and the Australian system (JORC, or Australasian Joint Ore Reserves Committee). The ZCCM system was apparently unique in the mining world. Email to author from geologist, Copperbelt mining company, 2006; Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

⁸⁷ Recall that in this work’s opening chapter Western investors of one mining company had insisted numerical statistics on the operation were all they needed to know concerning what was going on with the company.

overall context in their own way by simultaneously maintaining the ZCCM system for informal situations.

From Chinweizu's perspective at least one reason for an African emphasis on outward, material forms over inward, abstract ideas is theologically related. Specifically he says that the Melanesian Cargo Cult and its like have arisen among people who have "magico-religious" world outlooks.⁸⁸ For the present study, both sections of this highly charged double term deserve consideration. The association of religion with tangible experience, for instance, shouldn't be understood as confined simply to the African continent. In Western experience, American philosopher of religion William James maintained that if "religion" were thought of in purely abstract, academic terms, schools of theology would do well but practical, lived religion would die out.⁸⁹ Likewise, the association of magic with religion and with daily, lived experience should not be understood in terms of battles between good and evil that end happily amid sparkle and flash. Rather, as we have already begun to see magic as an element of religious experience on the Copperbelt could be far more untidy and menacing than Westerners generally realized.

5.4 Workforce/popular experiences of the supernatural

Chapter four's discussion also introduced a palpable sense of religion and spirituality within the Zambian context that appeared to have no real expatriate counterpart. As we closely consider the material world, we begin to bump up against a similar sort of divide between Zambian and expatriate experience. In fact, how Zambians appeared to interpret the spiritual world had special relevance to the way bodies and objects could be used in the physical realm.

⁸⁸ Chinweizu, *Decolonizing the African Mind*, 16.

⁸⁹ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience, a Study in Human Nature*, 1st Touchstone ed. (New York: Touchstone, Simon and Schuster, 1997), 349.

5.4.1 Knowledge acquisition through experiences of others

Before proceeding, it is important to acknowledge the extent to which evidence regarding bodies and objects presented above relied upon stories Zambians told each other rather than their first hand reporting of incidents. This would come as no surprise to Schutz, however, because he maintained that people everywhere build up stocks of knowledge based on other's experiences.⁹⁰ In another of his pragmatically oriented essays, "The Well-informed Citizen," he noted that only a very small fragment of our "actual and potential knowledge originates in our own experience." The rest comes from experiences that fellow human beings and ancestors have "communicated or handed down to us."⁹¹ He called this "socially derived knowledge" and said its very credibility rests on assumptions of shared experiences and information. That is, we all accept knowledge originating with others based on beliefs that, had we been in comparable circumstances, we would have had similar experiences and acted in similar ways.⁹² In addition to socially derived knowledge, Schutz identified a category of "socially approved knowledge."⁹³ Such information is especially weighty for its being transferred by authorities (parents, religious leaders, and governments, for example) and can be "simply taken for granted" by entire groups of people.⁹⁴ This is important to remember as we enter the next phase of exploration.

5.4.2 Witchcraft as an element of supernatural experience

Witchcraft is this section's broad topic but some caveats apply before we proceed. First, we will need to rely on authorities in addition to Schutz. Though recognizing religious

⁹⁰ Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. III*, xvi. Nor, according to Ellis and Ter Haar, should it be surprising or a problem for the rest of us. They offer a lengthy defense of the legitimacy of information gained by informal talk and rumor, or what they term *radio trottiar* (pavement radio). *Worlds of Power*, 13ff.

⁹¹ Alfred Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 131.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

experience as a province of meaning involving the supernatural,⁹⁵ he was not in a scholarly or geographical position to venture very far into the territory of African religious experience. It is daunting terrain for Westerners to approach and numerous sympathetic outsiders have noted the inability of various academic disciplines to accommodate it. This is particularly true when African religious experience concerns witchcraft.⁹⁶ But there have been major studies conducted regarding African witchcraft in relation to Western thought and experience.⁹⁷ Insights from some of these works will help guide us at this point in the journey.

Second, we should not try to make this hazardous exploration more manageable by excising and analyzing witchcraft as if in isolation from a larger context.⁹⁸ This is especially important for Americans to remember since the topic can seem appealingly foreign or exotic despite our culture's comparatively recent experiences of it.⁹⁹ What the information below

⁹⁵ Schutz, *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 207.

⁹⁶ Geschière has mentioned anthropology's general inability to accommodate witchcraft and occult studies. *Modernity of Witchcraft*, 12. Ferguson encountered Christian/witchcraft dichotomies similar to those mentioned in this study and said, "there was a literalness and a materiality to discussions about witchcraft that my anthropological training did not prepare me for." *Expectations of Modernity*, 117-188. See also Barry Hallen and J. O. Sodipo, *Knowledge, Belief and Witchcraft: Analytic Experiments in African Philosophy* (London: Ethnographica, 1986), 87 and Adam Ashforth, *Madumo: A Man Bewitched* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 2000) and *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

⁹⁷ Classic studies are those of Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic*; Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa*; Hallen and Sodipo, *Knowledge, Belief, and Witchcraft*; Henrietta Moore and Todd Sanders, eds. *Magical Interpretations, Material Realities: Modernity, Witchcraft, and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (London: Routledge, 2001); and more recently, Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, and Heidi Holland, *African Magic: Traditional Ideas that Heal a Continent* (London: Viking, 2001). The present study is particularly indebted to Gluckman and Ashforth.

⁹⁸ Anthony O. Balcomb, "Racism, Witchcraft, and Stigma—Probing Some No-go Areas of the Denial Syndrome in the AIDS Debate," *Journal of Theology in Southern Africa* 1, no. 125 (July 2006): 104-114. Balcomb maintains that, "witchcraft should not be seen in isolation from its location in a broader worldview that includes many other things besides it. This worldview assumes interconnectedness in the universe, the existence of a spiritual world inhabited by forces that are both malevolent and benevolent and that impact on the material world, a sense of acute vulnerability to these forces accompanied by a belief that they can be accessed and manipulated, and an ontology that defines personhood in a communal and not individual way." This is also the point of view assumed by the present study.

⁹⁹ See David Hackett Fischer for a discussion of the Puritan worldview and Salem witch trials. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). See also Hallen and Sodipo's

will attempt to do is more fully document evidence of supernatural experiences present on the Copperbelt in the mid-2000s and discuss them in relation to this study's overall focus on meaning and reality.

5.4.3 Copperbelt experiences of witchcraft

In Zambia, there appeared to be two faces to witchcraft, one public and the other private. The public side emerged in the media and other broadly accessible fora such as public meetings. Rather than dismissing witchcraft altogether, these discussions sometimes presented witchcraft as a pitiable remnant of outmoded thinking while other times they simply reported "the facts" of the case.¹⁰⁰ Witchcraft was also occasionally portrayed as a bizarre, but limited, threat to the population as newspaper headlines such as "Suspected Witches Find Refuge in Kaleni Hills"¹⁰¹ and "Traditional Healers Warn Witch-Finders Against Theft"¹⁰² suggested. These public discussions of witchcraft were often juxtaposed against information pertaining to various concerns familiar within the developed world. So, for instance, the same *Times of Zambia* page containing an article on a flying witch covered subjects ranging from global trade, to local manufacturing, to disability and housing concerns. The *Sunday Times* once ran a story entitled "Ritual Deaths Rock Chiawa" next to

discussion of Western witchcraft; and William Lecky's fascinating observations about Western culture's declining sense of the miraculous in the *History of the Rise and Influence*.

¹⁰⁰ Lack of media coverage might have indicated lack of presence of the phenomenon within Zambian society. The frequency with which newspaper articles did discuss witchcraft would seem to signal its active presence in the country. Ferguson, who encountered witchcraft discussions "constantly," regularly experienced Zambians' hesitation to admit their fear of it, expecting him to disapprove of the entire concept. *Expectations of Modernity*, 117. An article entitled "Suspected witch crash-lands in Ndola," for example, offered no obvious editorial judgments, but merely recorded that a woman in her 80s who had been flying a magical airplane had fallen, naked, to the ground in an Ndola township. She was beaten by a mob and later taken to the department of social welfare. *Times of Zambia* (March 7, 2006): 2.

¹⁰¹ *Times of Zambia* (July 7, 2005): 9.

¹⁰² *Daily Mail* (December 9, 2004): 3.

articles entitled “Environmental Awareness Centre Construction Completed” and “ZESCO Delays Banana Project.”¹⁰³

A public stance that acknowledged witchcraft while also seeming disengaged from it was quite understandable considering that Zambian law (CAP 90) declared witchcraft illegal. This illegality further complicated outside attempts to seek witchcraft’s private face. Those whose jobs might be imperiled by hints of witchcraft—such as currently employed miners—were usually hesitant to talk of it.¹⁰⁴ So, it was only over time and in settings where trust had been established that witchcraft talk began to emerge during the course of this study.

Three terms: *muti*, *juju*, and *witchcraft* were used virtually interchangeably to signify the use of supernatural powers for manipulating or controlling a person’s environment.¹⁰⁵ Frequently, the desire to manipulate or control seemed to arise from anxiety or malice.¹⁰⁶ A person might, for instance, spitefully use *muti* against another when motivated by jealousy.¹⁰⁷ On the Zambian Copperbelt of the mid-2000s, such jealousy particularly arose when one person or family appeared to enjoy financial success beyond that of everyone else.¹⁰⁸ This was so common that even the word *jealousy* could be used as a euphemism for *witchcraft* and

¹⁰³ *Sunday Times* (December 5, 2004): 1

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Copperbelt area priest and educator, 2005.

¹⁰⁵ *Juju* seemed to be used a bit more commonly in the Lusaka area and *muti* on the Copperbelt. Powdermaker saw something similar in her 1950s Copperbelt study observing, “Good and bad magic and witchcraft exist among all tribal societies. They are based on a theory of personal causation and a belief in a supernatural power in the universe which men can control through their knowledge of magic and the following of taboos.” *Copper Town*, 41.

¹⁰⁶ See Powdermaker’s observations about this (Ibid.) and Ferguson’s, *Expectations of Modernity*, 118.

¹⁰⁷ Ashforth found jealousy as a primary motivator for witchcraft in South Africa. *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 34. Moore and Sanders found jealousy as an impetus for witchcraft documented in an African mining study of 1940. *Magical Interpretations*, 6.

¹⁰⁸ More than four decades ago, Max Gluckman documented similar situations and commented, “The man who is too successful is suspected of being a witch and himself is suspicious of the witchcraft of his envious fellows. Among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia to find one beehive in the woods is luck, to find two is very good luck, to find three is witchcraft.” *Custom and Conflict in Africa*, 96. See also Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 118. Balcomb, using Ashforth’s phrase “social jealousy,” asserts that an environment rife with perceived injustice—disparities between rich and poor far more obvious on the African continent than in America, for example—assumes that the envied one is the cause of the other’s deprivation. Such an environment also makes the use of *muti* for both success and revenge more plausible. “Racism, Witchcraft, and Stigma,” 2006. See also Ellis and Ter Haar, *Worlds of Power*, 114-140.

to connote the means by which a person achieved material wealth and/or career success. If someone said, “jealousy is there,” for example, the phrase seemed intended to communicate that the person under discussion used witchcraft.¹⁰⁹ If a shopkeeper enjoyed great local patronage, the community might suspect that he or she used *muti* to boost sales.¹¹⁰ Or, if an individual achieved success in his or her career, similar charges could be made. During the course of this study, a Zambian academic colleague of mine was widely rumored to be a wizard. This accusation allegedly stemmed from his having grown up barefoot in a small village yet going on to receive an advanced degree from a Western university and becoming quite respected in certain learned circles. Despite his being an extremely capable scholar and administrator, he ultimately became the target of an informal campaign to encourage his departure from the institution where he taught.

Jealous use of witchcraft could also happen in the mining context. Comments from a Luanshya woman, for example, revealed the complexity of understanding and interpretation as Zambians navigated through, or shifted between, what we might think of as corporate provinces of meaning to those concerned with the supernatural.

EM: ...okey ama accidents yalicitika mumine bambi balanda ukutila ati limbi ninshi muka shimine eushilibwino, limbi kuli uko achifuma, ukwikala kwenu nga bana mine fintu nshi mwinga nshimikilako pamalyashi aya masanso yapa migodi, inge ifya buloshi ficitikapo inge ifya mipashi. Ifyo mwa umfwako nangu ifyo mwacitapo experience mu life mu myenu nga bana mine.

Woman: Okey, limo ilingi ni filya ifya kwebati limo limo shimine nafuma

EM: ...okay when accidents happen on the mine, people say maybe it's the miner's wife who is unfaithful. Maybe she came from somewhere. So, in your day-to-day life as a miner's wife what would you share with me about such accidents on the mines; whether they've to do with witchcraft or spirits—just like everything that you've heard or experienced.

Woman: Okay, in some cases it is in situations like this. A miner leaves a home, which is not legally his, like the way they are

¹⁰⁹ Ferguson also found these terms “used interchangeably.” *Expectations of Modernity*, 119.

¹¹⁰ Powdermaker reported that, in return, successful people could be suspicious of other's spiteful witchcraft. *Copper Town*, 42.

kun'ganda limbi tekumwabo (ififine bale pondoka) aya ukokwine kumugodi alebomba brain tailibwino aletontokanya double uko oko afumine, na kun'ganda, kuti yamulengela accident. Elyo futi imigodi kwati naikokola, efingalenga. Elyo nefifine ifya kwebati ifya buloshi, balefwaya ukulalwinkana, pantu abo baleingisha incito banono, nomba alefwaya kalya akafulo apaba umunankwe aseshepo umunankwe ena abepo pakwebati abe boss. Eeh kuti acita ifilifyonse, ilingi cacine balacite miti, alefwaya pali kalya akafulo kalipo umunankwe pantu abalebombe ncito pali ino nshita banono ino nshita. Aba, bambi babasenda filya ifya kwebati through experience nomba bambi bengilila, okey imiti eko shaba. Kutu nalanda ati eko shaba pantu ine fyalincitakilapo kucupo candi, so na ku macito kwine kuti fya bomba. Nomba kufwaya ati akwate accident afwe, pakwebati kalya akafulo baka mubikepo ni ena. Filacitika.

deserting and then goes to work in the mine. Even though he is working, his brain is troubled, he is double minded. He thinks about where he is presently living and about his real home. This can cause him to have an accident. The other thing could be that the mines are now old. This can be a cause also. And also witchcraft, they tend to fight each other because those who are employed are very few, so one wants someone else's position.¹¹¹ He wants to remove the owner of the position so that he becomes boss instead. This is because jobs are few. Yes he can do anything, and mostly they use medicines, because they are after someone's position since very few people are working nowadays. Most of those who are employed got their jobs based on their experience. But others were employed because of *muti*. Okay, *muti* is there. I can say *muti* is there because it has happened to me in my marriage, so even in employment it can work. So they practice medicine in order to cause someone to have an accident and die so that he can take over his job. These things happen.¹¹²

Significant economic prosperity was also assumed to come to Zambians who associated with non-Zambians, particularly whites, and this could be hazardous to their Zambian relationships. There was, for instance, some speculation that our visits to Wilson's Mufulira township shop or Dr. Bush's traditional medicine stall in Chimwemwe could cut either way for them. The general public might conclude that what these proprietors offered was so good even white people patronized them. Hence the public would patronize them,

¹¹¹ e.g. job.

¹¹² See the appendices for a longer excerpt from this conversation conducted in Copperbelt Bemba.

too. Or they could conclude that white patrons in the neighborhood were drawn there by the shop owners' *muti* use.¹¹³ This could cause them to be ostracized.¹¹⁴

This apparently widespread wariness of witchcraft was accompanied by an equally widely understood sense of witchcraft's limitations. Witchcraft only *worked* in particular circumstances and when certain rules were followed.¹¹⁵ Witchcraft's guidelines included an understanding of the barriers to *muti*'s effectiveness and the circumstances under which it could properly be invoked. It was, for example, conceded that *muti* was generally ineffective on white people. There appeared to be several reasons for this including the understanding that successful *muti* use had to be done at close range between those known to each other.¹¹⁶ Since the majority of Zambians never had occasion to associate with white people, this close range pre-requisite was seldom met. Further, Europeans or Americans were often assumed to have more powerful magic resources than would Zambians, so the prospect of being out done would discourage *muti* use against them. These barriers could have acted in mine management's favor during the 2005 spate of accidents, for despite the general populace's anger with the mining companies, their managers were too physically and culturally removed for *muti* to have been effective. As Lubasi Mwangala explained,

even in town it's only now that people are experimenting.¹¹⁷ But then, you'd never try on someone you don't know. Someone who is not your tribe, someone you haven't known for a long time. You'd just say, "No. You don't

¹¹³ Witchcraft fears resulting from association of Africans with whites have been well documented for quite some time. Geschière, *Modernity of Witchcraft*, 157.

¹¹⁴ Likewise, both Enock and Lubasi spoke of receiving numerous negative innuendos and personal slights for their close association with a white person during the course of this research.

¹¹⁵ See Powdermaker's discussion of white and black magic. *Copper Town*, 41ff.

¹¹⁶ Kirwen also found that to be effective witchcraft had to be used in close circumstances between people known to each other. Michael Kirwen, *The Missionary and Diviner: Contending Theologies of Christian and African Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987), 31.

¹¹⁷ Gluckman witnessed witchcraft being adapted to town life back in the 1960s. *Custom and Conflict in Africa*, 101. Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*; Geschière, *Modernity of Witchcraft*; and Moore and Sanders, *Magical Interpretations*, all discuss various aspects of the phenomenon's adaptation to modern thinking and urban living.

know this person so don't try because you may go there and find he's got more arsenal than you do and then you're in trouble." So if you are a new person in the compound or whatever, they would really just observe you until—so people are careful. So *muzungu*¹¹⁸ is too foreign.

Further, *muti* was not to be used on whim. There had to be a reason as Enock explained.

[T]he goodness of our witches or these people who bewitch people—whatever name we can call them—the goodness is that, especially where I come from, there has to be what we call *chitela*. *Chitela* is a reason; you can't bewitch somebody without a reason...Witchcraft, in its original sense, has got rules. It's like in war or in foot—or in boxing, you can't hit your friend below the belt. So even witchcraft, you don't just wake up today and just say, "Okay, I'm going to kill that person." No. There must be *chitela*. There must be a reason. So people in the villages lived—as long as you have never provoked anybody, you have never stolen from somebody's farm, you have never impregnated somebody's daughter and refused,¹¹⁹ you have never done something ill to this family—you are almost safe. Now once there is a *chitela*, that magic works on you.

Had the 2005 spate of accidents continued, he speculated that the general public might have begun viewing them as accumulating into a *chitela* on behalf of the citizenry and against the mining companies. But, whether anyone eventually tested the rules exempting whites and those physically removed by trying witchcraft on company managers was never clear.

One common reason for using *muti* in Zambian workplace settings was said to be the prevention of others' success and/or to ensure one's own. Worries about *muti* could affect how Zambians treated offices, dwellings, vehicles and equipment. Bishops, for example, were known completely to change office furniture and houses occupied by their predecessors even when such moves came at great expense to already strapped diocesan budgets. Similarly, when the successful Zambian academic accused of wizardry left his institution to take a highly responsible job elsewhere, the family that subsequently moved into his home

¹¹⁸ e.g., a white person.

¹¹⁹ e.g., refused then to marry the girl.

had cleansing ceremonies performed there.¹²⁰ Zambian drivers feared to get behind the wheel of a vehicle that had been driven by someone they didn't trust. And there was even an expression that workers in acting capacities or moving into jobs previously held by other Zambians would "sit lightly" in case the earlier occupant was given to *muti* use. *Muti* could further account for non-productive workers remaining in jobs despite evident incompetence. Such workers should be retrenched, people said. That they weren't could only be explained by some powerful *muti* used to protect themselves.

Muti or witchcraft was also credited as the reason certain individuals maintained unusual amounts of political power in national life or the workplace. Such individuals seemed to use *muti* that protected them from questioning by others. It apparently worked by making even the strongest, most forthright opponents weak at the moment of confrontation. Lubasi mentioned hearing some of his fellow priests speculate that their bishop's visits to his home area were at least in part to procure *muti* for this purpose. How else could they account for the fact that having made up their minds to broach problems, they found themselves completely tongue-tied in his presence?¹²¹

The best *muti* was available to people in their home areas, so when politicians and church leaders spent time in their villages, popular talk was that they had gone to be "cooked." Kenneth Kaunda, for example, was apparently cooked to the point of frying in his home area of Chinsali. This was evident, people said, in his grayish skin tone, peculiar diet, and ubiquitous handkerchief, understood to be where he kept his *muti*. Frederica

¹²⁰ They were not poorly educated, it should be noted. In fact, the husband in the family had a degree from an American graduate school.

¹²¹ Explanations that attribute unfortunate situations to the "how else?" of witchcraft have been documented and defended as legitimate reasoning processes by Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic*; Horton, *Patterns of Thought*; Gluckmann, *Custom and Conflict*; Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*; Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence and Democracy*, and others. Balcomb, discussing witchcraft and HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa, notes that linking AIDS deaths to witchcraft can be "a matter of reason," for people dying in the prime of their lives otherwise simply doesn't make sense. "Racism, Witchcraft, and Stigma," 2006.

Chipongoma recalled once hearing about an uproar when the handkerchief briefly went missing. Frederick Chiluba's Congo connection assured him a good cooking. And Levy Mwanawasa's visit to his mother's village shortly after assuming the presidency cooked him as well.¹²²

While the above examples refer to Zambians' interactions with each other, upon occasion witchcraft beliefs or symbols were used across cultures. An expatriate manager in one of the mining company corporate offices related that, a few years previously, he had had miniature coffins made and went to a Halloween party dressed as a mortician. Subsequent to the party he frequently used these baby-sized coffins to guard against theft at his home and in the office. When going on holiday he would place one coffin at the front entrance to his house and one at the back and had no problems with break-ins. At one point, he also had 30 or 40 boxes of personal goods that he wished to store temporarily at work. Because the boxes were visible through a window, he brought in the coffins and placed them prominently near the boxes.

So they all complained and went to the police and said I must take the coffins away...So I forgot them in my car. I was driving in and out for the week. And then somebody went and complained because they saw them in the back of my car. Said, "You still haven't gotten rid of them." I said, "Yes, I have."

The manager said that to him the coffins were meaningless. But his actions eventually created enough of a stir among Zambian office workers that senior executives had to become involved.

The preceding examples generally record malicious *muti* uses, but there were times when it could be invoked out of affectionate desire. These uses also worked cross-culturally. A well-known case in Luanshya concerned a European woman who took up with her African

¹²² India was another location offering such good "cooking," so the Chingola miners' references to Mwanawasa's baths in chapter four arose from this context.

gardener. According to a European life-long Luanshya resident, the incident took place in the 1960s when the town clerk's wife left her husband and two small girls to live with their former gardener. The husband and children returned to the UK and he left her an airline ticket in case she should change her mind. She did not, however, but stayed and had children by the Zambian man, living like a woman of the townships. At one point, she had a little job at one of the local European shops, but lost this when the other white ladies complained. There was ultimately some question about the former gardener's faithfulness and general acknowledgement that the European woman's later years were not easy.

The Zambian version of this story included details that the gardener prepared a special tea to ensure his employer, the European husband, would like him. Somehow, the woman of the house drank the tea instead and fell in love with the gardener. By some accounts she then insisted upon marrying him despite his protestations over race and class barriers. Eventually, the couple did marry and the white woman adopted the simple lifestyle of a local resident. She could be seen bicycling about town and Frederica Chipongoma later went to school with one of the daughters from the marriage. Frederica said everyone knew the peculiar circumstances of the girl's parentage but no one ever talked with her about it. By the mid-2000s, although the European woman and her gardener-turned-husband had died, their daughter was said to be still living in the area.

Frederica also introduced Lubasi and Enock to a shoe repairman who kept a small stand just outside Luanshya town center. He was known to have married a white woman by similarly using *muti*. Since, however, the man became aware that Enock and Lubasi were Christians he spoke in guarded terms when they asked him about how such *muti* worked.

EM: So nangu pali ino nshita eko fyaba EM: So even today these things do exist, if umuntu nangu limbi alefwaya ukunasha you want to soften a white's heart?

umweo wamusungu?

Man: Eko fyaba, eko fyaba sanafye. Ifya kutemwikwa kumusungu nangu unwanakashi ukwabula ukuti aye kumbi, yaah. Alekonkafye imwe eko fyaba.

EM: Pantu ilingiline fye balumendo ino size yesu, ifya musango eflyo fyashala mubafyashi—

Man: Awee, ifyo eko fyaba nangufye abakashi bandi ababene tuli nabo balatina imyangalile yandi ati kuti nabasha, pantu nalikwete ba girlfriend abengi sana, baleiletafye. Nomba nabo kutina ati kanshi nakulakwipikila ifwakulya. Tabafumako iyo, na panopene balesa. Nakun'ganda balapempula nokulwa nabobene bantu. Napano pene bonse aba balishiba [*pointing at the women who sell ground nuts across from his shoe stand*] bonse aba. Ine ndekelefye nomba line ati nakula, balailita, sizy iyinono ayikona abakulu sana. Kuti ulekanafye ati, awee "no power."

Man: They are there, they are there plenty. They are medicine that would make you to be loved by whites or African women. You can even make a white or even an African wife to be around you every time, yaah. She will just be following you alone, they are there.

EM: Because many times we young men, things like these are for the elderly—

Man: No, those things are there, even my current wife she fears my conduct that I may leave her because I used to have so many girlfriends. They used to bring themselves to me. Now she fears so much that she says she has to cook for me only herself. She never leaves me, she does come even here. She constantly watches our house and quarrels with those women. Even here all these know [*pointing at the women who sell ground nuts across from his shoe stand*], all these. I have just stopped recently because I am old. They bring themselves, small sizes not old ones. I just refuse saying "I have got no power."¹²³

5.4.4 Witchcraft's reality?

One quality we Westerners tend to seize upon when the subject is African witchcraft concerns the extent to which evidence of it is based upon what we would term "hearsay." It certainly is easier to find those who will discuss what others have heard about such experiences than it is to find those who will testify to things directly. Hearsay not being observable or provable according to Western empirical standards then makes us doubt the claims altogether. From a vantage point that includes Schutz's theories on socially derived and approved knowledge however, remoteness does not necessarily make handed down information any less credible or real. When we understand ourselves to be sharing similar

¹²³ This conversation was conducted in Copperbelt Bemba. See the appendices for a longer excerpt.

circumstances and similar ways of being, then we understand how one person's experiences can be authoritative for others.

The above instances also illustrate a fluid understanding of witchcraft that is reminiscent of Schutz. In this case, permeable boundaries between provinces of meaning involved solid substances and not simply interior states of being. Witchcraft could cause material objects and bodies to act in a variety of ways.¹²⁴ People flew and transmuted themselves into other beings. Natural materials such as wood, shells, and herbs had power. But so did constructed items such as hoes and miniature coffins. Further, interpretations of witchcraft actions could be rationally opposite and still credible. That is, business success via *muti* portended either good or bad for shop proprietors; witchcraft's failure to work in any given situation could have been not its inherent ineffectiveness but the counter presence of more powerful witchcraft, and so on. Finally, all these ways of being and acting fell outside the laws of science and represented foreign territory for Western thinkers. Yet witchcraft and *muti* use were obviously present within the Copperbelt's industrial setting. Others have already observed how witchcraft can operate simultaneously within a modern context.¹²⁵ To what extent was this apparent to expatriate executives and managers?

5.5 Executive/managerial experiences of the supernatural

Among expatriates who participated in this study, there was no obvious or consistent pattern of experience concerning witchcraft and the supernatural. Everyone seemed to know that witchcraft was part of Africa's traditional past and that miners could be "superstitious." Some members of the executive/managerial group went farther, recognizing that witchcraft

¹²⁴ See Ferguson's further observations about the "materialist" nature of witchcraft discussions. *Expectations of Modernity*, 120.

¹²⁵ Gluckman (*Custom and Conflict in Africa*, 85) maintains that witchcraft beliefs operate "inside" technical knowledge. See also Geschière, *Modernity of Witchcraft*.

was present in Zambian society and acknowledging it as a potent force. They didn't believe it in themselves, but understood that what mattered more was Zambians' own beliefs.¹²⁶ Others appeared to have no experience of witchcraft, tending to assume it was largely confined to the rural areas.

The same situation seemed to prevail concerning awareness of traditional Zambian understandings regarding the religious elements of copper production and the supernatural guardians of creation. A few expatriates, for example, had heard of old smelting mysteries but suspected that none of the tradition had survived into the 21st century. Fewer still were aware of the mines' connection with snakes or, indeed, Zambians' traditional knowledge concerning the lion and donafish.¹²⁷

Expatriates coming from South Africa may have been somewhat more sympathetic to these issues than were those from outside the African continent. But individual personality rather than place of origin or even length of time on the continent seemed to account for the difference in viewpoint.

There was, however, virtually universal consistency among expatriates that witchcraft only worked if people thought it did. In this view, the phenomenon's power derived from the mental or emotional hold that it took on people, not from any real potency in the objects used or in unseen, supernatural forces. Only one expatriate went so far as to speculate that Africa had the power to make white people wonder if witchcraft really did work.¹²⁸

This point of wonder is a good spot at which to pause before considering the story of the Copperbelt town most closely associated with an underground supernatural snake.

¹²⁶ Interview with contracting company owner, 2005.

¹²⁷ Zambians also appeared to expect that Westerners would not know about these things and could seem surprised when these topics arose in cross-cultural conversation.

¹²⁸ Interview with acting security manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

Luanshya's pre-industrial history was richly infused with awareness of the area's guardians. Its industrial mining history included an active and vibrant labor force at the forefront of workers' rights struggles. By the mid-2000s, the town's more recent post-privatization period testified to a combination of these experiences and more.

5.6 The Luanshya story

Luanshya was popularly considered one of the two most attractive towns on the Copperbelt. And everyone's best romantic impulses found something appealing about the Industrial Era origins of the town's mine. Europeans interested in Zambia's mining history loved to recount how prospector William Collier shot a roan antelope that fell on a copper-stained rock near the Luanshya stream in 1902.¹²⁹ Some Zambians nuanced this story by noting that the antelope's horns pointed to the copper deposit. Either way, for much of its history the mine was known as Roan or Roan Antelope.

Luanshya's association with the roan antelope and with the mines came in conjunction with extended snake difficulties, however. In a Kitwe township tavern that also housed a school and a church, a miner mixed Lamba and Bemba as he told how a particular snake of the area, originally intended to direct humans to copper, eventually turned on people instead.

Mr. K: ...twaleumfwa nomba teuku ukwalebombela batata, kano kuLuanshya. Luanshya eyo twaleumfwa ati pali icisoka icipiita. Nga capiita, tabali nokufuma bwino abantu iyo. Nangu umo, nangu babili balefwa. Kanshi balitile inshamfumu sha mwenka muno. Ayikona shonse muZambia yonse, shabena Mushili abene muno, Chief Nkana,

Mr. K: ...we used to hear stories not where my father worked, but in Luanshya where there was a big snake which could pass [by]. When the snake passed, people died. Now they brought chiefs, some not all from Zambia, but chiefs of the Lambaland.¹³⁰ Chief Nkana, Chief Shimukunami and others came together to go and pray¹³¹ so there could be peace. And all the troubles were reduced but not quite finished.

¹²⁹ "Zambia's Mining History," 21.

¹³⁰ The translator notes that this refers to the owners of the place under discussion.

¹³¹ e.g., prayer to the ancestors.

baShimukunami nabambi. Ukukumanina So these are the things we knew when we were
pamo ukuti baye mukupepela palya. growing up.
Nemafya yonse yali palya yalicepele. So
efintu twishibe ilyo twalikukula.

The snake had different names and the misfortunes the town experienced seemed to have diverse causes depending upon whose version of the story was being told. Among Europeans, it was thought that the local people feared a many-headed snake named Sanguni but that the high death rate in the general populace was due to malaria.¹³² In the early 1930s Chirupula Stephenson, a European married to the daughter of a Lala chief, was commissioned to do an exorcism that was widely recorded and regarded as successful. What really made it so, according to this version of the story, was a parallel effort by the industrial mining company to clean up the Luanshya stream and drain stagnant swamps where malaria infested mosquitoes lived.¹³³

Zambians, however, knew that Chirupula Stephenson's name meant "whipper"¹³⁴ and he had a reputation for doing just that to the local people. Further, the area near what eventually became the mining town had traditionally been the Lamba's shrine to the snake. So, draining the swamps didn't solve the area's problems; in many ways it began them. When Luanshya's habitat was destroyed, the snake struck back. The same miner who spoke about snakes in church talked about the town's history of snakes and mines.

EM: ...bwampanonshi bwabapo pafisoka EM: ...what relationship is there between
nemigodi? Pantu mumalyashi kwena insoka snakes and mines? Because in stories
tashishala. [mining] snakes are ever present.

¹³² Recall that "Luanshya" was the name local people sometimes gave the snake.

¹³³ A version of the above story was emailed to the author by a white Zambian and lifelong Luanshya resident. She, in turn, had adapted it from a write up by the late Dick Hobson, a long time Zambian resident whose historical essays continue to be used in promotional literature by the country's tourism and business industries. There are also references to Stephenson's exorcism in P. M. Mukula compiler, *Calendars of the District Notebooks (Copperbelt Province) 1899-1964* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1981), ix and in "Zambia's Mining Industry," 32.

¹³⁴ From the Bemba verb *ukulupula* meaning "to whip."

Mr. N.: Eye efyo cabafye, tensokafye sheka ne nama eko shaba. So efyo caba, caba nga fino fine tawlikuno kwali icisoka ico beta ati, 'Chipimbi.' According to the Lambaland Chipimbi ni nsoka iyo babika ati nimfumu, so nga mwalufyanya kuli Chipimbi ninshi anything can happen pamugodi. So ema belief yabako. So ilingiline ngamulefwaya ifya kukuula nangu ni church, ificitika sana mukasanga pali icisoka icikulu sana.

Abene muno mwilamba ngabamona filya kuya kumfumu ba mushili nabambi, ukuyamukutota. Batwala ifya bupe, ubunga, inkula bayatota kulya. Nangu mulefwaya ukutampa maine nabasungu balacita bow to that. Balabeba ati, paku tampa iyi mine kano imfumu ya sumina, mwaipela fyakuti, so kulaba ukupele mfumu portion imo. They are entitled to get something within the mining, otherwise ngatakuli ifyo ninshi ilye nsoka ileisa. Pa maine limbi umugodi wa flooder, na ma accidents ninshi mwaishiba. So there is a relationship traditionally ukulingana nentambi because those are spirits, so they used to worship them previously and they are carried on and on to anything existing in that environment. So namufya mining, those snakes are counted ukutula they are important.

Mr. N.: Yes, that is what it is and has been, in fact not snakes alone but some animals as well. So that's how it is, just like we have been here¹³⁵ there was (is) a big snake called Chipimbi. According to the Lambaland Chipimbi is regarded as a Chief, so if and when you wrong Chipimbi, then anything can happen on the mine. So these are the beliefs that exist. So most of the time when you want things to do with construction and building even things like a church, you usually find a huge snake.

Owners of Lambaland when they see that, they go to chief Mushili and others to go and appease, give thanks and gifts such as maize meal and red powder. Even when you want to start a mine, even *bazungu*¹³⁶ bow to that. They are told that for them to start a mine, the chief should agree and you give the chief such and such a token and they do just that. They¹³⁷ are entitled to get something within the mining, otherwise without such tokens of appreciation snakes go on the mine and as such there are floods and other accidents. So there is a relationship traditionally between snakes and mines because those are spirits, so they used to worship them previously and they are carried on and on to anything existing in that environment. So even concerning the mines and mining snakes are counted as important.

At the time of privatization and, from a geological and national development standpoint, the Luanshya mine was no longer worth the trouble of keeping open especially when compared to the vast economic potential of Konkola Deeps.¹³⁸ But it was still one of the first to be sold. Throughout the entire privatization process, the government ostensibly

¹³⁵ e.g., Luanshya.

¹³⁶ e.g., whites.

¹³⁷ e.g., the chiefs.

¹³⁸ Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

sought to balance mine ownership by courting investors from different parts of the world.¹³⁹ Some mines went to North American investors and some to European. Luanshya went to Binani, a corporation representing a prominent Indian family with other non-mining interests in Zambia.

The sale, considered “a scam from square one”¹⁴⁰ by all candid accounts, was only the first of several highly controversial developments. Mining managers instituted celebration of Hindu religious holidays in the workplace and buried various gods—including that of the highly revered Hindu snake—on corporate office grounds and within the mine itself. Zambians found all this quite offensive.¹⁴¹ A friend of Frederica Chipongoma who worked in the engineering department at the time told how her boss was instructed to go to the corporate boardroom and remove his shoes during Diwali. Further, he had to receive some sort of mark on his forehead that he subsequently washed off in the lavatory. Miners who were required to plant the idols underground retaliated by urinating on them as a means of “neutralizing” whatever power the gods might have possessed. Frederica recounted how the tumultuous situation in town was not widely believed until ZNBC covered it on television. Local people were objecting, she said, because they were Christians and these idols—these foreign things being put in the land—were not of Christian origin.

¹³⁹ Interview with former ZCCM general manager and current senior executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004. “Companies were put in tranches. And we sold them—we did—since we were privatizing we also made sure that we—there was diversification of—diversification of not only industry but diversification of ownership. We did not want to move a public monopoly into a private one. No. If it was a monopoly here in public we had to make sure we broke it into many pieces. So different interests got involved in there. And those different interests meant different owners from different parts of the world.” Interview with President Chiluba, 2005.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with long term resident, departmental and divisional manager, 2005.

¹⁴¹ The retelling of this episode was frequently accompanied by undisguised disdain for Indians on the whole. Some version of: “What do Indians know about running mines? They are only good for selling *chitenges* and sweets!” would come out, sometimes punctuated by an assertion that even white mine owners were preferable because they at least had industrial mining experience.

Popular wisdom also considered this act a tip-off that the new owner's ultimate success with the mine would be short-lived. It was almost as if that area were sacred, recounted one observer. Hindu owners taking their gods underground desecrated the space so people in the workforce and larger community knew that trouble would ensue. "[T]hey said, right at the beginning, 'these guys are not going to last here.'"¹⁴²

In 2002, the mine ceased operating, by some accounts so suddenly that copper under production was left half finished, and Luanshya plunged into a desperate economic crisis. When the Government of Zambia eventually settled on another buyer in 2004, close ties with the former regime prompted popular sentiments, echoed by some in managerial ranks, that the new company was just Binani under another name.¹⁴³

Even though the mine reopened, the general populace continued to encounter difficulties. By mid-2005, privatization had become rooted enough in Zambia to reveal the uneven distribution of wealth that inevitably accompanies free market economic policies.¹⁴⁴ The uniformity that, for good or ill, had characterized mining township life under nationalization was giving way as some prospered more obviously than others. Various people were now rumored to be "selling their years" or sacrificing family members in exchange for material prosperity. Notably, this behavior was not publicly deemed to be witchcraft, but was designated as Satanic activity.¹⁴⁵ The essential ingredients of this Faustian-like process involved blood and sacrifice—either the remainder of one's own life or that of close kin. Killers were said to be taking their victim's body parts to use in ceremonies

¹⁴² Interview with mine physician, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

¹⁴³ The connection appeared to be family relations also tied to Mittal Steel.

¹⁴⁴ See Klaus Nürnberger, *Beyond Marx and Market: Outcomes of a Century of Economic Experimentation* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1998) for a thoughtful critique of qualities inherent in both command and free market economies.

¹⁴⁵ Ashforth encountered similar circumstances in South Africa. *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 41, 65. See also Ellis and Ter Haar's discussion of this phenomenon throughout sub-Saharan Africa and in the context of understanding money and wealth. *Worlds of Power*, 114-140.

designed to bring them wealth.¹⁴⁶ So it was with good reason that, upon encountering a young acquaintance whose brother had recently been murdered, Frederica inquired as to whether the body was found intact. In this case, the family was grimly fortunate. No body parts had been taken, but the young man's clothes had been found at the pony club and his body located in a stream some distance away.

It was claimed that results of these killings could be seen in the town's second-class area where new shops were springing out of nowhere and individual businesses suddenly appeared to have astronomically high sales volume.¹⁴⁷ One man, people said, had bought 50 minibuses all at once. But the problem with this sort of charm, Frederica explained, was its temporality. Wealth gained by such means would last only so long and then dissipate. In the meanwhile, ordinary citizens were becoming afraid to go out after 6 PM and red bereted policemen patrolled the streets.

5.7 Schutz outdone?

A few points should now be made. First, it can be countered that all the examples in this chapter simply represent differences in interpretation of events and ideas. Schutz would say that is precisely the point, for each means of interpretation offers a reasonable

¹⁴⁶ We have already encountered accusations of Satanic behavior and blood sacrifice in the Chingola residents' speculations that President Mwanawasa was sacrificing miners during the 2005 accidents. Similar examples abound. In mid-2004, a senior staff member at Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation preached a rambling chapel sermon in which he told a story currently circulating in town. It seemed that a local man had died and been buried at Chingola Road Cemetery. A few months later, his family "forgot" that he had died and the man was spotted cleaning cars in Dubai. When asked how he got there, he told his inquirer that he didn't know; he had just found himself there cleaning the cars. As the preacher's audience laughed somewhat nervously, he pronounced that sort of thing "Satan's work." (Dubai was frequently mentioned in connection with stories of sudden, surprising wealth. It was unclear whether this pertained to its exotic nature as a Muslim area or to its reputation as a place where many goods could be obtained.) In the early 2000s a church leader with whom we were all acquainted lost his daughter, aged two or three, when she drowned in a bucket of water. Popular opinion stated that it was not really possible for a child of that size to drown in a bucket of water. This led to suspicions he had sacrificed her in order to become a more prominent ecclesiastical official.

¹⁴⁷ "Second class area" was generally the name assigned to the section of town that, in America, would be referred to as the industrial area.

explanation of events or ideas based upon inherited stocks of knowledge.¹⁴⁸ This was especially evident in the various Luanshya stories when explanations for early miners' mysterious deaths differed between malaria and the snake; when the mine spirits' anticipated displeasure at underground idols indicated a short tenure for the investors more so than inherent managerial faults; when free enterprise (and perhaps some shady deals!) evoked Faustian fears and murder rather than appreciation of healthy marketplace competition. Likewise, the distinguishing mark of the story about the European woman and her gardener-turned-husband arose from a stock of knowledge where *muti* use was real and effective. *Muti* could explain what otherwise seemed a dumbfounding circumstance, for how could such an inter-racial marriage have taken place without some supernatural push?

Second, Schutz's theories about people moving among interior provinces of meaning while within the everyday life world are apparently holding up as the Copperbelt investigation proceeds. The simultaneous maintenance by Zambian technicians of the old ZCCM ore classification system and the new LSE system was a good example of this. But Schutz's theories don't seem to explain everything. Where, for instance, do African experiences of permeable boundaries between physical objects; the potency of supernatural forces; and the "literalness" and "materiality"¹⁴⁹ of witchcraft fit within the overall terrain?

Third, Zambian discussions connecting Satanism, Western Christian influences, and people's economic circumstances seem especially significant given all that has been said about the role of religious understanding thus far. Equally significant may be the economic vantage point that we have glimpsed coming from the managerial side. How can these circumstances be accounted for and what do they portend overall?

¹⁴⁸ This also seems consistent with the findings of Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa*; Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*; and others cited above.

¹⁴⁹ Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 118

The interpretative differences noted above invite us to wonder about the extent to which even more may have been going on in the Copperbelt setting than Schutz himself could have anticipated. How, for instance, can Schutz's world of working and provinces of meaning ideas hold up in an environment containing such an active understanding of the spiritual forces that even material objects have power and animation? How would his caveats about not assuming we comprehend others' external bodily actions accommodate actions directly communicating with a spiritual realm?

5.8 Summary

This chapter has compiled further evidence pertinent to the theological disarray of current Western development thinking by exploring how some Africans appear to experience their everyday lives in a particular environment subject to Western-inspired development ideas. What is meaningful, important—even real—in various ordinary situations has been examined in light of Schutz's theories about how people compile stocks of knowledge. This portion of the case study has been buttressed by observations from scholars who have dealt with elements of African religious experience beyond Schutz's own expertise. Further, the boundaries of Schutz's expertise itself have been pushed by insights and experiences of average Zambians as they traverse the complex terrain of spiritual and material understanding.

Having now looked at differences of perception between Zambians and Westerners regarding *why certain things happen* and *what may really be going on*, we will move to a third category of thought and consider *who* is involved in various shared situations. How does each group identify itself and, when each considers the other, whom do they understand the Other to be? ♀

Chapter Six **On Identity and Ability to Act**

On a sunny Saturday afternoon one late May, research assistants Enock and Lubasi sat with friends at a tidy outdoor bar near the Mufulira mine site. They had unexpectedly met Oliver, a former roommate to Enock and now owner of a small timber business. Oliver told the little group lounging in the *insaka* how he had begun his business with only K40,000 (about \$10 USD at the time) and now had 18 employees whom he paid a competitive wage. Soon the talk turned to entrepreneurship. Various people wondered what inhibited more Zambians from following Oliver's example and what the country could do to build infrastructure for a better business environment. This led to thinking about Zambia's tax collection method, a cumbersome and inconsistent affair that required taxpayers to appear at one of only a few sites scattered throughout the country. Many affluent Zambians escaped taxation simply because it was either too much trouble or impossible for the government to locate them.

There were stark differences between this situation and that of the United States. Here, collecting taxes is predicated upon citizens having permanent, known addresses. It presumes a functioning postal system; a process of formal employment that incorporates official paychecks; and bank accounts. Tax collection further relies on an efficient banking scheme and knowledge among the general public about how to use all the necessary systems.

As the Mufulira group delineated the enormous underlying complexity needed to keep everything functioning, Enock became increasingly agitated. Finally, he stood up, declared, "We are bewitched and the one who has bewitched us has died," and walked away. To a puzzled on-looker Lubasi explained that this Zambian saying connoted a traditional

understanding about witchcraft. If one is bewitched, it is necessary to go get the person who worked the spell in order to reverse it. If that person has died, however, the spell is impossible to overturn.

These images are important to recall as we move into territory concerning identity and ability to act. This ability, which is sometimes referred to as “agency,” also figured into Schutz’s thinking as we will see below.

6.0 Identity as a key to interpreting reality

The kind of policy discussions that Marshall’s analysis in chapter one would designate as concerning things material frequently state that the ultimate objective of development in Africa is a more flourishing quality of life for the needy masses.¹ Huge amounts of money and energy also go towards tasks intended to “alleviate poverty,” for getting from *here* (the present poor situation) to *there* (a hoped for better life) involves mechanistic thinking and practical activities.² But, as this study has repeatedly tried to attest, such practical considerations arise out of theories about how we understand reality and what we consider meaningful.

Recalling the *insaka* conversation recorded above, for instance, what steps would be necessary for *Zambian* policymaking and practice to move from its haphazard tax program to one more broadly representative of and beneficial for society? And why did Enock react as

¹ See Rist’s insightful critique of problematic assumptions that “development” talk often contains. *History of Development*, 8ff.

² “Mechanistic thinking” in this context refers to a principal focus upon concrete operations or actions—what many Westerners refer to as *task-orientation*. With its origins in the Enlightenment and its propensity for detachment and objectivity, mechanistic thinking has, according to some critics, led directly to materialism. Materialism itself has increased exponentially in the last couple of decades. Korten, *Post-Corporate World*, 24ff. Since the 1990s, increasing emphasis on mechanistic thinking has also been evident in the way American aid agencies and funding organizations conduct operations. Concerted shifts towards outcomes measurement and assessment or monitoring and evaluation place tremendous stress upon quantifiable aspects of project activity to the neglect of other crucial dimensions of existence. See, for example, Ver Beek’s empirical study on spirituality and development (“Spirituality: a Development Taboo.”).

he did when things got specific? When considering that Zambia was entitled to more revenue than it took in as a modern nation state, he could have offered any number of economically, historically, or politically related commentaries. He could have contended, for example, that inefficient government processes are ultimately no match for free market innovations, so an environment that bolsters the common good should be created by private rather than public means. Or he could have expounded on African urbanization trends and the comparative advantage of seeking taxes from rural and urban dwellers, small and large-scale businesses. But he chose instead a vivid commentary that spoke to something else entirely. When it came to creating a vibrant economic environment, Zambians collectively were stuck just as surely as they would be if individually searching the bush for a deceased perpetrator of magic spells.

Whether Enock used witchcraft imagery literally or figuratively, his observation was quite relevant to some very basic matters. "We are bewitched" implies a life condition determined by something other than the affected persons while "the one who has bewitched us has died" suggests an inability to do anything about the situation. Ultimately, questions such as "What determines who I am?" and "What am I capable of doing to affect my situation?" are questions about identity.

Western outsiders can pose identity-related questions when we see Africans living with crumbling infrastructure and apparently not emulating Oliver, the entrepreneurial business owner. We may exhibit what Albert Memmi has termed bemusement at the African's apparent "lack of desires, his ineptitude for comfort, science, progress, his astonishing familiarity with poverty."³ In these cases, our "why are things this way?" and

³ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Howard Greenfield (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), 82.

“what is going on?” questions also entail questions about who is involved even though talk of tasks, goals, and objectives may obscure this fundamental point.

In the Copperbelt case, tensions concerning identity and ability to act arose constantly, often complicating workplace life and highlighting disparities in what people considered important. Enock’s troubled remark hinted at that. So did many other comments and actions to be considered next.

6.0.1 Chapter organization

This chapter will first explain briefly how Schutz discussed identity in relation to meaning and reality and then will present insights from African scholars who have thought deeply about all this as well. From there, we will consider instances in which talk among case study participants about pragmatic or work-related issues appeared to reveal something fundamental of their understandings about themselves and others.⁴

Sections 6.1 and 6.2 will explore concerns of identity and ability to act from the executive/managerial perspective. Sections 6.3 through 6.5 will do the same for the workforce/popular group. A final section will attempt to summarize, compare, and contrast these viewpoints while also commenting on how they seem to fit with themes encountered previously.

6.0.2 Schutz on experience of the Other and agency

The world of daily life, a form of experience Schutz pointedly distinguished from *theories about* how we live, presumes that others exist and that we interact.⁵ Schutz talked

⁴ This section will more frequently than elsewhere in the text speak in ethnic “black/white” or “Zambian/expatriate” terms; not just the socio-economic status categories of “executive/managerial” and “workforce/popular” or the broad classifications of “African/Western.” Since study participants spoke this way, distinguishing themselves from others and often making distinctions within groups, this text reflects their means of defining the situations.

⁵ Schutz, the banker, particularly criticized economic theory for its propensity not to accommodate the real life experiences of “humans of flesh and blood like you and me, Peter and Paul and everyone.” *Collected Papers*,

about a generalized Other as “Thou”⁶ and said that both *Thou* and *meaning* itself are not simply objects we experience but shapers of our experiences.⁷ What I do may prompt a reaction from you whose actions, in turn, may elicit my response and so on.⁸ Additionally, since we all construct our realities based upon various stocks of knowledge, particular moments of encounter with the Other will affect, or mold, our conceptions of what is meaningful and important.⁹ It is crucial to remember here that Schutz understood these experiences of the Other as very much happening in tangible, bodily form. His paramount reality—the world of working—is a world of physical things including our bodies. Even though, as we observed in the previous chapter, *Zambian* experience of the material may have exceeded what Schutz had in mind, he still posited that what happens in this world of working not only affects us but *constitutes* us.¹⁰

Schutz also said that interpersonal communication is crucial to our everyday world,¹¹ but several conditions inhibit completely adequate communication. These conditions include, for instance, the partial knowledge we have about ourselves as well as others.¹² For Schutz, the only times that approach genuinely shared experience (and hence provide the most adequate knowledge) are moments of direct, personal encounter between people. The “vivid present” of face-to-face relationships offers the best opportunity for experiencing each

Vol IV, eds. Helmut Wagner, George Psathas, and Fred Kersten (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996), 93. See also his comments in “The Stranger” concerning theories about distant communities versus actual experiences when newcomers arrive (*Collected Papers, Vol II*, 91-105) as well as comments in *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 218, 227.

⁶ This term appears throughout his writings and even formed the title of a brief manuscript he wrote in the 1920s. Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. IV*, 201-202. In this work, Schutz discussed our perennial problem of truly understanding other people. We only partially comprehend what is important to them and, consequently, how they conduct their lives. In fact, the chances of encountering people at the same time they are encountering moments of most relevance to themselves are extraordinarily slim. *Ibid.*, 201.

⁷ Schutz, *Life Forms and Meaning Structure*, 43ff; Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 110.

⁸ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 218.

⁹ This study uses the term *Other* rather than Schutz’s *Thou* which seems slightly arcane now.

¹⁰ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 222; *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 92ff.

¹¹ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 218, 227.

¹² *Ibid.*, 217.

other as unified wholes.¹³ Schutz also noted that adequate interpersonal communication can be inhibited by assumptions we each make about the other.

He said our inherited stocks of knowledge are partially responsible for this communications problem and stocks of knowledge can make it difficult to fathom others' abilities to act as well. Past experiences and cultural teachings, for instance, shape our understanding of how people should comport themselves in society. We tend to believe that certain actions should elicit certain responses.¹⁴ When this doesn't happen, good communication between ourselves and Others may be the first major casualty of such encounters.¹⁵ But stocks of knowledge can also limit our own abilities to act. The reason for this is that, while in retrospect, we may justify actions as arising from our own volition, the stock of knowledge we inherit *without choice* forms such an integral part of our own biographies that what we do may be more pre-determined than we realize.¹⁶

When we don't realize the significance of perceptual disjunctures arising from our stocks of knowledge we can assume that, underneath it all, everyone does share a common vision of the world.¹⁷ In fact, as Schutz's students Berger and Luckmann asserted, we may go so far as to squeeze conceptions of other people's odd behaviors into patterns and actions that make sense to us.¹⁸

6.0.3 Identity in general African analysis

The foregoing may not appear particularly innovative, for Westerners and Americans in particular are accustomed to talking about interpersonal communication and relationships.

¹³ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 110. For this reason, Schutz believed that face-to-face relationships should serve as a starting point for more overarching, theoretical analysis about our environment on the whole. Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 221.

¹⁴ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 121.

¹⁵ Schutz and Luckmann, *Structures of the Life World*, 306-7.

¹⁶ Barber, "Alfred Schutz," 4; Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. III*, xviii.

¹⁷ Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. III*, xxii.

¹⁸ Balcomb, "Rediscovering the Shock," 6.

We have, however, tended to consider these topics as they relate to us individually. Not until fairly recently have we been confronted with the need to ponder our collective identity in relation to radically different Others and our own physical environment. The main reason we have been insulated from thinking about ourselves *en masse*, by some accounts, is because the Western perspective has been so effective in imposing its point of view elsewhere.¹⁹ Much more, beyond what this study is capable of doing, can and should be said about this matter. But, we consider it here by way of contrast with the African situation. For, from another vantage point, our ways of being and doing may be considered not normative but as deliberately undermining of Others' ways of being and doing.²⁰ Here, the work of a number of African scholars offers important counterpoint to Schutz who, in all fairness, didn't pretend to be a multi-cultural analyst.²¹

Doing justice to African-based literature on identity and ability to act would involve many more studies. For now, we will simply sample some ideas that most readily seem to hold implications for our theological thinking about development. Chinweizu, as we have already seen, closely considers identity and development-related themes and traces problems with initiative and ability to act back to 13 centuries of Arab/Islamic and European/Christian

¹⁹ "The West won the world not by the superiority of its ideas or values or religion (to which few members of other civilizations were converted) but rather by its superiority in applying organized violence. Westerners often forget this fact; non-Westerners never do." Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*, 51. "The West is what it is because of its past. Nobody imposed foreign ideas on the West. Hence the West is at home in the modern world. The modern world was created by, and belongs to, the West." William Pfaff, "Traditional Culture Strikes Back," *International Herald Tribune*, (July 21, 2005): <http://www.iht.com/articles/2005/07/20/news/edpfaff.php#>. See also Willis, "Like Ships Passing," 92 on this point.

²⁰ Baum as cited in Willis, "Like Ships Passing," 92. Willis also notes that this seems especially evident in the Global South. *Ibid.*, 91-92.

²¹ In his very pragmatic essay, "The Stranger," Schutz specifically excluded "relationships between individuals and groups of different levels of civilization," in the analysis. *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 91. So concepts such as power differentials between cultures did not receive as much attention in his thinking as they do among many analysts today. Schutz did, however, anticipate identity problems that globalization has exacerbated. Noting that the vivid present of personal relationships and immediate surroundings was giving way under modernity's influences, he commented, "Our own social surrounding is within the reach of everyone, everywhere; an anonymous Other, whose goals are unknown to us because of his anonymity, may bring us together with our system of interests and relevances within his control." *Ibid.*, 129.

incursions into the continent. These invasions, he argues, essentially destroyed any "autonomous cultural initiative"²² the people had. Colonialism further hampered Africans' abilities to make sense of a rapidly changing world, according to Kwame Bediako, because Western viewpoints that dominated colonial society did not encourage Africans to devise clear understandings of who they were.²³ Worse still, colonialism effectively taught Africans to use Western categories of thought rather than their own.²⁴

Instead, what emerged was ill-fitting mimicry of a Western Other. Explored in painful literary detail by writers such as Wole Soyinka²⁵ and condemned in almost psychotic terms by Memmi, imitation of Western ways of being and doing has, in this view, harmful, alienating effects on African self-understanding. Memmi maintains, for example, that colonizers commonly depicted Africans as "lazy" and that Africans knew this.²⁶ Colonizers also talked of African "stupidity" and Africans knew this as well.²⁷ Hearing these charges so often, Africans began to believe them and eventually contributed to their own oppression and

²² Chinweizu, *Decolonizing the African Mind*, vii. "The colonized mind," he said, "like a well-conditioned slave, is incapable of initiative independent of its master." *Ibid.*, 6.

²³ Kwame Bediako has considered identity from a theological and historical vantage point in great detail. See, for example, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture Upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in Modern Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1992). While we Americans may grow impatient with explanations of Africa's problems that stretch back to the Colonial Era, in Schutz's analysis this past forms part of the stock of knowledge that does figure into present understandings of reality.

²⁴ Bediako, *Jesus in Africa*, 426-441.

²⁵ "My mind went back to the saddest wedding I had ever witnessed at St. Peter's, Aké. It was a white wedding—gloves, veil, hat, bouquet, gown etc. Itemized, there was nothing missing in the colonial ensemble of the occasion. The bridegroom wore a matching suit with his best man, pocket handkerchief and carnation in place. The chief bridesmaid, pages and other bridesmaids were spread out on either side of the bridal pair in all the correct attire, shoes gleamed and stockings were spotless white. The bridal train spread a long way behind them on the cobbled yard of St. Peter's as they stood on the steps for a photograph. There was only thing wrong—not one item of attire fitted anyone. The clothing appeared to have been picked off an assortment of shops and dumped on the backs of a random choice of children, men and women who had never set eyes on a city or heard an organ peal. The bride looked as if she would deliver her child any moment, her pregnancy stuck out before her like an explanation of the misery on the face of the bridegroom, and of the bored, uncomfortable stance of the pages and maids. There was a shabbiness about the spectacle which went beyond the ill-fitting clothes; it was the lack of joy anywhere, a guilty furtiveness in spite of, indeed reinforced by the depressing attempt to impose an outward covering—and an alien one—on a ceremony that lacked heart or love or indeed, identity." Wole Soyinka, *Aké: The Years of Childhood* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1981), 178.

²⁶ Memmi, *Colonizer and Colonized*, 79ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 84.

exploitation.²⁸ Even in instances where they could have acted on their own behalf, Africans failed to do so.

Chinweizu attributes this sort of inertia largely to lack of self-confidence. He says it has directly affected Africa's development in at least two fundamental ways. First, many African leaders (or elites)²⁹ who may appear Western have not adopted some potentially good ideas from the West. Development of the sort that makes people's lives better—as opposed to sham projects that look good but do little—arises from “a self-reliant understanding of the nation's history and circumstances.”³⁰ But this sort of development is impossible if leaders themselves don't feel self-reliant. Second, when the general populace lacks self-confidence at its core, elites can use this to their own advantage. Pretending to be one way with Western donors, some African elites can be very different with their own people. These circumstances can lead to a type of development that helps a few consolidate their power but that never benefits the masses at all.³¹

Moving from such an impoverished place to a more flourishing existence does involve something more than economic theories and political will. It involves, these authors argue, serious scrutiny of identity and the points of relevance that help us determine a sense of self. This can't be done adequately, according to Kwame Anthony Appiah, without close inspection of the powerful, but fluid, relationships between ourselves and Others. Appiah notes, for example, that while outside forces can impose life conditions and identities,

²⁸ Ibid., 88, 152ff.

²⁹ Chinweizu, *Decolonizing the African Mind*, 31-39 and 57-61.

³⁰ Ibid., 23. Chinweizu also traces how the US and USSR transformed “third rate semi-agrarian” societies into industrial superpowers by changing attitudes and molding national culture. Ibid., 19ff.

³¹ Ibid., 25. Elites can, for example, control public agendas and flows of resources from the West. See Geschière, *Modernity of Witchcraft*, 134ff. Here, Western development policy makers and practitioners confront the limits of our own constructed understandings. Paul Germond mentions this as a dual problem, noting that, while Africans may struggle to articulate their needs because of being hampered in thinking about who they really are, we Westerners can be just as hampered by relying on ways of seeing and understanding that don't properly fit the African context. As cited in Willis, “Like Ships Passing,” 255.

ordinary African citizens need to acknowledge that negative characteristics of such identities needn't be permanent. To offer a specific instance, "race," used as an identifying label long assumed that all blacks were alike and so helped make possible sweeping judgments about African "laziness" or "stupidity" in the Colonial Era. But, from a different vantage point, "race" can be understood as a way of perceiving Others that did huge damage at a particular time and place and that will undoubtedly dominate many people's ways of thinking in the future. But harmful perceptions of "race" can be completely confounded by experience of the Other.³²

How did theories about the self and the Other play out in the Copperbelt case? In particular, what roles did identity and ability to act seem to play in people's overall understanding of the work and life situation there?

6.0.4 Identity in the case study context

In Northern Rhodesia, Africans and Europeans talked of each other and themselves in ways that revealed concerns about their own self-understanding and their perceptions of Others. General commentary implied that whites were dominant and competent and Africans were weaker in intellect and initiative. The early 20th century African Watch Tower movement, for example, attributed Europeans' wealth to innate wisdom granted by God but hidden from Africans.³³ Anthropologists associated with the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in

³² Appiah, *In My Father's House*, 174ff. Appiah's saying that the "real battle" concerning African identities "is not being fought in the academy," (Ibid., 179) affirms Schutz's idea that theoretical conceptions of a group of people can completely collapse under lived experience. Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 98-99. On the other hand, Ashforth has noted the grip that old academic ideas can retain on the general populace even long after scholars have abandoned them. He mentions in particular the concept that history proceeds in a linear way—from lower (read: bad) to higher (read: good) forms of development, something numerous theorists have rejected but that still seems to infuse ordinary people's understandings of the world. *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 116. See also Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, 378.

³³ Watch Tower also contended that if Africans prayed fervently enough, God would send the Europeans home and leave their wealth behind. Lane, *Moment of Encounter*, 14. Note the prayer was not for God to make the Africans as wise as they perceived Europeans to be, but to allow assumption of the Europeans' wealth. Lane

the 1940s tacitly assumed whites were the reference point, or standard, for analyzing the surrounding society despite black Africans being the clear majority population.³⁴ Even as Britain was about to hand over Northern Rhodesia to the Zambians in the 1960s, the overwhelming majority of Europeans thought Africans incapable of properly managing the mines.³⁵ If this were true, some Europeans recognized that the situation was at least partially attributable to attitudes and behaviors most of their fellow citizens had displayed towards Africans.³⁶ Yet, Zambians themselves seemed also to act in ways that portended problems.³⁷

Kenneth Kaunda might have agreed with this assessment but for different reasons. Shortly after independence, he said colonial efforts to destroy African self-confidence had so disoriented the populace that they experienced “a sort of walking civil war”³⁸ in their minds. Were Zambians Westerners? Were they Africans? Were they both or neither? His early policymaking appears to have reflected these identity struggles. He concluded, for example, that the new nation’s government should be more “humane than efficient.”³⁹ But the mines were different. Eventually nationalized at least in part to keep out foreigners—a strong identity statement on its own—the mines were to be run by disciplined, responsible, and

went on to assert that, from the time of earliest European exploration as “they appeared within the African world, Europeans were seen as beings from a transcendent realm possessing sacred power. On the other hand, as Europeans encountered Africans, they condemned them as being barbaric.” *Ibid.*, 37. Colonial officials saw the Watch Tower movement as a predisposing factor in the first Copperbelt “disturbances” or organized actions on behalf of the African mining workforce. This was due, they said to the movement’s contempt for civil and spiritual authority, especially “native authority.” *Report of the Commission*, 4. See also Alverson’s experience with a similar situation in South Africa. *Mind in the Heart of Darkness*, 259ff.

³⁴ Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity*, 106. Schutz would not have found this surprising as his theories were based on the idea that we all organize our understanding of the world around our physical bodies in time and space. Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 222 and *Collected Papers, Vol. II*, 92ff.

³⁵ A study of European life and work on the Copperbelt found that only 1 in 10 white mining employees felt Africans could competently perform in the industry’s higher-grade jobs. One in four believed Africans could satisfactorily carry out low-level labor jobs. “Attitudes of White Mining Employees,” vi.

³⁶ Wood, *Northern Rhodesia*, 62ff

³⁷ After excoriating widespread white settler disdain for blacks Wood says he is, “not greatly impressed by demands for political advancement from people and their leaders who are not prepared at the same time to demand of themselves higher moral standards and advance by their own efforts, both socially and economically.” *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁸ Kaunda, *Humanist in Africa*, 31.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

vigorously active Zambians.⁴⁰ Still, an identity dilemma eventually overwhelmed ZCCM. Was it a capitalist industry running on military lines? Was it part of the government's social programs? Was ZCCM the premiere means of making Zambia Zambia or merely a collection of civil servants tending a cash cow?⁴¹

Initially raised through this study's situational analysis survey, the re-privatization era especially brought these concerns to light as new expatriates with their own ways of being and doing came into Zambia.⁴² The extent to which these new expatriates were just like those of pre-nationalization days was a point that could be debated—as will be seen further on. But some things about the shared context within which expatriates and Zambians began working together in the mid-2000s were clearly different. For all its encumbrances, African political independence had entailed increased opportunities for cross-cultural interaction.⁴³ New generations of miners had also grown up amid global civil rights movements and the world's overall social mobility meant that the re-privatized workplace was substantively changed here and there.

⁴⁰ *Towards Complete Independence*, 5, 7. A couple of analysts from that era noted that the Kaunda government originally wanted to stay with a capitalist approach, fully appreciating the mines' contribution to the national treasury. A combination of factors and events including, according to Martin, Zambians' general lack of education and skills training and Kaunda's own disillusionment with Western government and business interactions after 1964 eventually helped "turn Kaunda from an optimistic economic liberal to an increasingly tough interventionist." *Minding Their Own Business*, 95. To a certain degree, the decision to nationalize the mines arose, then, more from political and emotional rather than purely economic motivations. *Ibid.*, 199. Paradoxically, writing in the same year, Burawoy maintains that the Kaunda government's desire not to interfere with the mines' profitability led it to neglect instituting a comprehensive Zambianization program, instead demonstrating lack of sympathy for mineworkers and their unions. *Colour of Class*, 104ff.

⁴¹ Independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

⁴² Some expatriates had lived in the area when their fathers worked on the mines during the Colonial Era and even into the era of nationalization. Having studied abroad and accumulated professional experience around the world, they returned in the early 2000s.

⁴³ Beginning in the 1950s, for example, organizations such as the World Council of Churches tried to address inter-racial issues by holding camps where blacks and whites worked, ate, worshipped, and roomed together. The first such WCC effort in Central Africa took place July-August, 1959 at Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation. "Mindolo Work Camp," (Minute book, World Council of Churches, Kitwe, July 10-August 9, 1959).

It was not, however, a completely harmonious environment. Identity and ability to act were still sensitive topics, as the conversation that day in Mufulira revealed. Just outside the bar, for instance, the re-privatized mine site was being rebuilt and expanded on a scale unequal to anything since the height of Colonial Era operations.⁴⁴ But, throughout the Copperbelt, other aspects of existence no longer considered mining company concerns—such as peripheral roadways, houses, and social institutions—remained generally quite bedraggled. Oliver the entrepreneur did appear anomalous.

From the vantage point of a stranger looking in on the situation a reasonable question seemed to be: What inhibited Zambians from doing what they could to make some societal improvements on their own? If there was money enough for beer, what about money for paint? It was clear from the way Zambians talked that no one liked the way things looked, but it was also clear that the days of Mother ZCCM taking care of everything had passed. In a post-privatized world that was supposed to reward innovators such as Oliver, what *was* preventing more Zambians from acting?

Executives/managers and members of the general populace talked about this, frequently making their observations in relation to the Other. Sometimes these discussions were private. Sometimes observations were offered in frustration and sometimes with wry amusement. What they said bore implications for thinking about development overall.

6.1 Executive/managerial self-understanding

The extent to which Africans have felt their situations defined for them by outsiders was a principal concern of the authors cited above. It also seemed to underlie Enock's dreary

⁴⁴ According to a survey published by the Chamber of Mines, from the time re-privatization began through the latter portion of 2005, the mining companies had invested about \$1 billion USD in plant rehabilitation, expansion, and new facilities. Chamber of Mines of Zambia, "Survey of the Zambian Mining Industry 1995-2004." (Kalulushi: Chamber of Mines of Zambia, 2005), 2.

assessment of Zambia's development prospects some years after re-privatization of the mines. In the Copperbelt setting, expatriate mine managers too, found their existence determined for them on several fronts. Globally, they constituted members of a shrinking and largely unpopular fraternity.⁴⁵ More locally, they contended with unflattering perceptions propagated by Zambians.

6.1.1 Shifting global attitudes towards mining

Mining hadn't always been viewed so negatively, but shifts in the nature of what was popularly considered desirable white-collar work and the environmental movement's gathering strength were changing perceptions of the industry. In Western academic circles, interest in mining engineering had been on the wane since the 1980s and managers said critical shortages of trained personnel would hamper the industry into the mid-21st century.⁴⁶ Reliable old UK institutions were closing down or amalgamating their curricula into more encompassing offerings on the environment and this trend seemed to be happening elsewhere as well.⁴⁷ Bad publicity about the profession also affected the situation, especially when mining work was compared to careers in other professions such as Information Technology. Production pressures, dangerous and dirty tasks conducted in far-flung environments seemed less rewarding than comfortable desk jobs in attractive, easier to reach areas. Beyond these

⁴⁵ Systematic recruiting and training of African workers for artisan jobs had disintegrated in Zambia years before. Coupled with the AIDS pandemic this situation foretold reduced pools of skilled laborers for the mines. One manager noted that while AIDS didn't seem to be diminishing the overall pool of potential African workers, it was definitely having an effect on the corporation. Mining companies were constantly training new workers because attrition caused by AIDS-related illness and death created incessant turnover. Interview with mine site manager, 2004. Alverson, who studied South Africa's mining situation in 1970s, noted talk of labor shortages then and wondered if the industry in that context might have been trying to secure more of the overall labor pool rather than truly having a shortage problem. *Mind in the Heart of Darkness*, 31. In mid-2000s Zambia there seemed to be less public discussion about the future supply of mine managerial personnel.

⁴⁶ The president of the United Mine Workers of America made a similar point following the Sago Mine disaster in the USA. He asserted that experienced miners were retiring without a sufficient pool of trained workers existing to take their places. This loss of experience and expertise had a direct effect on mine safety and rescue operations. U.S. Congress. Senate. Appropriations Committee, Hearings on Mine Safety, June 23, 2006.

⁴⁷ Interview with mine departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

personal disincentives, there were more overarching concerns about mining generally—concerns that some in the executive/managerial group felt unwarranted. One departmental manager explained,

It's the "bad boy" industry because, in the opinion of the misinformed and uneducated, mining companies dig up the ground creating an environmental concern which [offers] wealth for stakeholders predominantly based in first world locations while simultaneously exploiting the resources and local population of a third world country...And obviously as there's been a shift towards green policy, no matter what the actual impact of mining and metallurgical industries is on the environment and the social development of third world countries, there's already a perception among the general populace of most Western countries that mining is the "bad boy" of the environmentally friendly world.⁴⁸

An executive with a mining engineering background remarked,

It's not looked upon as the good industry to be in these days. I mean there are all these "greenies" around attacking us, environmentalists also out there doing it, so it's become an industry you don't really want to be associated with anymore. It's also pretty hard graft. It's not the easiest way of earning money. So, you know, even guys who are coming out from mining universities these days are going into banking and analysis of mines and properties or the selling of mining equipment. Not that many coming through in the old tradition of mining—going from shift boss and working their way up to whatever. And so it's getting tough all 'round.⁴⁹

Executives and managers felt that generalized hostility towards mining was more difficult to tolerate when it came in concentrated form from the very quarters of society that should most be benefiting from the mines' presence.

6.1.2 Criticism from within Zambia

Unconstructive criticism of the country's premiere industry by government didn't make sense. Executives and managers thought it both ludicrous and exasperating for Zambia's public leaders to be so vigorous in opposition and petty in their treatment of the mining companies. During the 2005 spate of accidents, for instance, Zambian government

⁴⁸ Interview with mine departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

⁴⁹ Interview with chief executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

officials were scathing in their condemnation of particular mines' safety programs yet overlooked similar trouble in other industries and the inadequacies of their own agencies.⁵⁰ It took valuable company time and effort to respond to such overt opposition and exacted personal tolls on executives' energies in the process.

Expatriates and specific companies were targets of criticism from other quarters as well. The issue of corruption, for instance, could incite damning critique and fierce rebuttal. Both popular and considered opinion assumed that corruption had become comparatively well entrenched in ZCCM. The extent to which the new companies maintained some corrupt practices and government officials might retain conflicts of interest in the mines was a problem of varying degrees depending upon who was talking about it. Mining company officials openly discussed their dedication to rooting out corruption wherever they found it. At times elaborate sting operations consumed significant amounts of their security department's attention and court cases could be initiated when executives and managers felt their own or their companies' reputations imperiled. Still, a number of contracting company owners were sufficiently wary of lingering problems to prefer working on their own. And while newspaper coverage and government pledges gave public support to anti-corruption efforts, the depth of this commitment remained unclear to those in managerial ranks.⁵¹ Nor was there complete unity within the mining companies' lower ranks. Expatriate managers' disruption of unorthodox business patterns within the companies could trigger intense private resentment among some strata of the Zambian workforce. But, said some expatriates,

⁵⁰ See chapter four. At the height of the 2005 crisis, then Minister of Mines Kaunda Lembalemba was harshly critical of various mining companies while at the same time observing that Mines Safety Department officials were hampered from making their rounds due to lack of transport. Interview on ZNBC-TV, May 20, 2005. It eventually emerged that Lembalemba—who could be seen driving around the Copperbelt in a Mercedes-Benz—was being paid to denounce certain mining companies in favor of others.

⁵¹ "Kitwe Police Nab 3 for Theft of K62 Million Copper Cable," *Times of Zambia* (February 14, 2006): 3; "Six Mopani Accountants, Four Suppliers Plead Not Guilty," *Times of Zambia* (March 13, 2006): 3.

suspicion often greeted even the most routine of business practices.⁵² It was just part of the environment.

In all, expatriates were generally disliked and mistrusted by the populace and they knew this. Expatriates also understood that they represented a broadly disliked and distrusted industry, yet one that remained the country's leading foreign exchange earner and was integral to the world economy. How did they see themselves in this context and how did they view Zambians?

6.1.3 Reasons for being there

Both expatriate and Zambian members of the executive/managerial group acknowledged that their positions within the mining companies and ancillary businesses allowed them to earn impressive amounts of money.⁵³ But money earning was not the sole criterion for their being in the country. Nor did they see executive level salaries as being their due simply because they were executives. Rather, other qualities about themselves and the jobs they did justified the pay. In some cases, how they understood themselves in relation to Zambia helped to determine expatriates' being there rather than somewhere else.

Executives and managers saw themselves as possessing personal qualities necessary for the particular time, place, and tasks at hand. Zambia's economy was historically based upon copper mining. If the nation wanted the mines run properly, there were certain jobs and essential skills required. Mines always need personnel trained in metallurgy, engineering, and smelting. ZCCM's sad experience particularly testified to Zambia's need for skilled financial oversight and people who could plan and manage large companies. But the country

⁵² Interview with chief executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

⁵³ This was historically the case with expatriate involvement on the Copperbelt as well as throughout the continent. "Attitudes of White Mining Employees," 11. See also Memmi, *Colonizer and Colonized*, 83.

hadn't produced these sorts of workers in any significant number since before globalization. What choice did they now have except to recruit from outside?

Many technical skills needed to do executive and managerial jobs could obviously be taught, but at a deeper level expatriates understood that there was more to these responsibilities than just technical expertise.⁵⁴ For some, common sense and lack of pretension were essential to making a good "mining culture" anywhere. Managers also indicated that demonstrating motivation to perform job-related tasks; understanding themselves as accountable to an organization; taking responsibility for their work; and thinking systemically with an eye towards the longer term were crucial for their jobs. Yet these basic, non-quantifiables were noticeably lacking in Zambia and throughout much of the rest of the world.⁵⁵

Beyond being the types of workers needed at the moment in Zambia and being paid well to perform, a number of expatriates also had personal reasons for being in the profession and place where they were. Despite global criticism of the industry, there was much they found to like about mining. One safety manager, for example, saw the physical environment in which he worked as appealing.

I always gravitate back towards mining. I've tried to leave, but I can't. When I left DeBeers, I went down to NOSA and then I went back to a mine. I then went to MOZAL; I've come back to a mine...I think a lot of it's just the way you've been acclimatized to business. Production is everything. And the smells...I like that underground smell. When you get in a cage and the cage starts going down and you get the smells from the mine...it's a whole range of things that actually attack your senses and you actually feel very comfortable with yourself. And you go drive in town and you're on the surface and you

⁵⁴ See Charles Hampden-Turner and Alfons Trompenaars for an enlightening discussion of American thinking about business management and administration conforming to a "universal code of management." They maintain that non-Anglo Saxon populations (citing particularly the Germans and Japanese) are disinclined to believe that such an all-inclusive standard is even possible. *The Seven Cultures of Capitalism: Values Systems for Creating Wealth in the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Sweden, and the Netherlands* (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 24ff.

⁵⁵ Interview with departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

smell lead fumes from cars and things like that. You get agitated and aggressive and—it's just the way it affects me... You know, the greatest thing is when you get on the mine, you start it from nothing and it never ends. It's something you're continually building until the mine shuts. That mine is growing until the day it shuts. So it's so dynamic. It's not like a surface plant. You paint the floor today and you only have to paint it again next year. And it will still be the same. But here, every day you're moving. Conditions are changing, rock formations change. Different challenges.⁵⁶

An expatriate geologist spoke similarly.

You're dealing with nature to a great extent. You're dealing with Mother Nature. You're dealing with the rocks that make up the earth. And I can tell you one of the big things: I don't end up stuck behind a desk all the time. Or anywhere else... Every time you go underground you see something different. It's never the same. Because you go into the new development areas where they've blasted over the last week or the last day or whatever since the last time you were in there and you're looking at something that hasn't been seen by man ever; if you think about it. And it's been there, in this particular case, for 5 or 600 million years... And I tell you it's quite sobering as well when you think that you've never seen this before and you're here trying to do your best professionally for the company, obviously, and to a great extent for the country. You know [geologists] are also the policemen of the mine... We've been told that we are the conscience of the mine.⁵⁷

There was also much about the country to admire. Europeans who had grown up playing in Northern Rhodesia's bush country remembered their adventures with great fondness. Some seemed still to have a visceral connection to the land. Those with small children talked about the environment as being a wholesome place to raise a family and quite a few spoke highly of the Zambian people. As a South African human resources manager who came to Zambia at the time of mine privatization observed,

I was extremely privileged to work very closely with the Zambian people for that time... I cried a bucket of tears a day, as I was dealing obviously only with those who had been retrenched (1,860 in all), and had to try and assist them to put together a new life. They really are a wonderful people.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Interview with safety manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

⁵⁷ Interview with senior geologist, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

⁵⁸ Email to author from departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2005.

6.1.4 Relationships with Zambian others

Expatriate executives and managers who participated in this study did not repeat the stereotyping of Africans that Memmi and others described during colonial times.⁵⁹ Certainly some within the executive/managerial ranks may privately have thought differently than they spoke.⁶⁰ But expatriates didn't seem to believe themselves genetically superior to Africans.⁶¹ In fact, whites sometimes appeared at pains to draw distinctions between themselves and past generations of expatriates, even between themselves and other whites. In particular, whites of Northern Rhodesian backgrounds understood themselves as much more egalitarian towards the black African population than were former Southern Rhodesians.⁶² Whites from South African, Australian, and North American backgrounds also had opinions about how other expatriate groups treated the locals. One South African insisted,

⁵⁹ Chapter four records instances in which members of the executive/managerial group attributed accidents at least in part to laziness or stupidity. In these cases, "stupid" had the connotation of mistakes representing temporary lapses of concentration or care to which all humanity is vulnerable. Similarly, "laziness" was discussed in relation to specific workplace instances or attitudes that could be present in any workforce. This was somewhat along the lines of Janheinz Jahn's observation in an early 1960s cultural study, "Africans and Afro-Americans...are neither angels nor devils but people, among whom—as everywhere—there are good and bad, stupid and clever, geniuses and boneheads, honest men and scoundrels." *Muntu: The New African Culture*, trans. Marjorie Greene (New York, Grove Press, Inc., 1961), 20. Sachs explicitly dismisses "lazy" and "stupid" stereotyping by saying they are "misconceptions" and not at all the reasons why some are poor and others are rich. "[I]n all corners of the world, the poor face structural challenges that keep them from getting even their first foot on the ladder of development." *End of Poverty*, 226.

⁶⁰ The 1960s attitudinal survey cited at various points in this study noted that expatriate managers typically held more favorable views of Zambians than did those in the lower corporate ranks. "Attitudes of White Mining Employees," i. At that time, Europeans were commonly placed in middle and lower management jobs. So, survey analysts attributed this difference in attitude to the sense of threat that expatriate line workers felt in the face of African Advancement and Zambianization. Upper level expatriate managers would have had little to fear in this regard. Likewise, under re-privatization, expatriates occupied only positions requiring specific and highly technical skills that the overwhelming majority of Zambians would not have been able to acquire during the 1980s and 1990s. So there was little reason for expatriate managers to feel threatened about their own job security. As temporary residents, they also had the option of finding jobs elsewhere.

⁶¹ I had occasionally encountered such an attitude among whites when living in Zimbabwe.

⁶² Two examples are illustrative. A white farmer near Mkushi, when asked his opinion on the relocation of white farmers from Zimbabwe into Zambia said it was okay as long as they didn't bring their attitudes with them. The wife of a mine contracting company owner observed that her peers sometimes thought sympathetically "maybe Bob was right" to send white farmers away from Zimbabwe. Poignantly, when asked how she conceived of herself—as African or European—she replied, after a thoughtful pause, that she considered herself among the dying breed of Northern Rhodesians.

You have to socialize and you've got to mix [with Africans]. And what you tend to find [is] the English people are very bad at it. And the Afrikaans speaking people are very bad at it. And you'll also find the Italians, Portuguese, and blah blah blah all very clique-y. Greeks, Indians, Chinese, they don't want to mingle. Americans do it very easily. Australians think there is no problem. But the Australians also make a mistake because they take everything that they're saying for granted. So they go down the tubes with them. Americans are very gullible as well. But if you lived in Africa, you'd get a different perception.⁶³

To sum up, good pay did not insulate expatriates from an environment that was less than hospitable towards them nor did it paralyze them. Public antagonism was an annoying and unjustified hazard that made their jobs more difficult. But rarely did it prevent them from doing what their companies needed to function well. Money, further, was not the only reason that many expatriates were miners nor was it the only reason they had chosen to be miners in Zambia. Sometimes expatriates were in Zambia because they really liked being there. They were also there to do jobs, parts of which they genuinely enjoyed. How they performed at their given tasks had personal implications as well as economic and political ramifications for the company and country.

6.2 Executive/managerial views on Zambians' make up

6.2.1 Critiques of Zambians

Sensitivity about how they should be and act towards Zambians seemed complimented by expatriate expectations as to how Zambians should be and act in return. Frequently, expatriates saw great disparities between personal qualities needed for proper management of the mines and how Zambians behaved. Consider the case of ZCCM's failure as a classic example. From the outset, the country lacked sufficiently trained people. Nationalization and Zambianization had put people in positions of responsibility who had neither the skills nor proper personal attitudes to run the mines. This led to their using

⁶³ Interview with departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

mining income and personnel to support rapid and extensive national development (While who knows how much money went into personal accounts?) but no reinvestment in the mines themselves. Blaming the mines' collapse on sagging world copper prices was no excuse, especially when the economic facts showed otherwise.⁶⁴ The real reason ZCCM failed was simply that Zambians hadn't been good managers.

In the era of re-privatization, personal interests continued to trump organizational loyalty; long-term vision or planning was virtually non-existent; and the willingness of Zambians to accept personal responsibility for their work or to hold fellow employees to account just didn't constitute part of their work ethic.

These were matters of choice for Zambians; not in-built characteristics.⁶⁵ Poor initiative, for example, didn't come because Zambians were innately indolent. Zambians displayed little initiative because years of state run support and the patronizing culture of foreign development assistance had accustomed them to wait for others to fix their problems. Poor ability didn't come from Zambians possessing fewer brain cells than expatriates. Zambians were largely incapable because they seemed unwilling to use the intelligence that

⁶⁴ See chart in appendices. Slumping copper prices at the time of the mines' sales did, however, hurt Zambia as outside investors paid lower prices for the mines than would otherwise have been the case. Interview with independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005. "Facts," of course, can easily and legitimately be questioned. See James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 178. Schutz similarly challenged the notion of "data" as being quite problematic for the social sciences due to the differing vantage point issues that he discussed throughout his career. *Collected Papers, Vol. IV*, 96-97. Some working class Zambians agreed with the view that the country's mining industry encountered massive operational problems. The reasons for these problems and who should be blamed were the points of contention. Other Zambians stated that the mines never did have problems; the perception that they did was simply created by Western opportunists.

⁶⁵ One executive who had spent considerable time in Papua New Guinea contended that the same cross-cultural issues of mis-communication and differing priorities he had encountered there were present in Zambia. That an indigenization of that country's mining industry appeared to have been so successful compared to ZCCM's Zambianization was simply due to differences in the ways that policies and training had been carried out. It had nothing to do with innate intelligence or lack thereof on the part of the Zambian people.

they had.⁶⁶ One expatriate explained these distinctions in relation to workers' taking responsibility for their jobs:

[T]hey're not stupid. Now that's a strong word I'm using. But—not by all means. If there's a way around something they'll find it far quicker than you'll find it. But the reason why...they take short cuts is they want it hidden. In other words, "I've fixed the problem, I found a solution." "Oh, how did you do it?" And they don't want to be asked that question. So they silently will go 'round the corner and we've got to cut that out. And we've got to say, "There's methods, there's procedures that must be done correctly. This is the plan. This is where we're going. We're going down this track. Are you buying in or not? If you're outside that we don't need you. You're not part of the team." So we have boundaries if you want to put it [like that]. But they love going outside the boundaries and they will never tell you about it. They don't want...it to be "You caused the fault; you are to blame." You know? Somebody to say "Ah ah!" They don't like that. So they steer away from that all the time. That's not how we are largely: "Okay we've got a problem here. Got to bulldoze through it and fix it up. I know it; everybody knows it; but we've got to sort it out."⁶⁷

Another expatriate, mulling the means by which Zambians decided what was important and what wasn't in the workplace, wondered how their choices fit their ethics.

What is really frustrating is that this is a Christian society...and what's frustrating about it are—not being honest and having the respect and all those [things] which are Christian virtues. An example: I could have a guy come in here, take my computer, throw it out the window and I'll tell him he's a very stupid idiot and that becomes more of an issue than the fact that he's destroyed company property...Because here they've gone and destroyed something or even stolen it...If I said, "You —" and used colorful language, that [property destruction incident] would be forgotten and the colorful language would be the issue on the table. Because you're not allowed to say it in this country and they would raise it. And it would be because it's a Christian country. But that's a mask, I believe...

Also it's a clever tool; as a guest in the country under a work permit you have to comply with all the rules that are set by Zambia. And one of them is not to say that anybody is an idiot or stupid or anything like that. And if you do—I've seen it a couple of times because I've, unfortunately, said it a couple of

⁶⁶ Two members of the executive/managerial group—both outside consultants to the privatization process—pointedly observed that they encountered about equal numbers of intelligent blacks and whites and equal numbers of dull blacks and whites in ZCCM. See also Diamond's candid discussion about comparative levels of "stupidity" in a New Guinean setting. *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, 20.

⁶⁷ Interview with departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

times—they'll turn around and say, "You can't say that." And then you're already on the defensive because if they're going to report you, you can be deported...

And yet there's a lot harsher language that is spoken amongst, particularly between ex-pats, like "You've done that wrong, haven't you?" would be the polite way of saying it...And whilst one's offended it's more being found out that you haven't raised your level of—the expectation was higher than your deliverance. And, you get on with it.⁶⁸

Unfortunately, such attitudes and actions ultimately cost Zambia most dearly. If giving job security to one's relatives and friends was more important than finding competent people for top corporate positions; if remaining loyal to traditional group norms was more valuable than individual excellence; how could Zambians expect their companies to be profitable?⁶⁹ No wonder the most gifted and talented citizens moved into private industry where Western work values predominated or left the country altogether. Unfortunately, Zambia's government, civil society, and most of its labor force remained with disproportionately higher numbers of dull, uneducated, and incompetent leaders.

6.2.2 Managerial and moral standoff?

Given this situation, Zambia's mining industry would always require a small contingent of Western managers. Expatriates would be needed to fill the companies' most technical and responsible jobs; there simply weren't enough Zambians who could do them.⁷⁰ Western ways of being loyal to organizations rather than families and friends would be

⁶⁸ Interview with senior executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

⁶⁹ "They always call it 'under privilege.' It's not under privilege. You determine your own lot. But their culture doesn't lead to that. They are all-for-one and one-for-all. Their family units are far stronger than ours have ever been. Their sharing—they can share. You know, if somebody's got a problem they all help that person." Interview with departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

⁷⁰ An outside consultant to the privatization process pointed out that many industries conducted international searches for pivotal organizational positions to be sure they hired the most capable candidates. In the same way, if Zambia were really serious about reinvigorating the mines, officials should have been concerned about whom they hired from a job qualification standpoint. But numerous members of the executive/managerial group described frequent, unpleasant battles with immigration officials who routinely opposed expatriate work permit applications even though sufficient quantities of skilled personnel couldn't be found within the country.

necessary to counter corruption and nepotism.⁷¹ And Western talents for planning ahead could ensure that they reinvested in the mines to keep them running. If Zambians resented the expatriates' return, maybe they were simply angry and jealous—even embarrassed?—that the mines were working under privatization when they hadn't as parastatals.

We constantly hear we are not needed but the facts don't show that. It's sort of a total head in the sand approach—don't face the facts; hate the colonial past; and always make problems into racial issues. I'm not sure if any of this will ever be properly resolved. In general we are so culturally different that, with very few exceptions, the two sides will never be close. Sure you have the odd Colin Powell or Condoleezza Rice but they are the exceptions. Flip the coin and you don't see too many white men in African politics. So, as both sides will never really get over their hang-ups; life long grudges; and inbuilt prejudices I do not really see the issues going away. There's more of a begrudging tolerance on both sides, a sort of smile-for-the-camera approach.⁷²

Many times, discrepancies in viewpoint regarding how people should be and act on the job simply created annoying situations for expatriates. These situations could be costly in time, effort, and good will wasted, but they could usually be muddled through. On other occasions, however, they highlighted moral and ethical concerns.

These occasions were much more difficult to navigate, for they involved a tangled mass comprised of expatriates' own codes or standards; public descriptions of Zambians' stated values and objectives; and daily life experience of conflicts between what people said and how they acted. Infuriatingly, when expatriates pointed out problems and tried to work through them, they often got nothing but silence from their Zambian counterparts. And such non-responsiveness only made the situation worse. In an echo of Schutz's observation about removed perceptions of others versus lived experience among them, expatriates often saw

⁷¹ See Chinweizu's discussion of the US and USSR's cultural shifts on this point. *Decolonizing the African Mind*, 18-22. Some prominent Zambians who grew up in the Kaunda era credited his "One Zambia, One Nation" ideology as giving them a greater awareness of their identities as citizens of a nation state rather than as members of traditional tribal groups. Interview with American diplomat assigned to Zambia, 2004.

⁷² Email to author from chief executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

that their expectations of how Zambians should be and act didn't match what really happened. For instance, how could Christians begrudge tossed off remarks yet tolerate abuse and theft of corporate property? Why would they give false reports on the status of projects or bogus testimonies at accident investigations? In other words, how could they so deliberately lie? Worse still, how could Zambians express concern for the common welfare and then behave so completely individually when put to the test? In late 2005, for example, a miner suffered an easily treatable wound after an underground fall. Instead of helping the man to safety, however, his co-workers fled and the man bled to death on the spot. How could citizens of a "Christian nation" do such a thing, wondered a horrified company executive. How did Zambians' well-publicized religiosity and *ubuntu* values really affect their lives?⁷³

In sum, from the expatriate standpoint, confusion over who Zambians were and how they acted constituted one of the biggest, most significant, conflicts of cross-cultural work relationships. More prevalent than disputes over why things happened or what might be going on in given situations, it appeared that moments of conflict regarding identity and ability to act revealed something about the enormous disparity between groups. And, at such moments of encounter, the religious nature of the entire cross-cultural dilemma, or the way it involved what people considered most meaningful and real, became quite apparent.

⁷³ *Ubuntu*, a Swahili word, also known as *ubunthu* in Xhosa and *umunthu* in Chichewa, is sometimes translated "I am because we are" and is popularly considered a central value in African societies. Stewart Lane quotes Archbishop Desmond Tutu's definition of *ubunthu* as meaning "We belong in a bundle of life. We say, 'A person is a person through other people.' It is not, 'I think therefore I am.' It says, rather, 'I am human because I belong.'" Lane goes on to observe that the code of behavior *umbunthu/umunthu* represents "is rather difficult to define in English, since the idea has never taken root among English speakers." Stewart Lane, *God Loves Africans to be African* (Limbe, Malawi: Cornelius Fellowship, 2000), 24.

6.3 Different strata of Zambian mining society

I have just tried to point out ways in which expatriates from Zambia's re-privatization era might and might not be compared to expatriates who had figured prominently in Zambia's earlier mining history. And we especially have tried to highlight how contemporary expatriates saw themselves in relation to each other and to Zambian Others. As we shift perspectives to consider Zambians' talk about identity and ability to act, a further Schutz-like reminder is necessary. When Schutz employed map imagery to describe how we understand our worlds from different perspectives, he frequently issued warnings about assumptions we might carry with us on our journeys. One critical warning concerns the tendency to think that how we see things once will be how things will remain.⁷⁴ This becomes particularly dangerous when we shift vantage points yet retain old means of viewing the landscape.⁷⁵

So now we need to discern carefully some differences regarding what dominant colonial discussions had said about Africans generally versus what was directly observable on the Copperbelt of the mid-2000s. If earlier era stereotypes of Africans needed any broad based rebuttal, at least three trends certainly did that. These were the existence of a skilled, capable Zambian elite; informal initiatives within the townships; and significant numbers of Zambian professionals working in countries of the Global North.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Schutz, *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, 9-10.

⁷⁵ In a speech at the Harvard University Faculty Club in 1940, Schutz illustrated this central idea by describing how the same city can appear quite different to a native dweller, a foreigner, and a cartographer as they all attempt to orient themselves within it. For the native dweller the city has a special meaning as "home;" for the foreigner it is temporary way place for living and working; for the cartographer it is an object of scientific study. *Ibid.*, 9-11.

⁷⁶ Since this is not a study of expatriate Zambians, we will only include a passing reference to them here but they do represent some of Africa's well-publicized "brain drain." Zambia's brain drain created problems for the mines from the very beginning of the independence era. Ministry of Labour, *The Progress of Zambianization in the Mining Industry* (Lusaka, Government Printer, 1968), 5. In the era of re-privatization, the brain drain was particularly noticeable in the medical profession as the UK, Australia, and Canada routinely lured away

6.3.1 **Zambian elite**

To this point, we have included representatives of this group in the executive/managerial class since they belong there from a socio-economic perspective. Identity and issues concerning ability to act, however, are points at which we need to make some distinctions. So a fuller description of the Zambian elites' background will be helpful. Many Zambians had trained under the mines' flourishing personnel systems during the '60s and '70s. Quite a few had also pursued education overseas or at the University of Zambia.⁷⁷ They subsequently progressed upward through the mines' managerial ranks, gaining considerable wealth along the way and creating an elite stratum of Zambian society that hadn't existed prior to independence. Though re-privatization involved a small influx of expatriates, some former ZCCM executives remained at the various new, foreign-owned companies or opened their own ancillary businesses. Along with their Western training and dress, members of the Zambian elite also frequently sounded Western in their talk. These executives and managers could publicly express viewpoints that closely aligned with those of expatriates even when it came to evaluating their fellow citizens. Zambians did, for example, stretch their expertise too thinly while not reinvesting in the mines.⁷⁸ Ordinary Zambians did inappropriately expect their more affluent relatives to take care of them⁷⁹ while Zambian

Zambian nurses while mine hospitals had to recruit physicians from surrounding countries. Other mining departments also suffered losses of bright Zambian nationals. One long-term expatriate geologist related with obvious personal regret his experience of helping young geologists into overseas schools only to see them go elsewhere upon graduation.

⁷⁷ While five teacher-training colleges were established in Northern Rhodesia between 1953-63, there were no universities until The University of Zambia (UNZA) was founded in 1966. P. C. Manchishi, "The Growth of Teacher Education in Zambia Since Independence, *The African Symposium* 4, no. 4 (December, 2004): 3-4.; www2.ncsu.edu/ncsu/aern/zambedu.htm. Recalling the well-quoted statistic of the 100 colleges graduates with which Zambia began independence, Kenneth Kaunda calculated that there were approximately 35,000 by the time he left office in 1991. Interview with President Kaunda, 2005.

⁷⁸ Interview with former ZCCM general manager and current senior executive, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

⁷⁹ Interview with underground manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

officials too readily allowed the World Bank and foreign investors to make policy and didn't think for themselves.⁸⁰

But, these public comments may or may not have reflected what Zambians thought.⁸¹ Anecdotal incidents and indirect inferences suggested some discrepancies.⁸² When, for example, one elite Zambian spoke about another or expatriates ventured observations gleaned from associations with Zambian counterparts sadness and resentment sometimes seemed to underlie their words.⁸³ In the old ZCCM days, working for the mines wasn't just about having a good job or even a great salary; it was about an entire way of life. Yes, privatization had brought some impressive salaries but these were insufficient compensation for the loss of social structure and pride of ownership they had felt with ZCCM.⁸⁴

And, although Zambian elites could look very Western on the outside, to what extent did they feel Western on the inside?⁸⁵ Harkening back to Chinweizu's observations, were Zambian elites sufficiently confident to identify themselves comfortably with Western ways of being and doing? A few examples will suggest not. After Enock and Lubasi toured an underground site with some white mining executives, they contrasted their experience with what they would have expected of black executives.

⁸⁰ Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2004

⁸¹ Horton has commented that people can say they believe in one set of ideas but may appeal to another set of ideas when under stress. *Patterns of Thought*, 20.

⁸² This type of evidence is not the strongest for making an entire case. But I include it here to call attention to ideas that deserve fuller exploration.

⁸³ One observer related that a number of his former ZCCM colleagues had died, some from depression he thought. Even those who had stayed on with the privatized companies and were financially secure still didn't have the same optimistic demeanor of the past. Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2004. Notably, the observation that miners were dying from depression was not confined to the executive/managerial class. Several within the workforce/popular group attested to having colleagues die from it as well.

⁸⁴ Ferguson's study of ZCCM's final years describes a pervasive sense among Zambians not just of lack, but loss. Many who had once known comparative affluence now witnessed it slipping away. This loss further involved an expulsion from modernity and from "the circle of full humanity." *Expectations of Modernity*, 238, 241.

⁸⁵ Ferguson has cautioned against assuming that people who look and act similarly actually share the same values. *Ibid.*, 97.

If that was a group of black executives, we would have known them not because we know them from the television but from their character and behaviour and conduct...[W]ith our Zambian chief executive officers—be it bishops, or managers, or directors—to start with, he would have gone with people—front runners...Well protected all 'round. And he would just be pointing, "What about this? What about that?" But, if somebody met us [with the group of white executives that day], he would think we just have a group of engineers and the director is somewhere else.⁸⁶

When attempting to interview a well-known and respected Zambian executive at a prominent mining company I addressed the requisite letter of introduction to *Mr. _____*. His assistant subsequently communicated that this executive always went by *Dr. _____* and that she had corrected the salutation before giving him the letter.⁸⁷ Following a trip to the Chamber of Mines library where Enock had spent several hours reviewing ZCCM annual reports, he expounded to Lubasi about the old photographs they contained of blacks and whites sitting together. There they all were (dressed in Western business suits, he noted in passing), the captions reading *From left to right Mr. So and So, Mr. So and So*. Oh it was so nice! Then he wondered aloud if some of those Zambians pictured had secretly wanted re-privatization because it meant the whites would return and they could, once again, sit next to them.

Outsiders might assume that a Zambian mining elite testified to the strength of Zambia's modern political and economic systems and provided a model for younger generations to emulate. On this second point, at least, the situation was not straightforward. Younger Zambians realized that these managers had lost something of their Zambian-ness

⁸⁶ Not all white executives would be as egalitarian as that group was and not all black directors have been known simply to point and shout. Nevertheless, the fanfare that frequently accompanies the movements of many African elites was suspected by some to be cover-ups for insecurity.

⁸⁷ In American business society, it has been customary to understand the honorific "Mr." as appropriately applying to any man whose other titles are unknown. So I used it under that assumption. Additionally, attaching one's academic degrees to one's name can be interpreted as showing undue ostentation in the American environment. There was no response to the letter.

and had become essentially expatriates themselves. Described as Afro-Westerners by some⁸⁸ and simply viewed as Western by others,⁸⁹ this group of elites was suspected of not truly comprehending what it was like to be a Zambian coming of age amidst privatization and globalization. Despite their having endured and survived colonialism, Zambian elites had grown up in an environment of relative plenty. Plenty of jobs had been available even if the types of work were limited; plenty of life's staples—if not the frills—had easily been obtained. But, because these older Zambians had not experienced the want and deprivation that typified life for most of the populace in the 2000s some younger Zambians felt the elite class did not genuinely understand the reasons why so few followed Oliver's entrepreneurial example.⁹⁰

6.3.2 Township initiatives

Were any elites or outsiders—past or present—inclined to criticize the general populace for lack of initiative or ability, township life could offer some confounding responses. It was true that Zambians frequently lounged on old shredded furniture in dismally appointed bars. They also walked along garbage-lined roads on which the surface tar had long since washed away. But images such as these—images of the sort the Western media often displayed—did not capture the entirety of their existence. For example, among the old taverns and along the dirty streets were also numerous community schools that flourished in private back yards or abandoned buildings. Overseen by teachers who managed to acquire schoolbooks, chalk, even the occasional light bulb for nighttime use, these schools

⁸⁸ See John Kaoma's work ("Democratic Crisis in Southern Africa") on this topic.

⁸⁹ Interview with mine physician, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

⁹⁰ Alverson found in mid-1970s South Africa a small contingent of African elites who controlled communications channels between all levels of mining management and that communication across racial lines could be particularly hazardous with misunderstanding, mistrust, and deception quite common. *Mind in the Heart of Darkness*, 101.

attracted packed classrooms of secondary schoolchildren for after hours extra lessons. Small stalls or tuck shops—forbidden when the nationalized companies had controlled township services—abounded where informal sales of tomatoes, beans, and potato leaves supplemented family incomes.

Beyond this activity there was a level of sheer being that, to the outsider, constituted its own marvel. The mine townships had been constructed when Zambia's population was significantly lower and when miners frequently left town upon retiring. The townships had also been scrupulously maintained first by the private Colonial Era companies and later by the behemoth ZCCM. By the time re-privatization was completed, far more people lived in the mining compounds than their infrastructures had ever been designed to accommodate and coordinated oversight of township maintenance had become virtually non-existent.⁹¹ Additionally, people contended with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, increased malaria incidence, and unprecedented poverty.⁹² Yet Zambians carried on.⁹³

Existing within an environment where “what once was is no more,”⁹⁴ members of the general populace still had to make sense of their worlds and especially of how they understood themselves in relation to their surroundings. How did they do it? Partial answers

⁹¹ The World Bank instituted a number of township services projects pertaining to water distribution and sanitation from the 1990s onwards, but these had not had far reaching impacts by the mid-2000s. In quite a few locations, township dwellers continued to use communal ablution blocks that had been constructed decades earlier.

⁹² In former times, the mining companies had conducted systematic spraying for mosquitoes and drained stagnant water pools. According to a Konkola Copper Mines case study, national malaria incidence was 231 cases per 1,000 employees in 1999, nearly three times the number of cases in 1976. World Economic Forum, *Global Health Initiative: Private Sector Intervention Case Example* (Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2002). http://www.weforum.org/pdf/Initiatives/GHI_Malaria_CaseStudy_Konkola.pdf. Increased malaria incidence also seems to correlate with increased resistance to the standard drug regimes used to fight it. Sachs, Jeffrey Sachs, “Net Gains,” *New York Times* (April 29, 2006): <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/29/opinion/29sachs.html?ex=1303963200&en=5eb70684dad39934&ei=5088&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss>.

⁹³ In a fascinating article considering the role of theology in “interpreting and enhancing the agency of Africans,” Tinyiko Sam Maluleke seizes upon the type of imagery depicted above as indicative of “Africa’s creative, innovative and active spirit.” “A Rediscovery of the Agency of Africans” in *Marginalized Africa: An International Perspective*, ed. Peter Kanyandago, 165-190 (Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 2002).

⁹⁴ Interview with acting head of security, Copperbelt mining company, 2004.

may be glimpsed from the labor force's public comments and private conversations as well as by considering some between-the-lines observations.

6.4 Workforce/popular views of executive/managerial make up

6.4.1 The problem's starting point

Popular talk tended to conflate the executive/managerial class; current expatriates; their colonial predecessors; and the foreign investment corporations that had bought the mines in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In times of crisis, such as the 2005 spate of accidents, some public officials exacerbated the pain of Colonial Era memories by insinuating that "the investors" were the same people Zambians had chased away at independence. The citizenry, in turn, sometimes faulted government leaders for letting intruders back into the country, attributing the majority of their current struggles to *aba abaisa*—"those who have come." In the old days, the mines had come looking for good people rather than good people having to wait for what scarce jobs might open up.⁹⁵ Those were also the days when Zambians filled upper managerial ranks and compound life was good. Retrenchments and massive poverty seemed only to have come with the return of white people.⁹⁶

Therefore, from the popular vantage point, privatization wasn't the *result* of earlier problems. It *was* the problem. Members of the workforce/popular group tirelessly recalled how well things had run under ZCCM; how pleasant life had been; and how beautiful their

⁹⁵ Interview with administrator, ZCCM-IH, 2005.

⁹⁶ Even though poverty and food shortages had begun to spread in the late 1980s, miners and their families were largely insulated at that time. The mines' abilities to buy products in large quantities and distribute them through their company stores meant that it was some time before the extent of the country's economic situation had an impact on its largest labor force. It was only by the mid- to late-1990s that problems began to be obvious in the compounds. Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2005. Outside, or expatriate, involvement with the mines was also underway by then. By 1996, Anglo-American was leading a group of investors in exploring major involvement in Konkola Deep. "Investors to Run Konkola Deep," *Mining Mirror* (March, 1996): 3. That same year, and following a company wide reorganization, ZCCM recruited 28 expatriates "to improve performance" at the Chingola open pit. "They are here to Jack up Production," *Ibid.*, 1.

country had looked until privatization. Occasionally, Zambian members of the executive/managerial group explained why so many people saw things this way.

You know, you try and tell this person that mining is a wasting asset. They do not put it in their heads. They think—they will tell you, “My father worked at the mines. And I have worked at the mines. My son is now working at the mines. What are you telling us that our mine will come to an end?” They couldn’t just comprehend that...And the impression that you see—the people were not properly told what would happen when privatization comes. They thought they would continue with what has been happening before—what they were doing before. But what would change [was] that they would be getting more money. That’s the impression that was created... So that when people—at the time they were losing their jobs, they didn’t realize that you see, in a private industry you want people who are hard workers. Committed. And skilled. And you want a leaner labour or workforce to work for you. So that you can make more profit because you don’t want to lose part of your profit—waste it on people who are not contributing anything to the company. You see what I mean? So when people started losing their jobs they said, “Oh, is that all what privatization is all about?” You see then they started to regret it. Basically they think now that it’s a demon—privatization. If you ask most of the people in the community they would say privatization is an evil thing.⁹⁷

6.4.2 Zambian critiques of expatriates

By comparison with expatriates, Zambians generally talked in less detailed terms about how they understood themselves and Western Others. Zambians did, though, sketch a generalized portrait of whites as invulnerably detached from and uncaring about the situation of blacks. They especially felt distance not only from the companies’ expatriate bosses but from vague, faceless “investors” whose powers affected their lives but whose locations were unknown. Matthew Kapumba once remarked that he didn’t even know who gave his company’s executives their orders—whether they came from government or elsewhere.

⁹⁷ Interview with geologist, Copperbelt mining company, 2004. The Chamber of Mines report on the progress of privatization acknowledged this popular sentiment of privatization as well. “To most Zambians, the evil associated with privatisation of parastatal companies, the mining conglomerate inclusive has been the apparent or in some cases real loss of jobs in the formal sector due to operational rationalization exercises that the various privatised companies have undertaken.” “Survey of the Zambian Mining Industry,” 15.

Whoever the owners were, though, they had to be very far away because the company would write and send reports but nothing ever changed.

When Zambians did venture deeper analysis of themselves and others, euphemistic speech allowed for subtly negative but publicly palatable expressions of opinion.⁹⁸ Several examples are pertinent. While quite a number of ordinary Zambians lumped all whites into the “investors” category, many also used terms for “the investors” and “visitors” interchangeably. The vernacular connotation of “visitor,” like its English counterpart, suggested a group of people just passing through. As visitors, this group shouldn’t upset things during their temporary stay. But these investor-visitors had. They were behind the sorrows of re-privatization and they displayed little interest in making real commitments to the country.

The Chokwe vernacular allows for implied commentary when speakers wish to be derogatory about “friends.” Enoch encountered this when his grandfather commented on whites in a way that carries sarcasm even in English translation.

EM: Muze twezila wahanjikile hathuphela, chuma chikwo wambile...ngwe auze mugodi waNkana nyiuze waMindolo keshi kuutangunuka (ngwami chenacho wambile nyi?) hiwamba ngwe lwizi wathwa maho munene, chuma chika chikwo cize keshi kumutangu nukina?

Gdpa: Eeh. Waze alinga we mugodi, eamba ngwo homa lyacho kuhapiha kutangunukaho, kwizi ino shimbu amuapwa akwethu Indele hanji nyi hana palikano nyi ka lye ndela.

EM: Waze au thungile eambilemo?

Gdpa: Uuh, kana mono ngwo aha hapu tuhu

EM: When we came last time you talked about snakes. The other thing you said...is you said the mine at Nkana and that at Mindolo cannot be crossed from one to the other (That’s what you said, isn’t it?). You said that the river that is there is big. What are other reason(s) why it can’t be crossed over?

Gdpa: Yes. Those who did [e.g., built] the mine are the ones who said that particular place is too bad to be crossed. I don’t know this time. Knowing how our friends the whites are, maybe the people visit each other from two mines by crossing over.

⁹⁸ Similar examples of what he terms “passive resistance” may be found in Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 34. See also Maluleke, “Rediscovery of the Agency,” 183.

haka mwihi, welo keshi kulyendela.

EM: Those who built the mine are the ones who said that?

Gdpa: Yes, they saw that even if the mines are near to each other one wouldn't cross over.⁹⁹

Both sarcasm and suspicion were apparent in observations made by the nephew of Chief Nkana. He spoke about upheavals in traditional Zambian society caused by new mining development.

Mulishi aba aba kwasu abeshile abatubile inkanda kani bapima ne fitunshi tunshi fyabo, ba machine babo baishaba ukweba ati apa epali cuuma eci tulukufwaya, elyo epe kalile nebantu ba baNkana. Bena kuti balabila ne buteko ifyapala bapresident, ngabalabila nabo ukwebati muli ici calo tuli na fifi na fifi, abene ninshi balanshanya ne bufumu bwesu ne bwa buteko tatwishibilepo, pakutila bwa mubumfisololo bwabo abene. Kani balanshanya filya, eli ba Nkana kuti bacita shani, bapekanya ukwa kweba ati bengatelela. Pakwebati balya abantu ba bachief tabakwetepo amasanso ayakwebati limbi balya aba mine balukupisha fimachine ifyakwebati kuti fyaipaya abantu, neli balikucisa ifyapala utupata, tafikwetepo amasanso kubantu. Eci kubelo kutela.

You know these white skinned friends and newcomers, when they survey with their machines, and once they know that here is money, and that's where Chief Nkana's people are settled, the "newcomers" would only talk to the government like the president, that, "In this area there is this and this." What our Chief and the government would discuss we do not know since their meetings are always private. After they discuss, Chief Nkana prepares where his people would move on the pretence of public safety when the mine is transporting machinery which might harm people, or when they are blasting. That is how people are relocated to new places.¹⁰⁰

Occasionally, euphemistic speech allowed Zambians to make pointed comments to their listeners even when their listeners didn't realize it. A Zambian artisan selling jewelry and pottery in the Second Class area of Kitwe spoke in fluent English one day about the difficulties he was experiencing due to the "world market" and copper prices. Not only was the world market making it difficult for him to sell his products, it was now even hard to obtain materials. Popular copper bracelets could still be made from local wires but he had to

⁹⁹ See the appendices for a longer excerpt from this conversation.

¹⁰⁰ The appendices contain a longer excerpt from this conversation that has been cited elsewhere in this text.

import silver from surrounding countries.¹⁰¹ Later it emerged that “world market” was a euphemism for “whites.”

In all, whites, whether they were managers or investors, were uncaring and aggressive. They dared to re-enter an environment where they were not wanted or needed, cavalierly demolishing the earth and people at the same time. To most Zambians this behavior seemed attributable to greed. Whites were simply selfish and rampantly greedy. Only once did a Zambian venture an even more raw and provocative assessment.

It's the fear. They knew that, “if the Africans became learned as we are, they will chase us.” You see the tricky part of that?...[T]his is what the white man has been scared of all the time. And that's why he's always afraid because he knows that...once the black man becomes stronger, he is going to destroy the white man! So as a result there is this, you (maybe you can call it a Cold War) there is this inner thing which the white man has got—that fear. He knows that a white—a black man, if he is armed properly, is going to destroy the whole world. So there's that fear. So it's not the selfishness—I wouldn't say it's selfishness...[Y]ou see they were thinking maybe, “Ah, these blacks will come and kill us.” And these whites wanted power. They thought, “Once we give it to the blacks, then they will chase us. Or maybe they will throw us into the ocean and die.”¹⁰²

In sum, the Zambian portrait of whites might be generally drawn, but there was enough clarity to the broad outline for them to understand that disparities between themselves and these Others were vast and significant. No matter what whites said and did, who they really were and what they really wanted were unified and consistent. And they consistently threatened Zambians' very existence.

¹⁰¹ Telephone cables were frequently stolen if left unattended at installation sites.

¹⁰² Interview with former ZCCM draftsman, 2005. This conversation took place between Enock, Frederica, and the study informant, a man whom I had known for a few years. Some months later, when we all visited, he offered nothing approaching these candid remarks.

6.5 Workforce/popular self-understanding

6.5.1 Responses to outside definitions

Many Zambians in the mid-2000s appeared keenly aware of faults that colonials had typically ascribed to Africans. They also seemed familiar with the irritants that current executives and managers expressed about the workforce. And they vigorously defended themselves with counter arguments ranging from standard managerial textbook teachings to controversial assessments of supernatural involvement. Workers might not display suitable initiative on the job, for example, because of problems with the ways private companies did business.¹⁰³ The mid-level Zambian safety manager who spoke with Enock about greedy mining methods also talked about how the re-privatized workplace affected miners' desires to produce. Enock related some of that conversation after they had accompanied an expatriate boss underground.

Then [he] summarized everything in one word. "These people—to start with—are not stupid. They are wise old men and young men. But these people are frustrated." Then he said, "Did you see the way the manager was talking to them? No motivation. It was all rebuke, rebuke. So to them they have lost any reason to be careful and any reason to work hard. That's why you see they want the job done and done quickly and off they rush out of this place and go on surface."

So—but before I could ask the next question, he said, "Actually, even myself, I am a frustrated person. I do all the job while my manager sits in the office. I come here everyday. I do so much job. But if you compare my pay to what he's paid, my pay is really nothing. I can't even buy a car but he gets—I don't know how many times more than I get. So I feel it myself. So what we see here is that people are not motivated. I'm not just talking about being motivated in terms [just of] a good salary but even a good word. When we were in ZCCM...this whole place was clean. You could dust this place. The entrance to the cage here was painted nicely and it was squeaky clean. The

¹⁰³ Alverson contended that, in the Colonial Era, Africans could be criticized for lack of initiative and then punished when they demonstrated it. *Mind in the Heart of Darkness*, 103.

manager would come or the boss would come and say, 'you are doing a good job here' and people were really motivated. But this is what was lacking."¹⁰⁴

Moreover, when expatriate managers accused Zambians of reticence or poor initiative, they demonstrated how little they really knew about Zambian society. Expatriates especially had no idea of the extent to which it could be not just difficult, but dangerous, for Zambians to display too much internal drive. Certainly whites knew envy.¹⁰⁵ But did they truly understand the ramifications of African jealousy? Jealousy, as we have already seen, could lie behind unexpected witchcraft attacks.¹⁰⁶ Supernatural constraints aside, jealousy could make the motivated worker's life miserable even if all that happened was the petty sniping and sabotage of their co-workers. Such everyday sabotage appeared to be so common that there was even a Bemba idiom for thwarting another's efforts. The expression *twala filial musenga* meaning literally "we will eat it in the sand," implied that if someone had something another person envied, the envying person could figuratively knock it out of the other's hand. After the item had dropped to the ground, it might not be as nice as before, but at least both persons would have a bit.¹⁰⁷

Zambians understood issues of personal responsibility differently from expatriates, too. The "stupid stuff" that executives and managers often associated with accidents didn't

¹⁰⁴ Some expatriate executives and managers with lengthy ZCCM experience independently noted that housekeeping in Zambia's mines was a perennial problem. In fact, the mine sites were not nearly as clean as nearby mines in the DRC or as this young employee indicated. The Heron report also records safety/housekeeping problems. *Accidents in the Zambian Mining Industry*, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Horton maintained that there is an extent to which the desire to "curtail the will of those around us" seems to be part of the general human condition. *Patterns of Thought*, 29-30.

¹⁰⁶ Holland has written that the threat of witchcraft may inhibit initiative as accomplished Africans might hesitate to let their talents be known for fear of bringing on an attack. *African Magic*, 17.

¹⁰⁷ An unusually pointed critique of the consequences of pervasive jealousy within African cultures has come from Guinean Archbishop Robert Sarah. After praising certain characteristics of traditional African cultures, he goes on to say, "Traditional African solidarity has an additional negative point: it tends to uniformity...To look after oneself is selfish and avaricious, attributes akin to criminal vices...Every innovation, in such a uniformity-loving society, every effort at improvement is seen as an act of defiance towards the group. Repression is called for. As a consequence, those with the means dare not use them." *Culture, Democracy, and Development in the Light of Centesimus Annus* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 2000), 35.

align with how Zambians understood people generally. Managerial rationales that anyone could have a lapse in judgment didn't fit because human beings weren't by nature dim-witted enough to do things attributed to "operator error." Any Zambian would know that pulling out supporting timbers or driving into pedestrians could be fatal. So why would they do those things? Further, the possibility of being snared by *ifiwa* or succumbing to a *chisomo* attack would make Zambians more careful to avoid dangerous situations, not less. When aberrant behavior occurred, there had to be something behind it such as *chisomo*, *iminyama*, or *ifiwa*.¹⁰⁸ So, strictly speaking, people really weren't responsible for what they did in those cases.

There was another point about responsibility on which Zambians disagreed with expatriate judgments. Executives and managers tended to see the old comprehensive compound system as inhibiting Zambians from taking personal responsibility. Providing everything for the workforce infantilized them and distracted the company from its mission.¹⁰⁹ Why give workers mealie meal but low pay? Why not, instead, increase salaries

¹⁰⁸ Accounts of circumstances gone awry sometimes included specific references to the responsible credentials of a person who might have appeared to act irresponsibly. A pertinent example appeared in a newspaper article detailing a miner's death when a kiln fell on him. "Teddy [Lunguya] was experienced at the job and he had managed to lead others before in felling down several similar structures at the closed plant. What happened was just an accident. On the fateful day, however, Teddy had allegedly advised others to head either east or west when running away from the fall but his friends were surprised to see him running in the direction he had told others to avoid. He ran in the direction the metal structure was falling. [Mine caretaker] Mr. Mukosha and [employer] Garry Domingo said the incident came barely a month after another person was crushed to death while working for another contractor within the premises." "Kabwe Man Dies in Mine Accident," *Times of Zambia* (January 23, 2006): 1. Both Enock and Lubasi maintained that this death would popularly be discussed as an example of *chisomo* or *ifiwa*. Clues that supernatural forces were involved related to the well-trained miner's erratic behavior and the recent previous death of someone nearby. It would be assumed that that person's spirit had sought out Teddy Lunguya's spirit.

¹⁰⁹ "[This company] is a private company that's concerned with a social and environmentally acceptable profitability that benefits the Zambian economy, the local workforce and community, and the company's stake holders. ZCCM was more of a state-owned pseudo social welfare company that, to a certain extent, was more focused on socio-economic conditions in the surrounding town rather than on your accepted standards of safety, environment, productivity and continued development within the plant site." Interview with departmental manager, Copperbelt mining company, 2004. Members of the Zambian elite also contended that such comprehensive practices were ultimately detrimental to ordinary people's taking responsibility for themselves. Alverson, who maintained that the South African mine compound was designed to control the work force,

and let miners buy their own food? Why reward outstanding employees with items such as radios and tape players? Send them, instead, to continuing education courses that would provide them with unforgettable experiences and increase their knowledge. From the miners' perspective, though, provisions of everything from food to light bulbs to baby nappies gave them dignity and pride. Taking their chit to the delivery truck or signing for provisions at the company store made them happy, for receiving physical objects communicated the companies' caring for their people.

6.5.2. Memories of past selves

In addition to differences that Zambians perceived in the way expatriates understood the local situation, the Zambian self-understanding also appeared to draw from a stock of memory and experience that perceived miners as strong and capable. In the comparatively recent past, their own labor and managerial classes had worked Zambia's mines. As industrial miners, Zambians had earned reputations for bravery and strength despite danger. This reputation helped give Copperbelt miners the fortitude to drink heavily and protest creatively when circumstances demanded. Further, the union style organizing that had come fairly early to the Copperbelt began decades of self-assertion in work and political life that distinguished Zambians from their African neighbors. From the colonial days onward, nationwide movements on behalf of the populace began not in the capital of Lusaka by politicians and the privileged but on the Copperbelt by ordinary workers.

These demonstrations of strength routinely involved miners' wives who were also understood to be integral to the mines' functioning. For individual families such as the Kapumbas, this meant Matthew and Martha's both having a role to play in keeping him safe

pondered the effects of such dependency on the workers' ultimate self-identity. *Mind in the Heart of Darkness*, 27-46. Epstein, in his own Copperbelt analysis, commented upon the irony of a compound system designed to be self-supporting through proceeds from beer hall sales. *Politics in an Urban African Community*, 18.

on shift. For the collective workforce, it meant strengthening labor's hand against management by being creative with the rules when need be. For example, miners' wives were known to borrow their husbands' boots and hardhats when marching in protest against corporate policies since the mining companies could fire the miners but not their wives.¹¹⁰

Many Zambian school children had absorbed something of these traditions as well. For decades, they learned to read by studying stories of rural men who went to the mines to find work. But, sometime during the 1990s—when the citizenry was also consumed with the privatization debate—these books disappeared from the government's education curriculum, to the great regret of many Zambian parents.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Interview with former ZCCM senior manager, 2005. In Copperbelt Bemba, *shimaini* refers to the miner and *banamaini* to his wife. There are no feminine counterparts for other professions. A male teacher's wife would not be referred to as *banateacher*, for instance. The implication the *shimaini-banamaini* combination carries is that both are necessary to the job and the mines. Interview with former Copperbelt resident and mining family member, 2006. Wives who protested at the Mindola shaft in early 2005 were carrying on a tradition familiar to generations of Copperbelt mining families.

¹¹¹ My research assistants recalled these storybooks with great fondness and Enock, who received his teacher's certification during the course of this study, lamented that they had been taken out of the curriculum some years previously. We made numerous attempts to locate copies and, while we encountered a number of people who remembered the books, never found them. It is helpful to place this small example within the larger context of Zambia's educational policy. The first policy was set out in a 1977 document intending to make education "a tool for personal and national development." In 1992, this policy underwent its first major reform and a new document, entitled "Focus on Learning" was established. The Kaunda era policy had been concerned broadly with the educational system. The new document, in addition to being aimed principally at primary school education, criticized the 1977 plan for "being overloaded and tilted towards content and examination, leaving no room for problem-solving skills and independent research on the part of the trainee." A subsequent 1996 educational reform was based upon "principles of liberalisation, decentralization, equality, equity, partnership, and accountability." All quotations above taken from Manchishi, *Growth of Teacher Education*, 6. Manchishi, a lecturer in UNZA's Department of Education, concludes a survey of the country's teacher education initiatives by stating, "since the 1970s, attempts have been made to reform teacher education curriculum so that it is relevant and of good quality. However, in spite of all the efforts made so far, the problem of teacher education seems to persist. Largely because, the Ministry of Education has of late been implementing donor driven programmes. It is common knowledge that donor driven programmes tend to be rigid leaving very little room for flexibility on the part of the institutions and the practitioners. It is therefore, important for Zambia to formulate its own teacher-education programmes without being dictated by political expediency and donor agenda." *Ibid.*, 16. The World Bank began its involvement with the Zambian education system with four loans before 1980, canceling a fifth in 1987 in response to President Kaunda's withdrawal of involvement with the Bretton Woods institutions. The Bank also undertook a project in 1992 to support "rehabilitation and expansion of primary schools and the provision of learning materials." "Zambia Country Assistance Review," 121. See also Alverson, *Mind in the Heart of Darkness*, 90ff.

Also, up through the 1990s, popular songs and poems exhorted everyone to be proud of Zambia's mines and the men who worked them, for together they represented the country's welfare. One of the most famous songs, sung by mine captain Teddy Chilambe, began:

Natulumbe bashimaini pamilimo yabo.
Pakutwala cino calo mubuyantanshi.
We mubonfi mukalamba mucalo cesu
Nobe wine namaini mwabombeni.
Pakukwata ifipatala ifyawama,
Nyuyuwine shimaini ewalenga.
Pakwata amasukulu ayawama,
nyuyu wine shimaini ewalenga.

Let us thank miners for their work.
They have moved our country into
development.
You are the greatest work(ers) in our country.
Even the wife of a miner: thanks!
For us to have good hospitals,
It is because of the miner.
For us to have good schools,
It's because of the miner.

A poem published in the *Mining Mirror* contained similar comments:

They come in strange formation
By shaft bank they assemble
To be lowered into the belly of the earth
Like soldiers with mother earth
Zambia must go on.

Beaming faces I can see
Laughter of joy I can hear
All dangers forgotten
On the mighty rope their lives hang
As they are lowered into the earth
To tap the wealth of the nation
Miners soldier on
Zambia must go on.

It is hot very hot
It is wet very wet
It is very dusty
It is tough very tough
Underground it's called
Where the nation's wealth is hidden
But the miner works to tap it all
Zambia must go on.¹¹²

¹¹² Excerpted from "Tribute to a Hard Working Miner," *Mining Mirror* (April, 1996): 5. See entire poem as reproduced in the appendices.

6.5.3 What now?

To sum up, Zambians appeared well acquainted with the historical and current definitions assigned to them from the outside. They also understood that their lives were far more complex than these definitions could accommodate but that the unfairness of outside Others' assessments was only a part of this issue.¹¹³ Zambians' own inherited values including their understanding of the spiritual and material in some ways rendered them less innately powerful than others may have realized or they themselves may have wanted. Yet Zambians also knew that they possessed great potential for strength and ability. Their collective memory recalled times when these traits were more prominently on display than was the case at the moment.

By the mid-2000s, the infrastructure that Zambians said had made them dignified and strong was gone. Miners no longer encouraged their sons to follow their predecessors underground. Resentful and worried beneath polite and calm exteriors, many Zambians did appear largely to feel stuck in so far as doing much beyond surviving was concerned.

6.6 On identity and agency

Even though charts cannot capture nuance, we can still view the summary below as reflecting some broad commonalities and disparities between expatriate and Zambian thinking on identity and ability to act.

<i>Executive/Managerial Views</i>	<i>Workforce/Popular Views</i>
Self Understanding: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Focus on personal qualities needed to get the job done• Capable of appreciation, sensitivity, & concern• As adhering to a moral code of conduct out of which they act	Self Understanding: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Focus on overall context in which the job takes place• Capable of hard work, dedication, & skillful initiative• As subject to innumerable forces that influence or determine conduct

¹¹³ Recognition and analysis of such complexity is a key component in Maluleke's project. "Rediscovery of the Agency," 17.

<p>Understanding of the Other:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As negatively viewing expatriates • As infantilized by former patronizing systems • Unwilling to take personal responsibility, overly sensitive & prone to promote personal, rather than corporate, interests 	<p>Understanding of the Other:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As negatively viewing and misunderstanding Zambians • As dignified by a system that demonstrated concern • Detached, uncaring, & prone to deliberate sabotage or frustration of Zambian society
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Two additional points should also be expanded upon. First, while expatriates seemed to understand the friction between themselves and Zambians as arising from choices the latter made, Zambians themselves didn't appear to understand things this way. Among the general populace, there seemed to be a far stronger sense of widespread, though amorphous, restraint. Restraint on their actions came from collective traditional values, supernatural forces, everyday petty envies, unknown investors, and callous foreigners.¹¹⁴ Expatriates sometimes disgustingly accused Zambians of cloaking themselves in tradition and culture as excuses for not doing what they really should. Zambians saw this from a markedly different perspective. For our own exploration, what might divergent views on choice, restraint, individual and collective power or lack thereof have to say about overall identity and agency?

Second, talk of the religious, spiritual, and supernatural has recurred in this chapter's exploration as it has in the past two chapters. It has reappeared, in fact, with two important qualifications. One is that explicitly theological references emerged from the Western side when the context concerned who people ought to be and what they should do. This wasn't the case when expatriate executives and managers had talked about the *whys* and *whats* of different circumstances as explored in previous chapters. The second qualification is that the

¹¹⁴ In countering colonial complaints about the colonized's irresponsibility, Memmi observes that this arose, in part, from being treated like objects and removed from their historical ways of being and doing. By contrast, non-colonized peoples understand that, at least in theory, they have options for changing their environments. Colonized peoples lack even that hope. *Colonizer and Colonized*, 92.

managerial/executive group described religious elements in terms of morals and ethics.¹¹⁵ Further, religion encompassed something that affected people's identities and actions in certain anticipated ways. When Zambians behaved differently from the codes of conduct assumed by Christianity, for example, expatriates interpreted Zambians' actions as not conforming to standards they professed. How can this example of disparities in spiritual and religious understanding instruct us in thinking theologically about development?

6.7 Summary

Identity has figured as an issue in American thinking about development policy and practice at least since Truman made that point four in his post-World War 2 speech. It is evidenced even more by recent trends in American policy making.¹¹⁶ This chapter has looked at the identity question by addressing problems of substantive difference in the ways the two studied groups appeared to understand themselves and the Other. Schutz, our guide for much of this journey, clearly pondered questions of identity even though his work did not venture very far into the territory of radically different cultures. Because we are considering our own self-understanding in relation to the African Other, we have continued with the trend, begun in chapter five, of drawing more heavily on insights from thinkers whose views can compliment Schutz's.

From a Western vantage point, the era of re-privatization should have encouraged greater initiative on the part of Zambians. But lived experience brought confusion regarding the relationship between people's beings, their words, and their deeds. From the Zambian perspective, it was difficult to be and do of their own accord while contending with such a

¹¹⁵ See chapter one's discussion of "religion" as being understood primarily in terms of intellectually based beliefs.

¹¹⁶ See chapter one.

complicated stock of memory and experience. We have now reached a point in the journey where we need to assess our bearings. ♀

Chapter Seven Conclusion

This study's title owes its inspiration to Charles, the Kitwe area miner, whose opening statement about provoking the rocks is provocative, itself.¹ His comments are even more significant when juxtaposed against the Western consultant's depiction of technical processes surrounding re-privatization of Zambia's mining industry.²

Although coming from radically different origins, both speakers understood that development has profoundly meaningful implications. For Charles, development of the mines disturbed something essential in the way the world should be. Perhaps that disturbance contributed to problems he and his peers experienced once the mines were re-privatized. For the expatriate who spent years working on well-funded projects that analyzed ZCCM's assets, something about the way everything transpired missed the essence of what should have gone on. Perhaps that contributed to the skepticism with which both Zambians and the World Bank eventually viewed privatization. Regardless of attributions for the problems, something had not gone well and that had a tangible impact on people's real lives.

7.0 Review of the exploration

Using the case of the Copperbelt mines, we have considered the extent to which perceptual disparities about reality and meaning affect the West's involvement with African

¹ "Apene panshi pali ikalila, amabwe ayatondolo, ayabukata ifwe twaya yatendeka, twayabalalmuna." "The underground world lived peacefully with its divine rocks until we provoked and frustrated them." The translator notes: "Ayabukata is Bemba for 'divine' and refers to the order in which God has made everything that is on earth. Everything in its place and a place for everything. In digging up the ore to extract copper we are behaving like a child with a toy. The child will take the toy apart to see what it is made of and how it works, in the process the toy is destroyed. Similarly with the earth, in the process of exploration and extraction of ore we may be destabilising the earth with resultant catastrophes such as earthquakes."

² These read in part: "At a start we viewed our job as technological and not cultural. There was no attempt to look at Zambian culture to see how best to achieve our objectives. The programs we instituted were the same we would have done in mines anywhere. Retrospectively we did not achieve much, and we could have done far better if we had taken a longer-term view and focused on training." Personal communication to the author from independent technical consultant assigned to ZCCM privatization project, 2005.

development issues. From the outset, we have seen how differing perspectives over what is important characterize our cross-cultural associations and play out in practical, everyday encounters. I have further argued that there are significant theological implications to this situation. These include how we understand ourselves in relation to creation; how we treat others and the environment; what we view as life giving and death inducing; what we consider the important or sacred aspects of life; and so on. Yet, as has been amply demonstrated before, development policymakers and planners infrequently consider the theological aspects and the development aspects together.

As Charles and the consultant testified, significant perceptual disparities surrounded the process of selling Zambia's copper mines and other parastatal companies. Even several years into the process of technically rehabilitating the mines and greatly increasing their copper production, most Zambians were still not enjoying an improved quality of life. At the same time, outsiders felt that Zambians either didn't understand or didn't want to do what was necessary to run the mines and the country well. That was the reason the industry had failed after independence. Development policies and agreements were in place, but things still weren't working as either group might hope.

We have probed how expatriates and Zambians understood what the entire enterprise was supposed to be about by examining discrepancies of viewpoint arising in their everyday personal encounters. The exploration has been organized around three themes that correspond to basic managerially related questions, namely: *why do things happen?*; *what is really going on?*; and *who is involved?* In each case, we have noted how conceptions of the spiritual and material were understood.

7.0.0 Chapter organization

The remainder of this section will revisit the principal theoretical framework that has guided the case study and briefly review the study's context. Then, section 7.1 will discuss points of relevance concerning the spiritual in relation to the *why* and *what* questions and 7.2 will reflect on the material in the same manner. Section 7.3 will combine these points of relevance in reference to the *who* question. A final section will draw some conclusions and offer suggestions as to the study's implications.

7.0.1 The significance of Schutz's schema

Ideas of philosopher-banker Alfred Schutz have provided the present work's principal theoretical foundation. Schutz said that differences in perception originate in discrepancies between what we experience in the physical world immediately present to our senses and what we think about internally. Like William James, Schutz believed that everyone inhabits multiple realities simultaneously. Schutz also thought this was an important point for scientists and economic theorists to remember.

He felt strongly about this because, while science and economics ostensibly aim at addressing issues of the real world, the "real" world is also a physical realm of beings and objects. This world affects our internal understanding and vice versa. The knowledge we employ to make sense of the everyday world may be completely different from scientific knowledge and economic theory,³ but that doesn't mean that one type of knowledge is more valid than the other.⁴

³ This was a point that Schutz also shared with Husserl and that is integral to what is now termed the *phenomenological movement*. Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. III*, xiiff.

⁴ "The worlds of both the natural and the social scientists are neither more nor less real than the world of thought can be in general. The latter is not the world within which we act and in which we are born and die. But it is the home of those important events and achievements which we call culture." Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. IV*, 24.

Further, we never fully know the reservoirs of teachings, memories, and experiences upon which other people draw when they act in the physical world and we may be consciously unaware of what motivates us as well. So our *interpretations* of actions and events play a more important role in how we understand reality than we may realize.

7.0.2 Supplements and counterpoints

Applying theories concerning how people cognitively make sense of the world can be very helpful when analyzing practical problems of international development because this is an arena heavily reliant on implementing scientific and economic principles. Using Schutz's theories in connection with the Copperbelt, however, has required some supplemental help. One reason for this is that "development," as what Schutz might call a "province of meaning," was just coming into vogue towards the end of his career. Since then, development has affected how people around the world understand their relationships with each other. Development-related technology and financial networks have profoundly changed the ways in which we encounter each other. And even more recently, public attention is going to the ways in which industrialization and development carry serious implications for the earth itself. So the case study context is more complex than even the prescient Schutz might have anticipated.

Another reason for supplementing Schutz's views is that this study explores perceptual disjunctures between two very different cultures. Africa has been such a major playing field for testing Western theories and the site of so many development project disasters that rethinking basics as Schutz's work does, is a reasonable thing to do. But Schutz kept himself quite occupied analyzing differences that people from Western backgrounds could experience and at times he even cautioned about the extent to which his

ideas might apply farther a field. When his insights can be supplemented with those of scholars who specifically know Africa, so much the better. It is, after all, Africa's real life environment that development theories are supposed to be addressing.

A third reason for considering vantage points other than Schutz's is my previous claim that there are theological ramifications to the situation. Schutz certainly recognized religious experience as a genuine realm of reality, but he did not address it as did a William James. To the extent that Zambians found religious or spiritual import in their development related situations, and that contemporary analysts are calling attention to the relationship between development, physical creation, and something larger than ourselves the theological is integral to the present project.⁵

7.0.3 Context leading to the case study

Evidence that Africans and Westerners held different perspectives about the copper mines appeared long before the re-privatization era. From the beginning of the industrial mining era up to the time of this study, economic ways of thinking and talking were the principal means by which the Western perspective appeared to have been formed. At the same time, much of the West's influence over the local environment came from afar as policies made in Europe and North America were implemented in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia. But decidedly un-economic ways of thinking appeared to dominate how Africans involved perceived the situation. For centuries, they had conceived of copper and the underground in relation to mysterious forces that operated in the spiritual and physical realms. Although Africans had mined, smelted, and traded copper long before Europeans arrived, they appeared to value the mines not as commodities or assets as they were

⁵ See the discussion in chapter one concerning Gilbert Rist's (*History of Development*) and David Korten's (*When Corporations Rule, Post-Corporate World, etc.*) work.

understood once developed industrially, but as something qualitatively different. Much later, when the developed mines came under Zambian control, the production of copper remained important. But the mining companies were also responsible for a host of other activities as well.

By the late 1990s and early 2000s, Zambia had had four decades of political independence including two in which the mines operated as the premiere company within a huge array of parastatals. Despite statistical data that Zambia's main foreign exchange earning industry and the government itself had fallen into economic and managerial disarray, there did not seem to be a broad consensus among the citizenry as to why the mines should have been sold. In fact, many ordinary citizens attributed the economic and social ills of the mid-2000s to the mines' sales with the accompanying return of Western interests and influences.

7.1 Spiritual points of relevance

7.1.1 The spiritual and causation

Zambians especially worried about the number of mining accidents occurring post-privatization. In their experience, these numbers had increased dramatically for a variety of reasons. The presence of expatriates and the foreign investors they represented were a precipitating problem. While the World Bank and Zambian government had said that foreign direct investment would ultimately create wealth for Zambians, so far private ownership seemed not to be offering opportunities for competition and entrepreneurship but life-death threats against the populace. Partially they felt this was the case because the attitudes and practices of the private companies contributed to accidents. Companies that valued profit over people were bound to be careless about hazards of the industry. So long as they met

production targets, the investors and managers were not particularly concerned if miners were injured or killed. But, the profit motive could encourage Zambians to do dangerous things, too. These might include using witchcraft against those who seemed more successful than others or conducting blood sacrifice rituals to gain wealth and power for one's self. So accidents or mishaps seemed always attributable to a kaleidoscope of causes involving supernatural forces and material interests. *Why* an unfortunate event happened couldn't be discerned by simply figuring out what had gone wrong. Zambians knew there had to be motives behind the event as well. In the mining environment, such motives could include everything from the privatized context itself to personal jealousies between individual workers.

Expatriate managers didn't see the situation this way at all. They perceived mining mishaps as being generally linked to worker attitudes and practices. Miners had a huge role to play in preventing accidents. That role involved straightforward adherence to corporate safety policies as well as plain old personal diligence and responsibility. Expatriates who were even aware of the supernatural elements that Zambians saw largely dismissed them as miner's "superstition"⁶ or as handy tools for manipulative politicians. There wasn't really a counterpart within expatriate thinking for why certain events happened as they did. Their answers to why accidents took place usually concentrated more on what specifically had gone wrong. This was a largely mechanistic way of looking at the situation and it generally reflected common Western understandings of cause and effect.⁷ When expatriates probed

⁶ Talk of miners' "superstition" was not limited to Zambia but appeared to be part of mining culture generally, according to miners who had worked in Canada and Latin America.

⁷ See, for example, Richard Nisbett's discussion of cause and effect in relation to Western and Asian cultures. *Geography of Thought*, 36ff.

further the *whys* of accidents and mishaps, they often faulted Zambian miners for not using their individual initiative and available resources to pre-empt problems.

Differences between Zambians and expatriates concerning why things happened appeared to become more pronounced as the study unfolded. For instance, what in the West might be considered as unconnected circumstances could, for Zambians, be quite related. From their vantage point coincidental sequences of misfortune simply didn't exist. Instead, supernatural or spiritual powers never limited themselves to particular times and places and could affect many different situations. Moments of crisis eventually precipitated searches for patterns of relationships or series of conditions that could explain them. The depth and breadth of such supernatural involvement in everyday events was evident when, for instance, media contributors and private citizens pondered the 1970 Mufulira Disaster and 1993 Gabon air crash in relation to the 2005 spate of accidents; when speculation occurred that President Mwanawasa was sacrificing miners for his own power needs; or when the unappeased Luanshya snake and displeased Chingola mine spirits were mentioned in connection with a variety of mining fatalities. Even day-to-day hardships of anonymous families could be inter-related. For instance, the series of additional misfortunes Joseph's family experienced after his death in the BGRIMM explosion were not just random events. They were somehow of a piece with the overwhelming loss of Joseph—perhaps little residual ripple effects—that could be expected and simply had to be endured.

Expatriates, by contrast, took a more segmented approach to events and their causes which they also explained in very common sense ways.⁸ In fact, they sometimes specifically

⁸ Nisbett discusses a similar propensity for categorization as being part of the West's Greco-Roman heritage. *Ibid.*, 10, 44-45.

dismissed connections that Zambians saw behind tragedies.⁹ In the expatriate view, drawing a line between events taking place in different times and under dissimilar circumstances seemed impossible. How could one reasonably say, for instance, that the Kawambwa bus accident was related to the Mufulira cage crash? The only things the two incidents had in common may have been carelessness and technical difficulties. But, blaming accidents and misfortunes on such things as “spiritual warfare” only encouraged people to ignore their own responsibilities. If they wanted to bring God into the picture, Zambians would be better off remembering that God helps those who help themselves.

7.1.2 The spiritual and substance

As we saw in chapter five, the expatriates’ no-nonsense approach accorded well with what Schutz termed the human tendency to typify how people and things are supposed to behave. Since we typically expect objects of creation to exhibit the same sorts of qualities no matter where they are found, a rock in America can be understood as a rock in Zambia. Places of work require certain modes of behavior, so a boss acts one way and a worker another, regardless of race or place.

But, from the Zambian perspective, cracks in a common ground of understanding concerning the everyday or physical world became apparent with the situational analysis survey. In that survey, people blamed the mines’ problems on fairly typical industrial disputes such as poor negotiation by the government and dilapidated mining equipment used by the private companies. Yet, when Zambians later talked about their experiences, they frequently referenced such things as displeased mine spirits; improper use of the underground; or other observations that, from a Western point of view, were quite atypical. In fact, in the everyday life worlds of ordinary Zambians objects and people didn’t

⁹ Interview with former ZCCM senior executive and current ZCCM-IH manager, 2005.

necessarily conform to Schutz's theories about typical expectations. The Zambian world seemed to include more creatures than animals and people alone and less certainty about where material things ended and something else began.

For example, supernatural beings or forces that miners talked about were not vague elements of a collective knowledge base in the way many Westerners share understanding of Grimm's fairy tales. These were "real" elements posing practical problems rather than intellectual challenges. When the retired Luanshya miner discussed a magical snake that kept appearing in a new church the problem wasn't the snake's existence or its presence in a Christian church. It was that the thing kept vanishing before anyone could pick it up and take it away for disposal. Likewise, the problem the Kitwe folklorist identified with the mysterious hot springs wasn't that people believed in such things but that trying to harness the springs only resulted in burst pipes. And the problem miners' wives identified if one of their number were to have a "private sector" would be the affair's timing since that might endanger a cuckolded spouse while he was on the job. Moral questions related to having affairs in the first place were not necessarily at issue—which brings us back to thinking about our own thinking.

Westerners tend to evaluate talk of the supernatural from the perspective of what Schutz would call our inner "duration." That is, we generally leap over considering the supernatural experience itself to pondering it in terms of intellectual, moral, and theological ideas. These ideas, framed in scientific-rationalist terms, eventually tend to deem witchcraft and supernatural beliefs both illogical and ultimately detrimental to society. For people who *still* believe in supernatural guardians and other such phenomena, that belief should

eventually dissipate given sufficient encounters between themselves and Western ways of thinking.

But the Copperbelt case challenged this understanding. There, it couldn't be assumed that exposure to Western ways would change how Zambians understood them; in fact sometimes just the opposite occurred. My research assistant, Enock, who was considerably better educated than the majority of Zambians and a marvelously analytical thinker claimed to come to a belief in the supernatural snake guardian not because he had grown up in a traditional village but *after* he had gone underground in an industrial copper mine for the first time. Previously he had thought stories of the underground snake and the antelope pointing out copper were just African tales. Now he concluded that copper discovery and its mining could only be done with supernatural help.

The interesting thing about Enock's change of mind was the way in which it represented a curious compatibility with scientific-rationalist thinking that was evident at other points in the study as well.¹⁰ In Enock's case, his belief didn't change his appreciation for the industrial mine's mechanization or his own use of technology. It simply said that science had help from something transcendent. Likewise, the story of William Collier's romanticized hunting expedition lost nothing through Zambian interpretation of events. If anything, the Zambian view added a sense of cosmic blessing as the felled roan antelope showed Collier precisely where to look for copper.¹¹ Additionally, the story Chief Nkana's nephew told about discerning messages from Kansanshi mine's spirit owners incorporated elements of empirical inquiry. Recall that the miners tried the Coke-Fanta experiment twice

¹⁰ See Robin Horton's classic analysis (*Patterns of Thought*) of similarities and differences between thinking patterns in traditional African societies and Western scientific rationalist environments as referenced throughout this study.

¹¹ Chief Nkana's nephew's reference to successful mining following appeasement of the snake guardian did something similar.

by way of testing their findings and that he knew "evidence" of the mine spirits' existence was important to have and possible to achieve.

Still, Zambian experiences of the supernatural also sometimes ran counter to scientific-rationalist thinking. Specifically, unseen forces could imbue physical objects with powers that allowed them to defy what we know as the laws of physics. Peoples' behavior could change unpredictably after coming into contact with *muti*, as the stories of inter-racial marriages illustrated. Human beings could transform themselves into other creatures as any number of person-turned-crocodile stories related. Or people could even fly on their own.¹²

The pragmatic problems that such a varied everyday world presented apparently had an impact on how Zambians understood their own powers to act. On the one hand, a universe of diverse, potent, and unpredictable spiritual forces acting within the material arena presented humans with far less autonomy and more vulnerability than we from the West might appreciate. How could a person negotiate an environment where one's neighbor could change corporal substance or secretly secure *muti* for malicious use? What if a host of principalities and powers made themselves felt, prompted by unknown motives?¹³ On the other hand, provided they were willing to engage in questionable supernatural activities themselves, people also had more options for what they could do with their own physical bodies and the objects of daily life. In all, Zambians appeared to have a confusing number of possibilities to sort through when determining why things happened. They also had to

¹² The newspaper story of a witch crash landing in Ndola was but one such example. Similar stories were popularly passed around within the mining communities.

¹³ Schutz said we maintain continuity in the everyday life world in part by understanding that the world as we presently experience it is how it has been understood before and will be understood in the future. Further, we also assume that we can repeat past successful acts. He characterized these assumptions as "and so forth" and "I can always do it again," respectively. Schutz and Luckmann, *Structures of the Life-World*, 7. While the Zambian life world did exhibit this sort of continuity, it also seemed more complicated due to the ways in which spiritual and material objects could act.

wrestle with the varying forms through which motivations could be expressed and their own comparatively limited capacities for doing anything about difficult situations.

What might all this have to say to larger concerns about how people cognitively make sense of their worlds? I suggest that when a people's stock of knowledge includes an understanding of the world as populated by spiritual beings and subject to supernatural forces such as witchcraft, the manner in which that group of people approaches its everyday tasks and actions will be affected. In particular, such an inherited stock of information could influence the ways in which holders of that knowledge understand the physical world's properties: what it can or cannot do; what they themselves can or cannot do; what elements are capable of being controlled and what elements are not. Further, even if holders of such a knowledge stock consciously embrace scientific rationalist means of understanding, this shift may not completely alter their interpretations of and approach to the world.¹⁴ Something of that influence might well linger in the subconscious long after overt teachings have been abandoned.

A knowledge stock that consists of such a variety of actors and potential behaviors might also instill in its users a cautious propensity for thinking about larger contexts, for respectfully regarding other interests, and for being disinclined to emphasize individual power and control. Such a knowledge stock might mean that its holders would engage in actions and interpretation of events differently than would people whose knowledge stocks did not include this understanding. On a small scale, an individual might set out Coke and Fanta bottles to solicit a message from the mine spirits or someone might alter a route of

¹⁴ This seems consistent with Schutz's view that the taken for grantedness of the world does not mean a conscious decision to assume something, but that certain ideas are instilled in our beings without our volition, becoming essentially invisible to our thought processes. See Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. III*, xiiff.

travel to avoid spirit-haunted locales. To an outsider observing these actions, however, the miner leaving bottles might look as if he were simply setting them down while the traveler would be seen as merely taking the long way around.¹⁵ On a larger scale, what one party might see as policies and practices leading to prosperity and improved quality of life, another party could understand as fostering death and destruction.

7.2 Material points of relevance

We also need to consider how Zambian understanding of the material world compared with Schutz's depictions of the theoretical landscape. As chapter five noted, Schutz emphasized the physical world's meaningfulness. Yet, we have begun to see that typical Western-based explanations concerning why events occurred were not necessarily typical from the Copperbelt vantage point. The case further suggested that expatriates and Zambians had viewpoint disparities regarding the substance of the physical world itself.

7.2.1 The material and causation

Zambians' inquiries into causation implied that material objects were not necessarily passive. The miners' professional surroundings were difficult and dangerous, offering many opportunities for mishaps. But their "world of working"—the term Schutz used to describe the physical aspects of everyday life—seemed further affected by how miners understood what the physical world could do. Spiritual or supernatural interests could prompt changes to the physical world such as when Banda the crane operator used magic to split himself into two workers or Copperbelt residents sold their years in exchange for quick, conspicuous wealth. Sometimes the material on its own seemed powerful, too, as the Binani incident in Luanshya illustrated.

¹⁵ The idea that a physical gesture could hold multiple meanings, including those that transcend space and time, appears to be strengthened by Appiah's observations about religious ritual and symbolism. *In My Father's House*, 112.

Both Zambian and Western observers shared suspicions about Binani's ultimate longevity, but the causes to which they attributed the situation and the strategies that Zambians used in protest probably appeared very different to the two groups. For Zambians, desecration of the mines seemed to be a key factor in the company's failure. When the new Indian owners buried Hindu idols underground the local community took great offense. Zambian miners responded by urinating on the idols and it was the idols' presence that prompted predictions of Binani's short-lived ownership.

Expatriates, though, saw the problem as involving corruption and managerial incompetence and never mentioned the idols when discussing this issue. Had the topic arisen in a Western context, it is likely that the miners' actions would have been considered simply a rude protest. Religious elements of the dispute would further have been understood as pluralistic values clashes of which the idols were merely symbols.

So the workers' protests against management actions could be viewed and made sense of in two very different ways with their *meanings* turnings on how material objects were understood. Zambians' protest actions were consistent with their interpretation of the company's actions yet they could also appear to outsiders as consistent with what workers might do in any heated labor-management dispute. Neutralizing an object's power, however, is different from protesting its presence. Predicting a company's demise based on provocative items set out by management is different from predicting corporate failure due to management's poor decision making ability.

Skeptical outside observers might counter that concentrating on the idols was just an excuse for Zambians not being better able to handle labor-management disputes. Especially if Zambians claimed to be Christians, why couldn't they just ignore the statues and fight

more important battles? Further, why would it matter how physical objects were understood if the end result—Binani's departure—was the same as that predicted by expatriates?

It should be remembered, however, that Luanshya miners had a long history of dealing forthrightly with labor-management disputes over wages and matters pertaining to compound life. Throughout the Binani controversy, they incisively dissected not only the company's managerial faults but also policies of the government that had led to the sale in the first place. These conversations happened alongside the uproar about the idols and continued after the mine had closed down. It appeared, however, that the mine spirits' displeasure at treatment of the underground was the ultimate, or "real," signal for why Binani's tenure was short lived. All the other factors were simply supporting evidence to that effect.¹⁶

It can also be said that concentration on the idols themselves may have represented an important difference in where people understood the locus of power to reside. Was power in the physical mine and the Hindu idols or was power in managerial and labor processes? Even if Zambians understood the situation as a mix of both, what if one power source were stronger than the other? Which should be considered more important?

This line of questioning takes on more immediacy when safety and accident prevention are concerned. Expatriates who saw Zambians as lax in wearing their protective gear and enacting corporate procedures may not have accounted for the possibility that the

¹⁶ It is possible that the references to Christianity in these events represented the counterpart to talk of Satanism that several Zambian informants said was a way of discussing witchcraft in an urban setting. Framing objections to the idols in terms of Hindus versus Christians would not only be more acceptable within a Western context, it would also encompass the range of Zambian religious experience from traditional, supernatural beings to Western Christianity. Somewhat similar events occurred in late 2005 when the news media reported that Lusaka residents stormed and destroyed a property belonging to various independent churches. In some accounts, these mob actions were attributed to Satanism concerns. "Lusaka Pastor Flees," *Times of Zambia* (November 16, 2005): 1. In others, witchcraft was openly suspected. "Universal Church Press Briefings Disrupted," *Times of Zambia* (December 1, 2005): 1.

workforce had a different understanding of what constituted "protection" and where the power for accident prevention really could be found. Zambian miners who used the industrial companies' safety equipment and procedures along with their own measures such as taking shells and written prayers underground may have done so because all these forms of material objects offered protection. The types of things they protected against, however, were different.¹⁷ For instance, an apron or set of goggles might protect a miner against a spray of hot metal from the smelter. But there was no guarantee that such equipment would repel whatever motivated the spray in the first place. For that, something more was needed. If a shell or bit of wood could protect against an incident's provocation, was it not more powerful than the sturdiest gear provided by the companies? And, since people could really never know what might provoke a haunting spirit attack or jealous witchcraft episode, how fair was it to say, "safety is your responsibility?"

Raising these possible interpretations should not be construed as advocating more relaxed corporate safety procedures or as insinuating that expatriate managers were wrong for insisting on adherence to proper regulations. What I am trying to point out is that Zambians may have held a qualitatively different understanding of the role that equipment and miners themselves could play in creating a safer working environment. Workers may have put less emphasis on their own powers or abilities to affect the situation and more on a range of *objects* to do something than did expatriates because they fundamentally viewed the

¹⁷ Similarly, Ellis and Ter Haar comment on Kenneth Kaunda's use of military, secret intelligence, and Indian mystics as comprehensive means of ensuring his power was protected. "Anti-aircraft guns, spiritual protection, communication gadgets were all of a piece: they were the technical devices operated by foreign experts at the behest of an African head of state who needed every means available, spiritual and material, to stay in power." *Worlds of Power*, 72. Use of physical objects in this way is also part of other cultural and religious environments since, for example, some Muslims carry copies of the Koran with them for protection. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Islam," in *Our Religions*, ed. Arvind Sharma, 425-532 (San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco), 448.

forces of the material world differently.¹⁸ But, because such an understanding may have been rooted deeply within their stocks of knowledge about the world, it may have been an entirely unconscious process on the part of the workforce to treat matter this way.

A view that would understand the material world as having such power also seems to have had an effect on Zambian understanding of immaterial elements such as language and speech. For instance, the careful observance of proper verbal goodbyes and greetings that bracketed miners' workdays may have arisen from an understanding that words themselves could affect mine safety. Some Zambians' insistence that the days of "accident prevention officers" had been safer than the more recent times of corporate "safety officers" might have reflexively suggested that an "accident prevention officer" was tangibly empowered to protect whereas the duties and abilities of a "safety officer" were much more ambiguous.

Western observers might call such speculation semantic quibbling but it would be more than that if different understandings of what words could do affected workers' actions on the job. Here, it is helpful to revisit the executive/managerial and workforce/popular disagreements about post-incident investigations and other instances when words and deeds were in dispute. A miner's lying about the causes of an underground fatality could naturally be understood as a nervous attempt to protect his job against a potentially punitive investigative process. If, however, words could incite another misfortune, perhaps the lie did something else as well. Perhaps it constituted an invisible cloak of protection that would give the haunting spirit no reason to suspect ill will on the part of his colleagues who remained alive. From this vantage point, a lie could actually contribute to accident prevention.

¹⁸ The term "forces" assumes animation even in what appear to be inanimate objects and is used in the sense employed by Tempels in his discussions of "vital force." See Placide Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy*, trans. Colin King (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1959), 44ff.

Similarly, expatriate complaints about not being able to trust what Zambians said and their puzzlement over vehement reactions to “colorful language” may have been indicators that they had stumbled into foreign territory concerning what words actually could do. If, in Zambian experience, words had innate potency and force, there might have been a sense in which Zambians felt that saying something really would make it so.¹⁹ Saying a project was completed might, somehow, help progress along and it would certainly keep peace with the bosses in the interim. Conversely, being called “lazy” or “stupid” might not be just an insult. It might, somehow, make such an accusation true.

These speculative points should not be mistaken as defending workers’ misstatements or asserting that expatriate managers were wrong to expect honesty from the workforce. Nor are they attempts to overlay onto the Zambian workforce a romanticized vision of them as performing traditional “incantations” on the job or to suggest that they were incapable of thinking beyond the bounds of tradition. What I am suggesting is that if a stock of knowledge traditionally assigned potency to words this might make a difference in how users of that knowledge stock would conduct themselves in the everyday world whether or not they consciously acknowledged connections between their thoughts and actions in this regard. Such users might, for example, simply understand the relationship between word and deed differently than we do in the West. In turn, such an understanding could affect how each side comprehended the other’s behavior. So, what might appear as an ethical lapse (lying) from one vantage point could be understood as a pragmatic action (preserving one’s job and keeping a general peace) when viewed from a different perspective.

¹⁹ See Robin Horton’s discussion of differences in Western and African thinking patterns on words and actions. *Patterns of Thought*, 222ff. He claims a common view throughout Africa is that words spoken at the appropriate times can “bring into being the events or states they stand for.” Ibid., 223. By contrast, in Western thinking, words and reality are seen “as independent variables.” Ibid., 227.

7.2.2 The material and substance

So far, the evidence suggests that Zambians inhabited an environment in which boundaries between the material and spiritual worlds could shift and a variety of powers could complicate efforts to understand why events happened. Additionally, the physical world itself appeared to behave differently for Zambians than it did for expatriates. To make this point more clearly we need to consider some important differences in the ways Zambians and expatriates seemed to understand what constituted the physical environment. We will also analyze differing priorities they placed on objects of the everyday world.

Africans in the Zambian region, it will be recalled, knew about and worked copper for centuries before the mines were ever set up as industrial companies. But copper also worked on African sensory experience, being an important element in everything from warding off evil forces to making itself felt as a conductor of lightning. Copper, in other words, wasn't simply a thing that Zambians handled at will and could discard as desired. It was more valuable than that but in ways that exceeded monetary calculation. As Chinweizu's analysis has already suggested such ways of conceiving of the physical world should be remembered when we think of the physical infrastructure comprising the modern developed world.

The material infrastructure of developed society meant something to expatriates, of course. But it had to work, too. Cell phones were only as good as a functioning network. Programs and projects were as real as what they accomplished, not as simply described on paper. It could be a tremendous annoyance that Zambians seemed frequently to overlook this second part of the equation. Further, despite expatriates knowing how to make things work and Zambians saying they wanted the objects of a developed society, it bothered expatriates that their presence in the country was so often resented.

From the Zambian perspective, however, it appeared that possession and use of development's objects may have been so important at least in part because the items themselves were understood more substantively.²⁰ Naturally, Zambians may have wished to enjoy even a fraction of what they saw expatriates enjoying and that would have fueled their desires for the goods that development brings. But we need also to consider the possibility that Zambians regarded those goods differently.

So, what some supplemental voices have said might help here. Apostel, for instance, calls attention to the importance of physical matter in African religious experience saying that religion itself cannot be conceived of apart from the earth, sky, and material universe.²¹ Contrast this with the emphasis that Western Christianity, particularly American Protestantism, places on understanding religion as being principally about intangible beliefs, doctrines, and practices and some of the qualitative differences between the two approaches may begin to appear. Further, Bediako's appreciation of the unity between physical and spiritual worlds in African understanding intrinsically challenges the lack of Western theologically informed development thinking, for it invites us to look again at our assumptions of religion as being about things spiritual while development is about things material.²² The intriguing Cargo Cult Maldevelopment phenomenon described by Chinweizu opens up additional, important new ways of considering how routine ideas of development policymakers and planners may be turned on their heads when interpreted and used by others. In situations where Cargo Cult Maldevelopment is evident, what we Westerners would consider completely novel meanings may be assigned to physical items.

²⁰ Trying to explain this fully takes us to the limits of the English language and nuances the situation in ways that most Western observers likely would not anticipate.

²¹ Apostel, *African Philosophy*, 142-146. See also the chart in chapter one.

²² Bediako, *Jesus in Africa*, 89, 343. See also the discussion of Marshall's analysis ("Development and Religion") in chapter one.

On the Copperbelt, disputes over the importance assigned to physical matter infused disagreements over what the mines actually were, how they were to operate, and what the mining industry was expected to accomplish. To expatriate eyes it was obvious that once Zambia had taken over mining operations they hadn't concentrated on the core business. Instead, they had turned a large and profitable mining company into something of a social services and development organization. If Zambia didn't change their approach following re-privatization the mines would surely fail again. This line of reasoning was rationally defensible by statistical data and some historical accounts. Why, then, did Zambia seem not to understand what they needed to do?

Relevant points of the Zambian knowledge stock, however, included different perceptions of what the physical environment meant. This encompassed an understanding of the mines as sacred and protected by supernatural powers. Copper had its own power and the mining and smelting processes were sacred mysteries, not just mechanistic processes. Incorporated into that knowledge stock were also more recent but marginal exposures to Western managerial practices gained primarily visually and at a distance.²³ Also incorporated at a fairly superficial level were experiences of seeing Colonial Era mining executives and their families enjoying comfortable houses, good clubs, and so on. Importantly, such experiences generally were not accompanied by access to the Western knowledge stock regarding systems and processes needed to create and maintain the sorts of institutions Europeans set up in Zambia.²⁴ Taken together and, in light of what has already

²³ See chapter two's discussion of the context in which Zambia witnessed colonial operations as well as Chinweizu's comments about Cargo Cult Maldevelopment in this regard. *Decolonizing the African Mind*, 16.

²⁴ Schutz's theories about the means for navigating everyday life assume a different kind of knowledge than may be gained by formal education and training alone. So it would not be fair to say that just because the mines sent many Zambia away for further studies, they automatically received indoctrination in all the information and values systems needed to do things in a thoroughly Western way.

been observed about the importance of the material world in African cultures, what might this have implied for the ways Zambians understood not only work in the general sense but “the world of working” according to Schutz?

The archival office that so surprised me offers a microcosmic possibility. I assumed management had its priorities awry by keeping the director’s office in such good shape while neglecting care of the archival material itself. But, perhaps what constituted an “archival office” in the mind of that Zambian director was a place that held books and papers. Being a director of such an office meant having a well-appointed, comfortable space.²⁵ From such a perspective information contained in the books and papers would be considered less important than the physical items themselves. Non-material activities such as strategic planning and program management might not be undertaken at all. Serving tea and talking to colleagues, however, would take place because that was just about all most Zambians had ever witnessed expatriate managers *doing*.

Overall, perhaps the Zambian experience included an understanding (or hope?) that simply having the physical accoutrements of the mining industry would ensure that life went well. Might it be possible that, deep within the Zambian consciousness, the physical stuff of the mines was actually considered more “real” than the intangible thought processes and ideas needed to keep the mines operating? It is this possibility that makes such details as the ZCCM/LSE ore classification systems so interesting. Could it be said that, in addition to their obvious technical training and abilities Zambian mining managers did possess something subconsciously suggested to them that mining operations were more “real” when conceived of in physical infrastructure terms rather than as intangible commitments and numerical projections? Could a similar subconscious understanding have precipitated the

²⁵ I am indebted to Stewart Lane for first helping me to imagine material reality in this way.

lack of exploration for future deposits that characterized the ZCCM years? Certainly competent managers had been spread so thinly around the country that lack of sufficient personnel figured into the situation. But could there have been a sense in which ore exploration was accorded less importance than other activities because the ore that was presently at hand was so real and historically forthcoming that future planning wasn't seen as urgent? Perhaps the Western consultant's observation that Zambians seemed to think they could "magically" run the mines was closer to the mark than he realized.

Admittedly, the above examples present merely speculation about how the physical environment could have been understood differently by Zambians. Such speculation is valuable, however, if it helps our general rethinking about international development policymaking and planning. In particular, the possibility of assigning a qualitatively different understanding to physical matter has at least two implications for the case study context and beyond.²⁶ The first is that Western views of Africans' desires for the physical infrastructure of development might not fully account for the extent to which, in that setting, infrastructure alone is considered *to be* development. The possession of such items—rather than management of processes to maintain and enhance them—might be understood as the essential ingredient for having the improved quality of life "development" is supposed to bring. This would help explain disparity priorities between Westerners and Africans

²⁶ An intriguing possible corroboration of this speculation comes from an article on economic models published in *The Economist* ("Big Questions and Big Numbers," July 15, 2006: 67-69). There, the author asserts that an ingenious machine built in 1948 by an engineer turned economist demonstrated the flow of income in an economy in ways that can be palpably observed and physically affected by changes made to the machine. Comparing this tangible item with the way contemporary economists use hypothetical models and software, the article's author observes it has been said, "that policymakers need not grasp exactly how a model works, any more than 'a pilot needs to understand the insides of a flight simulator.' This may be true. But too many policymakers never even 'fly' their models. They just want to know where they will land. If they were instead prepared to work through the simulations they might find inconsistencies in their thought, unforeseen implications of their policies, or new reasons for their actions." In other words, direct experience of physical matter has an impact on cognition even in the economics field.

concerning emphases on acquisition of goods rather than construction of systems and plans that development projects also require.²⁷ Second, the alternative interpretation being suggested here runs opposite to a way of understanding material objects as means to monetary ends. From this perspective it would be impossible to say, as did the Anglo American executive, that the substance being mined was irrelevant to the context. The substance was actually integral to the place in which it was found and for the people who handled it. This would help explain why thinking about the mines principally as commodities and resources appeared so difficult for Zambians. Such thought may have disrupted a way of understanding that involved their own self conceptions or identities.²⁸

Given that the mines were in place and, for the foreseeable future, so vital to Zambians economic survival it wasn't unrealistic for expatriates to expect task performance rather than material object acquisition by the workforce. Nor were Western critiques of ZCCM's operations entirely inaccurate. But what I am suggesting is that, in situations such

²⁷ A cautionary note needs to be inserted here about what this speculation implies and what it does not. The distinction being made is not a cross-cultural comparison of intelligence levels. History has well documented the intelligence and ability of Africans to do Western style development (if that is the objective!) given sufficient exposure to the techniques and values inherent in the process. And I hope I have adequately made this case in previous chapters specifically concerning Zambians and the mines. What I am trying to point out now is the possibility that a reflexive, subconscious emphasis on one aspect of life experience would tangibly affect how priorities for actions are decided. A rough reverse comparison might be the case of an urbanized American shopping for tomatoes in a local supermarket. The American knows how to obtain a tomato by purchasing one. But if that American were suddenly entrusted with all the processes necessary to get tomatoes from seed stage to supermarket, there would be many problems. Such an American might be able to ask around and read books on the mechanical aspects of moving grown tomatoes from the farm to the market but would likely have far more difficulty in knowing how to grow them in the first place. That deeper level of connection to cultivation cycles and knowledge of how to plant and nurture the seeds is not something that is a prominent part of American knowledge stocks any longer. Countless Africans, however, could raise tomatoes without even being aware of the multiple cognitive and sensory processes they invoked in the process. So, if the object is not just to obtain one tomato but to make sure that a large supply continues and is properly maintained, is the African or the American in a better position to succeed?

²⁸ Similarly, David Abram makes a fascinating case for the intellectual, linguistic, and physical connections between indigenous peoples and the land. He concludes, "It should be easy, now, to understand the destitution of indigenous, oral persons who have been forcibly displaced from their traditional lands. The local earth is, for them, the very matrix of discursive meaning; to force them from their native ecology (for whatever political or economic purpose) is to render them speechless—or to render their speech meaningless—to *dislodge them from the very ground of coherence*. It is, quite simply, to force them out of their mind." *Spell of the Sensuous*, 178, emphasis in original.

as the Copperbelt case, Western analyses of how work environments typically operate may fundamentally miss how those from other cultures understand the physical environment. This, in turn, would affect their work together. While one set of workers might concentrate on acquiring “facts” and adhering to certain beliefs or principles, another set of workers might concentrate on acquiring physical items and performing certain routines. This wouldn’t mean that one group was “really” working while the other was simply “going through the motions.” Both groups might well understand themselves to be properly engaged in work. The difference would be found in their interpretations of what “work” really was and would hinge, at least partially, on how both groups conceived of the mental and physical processes involved.

7.3 The spiritual, material, and identity

It is only a step from debating what the mines and miners should do to contemplating who such workers should be. We have also already considered that the Zambian knowledge stock might affect how they understood themselves and their innate abilities to act or not within given situations. It is useful to contemplate what this could imply for the everyday workplace especially in connection with perceptual disjunctures mentioned in chapter six. There, the Zambian self-understanding seemed to include knowledge that they were capable and skilled yet subject to a variety of forces including the detached disinterest of non-Zambians. Most intriguingly, it appeared that many Zambians, even educated Westernized mining executives, may not have felt as comfortable with their own identities as an outsider might assume they did. To put this baldly, even when occupying jobs of considerable importance, Zambians could exhibit signs of what we in the West would term “low self-esteem.” Some analysts observing this trait in other African settings have attributed it to the

colonial experience,²⁹ a line of thinking that expatriates often found irksome. "They've had 40 years of independence," the argument would go. "Can't they get over it and move on?"

Schutz's knowledge stock theories, however, offer viable reasons as to why two generations may not have offered enough time. If Zambians were born into a powerful and mysterious cosmos in which they were comparatively vulnerable, that environment would have shaped how they construed their identities from the outset.³⁰ Historical experiences of colonialism along with subsequent events such as the Cold War and international debt burden would simply have corroborated Zambians' general sense that they had limited ability to control their own destinies. Despite outward appearances and innate abilities, Zambian elites may have approached the country's governance and running of the mines without a sense of equality and autonomy comparable to that of their European or American counterparts.³¹

Knowledge stock theories might also help explain the differing perspectives Zambians and expatriates maintained concerning on the job initiative and responsibility. Although expatriates were very aware of the reactions they could elicit by using words such as "lazy" or "stupid," numerous expatriates frequently admitted to being frustrated by the work performances of their Zambian colleagues. They especially felt that Zambians simply didn't take initiative when they could and should. Might knowledge stock issues have had an influence here as well? In addition to fears borne of the power discrepancies between

²⁹ See, for example, the work of Albert Memmi (*Colonizer and Colonized*) from the Algerian context and the work of Stewart Lane (*God Loves Africans*) from the Malawian viewpoint.

³⁰ "In the terminology of Schutz, I am in a 'biographically determined situation,' which is the sediment of my personal past and continues to change as long as I live, developing in continuity with my past." Gurwitsch in Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol. III, xx*.

³¹ There is no way of definitively measuring one view of self-understanding against the other, of course. But Western environments such as my own have made much of the ways in which cultural principles on which their nation states were founded continue to influence the citizenry's identity. It seems fair to turn this assumption around and consider the extent to which others' cultural origins would affect their contemporary self-understanding. See also Nisbett's discussion of similar differences between Asian and Western cultures as concerns relations between the person and the nation state. *Geography of Thought*, 198.

expatriate bosses and local miners, and in addition to possible fears that accusations of “stupidity” or “laziness” might come true, what if the ways in which Zambians processed information prior to taking action had an effect on their perceived initiative? More generally, might there be something about thought processes driving “developed” societies that runs counter intuitively to thought processes of other societies? Ways of understanding the world that thrive on direct give and take of data, facts, and opinions may simply not be compatible with ways of thinking that incorporate large contexts of shifting circumstances and nuance.³² Individuals from societies that operate with a profound internal knowledge of mystery and the supernatural and for whom time isn’t merely linear might take longer to act or to act decisively than would those who have been trained to demystify processes, look for either/or circumstances, and toss out information that doesn’t fit.³³ Sorting and eliminating may simply take less time to accomplish than does incorporating and assimilating.³⁴ Even if individuals don’t consciously consider all this, it seems reasonable to ponder how mental processes themselves might affect the time involved for different individuals to take action. If there is anything to this hunch, it would suggest that perceived slowness of action could not always be blamed on lack of initiative or willingness to shoulder responsibility. Unfortunately, however, if the idea that slowness equals “stupidity” or “laziness” dominates an environment, it will also have an impact on everyone’s self-understanding.

But how to explain what might actually be going on to the expatriate Other at times of frustrated encounter? Zambians were already more adept at hiding their thoughts and

³² See Nisbett’s discussion of the ramifications for societies that have traditions of debate and those that do not. *Ibid.*, 76.

³³ See the classic discourse on time contained in Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 15-28.

³⁴ Here, “time” is being considered in the linear, future oriented sense that is a taken for granted component of Western knowledge stocks. Ways of thinking that comfortably fit with a “developed” environment obviously can be learned and new technologies are changing the ways everyone thinks. So the West’s conceptions of time may eventually shift as well.

feelings than most outsiders realized. And they may not have been consciously aware of their own thought processes enough to see the necessity of clarifying or feel the ability to explain things in a foreign language. To the extent that they might consciously analyze the context, responding at all could necessitate backing up far more intellectual and experiential steps than the situation would tolerate. Best, perhaps, just to keep quiet.

Overall, frictions about identity related matters may offer insights into why “development” itself was such a contested topic in Zambia. A perspective that understands humanity as autonomous, free from the paralysis of witchcraft and supernatural fears, a perspective that concentrates on mastering its environment is in a more advantageous position to organize and change the outer world than is a society that generally does not see things this way.³⁵ A vantage point that understands humanity as small within the whole, as needing to contend with a great variety of forces,³⁶ a perspective that concentrates on maintaining unity is likely not as well situated to taking on its environment in a similar manner. In the latter case, making lasting marks on the physical world in the way that modern development does may not be considered life’s ultimate purpose anyway.

As for the Copperbelt case, add to the prospect of such very different starting points the historical events and differing confidence levels discussed in this study and it seems possible that, even though expatriates and Zambians shared an interest in the mines and acted in a common physical arena, they may often have been engaged in radically different enterprises. Which enterprise was more “real” and meaningful than the other, however, was

³⁵ See Lecky on the potential psychological effects of witchcraft beliefs upon society at large. *History of the Rise and Influence*, 50ff. Nisbett, *Geography of Thought*, 44-45.

³⁶ “Any occurrence may be significant for [a person’s] well-being and therefore needs to be accounted for in terms of some personal will, either of the living or the dead. Life becomes an unceasing Who-goes-there?, and a man alternates between triumph and anxiety.” John V. Taylor, *The Primal Vision: Christian Presence Amid African Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1975), 71.

an open question.³⁷ Did the day's activities present a collection of discarded Coke and Fanta bottles or a request for blessing from the mine spirits? A routine supply delivery to the mine hospital or clues concerning future mining disasters? An environment where tasks should be done or spaces and things that conferred identity and power? Corruption and mismanagement leading to corporate failures or cosmic displeasure at the earth's desecration? Foreign investment to encourage prosperity's spread or reinvasion by those who disregarded the land? Parallel universes, indeed.

In the end, while expatriates may quite understandably have seen themselves as reinvigorating and running a modern nation state's main industry, for many Zambians the entire situation may simply *not have been about industrial mining at all*. If this were the case, then expatriates who asserted that Zambia's mining industry would always need a small contingent of Westerners on site to keep it running were probably right. Maintaining the structures and systems of industrialization, the global networks of technology and finance, and the objectives and goals of "international development" requires being guided by particular points of relevance. These points have been part of our Western knowledge stock for a long, long time. It should also be noted, however, that expatriates who felt themselves suspected by Zambians of doing things other than what they understood themselves to be doing probably read their hunches correctly. To Zambians, expatriates *were* going about things other than straightforward business practices because the mines had been about more than that from the very beginning.

³⁷ See Schutz's analysis of Don Quixote's encounter with windmills in this regard. *Collected Papers, Vol. I*, 23ff.

7.4 Towards more robust theological understanding

This project began from the premise that current Western-based theological thinking on international development is decidedly thin and too prone to domination by economic ways of thinking. The case study has attempted to demonstrate, through exploration of a radically different cultural environment, that there are multiple ways in which rethinking our Western perspectives on international development policymaking and planning is needed. If nothing else, the aggravation, disappointment, even frustration and fear experienced by the many good and earnest Copperbelt residents—Zambians and expatriates alike—who generally were quite serious about creating something better there should be sufficient reasons for thinking again. Such rethinking should include examination of key theological assumptions since the case suggests the impossibility of doing international development without encountering the theological, whether we realize it or not.

By saying this, I do not mean to imply that the West should completely jettison scientific rationalist thinking in favor of assuming in its entirety a worldview that includes haunting spirits and witchcraft. The fear and psychic paralysis that witchcraft beliefs can inflict on societies at large may well stifle their creative innovation and this, in turn, may stymie the context for prosperity. Nor do I wish to be understood as advocating simplistic solutions such as reviving Africa's socialist era. Further, I do not mean to gloss over the compounding problems of corruption and poor leadership that have obviously hampered Africa's general prosperity as well. But regarding the world's development principally in terms of GDP figures, measurable outcomes, and statistical "facts" as we in the West are prone to do, seems to have its own dreadful consequences.³⁸ And our more than 50 years of tinkering with numerous theoretical formulas have produced few demonstrably positive

³⁸ See Schutz's discourse on rationality, the natural sciences, and reality. *Collected Papers, Vol. IV*, 23-24.

results on the African continent.³⁹ To the extent that we in the West have access to information about our policy failures in international development and related arenas and do not re-examine our approaches to the subject, we are not part of the solution but part of the problem.

Further, the theories that have helped create the Global North's disproportionate prosperity are now looking a bit frayed around the edges in so far as our own situation is concerned. For the first time since their creation, the Bretton Woods institutions are confronting identity crises as nations that can do so turn away from principles and policies that have proven unworkable.⁴⁰ And we are only beginning to contemplate the impact on the physical world if China and India achieve the sort of material development we in the West have engaged in for the past half-century.⁴¹ If we go forward from this point simply guided by the current dominant voices, there is no guarantee that our collective conscious understanding will be able to grapple creatively and courageously with the challenges confronting us this century. A quick return to the views of those shapers of public opinion: Sachs, Bono, and Diamond, demonstrates partial reasons why. Tracing the origins of wealth and poverty distribution back to geographical and disease factors, as Diamond does, is helpful but allows those of us from more fortunate climates to absolve ourselves from what we now *do* with creation and with the world's poor. Trying to solve problems of the planet

³⁹ See also Ferguson on this point. *Expectations of Modernity*, 254.

⁴⁰ Ngaire Woods, "The Globalizers in Search of a Future: Four Reasons Why the IMF and World Bank Must Change, and Four Ways They Can," *CGD Brief*, (April, 2006): <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/7371/>. Bellow, Walden "Critics Plan offensive as IMF-World Bank Crisis Deepens," *INQ7net* (April 27, 2006): <http://news.inq7net/viewpoints/index.php?index=2&story-id=73871>.

⁴¹ Economic theorists might question an assumption implicit above that natural resources are limited especially since the world at large knows very little about what is available in China. And, in theory, it seems possible that new technologies and other developments might produce sufficient renewable energy and material commodities to provide the entire world with an increasingly developed state of life. History and experience would suggest, however, the likelihood of this happening without major ecological crises in the interim is remote. Further, this avoids confronting questions of the ultimate advisability of an existence that appears more and more separated from physical creation.

by applying more and more economic and scientific theories, as Bono and Sachs do, will have some benefit. But, without questioning our own assumptions about money and material goods such an approach does not present a substantively different vision for the future.⁴²

Meanwhile, Africa—the continent of disease and unfortunate geography, the continent of “failed states” and foreign aid debacles—is also the continent where humanity’s infrastructural mark upon the land was virtually non-existent until outsiders arrived a few hundred years ago. Rather than signifying a lack of African savvy about how to achieve a good quality of life, perhaps such invisibility arose from a type of knowledge it would now be useful for the rest of us to consider. Perhaps finding answers to basic questions from a perspective that doesn’t over simplify and commodify the physical world; doesn’t divide it into “spiritual” and “material” dimensions; doesn’t equate “progress” with scientific and technological innovation; and certainly doesn’t view mastery and control as desirable or ultimately achievable has something to say to the world’s present development dilemmas.

Alfred Schutz might well agree, for he had warned against being seduced by theoretical ideas over experience almost a decade before Truman’s point four ever appeared in public. Economic theory was fine, he said, but economists couldn’t work properly without trying to understand what people do in real life.

[E]conomists should avoid the fate of Pygmalion whose sculpture gained a weird life of its own. Economists should not transpose their models into the mundane world and treat them like humans with knowledge, experience, error, and freedom.⁴³

A prosperous quality of life in the here and now is a good and noble thing to strive for. But conceiving of such a life by means that assign overriding importance to monetary and

⁴² Stewart Lane uses the term “addiction” in connection with the Global North’s focus on money and economic prosperity. See *Weep You Rich!* (Limbe, Malawi, The Cornelius Fellowship, n.d.), 69ff.

⁴³ Schutz, *Collected Papers, Vol IV*, 100.

economic ways of thinking and acting at the expense of other values, even of creation itself, invites disaster. Squeezing perspectives from all different provinces of meaning onto a single map ultimately leads nowhere. Numbers are insufficiently authoritative for making decisions about what people are actually doing. Ideas and theories are not ultimately more valuable than the physical matter of this earth. And policymakers and planners who maintain such detached perspectives do great disservice not only to the local environment where projects are enacted but to their own on the ground representatives as well. Given the economic bottom line's powerful appeal, what happens at the level of ordinary experience may not matter to many. But that shouldn't be good enough for everyone. In fact, those who do care about the broader context may be emboldened by realizing that the capacity for ordinary personal encounter to shape theory and policymaking rests on the sound philosophical footing of Schutz and his like and on solid theological grounds known, in the Western Christian tradition, as incarnationality. So, as messy and uncertain as it all may be, there is room inside and outside the boundaries of our present understanding for discovering new ways of being and acting. And there is an imperative for us to grope towards such new understanding as well.

Members of civil society from religious institutions can and should contribute here by advocating revision of some basic points integral to the theology that has historically influenced Western culture.⁴⁴ The Copperbelt case suggests this could include such things as teaching about a willingness to diminish the importance that we assign to ourselves as humans in favor of a greater respect for an animated cosmos of which we are simply a part. Straining to imagine the material world in non-commodified, non-objectified ways may also help us recover a sense of wonder, mystery, and reverence not only for what we can learn

⁴⁴ See Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*, 69-72.

from other human cultures but from non-human elements as well. We would further benefit from rethinking the extent to which “religion” has to be understood in spiritual terms or as adherence to certain sets of beliefs and doctrines that can themselves contribute to a split between the spiritual and material.⁴⁵ Conceiving of ourselves as more personally vulnerable, less dominant in relation to the cosmos, and less preoccupied with getting the principles or emotions just right may put us in more receptive positions for viewing the terrain on the journey ahead.

A complete program of rethinking, including recommendations for new actions, would need to be the subject of many different works from multiple disciplines and practices. Fortunately, such efforts are becoming more obvious here and there as various Westerners confront the long-term implications of our present trajectory.⁴⁶ To that end I maintain that the African continent, rather than being the object of our intended Western puttering, presents us with many crucial—although potentially daunting—signs for how to proceed.⁴⁷ Knowing how to read and interpret those signs may, at times, appear both painful and pointless given the immediacy of various threats and conflicting interests. But, as almost any Copperbelt miner could remind us discernment and courage were prerequisites for finding the donafish’s treasure. And the snake guardian, while fearsome in appearance, ultimately had the common welfare at heart. ♀

⁴⁵ See Robin Horton’s discussion of the communion and manipulation aspects of religious life in relation to the overall societal contexts in which religious experience takes places. *Patterns of Thought*, 5, 33ff.

⁴⁶ See, for example, the work of Sojourners (www.sojo.net), Positive Futures Network (www.yesmagazine.org), and Network of Spiritual Progressives (www.tikkun.org).

⁴⁷ I am indebted to Andrew Walls’s discussions of Africa as a “laboratory” for reinvigorated scholarship and reflection on the nature of Christianity for encouraging my own thinking along these lines. “The Theological Challenges of African Christianity,” Paper presented at *African Religion and Pastoral Challenges to the Church Conference* (Lusaka: Justo Mwale Theological College, 2002).

Postscript

Since research began on this project in late 2002 two significant trends in American public thinking have started to suggest an increased urgency for more theological thought about development. The first is a widening conceptual split between the majority of Americans and the executive branch of our government over the Bush administration's Iraq war policies. The second is the rapidity with which Americans have begun responding to the belatedly acknowledged global warming crisis. How these trends are connected to a study of Zambian mining communities might not be immediately obvious. But in the first instance, public discussions about the meaning of reality itself have engulfed a spectrum of worries from the President's and Vice-President's mental states to the attempts by a 200 year old nation to redesign 1,300 year old cultures. In the second instance, talk of humanity's dependence upon the earth rather than dominance over it has moved from the frequently derided margins of public thought much closer to mainstream consciousness.

This state of affairs highlights the need for careful theological reflection on and critique of development processes. So, in this final section I will suggest some characteristics that a theology of development useful for American civil society practitioners might exhibit. The following reflections are by no means exhaustive. But they delineate a few basic guidelines for a helpful approach Americans might take in relation not just to Africa and the rest of the so-called developing world but to the idea of development itself.⁴⁸

Preliminary parameters should distinguish some legitimate academic concerns involving cross cultural research from more pragmatic concerns of development policymakers and practitioners. As chapter one's discussion made clear, one major risk to a

⁴⁸ Note that this theological thinking should not be assumed to go on in a specifically Christian context. Rather it would take place within the mix of Judeo-Christian, deistic, and Enlightenment-based thought that informed the work of our nation's founders and that continues to infuse our public consciousness.

study of viewpoint differences between two groups of economically divisible workers is the impression this could leave that participants were as tidily divisible on all other fronts. It is ultimately imperative that cross-cultural scholarly work not base itself on clearly defined opposites or binary assumptions. But the practical, American-based setting presents a peculiar circumstance that needs to be addressed first, as this study has attempted to do.

Inside America serious encounter with the Other can be successfully avoided. In foreign service, international development, and mission work, this is also possible. So, in my experience many Americans have given little thought to the possibility that the "American way of life" is not normative, not an inevitable progression from a bad existence to a good one, and not an ideal existence. Nor could they, if pressed, probably state what that "way of life" entails beyond some sketchy phrases regarding "freedom" and "opportunity." Yet, having such an ill-defined starting point for exploring qualitative differences has not stopped Americans and our institutions from prescribing policies for others.⁴⁹ The Iraq War may be considered Exhibit A for, as public discussions since 2002 have revealed, cross-cultural naïveté among the American citizenry played an important role in creating a passive acceptance of the Bush administration's shifting rationales for war.

Additionally, there is a sense in which international development policymaking rests on a foundation of broad assumptions about who has expertise and who does not; whose values are important and whose are not. In other words, policy design by nature draws

⁴⁹ This is a long-standing tendency that was incisively discussed almost 200 years ago by Alexis de Tocqueville in his classic outsider's view of American society. He observed, for instance, that "each American appeals only to the individual effort of his own understanding. America is therefore one of the countries where the precepts of Descartes are least studied, and are best applied...Everyone shuts himself up in his own breast, and affects from that point to judge the world." *Democracy in America* (New York: Signet Classic, 2001): 143-144. Although America is more pluralistic now than when de Tocqueville visited, what he remarked upon has arguably carried forward within our society's knowledge stock and is still quite embedded in our public policies.

sweeping boundaries at the outset, its subsequent implementation uncovering overlaps in our collective existence and exceptions to the rules.

Even on the Copperbelt where American-inspired development policy was playing out, study participants regularly talked in generalities about differences between themselves and Others. Sometimes I found myself being lumped into associations with which I did not identify such as when, after a poignant conversation with a local artisan struggling to find metalworking supplies, research assistant Enock remarked, "I think you have taken our copper from us." Had I challenged his assumptions it is a reasonable bet that Enock would have refined whom he meant by "you" and "us."

But this sort of experience suggested important points about self understanding, understanding of the Other, and the whole notion of identity in that setting. It may have been, for instance, that the tendency I witnessed on the part of Zambians to talk in ostensibly dualistic terms illustrated how contested identity remained despite President Kaunda's "One Zambia, One Nation" efforts and forty years of political independence. Certainly Zambians were quite skilled at delineating differences between Lozi, Tonga, Bemba, Ngoni and the like. And Copperbelt residents also recognized that they experienced fluid forms of existence, navigating between what they called "traditional" and "modern" worlds. Yet, when concerns became more global, perhaps Zambians were less worried about defining the many facets of their own identities than in being clear about who they were *not*. Talking with expatriates for even a few moments quickly revealed that they understood their world was not neatly divisible into "Zambian" and "expatriate" groups who thought and acted in unison. Still, in their work together they reported similar experiences and insights and this communicated something important on its own. Numerous times I was told that they

appreciated having an opportunity to reflect on issues that confounded them and that got far too little attention from removed policymakers.

So, given all these circumstances there has seemed to be merit in exploring perceptual discrepancies by using a comparison and contrast technique between two broadly drawn prototypes. Especially since this work is intended to contribute to American understanding about policymaking it has seemed wise to work within a context comprehensible to American practitioners even if this, from an international academic standpoint, comes perilously close to essentialist territory. Simply put, concerns about succumbing to dualism are of less importance when the work's intended audience needs first to understand how qualitative existential differences are even possible.

A second parameter needs to clarify how a *theology of development* should be conceived. Awareness of thinking about *religion and development* has grown within the United States over the past few years particularly in relation to chaotic international political events and to the global warming crisis. But there is still much inquiry that should take place concerning the theologies, or understandings of God and God's activities in the world, that drive American attitudes towards the whole notion of *development* itself.

Chapter one's survey of influential voices that are shaping mainstream America's understanding of and attitudes towards the rest of the globe spoke to the lack of solid theological grounding that currently exists in the policymaking arena. To reiterate: that Christian churches in the United States will make the works of an economist assigned reading for international mission committees and that sermons by rock stars become headlines for faith based activist groups indicates more than that these communities are engaged in interdisciplinary action and reflection. These examples document the dearth of

generally accessible material on international development that is available from theologically-trained thinkers in the United States.⁵⁰

This does not mean, however, that theology is missing from the mix. Rather, it suggests the need for taking hard looks at what *sort* of theological understanding underpins the arguments of a Jeffrey Sachs or a Bono; what *sort* of theological understanding underpins the policies and procedures of American faith based and non-governmental organizations interested in international development.

Exploring such issues could easily constitute one or two additional dissertations and devising a comprehensive theology of development should rightfully be the life work of many contributors. But the Copperbelt case offers numerous points of departure from which to consider the possibilities. Three areas that received particular mention in the text concerned how we (assuming the standpoint of an American addressing an American audience) treat others and the environment; what we view as life giving and death inducing; and what we consider to be sacred. In categories of thought commonly used to discuss Western Christian theology, these broad areas involve such notions as creation, humanity, life and death (temporal and eternal), the sacred and/or the divine. What follows will more closely address creation, humanity, and the sacred.

⁵⁰ By way of illustration, a survey of offerings among schools of the Boston Theological Institute (BTI) revealed only one course that specifically addressed the issue of international development and this course did so from a stance that stressed Christian faith and notions of reconciliation in relation to the Millennium Development Goals. A course on missions at an evangelical school also included a reference to the general topic of mission and development. The BTI is a consortium of nine divinity schools, schools of theology, and seminaries in the Boston area. It includes some of the oldest and best established such institutions in the country including Andover Newton Theological School, Boston University School of Theology, and Harvard Divinity School. Additionally, the Berkeley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University in Washington, DC puts the situation this way. "Religion is increasingly bound up with questions of global development -- in three related ways. The world's leading religious traditions all emphasize the importance of solidarity with the poor and suffering. Religious communities are among the most important players in the politics and policy of development in the US and around the world. And religious and cultural pluralism can both advance and impede the successful implementation of development strategies on the ground. For all its importance, the religious factor in global development is poorly understood." <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/development/>. Accessed on February 14, 2007.

But, before discussing how such categories might be understood within a theology of development, it is important to note that delineating ideas into *categories* at all marks an important point of theological difference from a view expressed by many Zambian study participants. That view concerned a way of understanding the whole that, so far as I could discern, was simply more unitary or holistic—for lack of better terminology. In other words, the penchant for breaking down theological ideas into categorical chunks may be something that those of us from Western cultural backgrounds do but that others do not. And therein lies a significant point about how people understand themselves in relation to the cosmos and/or God. Dividing ideas into categories or thinking about anything in categorical terms can be understood as a precipitating factor for creating you-versus-I; us-versus-them; humanity-apart-from-God; humanity-apart-from-creation ways of making sense of the world. This sort of understanding can also arguably lead not simply to categorizing but to domination.⁵¹ Domination over the earth has, in fact, been understood in certain American Christian circles as a divinely granted right.⁵² But, in the experience of Zambian Copperbelt residents this simply was not the case. And while the contrast between these ways of making sense of the world may first point to differences in cognitive processes, it also impinges on a theology of development. We will revisit this point below.

The above observations should also extend to Americans' post-Enlightenment penchant for thinking systematically. It would be wise to guard against the possibility that, in devising a theology of development, we make it too systematic. For, in so doing we

⁵¹ See Rabbi Jonathan Sacks's discussion of this in relation to Plato's teaching on ideals. *The Dignity of Difference: How to Avoid the Clash of Civilizations* (London: Continuum, 2002): 46ff.

⁵² The classic scriptural passage used to defend this view is Gen 1:26-28. Perhaps the most headline grabbing way of interpreting this passage in relation to development issues was popular political and social commentator Ann Coulter's remark, "I take the biblical idea. God gave us the earth...We have dominion over the plants, the animals, the trees...God says, 'Earth is yours. Take it. Rape it. It's yours.'" Interview on Hannity and Colmes show (Fox News Channel: June 22, 2001): http://www.dkosopedia.com/wiki/Quotes/Ann_Coulter. Accessed on February 14, 2007.

might—to paraphrase Robin Horton—inappropriately squeeze others' viewpoints into our own conceptual pigeon-holes.⁵³ Indeed, a few of my most astute Zambian informants talked freely about the unsystematic nature of the general Zambian worldview. So in the process of devising a theology of development it is good to remember that unsystematic does not have to equate to chaotic.⁵⁴ Rather, it can suggest the organic and contextual.

If a more organic, holistic, and contextual way of thinking theologically about development is attempted for an American audience, what might be its points of focus? One possibility concerns assumptions of the meaning of the Biblical creation stories and of how Americans understand ourselves in relation to the environment on the whole. A crucial initial task would involve re-examining and questioning the notion that humanity is both the most important component of creation and somehow separate from creation. For instance, rather than using the latter portion of Genesis 1 to proof-text humanity's dominant role, more inquiry could go towards appreciating the meaning of the second creation narrative in Genesis 2. There, the comment that Adam was put into the Garden of Eden to till and keep it (Gen 2:15) implies a relational responsibility between humanity and creation. And the entire discourse on avoiding the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:16ff) suggests the importance of reverence and respect for creation. In fact, analogous lines could be drawn

⁵³ *Patterns of Thought*, 303.

⁵⁴ Since others have suggested, for example, that the Apostle Paul was not a systematic thinker, making the suggestion for less systematic thinking regarding theology and development should not be a completely alien idea within Christianity. It is also for this reason that the theoretical framework of Alfred Schutz was so appropriate for the present study's arguments. Disabusing modern Americans of our need for systems and our proclivity to assume we act rationally by nature seems to be a philosophical and cognitively related task that needs addressing before much meaningful theological work can be done. And who better for Americans to hear from than a Germanic philosopher with expertise in banking and economics?

between the sort of reverence due the Biblical tree of knowledge and the reverence due the mines' underground snake guardian.⁵⁵

Such re-examination could palpably benefit development policymaking by, among other things, helping shift priorities from first protecting people's interests to protecting the interests of all the planet's life forms. For example, rather than arguing for fresh water provision for all of the planet's 6+ billion people based on a theological imperative that all *people* are equal in God's sight, a theology of development could suggest that the point of more intense focus should be the water itself. When the theological imperative involves reverencing this indispensable life component then we potentially widen our perceptual vistas and diminish humanity's importance relative to the entire cosmos.⁵⁶ Given the rate at which humans are consuming the earth's raw matter, a diminished sense of our importance relative to the whole could be a very good thing.

A theology of development that focuses on reordering current priorities would, however, need to overcome at least two key obstacles in general American thinking. The first concerns fears of pantheism. While pantheism is not a common topic of theological discussion in America, there is considerable mainstream aversion to ideas associated with paganism and nature worship. It would be easy to lump a theology of development in with these other concepts. So, to offset this risk, a comprehensive theology of development would need to articulate fine differences between a terrain where all existence is assumed to be identical with the divine and that where all aspects of existence are assumed to be equally

⁵⁵ Working with such an analogy might have the added benefit of revisiting snake imagery generally which, due to the Biblical creation stories, has a history of negative connotations.

⁵⁶ Another example may be found in current public conversations taking place regarding climate change and the threat to polar bears. Recently, the Bush administration has suggested that polar bears may qualify for inclusion under the Endangered Species Act which would necessitate the government taking action to help ensure their survival. Critics, however, point out that what is necessary to insure their survival is a concerted effort to halt global warming. In essence, the government's focus is wrong.

infused with the divine. Historical appeals to indigenous mystical attachment to the land, as Powdermaker puts it,⁵⁷ could assist with this task by presenting to contemporary Americans the now rather novel proposition that land is not just a place.

Another obstacle to be overcome concerns Americans' historical aversion to supernatural experience and how this affects our theological thinking about development.⁵⁸ As this study's explorations of Zambian supernatural experiences have attempted to illustrate, a cosmology that takes the supernatural seriously is qualitatively different from one that does not. This is a theological issue, not simply a point of religious difference to be acknowledged in cross-cultural work.

Merely being aware that some cosmologies contain supernatural elements and some do not implies that, on the part of the latter, business as usual can proceed so long as a few extra precautions are taken to mollify the former. The new road, dam, or mine can be built, for instance, provided proper supernatural appeasement rituals are gone through at the start. But nothing much else is required of the development policymakers and practitioners.

An adequately done theology of development could, however, assert that Americans' cultural predisposition against supernatural experience limits our comprehension of life,

⁵⁷ *Copper Town*, 63-64.

⁵⁸ Despite this country's well-publicized 17th century Salem witch trials, by the early 1800s de Tocqueville was able to observe that, "As [Americans] perceive that they succeed in resolving without assistance all the little difficulties which their practical life presents, they readily conclude that everything in the world may be explained, and that nothing in it transcends the limits of the understanding. Thus they fall to denying what they cannot comprehend; which leaves them but little faith for whatever is extraordinary, and an almost insurmountable distaste for whatever is supernatural." *Democracy in America*, 144. To be sure, America has enjoyed a surge of popular interest in angels and magical realms in the movies and on television over the past decade or so. There is also a large segment of the American evangelical Christian population that has subscribed to the notion that what happens on earth represents cosmic struggles between the principalities and powers, so some conception of the supernatural does exist here. But the close association of President Bush's policies with evangelical Christianity has caused revulsion among other segments of the population and some commentators have lately talked about this conservative, evangelical viewpoint as beginning a retreat away from the dominance it has had over American public life for the last 10-12 years. My overarching point is, however, that both this evangelical view and the vacuum created by its retreat signify how ill equipped are America's theological and philosophical leaders to confront the theoretical and practical implications of cosmologies that take the supernatural as seriously as do many Zambians.

limits our theology and, as such has helped precipitate business as usual. This assertion and the teaching needed to change the current situation can be done regardless of whether or not we choose to accept supernatural experience ourselves. By simply striving to understand the differences inherent in cosmologies containing a supernatural and cosmologies lacking a supernatural Americans can learn a lot.

For instance, a cosmology that accommodates supernatural experience plays a role in moulding its adherents' understanding of and relationship to the sacred or divine. In the Copperbelt case, the sacred or divine could use unpredictable forces that fostered a wide sense of human vulnerability. These forces were evident within natural materials as well as supernatural creatures. And because such forces existed, people were arguably more mindful about how they lived. They knew that human action could involve cosmic ramifications; they feared that cosmic actions could cause unforeseen consequences. Development in the Zambian context risked tampering with the sacred and it demanded vigilance upon the part of humanity towards the environment.

When there is no counterpart for such an understanding, what might be the consequences? One likelihood is creation of theologically justifiable environmental degradation masked as progress and development. In other words, the excision of supernatural understanding from a culture's cosmos may be seen as a precipitating factor in that culture's willingness to manipulate and control its environment through development techniques. When the earth is largely understood as a resource and when there are no potential cosmic ramifications to one's actions then why not meet humanity's needs and

desires no matter what the environmental consequences? Development isn't simply a process, then, it really is that sort of divinely inspired right noted above.⁵⁹

A theology of development that takes supernatural experience seriously could, by contrast, provide grounds for holding the environment in greater reverence. Such a theology might do so by encouraging basic questioning of every aspect of a development project's appropriateness right down to the level of pondering the project's existence itself. This, surely, would not allow for business as usual.

A second possible contribution of a more organic, holistic, and contextual theology of development addresses what the text called a split in understanding between the spiritual and material. Chapter one noted that the values of religion can seem at odds with the values of development because religion relates to things spiritual while development relates to things material. This too is a theological issue for it goes to the heart of what we understand religion to be.⁶⁰

The sort of spiritual-material split lamented by Western practitioners and countered by *Zambian* experience arises at least in part when religion is confined to certain other worldly regions of our understanding. Such confinement can take place via the categories of theological thought typical to Western Christianity. In particular, there is a sense in which talking of God and God's work in the world in terms of sin, salvation, redemption, and so on over encourages concentration on personal, relational terms with concerns beyond present

⁵⁹ Interestingly, when Hurricane Katrina hit the southern coast of the United States in 2005 there were a few voices inside and outside the country that suggested the event came as divine retribution against American social and foreign policies.

⁶⁰ Questions of differing conceptions of the spiritual and material are not foreign to American Christians. We are just not accustomed to thinking about them in relation to development. But consider debates between Reformed Christianity and Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism over the intention of communion or the Eucharist. All three expressions of Christianity have communion but the notion that the feast is one of remembrance is qualitatively different from the notion that something happens during the feast, be that transubstantiation or simply a heightened Christological presence.

time and space. In the process, religion gives permission to ignore or downplay the present world with a resulting split in the spiritual from the material.

A well articulated theology of development would not have to embrace heresy completely by nullifying these classically Christian ways of thinking. But it could enrich them. For example, a theology of development could address the importance of thinking collectively about the present rather than an anticipated eternal future. It could also place personal sin and separation from God in perspective with a more widely recognized responsibility for life lived now, in relationship with all life forms. These are not novel ideas for Christian theology, of course. There are, for instance, already well articulated ways of talking about the temporal split between the present and the eternal by speaking of the in-breaking of the Kingdom of God. And the counter intuitive move necessary to rethink the standard Western Christian story categories noted above could be helped along by reference to some of the counter intuitive insights found in Catholic social teaching. So, an effective theology of development would have some solid foundations from which to take inspiration—so long as it also took inspiration from experiential lessons such as those found on the Zambian Copperbelt.

Finally, there is another conceptual area that an organic, holistic and contextual theology of development should address. This is perhaps the most painful and necessary ground of all to traverse for it involves serious confrontation with perceptions of the sacred. This study's multiple references to economic and/or monetary issues as they have been understood in a Western Christian context and as they manifested themselves on the Copperbelt observed radically conflicting viewpoints about what each group held most dear. From an American vantage point, it seems a fairly uncomplicated path stretches from an

outmoded Zambian value system to an inhibited national economy. But what of the view from the other side? What sort of commentary might be offered from a worldview giving credence to supernatural creatures, *muti*, and mystical lands upon a worldview that says the context of moneymaking is irrelevant? A worldview that maintains silence in the face of workers' deaths? A worldview that reflexively sums up complex issues by appeal to "the bottom line?"

I suggest that the most appropriate commentary might be similar to Biblical notions of idolatry. Idolatry is easy for modern Americans to dismiss as a contemporary concept because the notion has been comfortably domesticated to equate physical statues used by the ancients or celebrities whom we admire.⁶¹ But examples such as the Copperbelt case press for a return to this older way of thinking. The radically different ways of conceiving of the material and counter intuitive narrative of a world in which it is possible for people to succumb to forces outside themselves call for radical questions about what we Americans have been reverencing for some time now. The idea that something in addition to the Judeo-Christian God could be considered sacred—as surely was the case for Zambians' reverence towards copper, the mines, and their supernatural guardians—invites questions regarding how we really view money and the material comforts of developed life. The idea that people can succumb against their will to real forces over which they have no control—as surely was the case within the Zambian cosmos—suggests that questions normally confined to psychological territory be rephrased using theological and religious imagery.

⁶¹ Few Americans are willing to invoke this imagery in connection with this country's dominant economic ethos. But one who does is Stewart Lane whose works are published mostly in Malawi. Lane also uses the term "addiction" to discuss Western and American materialism, a term that is somewhat more palatable in the American context than is "idolatry." See *Weep You Rich!* (Limbe, Malawi: Cornelius Fellowship, n.d.).

Naturally, such questions and their responses would all turn on matters of interpretation, a point with which Schutz would heartily agree. But such work might help pull Americans out of that shut up place within ourselves from which de Tocqueville noted we judge everyone else. It might help us more fully conceive of ourselves as *part of* rather than *observers and actors on*. It might also help us consider how vulnerability before the cosmos and the Other can be good. If so, then more helpful development policymaking cannot be far behind. ♀

Appendices

A. Historical data

1. Map of Zambia
2. Map of the Copperbelt
3. Major change periods in Zambia's copper mining history
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5. Zambia copper production 1959 – 2005
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5. Man turned crocodile
6. Tavern feedback session
7. President Frederick Chiluba
8. President Kenneth Kaunda
9. Snakes and mines
10. Zambian man who married a European woman

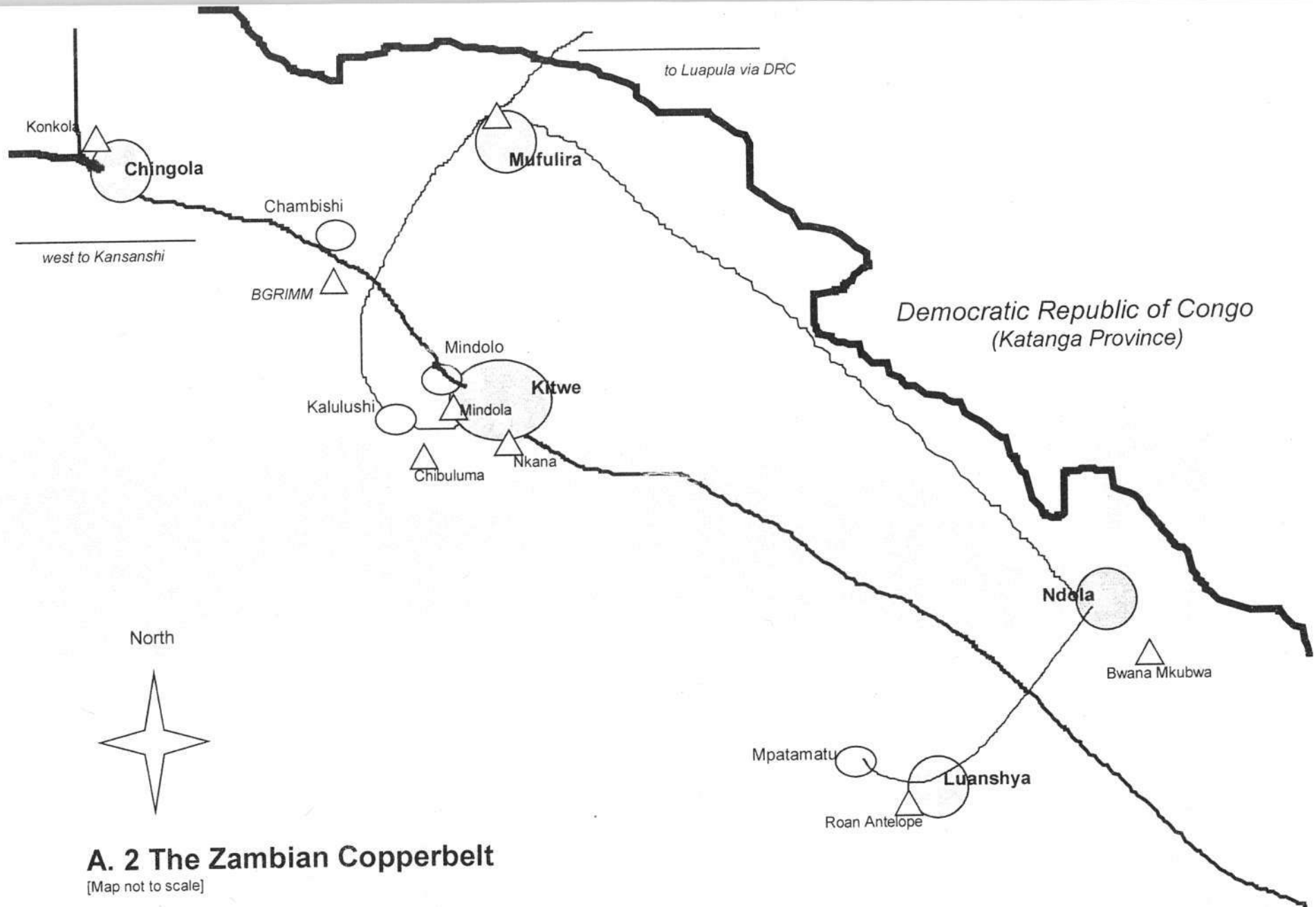
Appendix A
Historical Data



Map No. 3731 Rev. 4 UNITED NATIONS
January 2004

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Cartographic Section



A. 2 The Zambian Copperbelt

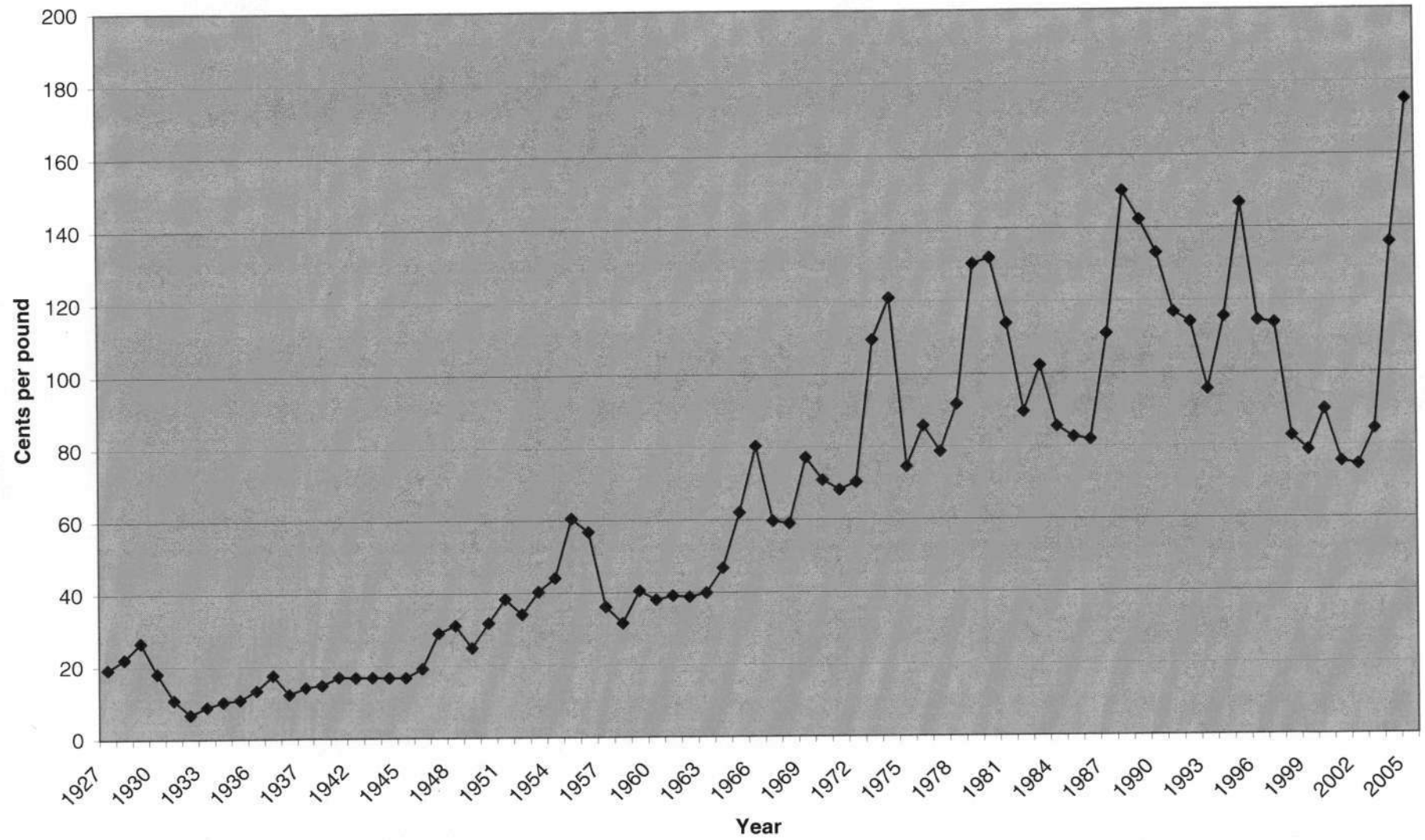
[Map not to scale]

A.3 Major change periods in Zambia's copper mining history

1800s-1910s <i>Exploration</i>	1920s-1930s <i>Industrialization</i>	1970-72 <i>Nationalization</i>	1981-82 <i>Consolidation</i>	1996-2005 <i>Privatization¹</i>
British South Africa Company	Rhodesian Selection Trust (USA & UK) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Luanshya • Mufulira Rhodesian Anglo-American Corporation (RSA) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhokana • Nchanga 	Roan Consolidated Mines (RCM) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mufulira • Luanshya • Baluba • Chibuluma • Chambishi Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (NCCM) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rokana/Mindola • Bwana Mkubwa • Nchanga • Konkola • Chililabombwe • Kansanshi • Broken Hill/Kabwe 	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM)	Konkola Copper Mines (<i>Vedanta Resources</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nchanga • KDMP • Chililabombwe Mopani Copper Mines (<i>Glencore/First Quantum</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nkana/Mindola • Mufulira Kansanshi (<i>First Quantum</i>) Bwana Mkubwa (<i>First Quantum</i>) Chibuluma Mines (<i>Metorex</i>) Chambishi Metals (<i>J & W Holdings</i>) Luanshya Copper Mines (<i>J & W Holdings</i>) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Baluba Copperbelt Energy Corp (<i>National Grid, Cinergy GP</i>)

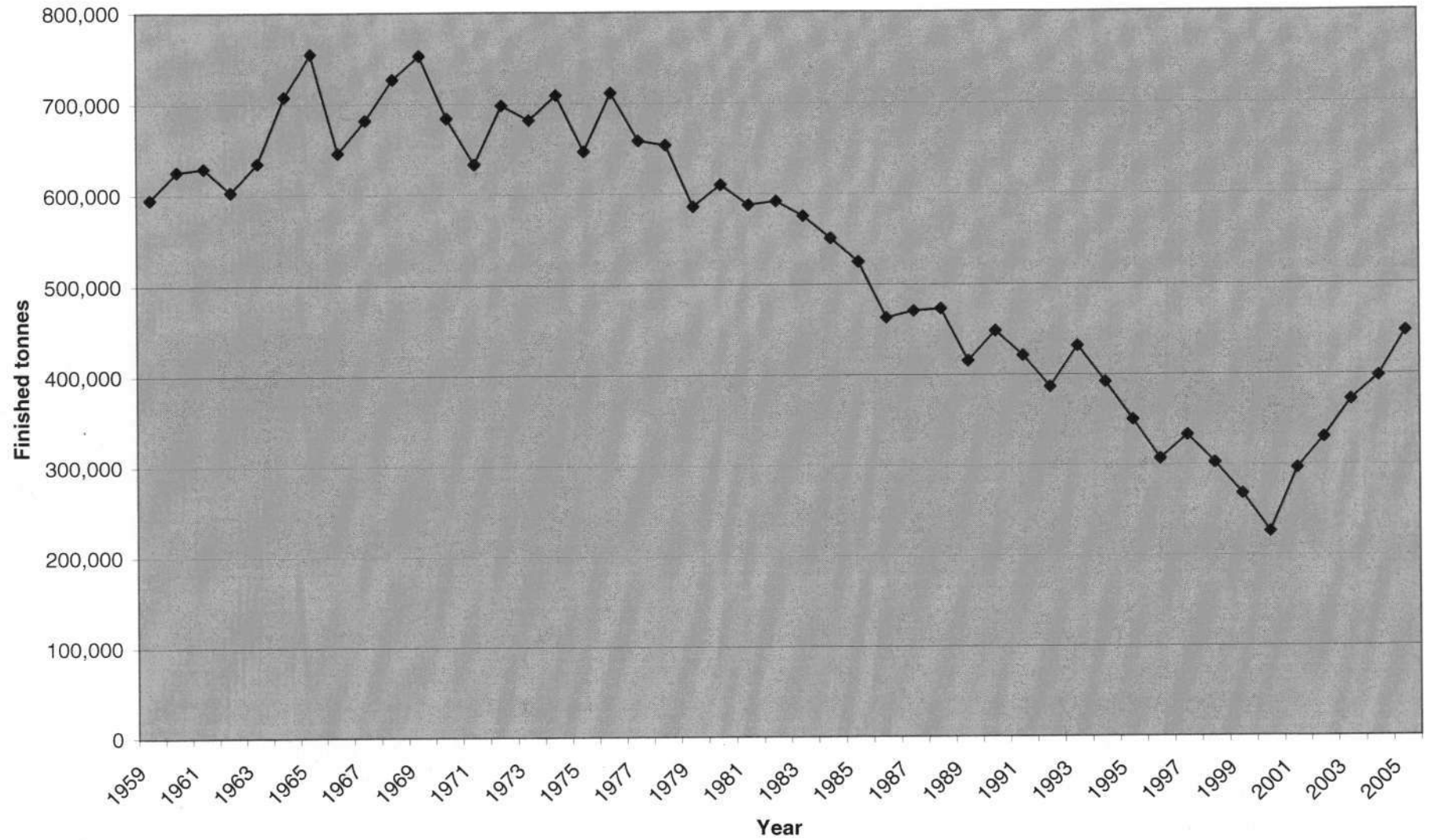
¹As of 2005, ZCCM-Investment Holdings retained between 10% - 21% share in most of the privatized mines.

A.4 World copper prices 1927-2005



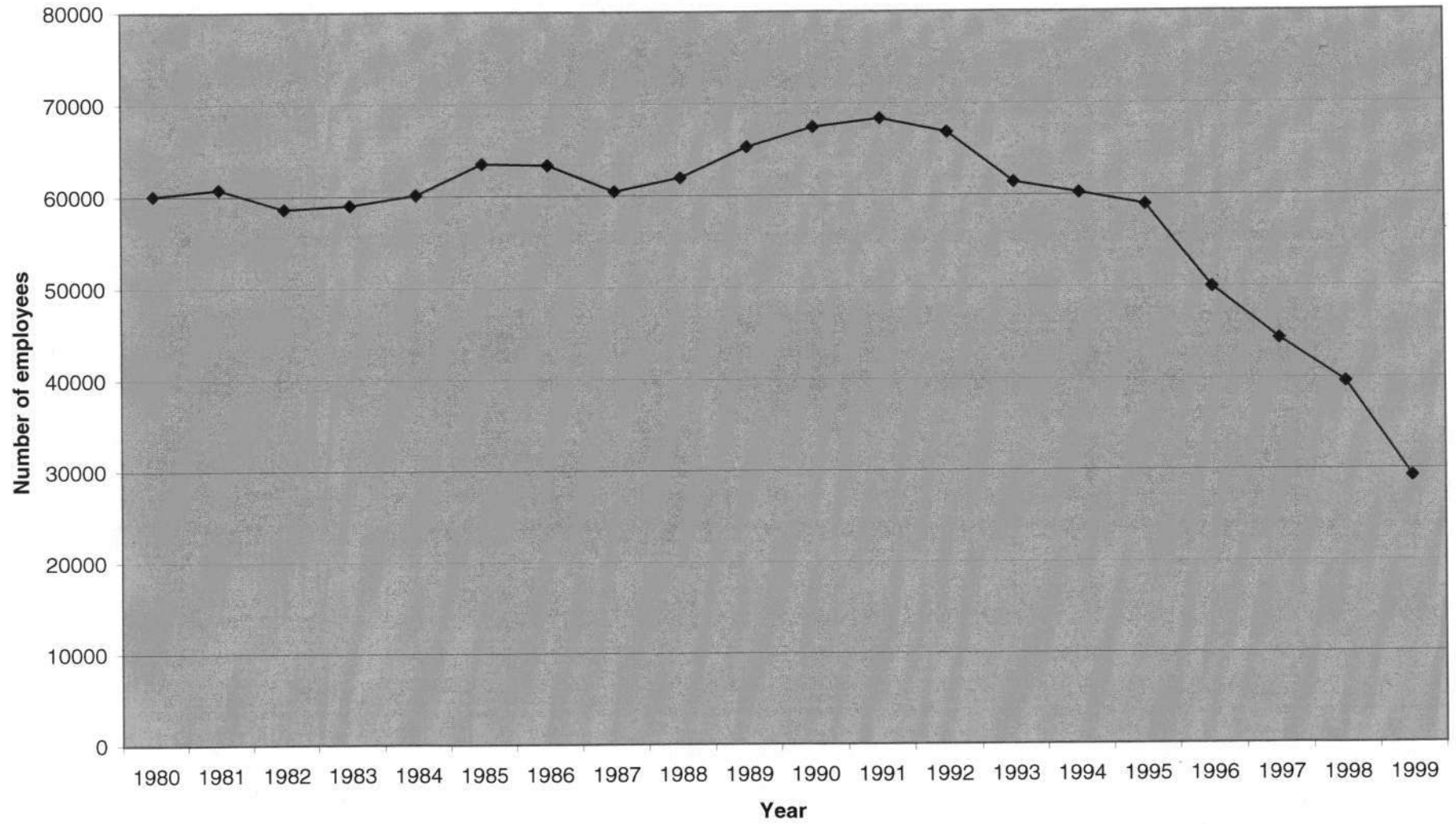
Source: Global Financial Database, courtesy of Harvard University

A.5 Zambia copper production 1959-2005



Source: Chamber of Mines, Kalulushi

A.6 Mine personnel statistics from nationalization to privatization



Sources: RCM, NCCM, ZCCM, and MINDECO annual reports and year books, Chamber of Mines, Kalulushi

Appendix B
Research Materials

B.1 Fieldwork database summary

Date	Gender:		Ethnicity:			Age Range:			Role/responsibilities:	Wkf/Pop	Ex/Mgrl	Topics covered:
	M	F	Afr	As	Eurp	18-30	30-50	50+				
Feb-04	1					1			1 Executive			1 entire research project; use of development funds
Feb-04	1			1				1	Shop owner/artisan	1		history of copper in Zambia
Feb-04	1					1			1 Head, security services			1 intelligence gathering techniques, worker perceptions
Feb-04		1	1				1		Archival assistant	1		life post-privatization; privatization process
Feb-04	1					1			1 Head geologist			1 geology related questions
Feb-04	1			1					1 Shift boss	1		worker duties, impressions of life post-privatization
Feb-04	1			1					1 Executive, services			1 memories of RCM, NCCM, ZCCM; privatization process
Mar-04	1			1					1 Underground manager	1		life pre & post-privatization; explanation of orebody formations
Mar-04	1			1				1	Shaft mine captain	1		life pre & post-privatization; explanation of orebody formations
Mar-04		1	1					1	Club accountant	1		status of club pre & post privatization
Mar-04	1			1					1 Smelter worker	1		status of club pre & post privatization
Mar-04		1	1					1	Miner's wife	1		effects on family life
Mar-04	1			1				1	Parish deacon; past mine worker	1		status of former RAMCOZ mine
Mar-04	1				1	1			Head, safety, health, envirn.			1 presence of witchcraft beliefs
Mar-04	1			1				1	Mine HR representative	1		mining legends; compound life post-privatization; job hierarchy
Mar-04	1				1	1			Mine manager			1 engineering questions
Mar-04	1				1	1			Head of IT			1 cultural issues related to dept & beyond
Mar-04	1			1					Geologist			1 geology related questions
Mar-04	1				1	1			Chief mine officer			1 engineering questions
Mar-04		1	1					1	Secretary to CEO	1		workplace before & after privatization
Mar-04		1	1					1	Former ZCCM sect'y	1		Muf disaster; ghost workers
Mar-04	1			1					1 Retired ZCCM accountant	1		privatization
Mar-04	1				1			1	Departmental manager			1 comparisons w/ Latin America workforce
Mar-04	1					1			Driller	1		production and safety
Mar-04		1	1					1	Trust school teacher	1		MCM logo
Apr-04	1			1				1	Check point clerk	1		privatization
Apr-04	1			1				1	Air loader machine repairer	1		mining, safety, privatization
May-04		1	1					1	Assistant engineer's wife	1		mining, safety, privatization
May-04		1	1					1	Former electrician's wife	1		mining, safety, privatization
May-04	1			1				1	Former accountant at mines	1		mining, safety, privatization
May-04	1			1				1	Loco driver	1		mining, safety, privatization
May-04		1	1					1	Shaft worker's wife	1		mining, safety, privatization
May-04	1			1				1	Rigger	1		mining, safety, privatization
May-04	1			1				1	Pipe layer	1		mining, safety, privatization
May-04	1			1				1	Mechanical fitter	1		mining, safety, privatization
May-04	1			1				1	Withheld	1		status of mine under J&W
May-04	1			1				1	Withheld	1		status of mine under J&W
May-04	1			1				1	Withheld	1		status of mine under J&W
May-04	1			1				1	Withheld	1		status of mine under J&W
May-04	1			1			1		Withheld	1		status of mine under J&W
May-04	1			1				1	Withheld	1		status of mine under J&W
May-04	1			1				1	Section boss	1		retrenchments at KCM

Jun-04	1	1		1	Driver u/g	1	accidents; KCM logo; work pressures
Jun-04	1	1		1	Driver u/g	1	accidents; KCM logo; work pressures
Jun-04	1	1		1	Driver u/g	1	accidents; KCM logo; work pressures
Jun-04	1	1		1	Fitter	1	u/g maintenance
Jul-04	1		1	1	Smelter, concentrator mgr	1	1 smelting; future of mining
Jul-04	1	1		1	Metallurgist	1	tour of concentrator, smelter area
Jul-04	1	1		1	Smelter worker	1	concentration, smelting, production
Jul-04	1	1		1	Shift boss	1	work routines, blasting, safety
Jul-04	1	1		1	Retired u/g & surface worker	1	mining legends; compound life pre & post-privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mine ambulance driver	1	research project
Jul-04	1	1		1	Engineering dept staff member	1	work routines, mine operations, privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mechanic, heavy equipment	1	work routines, mine operations, privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mechanical fitter, smelter	1	work routines, mine operations, privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Jackhammer operator	1	work routines, mine operations, privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Fitter	1	work routines, mine operations, privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mine hospital physician	1	1 work routines, accidents, spirituality of mines
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mine IT systems staff member	1	cross-cultural issues in workplace; privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mine database administrator	1	cross-cultural issues in workplace; privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mine IT systems staff member	1	cross-cultural issues in workplace; privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mine IT systems staff member	1	cross-cultural issues in workplace; privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mine IT systems staff member	1	cross-cultural issues in workplace; privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mine IT dept. secretary	1	cross-cultural issues in workplace; privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mine IT systems staff member	1	cross-cultural issues in workplace; privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Mine IT Mgr's wife	1	1 cross-cultural issues in workplace; privatization
Jul-04	1		1	1	Executive, finance	1	1 working w/ mine ownership; workplace issues
Jul-04	1	1		1	Security guard	1	accidents; life pre & post-privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Administrator, drilling contractor	1	accidents; contract work
Jul-04	1	1		1	Diplomat	1	1 Zambian privatization process; KK legacy
Jul-04	1	1		1	Former ZCCM manager	1	1 history of Zambian mining industry; privatization
Jul-04	1	1		1	Miner's son; taxi driver	1	results of KK's policies; diversification
Nov-04	1	1		1	Research assistant; teacher	1	all aspects of study; ongoing
Nov-04	1	1		1	Priest; translator	1	cultural & spiritual issues
Nov-04	1	1		1	Miner's wife	1	family history; cultural issues
Nov-04	1	1		1	Miner's son; plumber	1	Kansanshi mine opening effects
Nov-04	1	1		1	Chamber of Mines library worker	1	library's former days
Nov-04	1	1		1	Miner's son	1	Muf disaster; privatization
Nov-04	1	1		1	Civil servant, Luanshya resident	1	situation w/ new mine owners in Luanshya
Nov-04	1	1		1	Loco driver	1	accidents & safety, KCM's privatization
Nov-04	1	1		1	Acid off loader	1	accidents & safety, KCM's privatization
Nov-04	1	1		1	Loco driver	1	accidents & safety, KCM's privatization
Nov-04	1	1		1	Winch operator	1	accidents & safety, KCM's privatization
Nov-04	1	1		1	Acid off loader	1	accidents & safety, KCM's privatization
Nov-04	1	1		1	Boiler pump supervisor	1	privatization; safety
Nov-04	1	1		1	Copperbelt resident	1	privatization beginnings; early industry closures
Nov-04	1	1		1	Former ambulance driver, smelter	1	accidents & causality; work conditions
Nov-04	1	1		1	Copperbelt resident; priest	1	miners' worldviews; economics
Nov-04	1	1		1	Miner's son; parastatal worker	1	mining legends, stories, proverbs

Nov-04	1	1		1	Copperbelt resident	1	spirituality issues, traditional stories
Nov-04	1	1			1 Former mine contract worker	1	early mine years; present situation; mining legends
Nov-04	1	1		1	Mine site security guard	1	mining legends, symbols
Nov-04	1		1		1 Ancillary business owner, miner	1	1 privatization process, safety issues
Nov-04		1	1		Mine physician's wife	1	1 privatization progress in Kitwe vs Ndola; dependency
Dec-04	1	1		1	Rigger	1	accidents & safety, modernity, cash & credit
Dec-04	1	1		1	Teacher	1	accidents & safety, modernity, cash & credit
Dec-04	1	1		1	Pump operator	1	accidents & safety, modernity, cash & credit
Dec-04	1	1		1	Teacher; miner's brother	1	accidents & safety, modernity, cash & credit
Dec-04	1	1		1	Winding enginer driver	1	accidents & safety, modernity, cash & credit
Dec-04		1	1		Former miner's wife; daughter	1	Luanshya's mining situation past & present
Dec-04	1	1		1	Shop owner; miner's brother	1	current situation in Muf
Dec-04	1	1		1	Person-in-Charge u/g	1	blasting routines, safety, work shifts
Dec-04		1	1		1 Teacher; Muf resident	1	quality of life; miners' work hours
Dec-04		1	1		Former RAMCOZ/ZCCM sect'y	1	state of Luanshya's mine; accidents & safety; gov't
Dec-04	1	1		1	Teacher	1	education situation, community schools
Dec-04	1	1		1	Explosives instructor	1	blasting supplies and routines
Dec-04	1		1		1 Contracting company owner	1	1 nationalization, privatization, mining co's objectives
Dec-04	1	1		1	Unemployed Kitwe resident	1	Zambian leadership; poverty
Dec-04	1	1		1	Refinery worker	1	KCM's smelter, refiner, acid plant
Dec-04	1	1		1	Unknown	1	Zambian leadership; poverty
Dec-04	1	1		1	Taxi driver	1	donafish
Dec-04	1		1		Diplomatic corp member	1	1 Zambians' self-awareness, privatization
Dec-04	1	1		1	Hotelier	1	1 Zambian culture, corruption & greed
Dec-04	1	1		1	Policy analyst, economist	1	Zambia's privatization process, HIPC
Feb-05	1	1		1	Katanga area mining resident	1	Zairization; farmers as evidencing more motivation
Feb-05	1	1		1	Engineering dept staff member	1	pre- & post-privatization
Feb-05	1	1		1	Electrician	1	working conditions & environment
Feb-05	1	1		1	1 Shift boss	1	duties of shift bosses
Mar-05	1	1		1	Electrician	1	miner's life in general
Mar-05	1	1		1	Shift boss	1	KCM sale
Mar-05	1	1		1	Timberman	1	working condition in privatization era
Mar-05		1	1		Mine nurse	1	health & safety in colonial & ZCCM eras
Mar-05	1	1		1	1 School inspector	1	life in colonial days & ZCCM
Mar-05	1	1		1	Machinist, engineering dept.	1	general working conditions & environment
Mar-05	1	1		1	Driller	1	safety & working conditions
Mar-05	1	1		1	Smelter worker	1	smelting work
Mar-05	1	1		1	Electrician	1	general working conditions & environment
Mar-05	1	1		1	Helper, machine driller	1	contractors & casuals
Apr-05	1	1		1	Miner's relative, cultural analyst	1	2 levels of causation; traditional beliefs being modernized
Apr-05	1	1		1	Blaster	1	blasting & explosives
Apr-05	1	1		1	1 Retired geology draftsman	1	general mining & privatization
Apr-05		1	1		Miner's wife	1	pre- & post-privatization
Apr-05		1	1		Miner's daughter	1	Bgrimm explosion
Apr-05		1	1		Mine policeman	1	Bgrimm explosion
Apr-05	1	1		1	Helper machine man	1	contractors & casuals
Apr-05	1	1		1	Helper driller	1	working conditions u/g

Apr-05	1	1		1	Loco driver	1	working conditions u/g
Apr-05	1	1		1	Driver for contracting company	1	general working conditions & environment
May-05	1	1		1	1 Retired surface worker, mines	1	Luanshya snake
May-05		1	1	1	Nurse	1	situation post-privatization
May-05	1	1		1	Doctor, miner's son	1	1 situation post-privatization
May-05		1	1	1	1 Mine HR rep's wife	1	past mine bosses, muzungu pressures
May-05		1	1	1	Sister of mine employee	1	copper as a resource, privatization rhetoric
May-05	1		1	1	1 Smelter expert	1	smelting culture, privatization history
May-05		1	1	1	Teacher	1	Kawamba accident & spate of accidents
May-05	1		1	1	1 Business owner	1	1 KK's practices; cultural differences; governance
May-05		1	1	1	1 Business owner	1	1 KK's practices; cultural differences; governance
May-05	1		1	1	Geologist	1	1 KCM/Vedanta, mine ownership, Zambian skills
May-05	1	1		1	Local resident	1	mining "in the blood," legends
May-05		1	1	1	1 Retired mine builder's wife	1	traditional African beliefs
May-05	1	1		1	Loco driver	1	role of government, churches, individuals
May-05	1	1		1	1 Retired miner	1	role of government, churches, individuals
May-05	1	1		1	1 Retired miner	1	role of government, churches, individuals
May-05	1	1		1	1 Retired miner	1	role of government, churches, individuals
May-05	1	1		1	Surface fitter	1	role of government, churches, individuals
May-05	1	1		1	Heavy equipment operator	1	role of government, churches, individuals
May-05	1	1		1	Loco driver	1	role of government, churches, individuals
May-05	1	1		1	1 Shoe repairman, butcher	1	love juju
May-05		1	1	1	Teacher	1	post-privatization of Luanshya mine
May-05	1	1		1	1 Retired miner	1	African traditional beliefs; snakes & copper
May-05	1		1	1	Projects manager	1	1 state of Muf in ZCCM days, equipment
May-05	1	1		1	U/g worker	1	cage accident
May-05	1	1		1	U/g worker; machinist	1	cage accident
May-05	1	1		1	U/g worker	1	current spate of accidents, government
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	traditional African beliefs
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	fears after explosion
May-05	1	1		1	Miner; father of explosion victim	1	Bgrimm explosion
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's relative	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05	1	1		1	Miner	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05	1	1		1	Miner	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05		1	1	1	Miner's wife	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05	1		1	1	Emerald mine owner; contractor	1	1 Recent accidents in Zambia; role of government
May-05		1	1	1	Mine owner's wife	1	1 Life in colonial days & now
May-05	1	1		1	Newspaper reporter	1	Recent accidents in Zambia
May-05	1		1	1	1 Former ZCCM technical director	1	1 privatization process; accidents

May-05	1			1	1	HR director	1	1	cultural issues	
May-05	1	1				1 Vegetable seller	1		muti & traditional healers	
May-05	1	1				1 Small timber company owner	1		ZRA, cultural obstacles to development	
May-05	1			1		1 Mine contracting employee			1 history of Chiluba era; recent mine accidents	
May-05	1			1		1 Cubelt resident, entrepreneur			1 Zambian relationships; artistry	
May-05	1			1	1	1 Farm owner			1 privatization perspectives; American interventions	
May-05	1	1		1		1 Miner's wife			1 colonial and post-independence era life; arts	
May-05	1			1		1 Cubelt resident, businessman			1 Zambian labor laws, American interventions	
May-05	1	1		1		1 Entrepreneur, contractor's wife			1 Zambian labor laws, American interventions	
May-05	1			1	1	1 Contracting company staff member			1 Kansanshi mine production	
May-05	1					1 Copperbelt travel agent	1		independent contractors; accidents	
Jun-05	1			1	1	1 Mining co. general secretary			1 Bwana Mkubwa history	
Jun-05	1			1		1 Former WB/IMF contractor			1 WB composition & ethos	
Jul-05	1			1		1 Geologist/technical consultant			1 history of privatization, ZCCM accidents, Muf disaster	
Aug-05	1	1			1	1 Bemba former Cubelt resident	1		<i>ichisomo, iminyama, ifiwa</i>	
Aug-05	1			1		1 Luanshya lodge owner			1 Luanshya snake; European woman & muti	
Sep-05	1			1	1	1 Futures trader			1 commodities trading; qualities of futures market	
Oct-05	1			1		1 Retired u/g coal miner	1		"superstitions," fatality procedures, work conditions	
Nov-05	1	1		1		1 Anthropologist/development worker			1 historic Zambia race relations	
Nov-05	1	1			1	1 Former miner, teacher	1		"superstitions," ZCCM safety record	
Nov-05	1	1			1	1 Heavy equipment operator, o/p	1		research highlights feedback	
Nov-05	1	1			1	1 Office manager	1		privatization process & effects	
Nov-05	1			1		1 Contracting company mgr			1 contracting company procedures	
Nov-05	1			1	1	1 Contracting company worker			1 contracting company procedures	
Dec-05	1	1				1 President Chiluba			1 privatization process; Christian nation	
Dec-05	1	1				1 President Kaunda			1 experiences w/ WB; humanism, capitalism	
Dec-05	1	1				1 Former economic advisor to KK			1 humanism, capitalism, World Bank history	
Jan-06	1			1		1 Consultant on ZCCM privatization			1 training locals; expat impressions; WB	
Jan-06	1			1	1	1 Mining co. executive			1 Kansanshi ceremony story	
Feb-06	1			1		1 International dev expert			1 Appropriate research methods	
TOTALS	164	48	168	1	42	37	122	52	161	51
TOTAL	212									

N.B. Total number does not include various individuals who have participated peripherally in conversations, for example w/in a group at a beer hall. It also does not reflect the number of times that each person may have been consulted; it merely documents total numbers of persons consulted.

B.2 Interviews and meetings table¹

<i>Date</i>	<i>Interviewee(s)/Activities</i>
27 Jan 2003	Underground and surface tour
2 May 2003	Underground tour
30 Oct 2003	Chief executive officer
12 Feb 2004	
18 Mar 2004	
30 Mar 2004	
28 Jun 2004	
12 July 2004	
16 Nov 2004	
29 Nov 2004	
17 May 2005	
27 May 2005	
22 Nov 2005	
7 Nov 2003	Mine company physician
7 July 2004	
18 Feb 2004	Priest, educator
22 May 2005	
29 May 2005	
25 Feb 2004	Senior geologist
27 Feb 2004	Chief services officer
30 Mar 2004	
28 Jun 2004	
29 Jun 2004	
17 May 2005	
3 Mar 2004	Underground manager
5 Mar 2004	Shift boss's wife
22 Mar 2004	
27 May 2005	
9 Mar 2004	Manager of safety, health & environment
1 July 2004	
8 July 2004	

¹ This table records formal and semi-formal meetings and interviews conducted with study informants. The table does not include informal gatherings and associations with informants; emailed correspondence; or meetings and interviews conducted by my research assistants at which I was not present.

11 May 2004	Mine company human resources representative	
17 Mar 2004	Shift boss	
18 May 2004		
22 Mar 2004		
2 July 2004		
15 Nov 2004		
27 May 2005		
18 Mar 2004	Information Technology department manager [3rd meeting included department staff members]	
28 Jun 2004		
8 July 2004		
18 Mar 2004	Mine site manager	
23 Mar 2004	Chief mining officer	
3 Dec 2004		
23 Mar 2004	Geologist	
28 Nov 2005		
24 Mar 2004	Mine company office manager	
25 Mar 2004	Former ZCCM accountant	
30 Mar 2004	Traditional healer	
31 Mar 2004	Diplomat	
18 July 2004		
30 June 2004	<i>Insaka</i> ²	
5 July 2004		
12 Nov 2004		
17 Nov 2004		
1 Dec 2004		
7 Dec 2004		
17 May 2005		
24 May 2005		
25 Nov 2005		
1 July 2000		Surface tour

² Group meetings/discussions.

1 July 2004 7 Dec 2004	Smelter manager
3 July 2004 5 May 2005	Retired miner
8 July 2004	Underground tour
12 July 2004 17 May 2005	Chief financial officer
13 July 2004	Mine security guard
19 July 2004 14 Dec 2004 9 Dec 2005	Former ZCCM senior manager
25 Nov 2004	Mufulira former resident, mining family member
27 Nov 2004	Local folklorist and radio personality
28 Nov 2004 16 May 2005	Retired mine construction worker and family
29 Nov 2004	Contracting company owner
2 Dec 2004 6 Dec 2004 8 May 2005 24 Nov 2005	School teacher, mining family member
5 Dec 2004 11 May 2005 28 May 2005	Miner, mine company casual worker
6 Dec 2004	Former ZCCM clerical worker
8 Dec 2004	Contracting company owner
15 Dec 2004 7 Dec 2005	Economic policy analyst
12 Apr 2005	Priest, mine family member

1 May 2005	Contracting company & small mine owner
25 May 2005	
5 May 2005	Miner, contracting company employee
8 May 2005	Physician
8 May 2005	Nurse
8 May 2005	Former ZCCM draftsman
12 May 2005	Smelter expert
13 May 2005	Geologist
13 & 14 May 2005	Local entrepreneur and spouse
19 May 2005	Retired miner
20 May 2005	Underground tour
22 May 2005	Surface worker
23 May 2005	Mine worker and family
26 May 2005	ZCCM-IH manager
29 May 2005	Entrepreneurs and Northern Rhodesian settlers
30 July 2005	Independent technical consultant
22 Sep 2005	Commodities & futures trader
13 Oct 2005	Retired coal miner
25 Oct 2005	Underground tour
29 Nov 2005	ZCCM-IH clerical worker
30 Nov 2005	Surface tour
6 Dec 2005	Former President Frederick Chiluba
7 Dec 2005	Former President Kenneth Kaunda

8 Dec 2005	Priest, Copperbelt resident
13 Jan 2006	Independent technical consultant

B.3 Interview form

TASC-DCI Research Component – Interview Form*

Date of interview:

Location of interview (compound, organization, etc.):

Gender: M F

Ethnicity: African European

Age range: 18 – 30 30 – 50 50+

Role/responsibilities (e.g., mine captain; miner's wife, etc.):

Interview topic(s):

Comments:

*One to be completed for each new person interviewed.

TASC-DCI Research Component – Interview Form*

Date of interview:

Location of interview (compound, organization, etc.):

Gender: M F

Ethnicity: African European

Age range: 18 – 30 30 – 50 50+

Role/responsibilities (e.g., mine captain; miner's wife, etc.):

Interview topic(s):

Comments:

*One to be completed for each new person interviewed.

B.4 Situational analysis summary*

	TOTAL
1. Regarding the mines, what do you see happening?	
<i>Negative Responses</i>	
Copper prices lower Lower than in ZCCM days	1
Employment tenuous More casual/contract workers; retrenchments & "prunings"	15
HIV/AIDS & poverty More HIV/AIDS & poverty than before	1
Humanitarianism gone More benefits & interest w/ ZCCM; private companies don't care	15
Inequitable conditions Inequitable salary structures; inequitable/poor work conditions	10
Infrastructure poorer ZCCM used to maintain mines & city; private companies don't	16
Management problems ZCCM had good management; new management less qualified	3
Ownership problems Owners are racist South Africans/expats who take profits; investors may not stay	7
Production problems Pressures/hurry to produce; changed mining methods	8
Quality of life suffering Expenses up, but not salaries	3
Safety problems More dangerous u/g work environment; more accidents & sickness	11
Union problems Poor/weak union representation	3
<i>Total Negative</i>	93
<i>Positive Responses</i>	
Employment More people being employed	1
Management improved ZCCM had poor management	2
Salary structure/work conditions Tolerable work/salary conditions	1
Safety improved More emphasis on safety	4
Infrastructure improved Better mine infrastructure & equipment	2
Quality of life improving Business/work activity increasing; home life more stable	6
<i>Total Positive</i>	15
2. Why do you think these things are happening?	TOTAL

Negative Responses

Business		2
	Poor business/mgmt practices	
Capitalism		2
	Profit oriented mine ownership	
Corruption		5
	Government and/or mine mgmt corrupt	
Government		13
	Government sold out; didn't negotiate well; poor leadership	
Employment		3
	Excessive employment w/ ZCCM; insufficient use of contractors; small workforces	
Infrastructure		3
	Deferred maintenance of mines; no good u/g ventilation	
Management		2
	Deferred salaries/payments; poor u/g management	
Mining Methods		1
	Changes in mining method(s)	
Production		1
	Investors want profit over safety	
Society in General		2
	Africans aren't independent/careful	
Unions		3
	Poor/weak union management	
Total Negative		37

Positive Responses

Business		1
	More activity in markets	
Employment		3
	More people being hired	
Government		1
	Making deliberate policies	
Total Positive		5

*A total of 20 persons, coming from Kitwe, Chingola, and Luanshya were surveyed
23-Nov-04

B.5 Highlights from Research Project on Effects of Mine Privatization **Elizabeth Parsons, Research Consultant, Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation**

The following are important insights I have gained from talking with Copperbelt miners about their lives. It would be helpful to the research project if those with whom I have talked could look at this information and correct me where I have misunderstood and/or add more information where needed.

Perspectives on why things happen

- When Zambians think about why an accident or a mishap occurs, they generally consider causes behind the problem such as something bad a person might have done or some jealousy that one person might hold for another.
- Some Zambians may see the causes of accidents and mishaps as having to do with *ichisomo*, *iminyama*, or even *ifiwa*.
- Many Zambians say that, since privatization, the number of accidents within the mines has increased. This is due to several things, including how the privatized mining companies are treating the mines and miners.
- Sometimes the mine spirits can be dissatisfied with the way the mine is being treated and can cause problems for mining companies.
- When a miner dies at work, his family will frequently ask questions such as “did people see anything unusual about the man’s attitude or behaviour before he reported for work?”
- The series of accidents that occurred in Zambia in early 2005 (the BGRIMM explosion, the Mufulira cage incident, the Kawambwa bus crash) were regarded by many as related to each other and to something that was a problem within the country.

Perspectives about what is really going on in certain situations

- In traditional Zambian society, the land, underground, and waters have been regarded very specially and have been protected by various supernatural beings.
- Traditionally in Zambia a snake has guarded the underground.
- Typically, it has been important to show reverence for the underground snake if one wishes to mine copper in peace and harmony.
- Most Zambians do not think of copper as ever running out. God put copper in the ground and God can decide how long it will last.
- Sometimes, when Zambians engage in Satanic behaviour, they may turn themselves into other creatures, such as crocodiles, in order to harm other people.
- Zambians can receive communications or guidance from animals, insects, perhaps even the wind.

- Sometimes, people who are jealous of others, will engage in witchcraft to harm the one for whom they have jealous feelings.
- Witchcraft and Satanic activity are not the same things.
- These days some people may sacrifice something of their own, including people close to them, in order to get money.
- People can be “cooked” to protect themselves from harmful attacks of witchcraft and Satanism.

Perspectives on how Zambians understand themselves and their own power

- Traditionally, in Zambian culture it has been considered important not to stand apart from the group or to call attention to one’s self apart from everyone else.
- The memory of ZCCM recalls, for Zambians, an important time for how people felt about themselves and the country.
- There are several Zambian groups these days that are interested in the mines. They all have different viewpoints and the relationships between these groups may be very different. Some of these groups are:
 - “The old guard” – Former ZCCM managers who were trained under the colonials and some of whom still work for the mines or have their own companies.
 - Contracting company employees – miners who work for contractors, not directly for the mines.
 - Mining company employees – miners who work for one of the privatized mining companies that used to be part of ZCCM.
 - The government – People from the MSD, Ministry of Mines, and other officials including the President and his cabinet.
- These days being a miner doesn’t mean what it did a generation or two ago.

November 2005

B.6 Participant responses

1. Martha Kapumba

Privatisation of the mines has the number of negative effect in Zambia both social and economically

Before the privatization of the ZCCM this company was working with the community and providing women's skills to the miners' wife. Like tailoring, cutting, etc. ZCCM even provided infrastructure for all these activities, also children were given chances to have recreation clubs, by joining scout's, sports athletics and going to the swimming pools and cinema halls.

Therefore these kept most of the children and most of the women from indulging themselves in beer drinking adultery and all kind of bad behaviour. No sooner had the investor come and took over the mines, then all these died and buried. So children have no recreations they have engaged themselves in beer drinking and fornication hence in contracting HIV-AIDS virus at the age of 13 years and abnormal death.

Economically, privatization affect partially Zambian economy down. Most of the miners were pruned because investor wanted to remain with a small number of workers. Therefore this lower the standard of living in the Copperbelt province of Zambia. Children of the pruned miners as their parents used not to reach to the higher level of education because parents don't have a hopeful source of income hence an increase in unemployment and result in theft and joining Satanism in order to earn their living. Low salary for the miners is also one of the contributing factor to the economical problems.

Martha

You know Lizzy am not good in English.

2. Roger Chaba

Prepared by Roger Chaba

Cultural values about HIV AIDS in Zambia.

Miners with HIV AIDS tend to involve themselves in accidents so that they do not full victims of stigma and discrimination. For not so long ago when people believed that for a man to die of AIDS then it was a sign that he was not at peace with his gods thus many miners who were infected preferred dying by accident so that shame and disgrace is never mentioned or narrated to their offspring's by elders.

People never believed that HIV and AIDS did exist they only know "ICIFUBA CHANTANDA BWANGA" and only affected those who annoyed the spirits by underground, rivers and mountain, guardians.

Many parents both female and male encouraged their young ones to get circumcised and that this protected them from sexually transmitted diseases. Female circumcision now called genital mutilation (FGM) the operation removed part or most of the girls genitalia e.g. the luvalas and also for men they have their fore skin on their penis removed. This biblical belief enables many miners who earn their ends meat to be changing ladies and in the process contracting and spreading AIDS.

Many miners believe that at 10.40 level in Mufulira a man sent alone to collect working implements is assured of hearing foot steps of a man running, this is attributed to the accident which occurred in 1975 when many miners bodies where not recovered and hence the dead men spirits never rested.

It is believed that a man shouldn't go for work that is underground when he had a guard with his parents us they are intercessors to his spirits hence may risk being killed.

A long time when something bad happened e.g. when a ghost was suspected a catholic priest or a oracle priest where consulted but this bad luck was avoided contrary to this no such things have ever been done ever since new investors came in hence not paying respect to the above resulting accidents.

Any place underground where a man was reported to have died their was reported to have died their was out of bounds, during ZCCM days until something was done like resting the spirits but with new investor where accident occurs people are required to go and work their that is those in the next shift paying no respect.

Some miners who did general and the most hard job turned into animals so that their strength is increased. When such people die underground their "JUJU" fails to go any where and languishes underground and hence causing many accidents.

3. "K.N."

P. O. Box _____
Chingola
Zambia
23rd January, 2006

Dear Madam,

RE: ACCREDITATION OF YOUR UNDERTAKING ON "EFFECT OF MINE
PRIVATIZATION IN ZAMBIA".

I am hereby recommending you for being successful in a "PRIVATIZATION EFFECT OF
MINES IN ZAMBIAN PROJECT" in our nation.

I am personally with not doubt can say points jotted down were hundred percent perfect.
Please keep it up. May God bless you and help you broaden your points accordingly as you
write a book.

I would be very grateful if this accreditation is taken into account.

Yours faithfully,

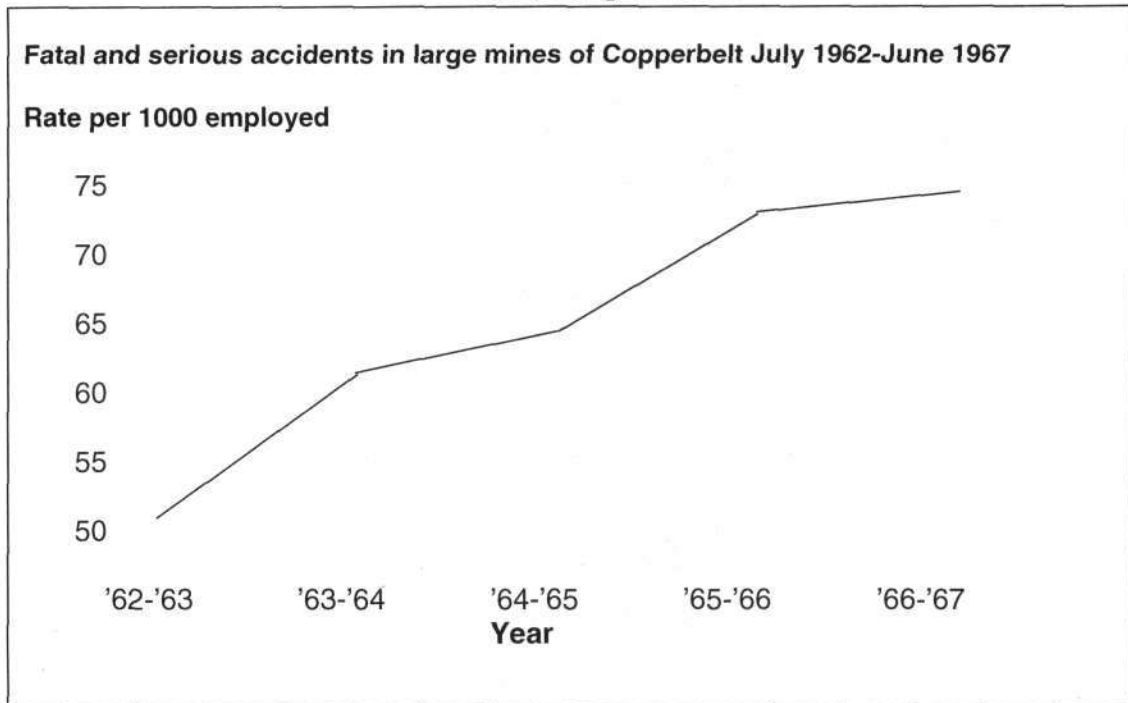
K_____ N_____
Contributor to your undertaking

N.B. Hope to hear from you soon.

Appendix C
Accidents Information

C.1 Accident statistics tables

Heron Report Data¹



Chamber of Mines & Mines Safety Department Data²



¹ Reproduced from Alastair Heron, *Accidents in the Zambian Mining Industry* (Lusaka: Government Printer), 2. N.B. The report does not include exact figures.

² See data tables to follow. This chart was prepared by the safety manager of one of the privatized mines who disputed the Heron report data above.

**Accident statistics for Zambian mining industry
1959—1980³**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Casualties⁴</i>	<i>Fatalities⁵</i>
1959	3.21	0.42
1960	2.89	0.50
1961	2.70	0.52
1962	3.08	0.48
1963	3.42	0.26
1964	3.46	0.33
1965	3.29	0.20
1966	3.65	0.29
1967	3.31	0.26
1968	2.82	0.26
1969	2.69	0.38
1970	2.02	0.91
1971	1.82	0.36
1972	1.89	0.18
1973	1.78	0.28
1974	1.78	0.22
1975	1.64	0.27
1976	1.63	0.21
1977	1.56	0.20
1978	1.40	0.21
1979	1.48	0.21
1980	2.22	0.22
1981 ⁶	Not available	Not available

³ Source: Northern Rhodesia and Zambia Mining Yearbooks, Chamber of Mines, Kalulushi

⁴ Excluding fatalities per 100,000 hour worked

⁵ Per 1,000,000 hours worked

⁶ Industry yearbooks ceased publishing these statistics in 1981.

**Persons Fatally Injured & Fatality Rates per 1,000 Men at Work From 1956;
Persons Seriously Injured & Serious Injury Rates per 1,000 Men at Work from 1964⁷**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Avg. No. Men at Work</i>	<i>Fatally Injured Number</i>	<i>Fatally Injured Rate per 1,000 men at work</i>	<i>Seriously Injured Number</i>	<i>Seriously Injured Rate per 1,000 men at work</i>
1956	48,476	59	1.22	--	--
1957	50,160	63	1.26	--	--
1958	39,966	36	0.90	--	--
1959	44,611	43	0.96	--	--
1960	46,117	58	1.26	--	--
1961	45,352	55	1.21	--	--
1962	41,754	51	1.22	--	--
1963	42,824	27	0.63	--	--
1964	44,718	43	0.96	3,426	76.61
1965	46,975	26	0.55	3,598	76.59
1966	45,935	36	0.78	4,067	88.54
1967	48,482	37	0.76	3,641	75.10
1968	48,611	39	0.80	3,034	62.41
1969	55,279	56	1.01	3,388	61.29
1970 ⁸	56,093	160	2.85	2,897	51.65
1971	56,762	53	0.93	2,705	47.66
1972	58,267	48	0.82	2,780	47.71
1973	60,205	48	0.80	2,675	44.43
1974	64,027	39	0.61	2,775	43.34
1975	62,963	52	0.83	2,461	39.09
1976	60,520	38	0.63	2,300	38.00
1977	61,876	33	0.53	2,283	36.90
1978	58,365	33	0.57	2,604	44.62
1979	57,989	29	0.50	2,571	44.34
1980	59,175	41	0.69	2,676	45.22
1981	58,937	31	0.53	2,155	36.56
1982	56,769	30	0.53	1,867	32.89
1983	53,339	20	0.37	1,743	32.68
1984	55,127	22	0.40	1,858	33.70
1985	53,914	39	0.72	1,778	32.98
1986	52,682	24	0.46	1,561	29.63
1987		21			
1988		22			
1989		27			
1990		26			
1991		21			
1992		24			

⁷ Source: Mines Safety Department Annual Reports; these were unavailable after 1987. Figures from that point onwards were obtained from the Ministry of Mines.

⁸ Exclusive of the Mfulira Disaster totals, the fatality rates read as follows: Number: 71; Rate per 1,000 men at work: 1.27.

1993	22
1994	25
1995	19
1996	25
1997	20
1998	22
1999	10
2000	8
2001	23
2002	24
2003	18
2005	80

C.2 Mine safety performance statistics 1995-2004

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Employees ('000)	27.0	26.0	25.1	23.8	20.4	24.8	26.7	27.4	26.7	25.5
(LTI) Lost time due to injury events	850	770	803	747	532	536	426	457	448	385
LTIFR Lost time due to injury frequency rate	2.26	2.0	1.93	2.07	1.39	1.90	1.40	1.46	1.47	.132
Fatalities	15	18	8	17	10	6	21	14	11	14

Source: Chamber of Mines, Kalulushi

C.3 "Tribute to a Hard Working Miner"

I hear them I see them I know them
By my home they pass in the morning
By my home they pass in the afternoon
Their heavy boots crushing the ground in unison
Like soldiers they sound
Zambia must go on.

Follow them, I must see them to hear them
Dressed in white blue green and all
Their heads in white blue red green and yellow
Miners they must be
Like soldiers they have come
For the life blood of Zambia.

For soldiers the trumpet should sound
To alert them for battle
To conquer the enemy
For Miners the bell rings—the siren.

They come in strange formation
By shaft bank they assemble
To be lowered into the belly of the earth
Like soldiers with mother earth
Zambia must go on.

Beaming faces I can see
Laughter of joy I can hear
All dangers forgotten
On the mighty rope their lives hang
As they are lowered into the earth
To tap the wealth of the nation
Miners soldier on
Zambia must go on.

It is hot very hot
It is wet very wet
It is very dusty
It is tough very tough
Underground it's called
Where the nation's wealth is hidden
But the miner works to tap it all
Zambia must go on.

Loads too heavy
Ideas too heavy
Timbers too heavy
Bar machines too heavy
Jack hammers too heavy
Pipes too heavy
On the bruised shoulder
They all lie
Zambia must go on

Like soldiers I see them advance
Leopards crawl to face the enemy
'Open fire, jack hammer bar machine'
Bru'ubruu'bruu'uu'uu'
The rock to release
The hidden treasures of the land.
The miner soldiers on
Zambia must go on.

He is dead He is alive
But his cause is a noble one
It is the oil—the bread
It is the honey—the milk
It is the life
His sweat must yield
The prosperity of the nation
The miner soldiers on
Zambia must go on.

From *Mining Mirror* (April 1996), 5.

C.4 Sago Miners Memorial Remarks by Homer Hickam

Families of the Sago miners, Governor Manchin, Mrs. Manchin, Senator Byrd, Senator Rockefeller, West Virginians, friends, neighbors, all who have come here today to remember those brave men who have gone on before us, who ventured into the darkness but instead showed us the light, a light that shines on all West Virginians and the nation today:

It is a great honor to be here. I am accompanied by three men I grew up with, the rocket boys of Coalwood: Roy Lee Cooke, Jimmie O'Dell Carroll, and Billy Rose. My wife Linda, an Alabama girl, is here with me as well.

As this tragedy unfolded, the national media kept asking me: Who are these men? And why are they coal miners? And what kind of men would still mine the deep coal?

One answer came early after the miners were recovered. It was revealed that, as his life dwindled, Martin Toler had written this: "It wasn't bad. I just went to sleep. Tell all I'll see them on the other side. I love you."

In all the books I have written, I have never captured in so few words a message so powerful or eloquent: "It wasn't bad. I just went to sleep. Tell all I'll see them on the other side. I love you."

I believe Mr. Toler was writing for all of the men who were with him that day. These were obviously not ordinary men.

But what made these men so extraordinary? And how did they become the men they were? Men of honor. Men you could trust. Men who practiced a dangerous profession. Men who dug coal from beneath a jealous mountain.

Part of the answer is where they lived. Look around you. This is a place where many lessons are learned, of true things that shape people as surely as rivers carve valleys, or rain melts mountains, or currents push apart the sea. Here, miners still walk with a trudging grace to and from vast, deep mines. And in the schools, the children still learn and the teachers teach, and, in snowy white churches built on hillside cuts, the preachers still preach, and God, who we have no doubt is also a West Virginian, still does his work, too. The people endure here as they always have for they understand that God has determined that there is no joy greater than hard work, and that there is no water holier than the sweat off a man's brow.

In such a place as this, a dozen men may die, but death can never destroy how they lived their lives, or why.

As I watched the events of this tragedy unfold, I kept being reminded of Coalwood, the mining town where I grew up. Back then, I thought life in that little town was pretty ordinary, even though nearly all the men who lived there worked in the mine and, all too often, some of them died or were hurt. My grandfather lost both his legs in the Coalwood mine and lived in pain until the day he died. My father lost the sight in an eye while trying to

rescue trapped miners. After that he worked in the mine for fifteen more years. He died of black lung.

When I began to write my books about growing up in West Virginia, I was surprised to discover, upon reflection, that maybe it wasn't such an ordinary place at all. I realized that in a place where maybe everybody should be afraid (after all, every day the men went off to work in a deep, dark, and dangerous coal mine) instead they had adopted a philosophy of life that consisted of these basic attitudes:

"We are proud of who we are. We stand up for what we believe. We keep our families together. We trust in God but rely on ourselves."

By adhering to these simple approaches to life, they became a people who were not afraid to do what had to be done, to mine the deep coal, and to do it with integrity and honor.

The first time my dad ever took me in the mine was when I was in high school. He wanted to show me where he worked, what he did for a living. I have to confess I was pretty impressed. But what I recall most of all was what he said to me while we were down there. He put his spot of light in my face and explained to me what mining meant to him. He said, "Every day, I ride the mantrip down the main line, get out and walk back into the gob and feel the air pressure on my face. I know the mine like I know a man, can sense things about it that aren't right even when everything on paper says it is. Every day there's something that needs to be done, because men will be hurt if it isn't done, or the coal the company's promised to load won't get loaded. Coal is the lifeblood of this country. If we fail, the country fails."

And then he said, "There's no men in the world like miners, Sonny. They're good men, strong men. The best there is. I think no matter what you do with your life, no matter where you go or who you know, you will never know such good and strong men."

Over time, though I would meet many famous people from astronauts to actors to Presidents, I came to realize my father was right. There are no better men than coal miners. And he was right about something else, too: If coal fails, our country fails.

The American economy rests on the back of the coal miner. We could not prosper without him. God in His wisdom provided this country with an abundance of coal, and he also gave us the American coal miner who glories in his work. A television interviewer asked me to describe work in a coal mine and I called it "beautiful." He was astonished that I would say such a thing so I went on to explain that, yes, it's hard work but, when it all comes together, it's like watching and listening to a great symphony: the continuous mining machines, the shuttle cars, the roof bolters, the ventilation brattices, the conveyor belts, all in concert, all accomplishing their great task. Yes, it is a beautiful thing to see.

There is a beauty in anything well done, and that goes for a life well lived.

How and why these men died will be studied now and in the future. Many lessons will be learned. And many other miners will live because of what is learned. This is right and proper.

But how and why these men *lived*, that is perhaps the more important thing to be studied. We know this much for certain: They were men who loved their families. They were men who worked hard. They were men of integrity, and honor. And they were also men who laughed and knew how to tell a good story. Of course they could. They were West Virginians!

And so we come together on this day to recall these men, and to glory in their presence among us, if only for a little while. We also come in hope that this service will help the families with their great loss and to know the honor we wish to accord them.

No matter what else might be said or done concerning these events, let us forever be reminded of who these men really were and what they believed, and who their families are, and who West Virginians are, and what we believe, too.

There are those now in the world who would turn our nation into a land of fear and the frightened. It's laughable, really. How little they understand who we are, that we are still the home of the brave. They need look no further than right here in this state for proof.

For in this place, this old place, this ancient place, this glorious and beautiful and sometimes fearsome place of mountains and mines, there still lives a people like the miners of Sago and their families, people who yet believe in the old ways, the old virtues, the old truths; who still lift their heads from the darkness to the light, and say for the nation and all the world to hear:

"We are proud of who we are."

"We stand up for what we believe."

"We keep our families together."

"We trust in God."

"We do what needs to be done."

"We are not afraid."

Delivered January 15, 2006
West Virginia Wesleyan College
Buckhannon, WV

Appendix D
Transcript Excerpts

D.1 Conversation with Chief Nkana's nephew, Mindolo township, April 2005

This conversation was conducted in Kitwe by my research assistant, Enock, who spoke in Copperbelt Bemba. His interviewee used Lamba. The conversation began as Enock's interviewee reflected on how infrastructure in Zambia had deteriorated since the highpoint of the ZCCM days.

EM: Mwalikulila sana muCopperbelt province muncende yakumigodi, elyo cimbi elyo nacibukisha muli ba Lamba. So mukulanshyanya na ba boss bandi ba Liz, balalanguluka sana inshita itali ukweba ati abaLamba ebene bacalo umwaba imigodi ishi. Nomba cipalile kwati panshita itali sana muma lyashi aya kwimbo umukuba tabaumfwikamo sana, bushe caba shani? Then epo ndefwaya mwise mukomaile sana ukulingana nefyo mwakula, abafyashi efyo balanda, nefyo muyumfwa imwe nga baLamba abene ba imikuba nangu umwaba copper. Then ndemona umutundu umbi uyo nalefwaya ukulandako, mutundu wa ciLozi nawena nga nafwailisha nasango ati kuti kuli abaLozi abengakabila ukwati twalanshanya nabo, kuti natemwa kulanshanya nabo because nabena abaLozi ukwikala kwabo, baikala ukutali sana kulya, lelo ulo abasungu baishile kwati mukumfwana nabasungu balebalaya ukubapela imigodi iyo iyishali kumwabo so nalyena ndemona elubali lumbi elo ningesa konka. But palilelo ndefwaya ati nga twalanshanya naimwe munjebeko mucumfwa shani, nangu experience yenu ukulingana ne cifyalilwa ica ciLamba, nefyo mwaikala, nefyo mwingalandapo pamigodi, then ngatwafuma apo, ndefwaya munjebeko amalyashi mwaumfwapo kubantu abaya mukubomba kumigodi, imigodi efyo yatampile, neficitika nga kwalibe ntambi isha kumigodi, emalyashi eyo ndefwaya ukuti mwanjakanyako naine mukulanshyanya. So katwishi efyo mwingalandapo mukufyalwa kwa balamba, mwebene bamigodi, kuti mwatampila pesa?

Nephew: Apaliponse apo ningatampa?

EM: You grew up on the Copperbelt province and I have just realized that you are Lamba by tribe. So when I spoke to my boss Liz, she has always raised concerns that Lambas are the owners of the land in which mines are located and yet it seems like for such a long time, they have not been heard much about in mining circles, what could have caused this? Then, I want you to emphasize a great deal on your cultural background, how you grew up and what you heard and hear Lamba elders say about the mines as the owners. I also hope to discuss with another tribe, which is Lozi. If I can find any Lozi willing to discuss this with me, I would be more than happy since the Lozis despite being very far from the Copperbelt, when the whites came they promised to give them mines which were not in their area, this is another subject I would like to explore in future. But today, I want you to tell me how you feel or your experiences as a native Lamba, how you feel, and whatever you can about the mines; thereafter, I want you to tell me any stories you have heard from miners, how the mines began, what happens in these mines and whether there exist some customs or traditions about mining; these are some of the things I want you to discuss with me. So I do not know what you are going to say as an elder and one of the owners of the mines.

Nephew: I can start anywhere?

EM: Yes.

Nephew: To start with, I want to say—

EM: You can be mixing Bemba and Lamba.

EM: Ee.

Nephew: Icakutanga cakweba ati—

EM: Kuti mulesankanya nangu ciBemba nangu ciLamba.

Nephew: Apo mwaisa kucibemba mwaisa fye bwino. Okey, first fye, imifyalilwe ya ciLamba ne mikalile ya ciLamba eflyo yaba, yalibe iya pusanako, lelo ukulingana abene bacalo tuli baLamba. Palwa mibombele nemikalile yakulingana nakuno kuCopperbelt yesu, icakutanga abengi baleba ukweba ati pakwingishe milimo sombi ulikwete akatupa aka kwiila kuchipatala, elyo ilingi tabamonapo pa maRegi (NRC) yabantu abaya kulya mukufwaye milimo, ku mamine. Tabamonapo pama Regi ukumona uyu wakwisa yu wakwisa, tabepushapo ne milala, elyo balya bene balishi ifyo baminta abantu ukulingana ati kapatulula kabo abene. Ifyo efilenga ukwabati twakwata amaproblems aya kubombe ncito isha mumigodi. Cimbi naco ico ningatemwa uku komailapo cakweba ati fwebene bamushi balitusulile ukulingana naba twiminako Copperbelt yesu, tabaposeleko amano ukwebati twingengisha ababantu. Bambi nabo balyebele ati fyebo teti tuposeko amano kulishi inshi ncito shakweba ati waya mukufwaya sombi, kofwaya indalama shakwabati uye mukukopwa akatupa ka silikosi. Pantu ngataukwete nsho ndalama elyo ulukufwaya incito we muntu kuti waingilishani ncito?

EM: Nga mwalabilati balimisulile, nibani abamisulile?

Nephew: Aba bene abeshila mukushita Copperbelt, abashitile amamaine.

EM: Abakale, nga bakale bena cali shani?

Nephew: Abakale nabo nshishipo muliyo mpindi yaba kale nshingofwako fimbi. So

Nephew: Nicely said. Ok, first, the Lamba traditional life and the life experiences are a bit different, but the truth is that we the Lambas, are the owners of the Copperbelt. Concerning our livelihood and working in our mines, most companies require that you have a full medical report from the Mine hospital. In fact, in most cases, they do not even check the person's National Registration Card for those seeking employment. They don't check to find out where a person comes from, even the tribe. Probably, this is due to their tribalism. Uuh, these are some of the reasons why we have problems in getting employed as miners. Another point I want to emphasize is that despite being the owners of the mines, we are highly neglected by our representatives who represent us on the Copperbelt. They do not see it as important to have us considered for employment despite being the owners of the Copperbelt. Further, some Lambas are simply discouraged from working for the mines due to lack of money. They say that why waste time on jobs that require you to pay for "silicosis" examination? In any case, if you do not have the money, how can you get employed even when you want the job?

EM: When you say that you are neglected you, whom are you talking about?

Nephew: These very people who came to buy the mines, who bought the mine.

EM: How about the previous ones, how was it?

Nephew: I don't know about the previous group in those days. I am limited in my knowledge, so I am speaking about the current period. We have tried several times to get employment in the mine. I can also blame our Chief for this sad development, our Chief, Chief Nkana. He has not actively negotiated with mining companies to have

ndi kulabila pali ino mpindi iyo tulipo ifyo cili. Tulyeshe imisango nemisango ukwabati twingesha ukwingila mumaine. Neli kuti naeshako nokukumako nakuli bachief besu, ku mufumu yesu aba bene bachief Nkana. Nabo tabeshe ukwebati bengatwiminako kumigodi, iya kwebati yakupala kwati bamine, baProSec neli baChambishi neli baMindola shaft. Bonse abo tabeshe ukwebati benga twimakaninako, ukulingano kuti imigodi ili muno mumupunda mwabo, mucalo cabo. So nga cakweba ati baesha ukweba ati bengatwimakaninako, abengi nganiko kulya kwesu, baya kuli ba chief, elyo babalembela ututupa utwakwebati baya mukufwaye ncito ku mine, ku Kagem. Eco mbwena ebengi eco bakoseleko. Elyo futi fimbi ukulingana nababene abali muno, nga cakwebati balatwimininako, nukuno kwine kuma maine baletulembelako utupepala utwakwebati twaisa mukufwayako incito mu macompanies aya yene aya kwimba bacopper, nga tulengila incito nomba tabatulembelepo uto tupepala bachief.

EM: Mu kucimona kwenu makanshi bakwata bachief, ako akapepala balimilebele bukumu inshi kakwete?

Nephew: Ako akapepala balemba bachief, kakwebati uyu muntu asuminishiwa ati ukwebati engabombo, elo kabili wa mucalo candi. Etupepala ba balembela babikapo na signature ya kulingana ne bufumu bwabo, ubwa kweba ati kuti aya mubomba umuntu ku Kagem. Elyo bachief abene balikwete amakosa yakwebati umuntu uli onse bamufwaile, baesho kumulembelako icikalata icakwebati kuli konse ku company kuti aya mwikwingile ncito ukulingana nga mucalo cabo. Neli muno mwine mugodi ulyapa, epatatikilo ubufumu bwe Lamba kuno kuMindolo.

his people work in the mines, or for ProSec,³ Chambishi, or Mindola Shaft. He should try and negotiate on behalf of his people to get employment since these companies are in his area. For instance, in my home area, our friends go to the Chief and he writes a letter [of] recommendation stating that such a person has gone to seek employment in the mine at Kagem.⁴ Such a person easily gets employed. That's why many Lambas are employed there. Likewise, if the Chief would recommend us with his official letters to these companies when we are seeking employment, probably we would be employed, unfortunately, he does not write anything.

EM: In your opinion, what power does the chief have or does that letter hold?

Nephew: The letter that the Chief writes introduces the person that he is from the Chief's area and should be allowed to work. The letter also is signed with the royal seal, which allows the person to work for Kagem. In addition, the Chief himself has the power to demand that his subjects should be employed in companies that are located in his area as long as they have letters because his subjects are always displaced by the mines. For example, our current Mindolo mine is situated where the original Nkana village was.

EM: What do you mean?

Nephew: That's where the original village of Nkana was based. Because of the mines, people were relocated to Chibuluma and after Chibiluma mine was established, the people were again relocated to present Nkana in order to leave room for the mine. This meant to move from one place to another. I hear even now that the present Nkana village is

³ ProSec was a mine contracting company.

⁴ Kagem was a gemstone mine in Luanshya.

EM: Mwalosha mwisa?

Nephew: Ekwali ubwikashi bwa baNkana, pa mulanda wa migodi eli bateseshako ba Nkana, kabatelela ku Chibulumba, ukufuma kuChibuluma ekwisa nomba kulya kwa Nkana. Shonseshi icalengele ukukuuka kuuka, ndukumfwa napali buno bukumo ati, balya abali kulya kwa Nkana balefwayo kubafumyako mulandu wailya Chibuluma Mine iyishileko, kuli mine iyi beswileko kulya.

EM: Nombaabela inshi kwati bali kubateshako baNkana, takuli kumbi eko bengwafwaya ukuli amamaine ukucila ukulabaseshanya bachief?

Nephew: Mulishi aba abaswasu abeshile abatubile inkanda kani bapima ne fitunshi tunshi fyabo, ba machine babo baishaba ukweba ati apa epali cuma eci tulukufwaya, elyo epe kalile nebantu ba baNkana. Bena kuti balabila ne buteko ifyapala bapresident, ngabalabila nabo ukwebati muli ici calo tuli na fifi na fifi, abene ninshi balanshanya ne bufumu bwesu ne bwa buteko tatwishibilepo, pakutila bwa mubumfisolobwabo abene. Kani balanshanya filya, eli ba Nkana kuti bacita shani, bapekanya ukwa kweba ati bengatelela. Pakwebati balya abantu ba bachief tabakwetepo amasanso ayakwebati limbi balya aba mine balukupisha fimachine ifyakwebati kuti fyaipaya abantu, neli balikucisa ifyapala utupata, tafikwetepo amasanso kubantu. Eci kubelo kutela.

EM: Nshacilafwaya ati ndilabileko, lelo nalabalilapo pakutila ati mulilabile ukwebati bamfumu, ubufumu bwabo balitatikile kuno, ku mulandu wa migodi nangu mine kaba batesesha kuChibuluma, ukufuma kuChibuluma kaba batesesha kwa Nkana. Eili nako kwa Nkana ba sanga ati kuli umukuba.

about to relocate because of the new Chibuluma Mine which has come, which has been opened there.

EM: Why is that they want to relocate the people of Nkana again, does it mean that these Mines have no other alternative?

Nephew: You know these white skinned friends and newcomers, when they survey with their machines, and once they know that here is money, and that's where Chief Nkana's people are settled, the "newcomers" would only talk to the government like the president that, "In this area there is this and this." What our Chief and the government would discuss we do not know since their meetings are always private. After they discuss, Chief Nkana prepares where his people would move on the pretence of public safety when the mine is transporting machinery which might harm people, or when they are blasting. That is how people are relocated to new places.

EM: I did not want to talk about this; however since you have mentioned it, I will follow up. You said that the Chief was originally stationed here; due to mining, he was moved to Chibuluma, from Chibuluma to Nkana. Now at Nkana they have also discovered copper.

Nephew: There is copper as well.

EM: There are rumours that he is going to be moved. You see, copper is found wherever Chief relocates. What can you [say] is the relationship between copper and the Lamba chieftenship?

Nephew: I cannot say much about the Lamba Chieftenship, but just a few comments because I do not know much, but my elders would be in a better position to

⁵ Mpelembe was a drilling contracting company.

Nephew: Nako kuli umukuba.

EM: Nako kuli ukulabila ati ba batesheko. Muli kumona kwebati uyu mukuba apalifye ponse apaikala ba mfumu, kuti mwalandapo shani pamukuba no bufumu bwa ciLamba?

Nephew: Ubufumu bwa ciLamba ifi ningalabilapo kwena, teti ndabilipo ifingi ifyakuti ubukulu sombi ifilolo ifine, efingesha ukulondololapo, pakutila na nebo ifinjishi finono, lelo ifine ifilolo aba cikulile abakutangile, ebengalanda bwino sana eeh. Lelo ukulingana ne bufumu bwesu neli bachief Mutupa abalipo, abene nga bati batile ati iyo, nemo nshilikufwayapo ati mubikepo umugodi, nga bantu bandi bakali kulimina kwisa? Nomba ico naco nshishibilepo umo bacilocha abene ukuti ukulingana ne bufumu bwesu ifyo buli.

EM: Amalyashi yakwimbe migodi nefyo mumfwa pali ino nshita, nangu ifyo mwaleumfwa akale—findo ficitika mumigodi?

Nephew: Ifilukucitika mumigodi?

EM: Amalyashi mukukula kwenu, ku maine findo balikushimika palwa mu maine, pe uulu, imikalile mu komboni nangu ifya pala panshi apa bengila mukwimbe migodi, amalyashi yonse ayo mwaumfwapo ayali yonsefye.

Nephew: Ayakwingila paunderground?

EM: Eeh, kabili ne mibombele panshi palya.

Nephew: Ukulingana ne mibombele yapanshi, ndemoni ukweba ati ilya ni risking job. Ikateshe imibombele yapanshi ne mpindi babombelamo abantu ba panshi tulimwene ukwebati amahours babapela yakulu, ukulingana nokuti umuntu enga

explain properly. About our Chieftenship, even Chief Mutupa, the current reigning Nkana, if he says, "I do not want you to put the mine here, where would my people be doing their peasant farming?" For now, I do not [know] how this situation will be handled by our Chief since he has a final say.

EM: Concerning mining, what stories do you hear today or used to hear in the past – things that take place underground?

Nephew: What happens underground?

EM: When you were growing up, what were you told about the underground and surface, life in mining compound or concerning underground mining, and all the stories that you have heard about all this.

Nephew: Stories about going underground?

EM: Yes, and also the working underground.

Nephew: Concerning working underground, miners say it is a risking job. It risking and underground workers long hours, which makes it hard for them to have enough rest even though underground work is extremely hard. Another thing that causes others to be afraid of working for the mines is due to mine accidents. Mining companies do not care for workers neither do they use them properly when they work underground. Another thing is that there is praying/appeasing of spirits underground for you to find copper ores and to extract copper. In old days, our ancestors used to pray/appease.

EM: What is "Ukutonda" in today's Bemba?

Nephew: To pray to the spirits that keep the stones. In olden days, our ancestors used

tushako, pakuti pamugodi pakateshi. Fimbi nafyo ifilenga pamugodi bambi nabo ukutina ukwingila incito ya pamine milandu wa masanso yapa mine. Tabacita sana care sana bwino abantu, ukubomfya bwino abantu abali paunderground. Elyo cimbi na co koti penkapa, kulabo kutonda palwa kwimba umushili pakwebati mwingasangamo ulubwe lwa copper, ukulobolola copper ilya. Kulabo kutonda, abakale bali kutonda.

EM: Ukutonda efindo, mucibemba candakayi, ukutonda efinshi?

Nephew: Ukepepa. Ukupepele mipashi ilye iyasunga amabwe. Balepepa abakale filya baikala baamba ukupepa, nokubula utwakubula bula, basankanya filya, baya bika limbi mu cimuti, mulya mwine emo baikala nombamba, bapepa bapepa ebene, elyo nombamba batampa ukwimba ya lya amabwe so that tapalesangwa amasano ayali yonse panshi.

EM: Tabacita pali ino nshita ifi fintu?

Nephew: Awee tapaba.

EM: Mulandu nshi?

Nephew: Abasungu ababene abeshilepo pali ino nshita, pali nga iyi mine yesu iyi ine Mindolo iyi. Nakumfumu kwaleba filya mwabulako tumo, utundalama, notwa fipefipe, utwapala tusopo shani na shani, mwayabika ku mfumu, baya misuminisha ati oh, kabiyeni mukubomba. Uyo mwaka ukapwafye no kwatapo amarisking job iyili yonse pamaine, elo amaproblems ayali yonse takuli. Nombamba pali ino mpindi ifyo taficitikapo iyo. Eci mwebwena napali inwe mpindi kuli amasanso koti nga nipa Mindolo shaft.

EM: Ilyo muli kupitana muncende mumayanda ya bantu umu, elyo amasanso yalepitana abantu balelabilapo shani?

to appease the spirits, by words and gifts which they put under a specific tree. Then they would sit under that tree and pray by themselves, thereafter they would start mining so that they do not meet any sort of misfortune underground.

EM: Do you think they do this today?

Nephew: No, there is nothing at all.

EM: What is the reason?

Nephew: These whites who have come today especially at Mindolo Mine. Even Chiefs, they were usually given gifts such as money or soap etc, then the Chief would give permission to go and mine. That year would end without any accident or problem. Today however, these things are not done at all. That is why you hear of so many problems today, especially at Mindolo Shaft.

EM: When you are visiting people's home, when these accidents are happening, what are people saying about them?

Nephew: Many people are saying that those working for the Mine [Mopani] are safer than those working for Mpelembe or other contractors.⁵ The Company usually sends contractors to work in high risky areas, which were abandoned some time ago and which are not safe at all. Hence any slight mistake would lead to flooding and people dying. Another element that I see is that, many of those who are working for the contractors, when they die in mine accidents, they do not receive their compensation in time because they are contractors. It would be better if this mine which employs contractors should employ every miner in order to provide maximum care for every employee. This would help in caring for all workers.

Nephew: Uuh, kulingana nefyo balu kulabilako pali ino mpindi ndemona kwebati, abene abali muli ilya company yamaine, uuh bena abantu babo bali lukoso bwino, sombi aba abaisapo abakwebati baMpelembe niba bacontractor. So bacontractor kulyo kwakwebati takuli bwino eko batuma ababomfi ba bacontractor ukuya mukumbombelako, elyo kulya ninshi kaale babombeleko abantu, kwalishala filya ifya kwebati any nanikane, icintu icalacitikafye panono abantu kubunda, kufwila mukati. Elo futi cimbi eco ndemona abengi abaleingila kuliba kuli aya yambi amacompany aya pala kwati bacontractor, bena nangu afwa umuntu indalama kulaba ukukokola ukwabula ukwebati bamupele ulya muntu indalama shakwe. Pantu bena ni bacontractor. Icingawama cakweba ati iyi ine company iyiine ya maine, iyiyi ili mumine iyileingisha nababo ababa mu macontractors, bafwile bacita care bwino abo abantu abakwebati ngaba basopa ifya nani kane, ifya pamine ifyakwebati amarisking aya pa maine ifyapala filya. Nabonse balya, bafwiile pasako amano.

EM: Mwali kwatako ishuko lyakusangwako nangu pacililo nangu ukumfwako palwa aba abafwileko pakati apa?

Nephew: Awe ishuko lyena nshakweteko pali ino mpindi ilya kwebati ningasa ngwako.

EM: Imipashi iyisunga maine, abantu balisumina kwena ukwebati kwaliba, kuli amalyashi yambi aya kwebati finshi fimbi fisangwako nangu amalyashi yambi ayo mumfwa aya mipashi nafimbi fintu ifisangwa pamine?

Nephew: Apo, mwaipushafye bwino! Muli ilya month before last month pali abalubila apa pamine, baliluba umulandu wa mipashi. Filye ifyakwebati bingila baya mukubomba, balebomba, bakomboka, ilaiti lyapwa, elyo

EM: Were you privileged to be present or to assist those who were mourning those died in mine accidents recently?

Nephew: No, I did not have that privilege.

EM: People are agreed that there are some spirits that keep the mine; do you know any story about what is found in the mines or any story you have heard about other things that are found in the Mines.

Nephew: You have asked properly. Two months ago, someone went missing underground because of spirits. It happened like this. He went underground to work and after knocking off, his light went off. So he sat down alone somewhere and started dosing and fell asleep. He started dreaming about the Spirits of the dead miners, who were dressed in white dust coats working in underground. They started telling him that, 'Let us go, the lift has come.' He also had a 'decoder' [e.g., tape recorder] the one he was using to record whatever he used to do since his job involved going underground to pick sample rocks which they used to examine to find whether the rock was of value to be extracted, that is the work they used to do at the mine. After finishing his assignment, that was when he fell asleep just like that. Because of the Spirits, he is not yet found, but the decoder which he used to record was found on that spot where he was sleeping. That is how they got the information of what transpired and up to now, he is still missing. The Spirits are real. For instance, those mining at Solwezi [Kansanshi Mine] took two soft drinks, Coke and Fanta underground when they were just starting on the surface. So after placing them underground, they prayed to the Spirits and later found that Coke was taken and Fanta was left. And again they took Coke, and another Coke and half of Fanta, so what took those drinks? The Spirits! Coca-Cola meant

baikala pamo, bali beka baikala somewhere kulya. Uko baikele kulya kwine utulo twabekata, bayamba ukushipula, baponena mutulo. So baisa amba ukulota imipashi sha bantu balya bene afwa abengi, afwele ifya white nabena kwati ninshi balebomba mulya mwine pantu bafwele amadust coat aya white. Elyo balebeba ati tuleyani icikwepa caisa. So balikweteko ka decorder eko balerecordermo filya fine, kabili bena balejoba fye filya fine, inga baingila pa mine baya mukusendako yalya mabwe ayo tula bukumo baya mukupima kani yali bwino elyo bayafumya, so encito nayo balebomba pamaine. After ukufuma bena elo balele ulo lwine, elo baisa unfwa ati icikwepe caisa, so ekuya nesho shine imipashi. So umulandu waisho shine imipashi na nomba tabalamoneka, but kadecorder eko balerecorder kashile palya pene, so balishile katola baisa umfwa na information muli kadecorder, so na nomba tabalati bamoneke. Elo, ifi fine ifya mipashi fyena fyacishinka naba abaleisula maine kuSolwezi, balibulile amadrinks yabili, Coke na Fanta, baingisha pa underground pamine, kuKansanshi, baingisha amadrinks yabili elyo baletampafye pa surface pamulu. So after babika filya bapepelela no kupepelela filya fine bafipepelela, baishile sanga ukutila Coke basenda, pashala Fanta. Again baisa bula naimbi Coke, naimbi Coke na Fanta pakati, so icalesanda yalya amadrinks cindo? Yali mipashi, ilya Coca Cola yale miniga ukwebati nifwebo fweba nkande ifitile, fwebene bacalo, fwebali koti kuno kwa baNkana. Elyo Fanta niba abanensu abeshile mukutwafwako imibombe, ifyapala abasungu eba Fanta, so baishile mukusanga futi pafuma, Coca Cola na Fanta inga itatu. Nomba ninshi paya amabotolo yanga yatatu. So yabili ya Coca Cola imo ni Fanta. Ifya lesendefyo mipashi ne kusuminisha ukwebati okey kanshi abafitile koti nifwebo fwebene babukuno kwesu ne bakashikile na abasungu kuti twabombela pamo, nomba fwe

it is "US" the blacks like the people of Nkana, who are the owners of [the] land. Fanta refers to our friends, who have come to help us in our work such as the whites. They found Coca-Cola was taken and only Fanta was left. This after three bottles had been taken. Two Cokes and one was Fanta. The Spirits used to carry these drinks to show that we black people are the owners; however we can work with the whites but we must be the majority.

EM: Are these stories told by those who work in that mine?

Nephew: Aha! They tell us but we have evidence as well.

EM: What kind of evidence do you have?

Nephew: I became convinced when my brother was going to seek employment at Kagem. That's when I realized that for sure there is need to appease the Spirits which are in the soil like the Spirits of King Solomon so that his Spirit can shine on the stones and bring them to the surface for you to mine them.

EM: How can many stones come on top?

Nephew: They came on top so that you can just dig a bit and find them...In the past when people went in the forest, they used to carry mealie meal, salt, tobacco [marijuana], and other things like beads, and tie them together. Then they would place them under a tree in the area where they were intending to work and pray to King Solomon.

EM: Who is King Solomon?

Nephew: The very one who existed in the past, the one who was the King in the past, he is also in the Bible, the one who built his house with different stones. Maybe you have

bengafulamo nifwebo fwebafita.

EM: Nomba aya amalyashi abamishimila nibalya bene ababomba kulya?

Nephew: Aha! Ebatushimikilako ifyo, no kushininkisha kwena twalishininkisha.

EM: Mwashininkisha shani?

Nephew: Elyo nashininkisha abakalamba bandi ilyo baleya ku Kagem, elyo nashininkisha ukwebati kanshi cacine, kuli fintu ifya kutonde mipashi, ukupepelele mipashi ishaba mu mushili ifyaapala King Solomoni pakweba ati nangu mwaenda filya, ne imipashi shaba King Solomoni konse shilesanika bwino bwino yalya amabwe pakweba ati yaleisa pamulu.

EM: Amabwe ayangi kuti yaisa pamulu?

Nephew: Yalesa pamulu aya kwebati mwaimbafye panono amabwe mwayasanga....Kwaleba filye fya kwabati nga baleya mumpanga abene basendako utubunga, natu salt, na tufwaka, fwaka iyapala iyacabalume, elyo natumbi utwabalungu bulungu ifilya, bakaka pamo, elyo baya mukupupilisha munshi ya cimuti kulya kwine eko bale mukubombela, nokupepelela bwino bwino King Solomoni.

EM: Nga King Solomoni ninani?

Nephew: Ulya wine ali king akale, ulya uwali imfumu akale, na muBible emoali alikulile in'ganda yakwe iya mabwe, amabwe ayapusene pusene. Pambi iyo ichapter muli ibelengelepo.

EM: Eeh, baSolomoni balikulile ne n'ganda iya kwa Lesa. Nomba kaili ulya ali musungu nomba kuti twamupepa shani ifwe ba cifita?

read that chapter already.

EM: Yes! King Solomon built God's house. But he was white, how can we worship him as black people?

Nephew: We can worship him because we want stones, we want stones and King Solomon was a millionaire of stones, because he had given himself to God whole heartedly, to serve God. In fact, even what they are making today using stones is due to his Spirits.

EM: Okay, how about the snake?

Nephew: Okay, there is a living one, which is still passing, it passes every year!

EM: What type of a snake is it?

Nephew: That snake passes underground like an earthquake, it passes underground. When it passes, miners can work properly. However, if miners are highly wicked due to witchcraft, snake would not pass. Miners are not supposed to work before the snake passes, or else many accidents are likely to occur. Sometimes, if the snake does not pass, some people start dying, at times the machine would bury one in the mud, at times the driver would fail to see, maybe when he is underground the tunnel collapses on him. When they go to appease in accordance with the Lamba tradition and the Chief also gives consent to continue working, and when they start, then the snake would pass. When it passes, it comes to check on the miners saying that "people want me" and goes back. Afterwards, they continue to work in peace since the mine has been cleansed. When it passes even the illegal miners also make a lot of money because the owners [spirits] have brought the stones to the surface.

EM: So you mean stones have owners, the

Nephew: Twingapepa mukutila tulukufwayako amabwe, koti kufwaya amabwe pakutila balya bali (King Solomoni) ni bamillionaire bamabwe, nakuli ba Lesa pantu bali ipeleshe sana no mutima wabo onse ukwebati bengabombela baLesa. Kabili nefi balukupanga ifya mabwe mabwe nayo yali mipashi yabo.

EM: Eeh, bambi balikushimaikapo ifya insoka.

Nephew: Eeh, eko icili iyi tuntulu, icili ilepita, ilapita cila mwaka.

EM: Yamusango nshi iyi insoka?

Nephew: Iyo insoka ilapita panshi kwati ni earthquake. Ilapita panshi nga yapita panshi, nombamba nga kwacilamo kulya kwafula abakweba ati imitima yabo ya bufwiti, ne mano yabo tabalingile ukubombela kulya nga taipitile insoka, ninshi amasanso kuti yatatika ukusangwa kumine. Kulaba limbi filya ati nga taipitile ilye nsoka ba amba ukulafwa bamo bamo filya balefwa limbi cimakalota camushika mu matipa, limbi driver talemonako, limbi engile pamugodi caputuke icibumba ca mwilikisha. Nga baya mukupupilila pupilila filya fine ba pepelela ifimupashi iya cilya cine, elyo chief nabebo babeta, nga basuminisha ukwebati konkanyenipo kubomba, nga bakonkanyopo nacena ninshi cayamba ukupita, ico cine, capita caisa mukupempula nombamba, oh uku balemfwaya, capempula caya. Nombamba ninshi nombamba kutampo kubomba ninshi pawama nombamba, na maeligo nabena, nabo nga capita ico, nabo elyo bakwata sana indalama, mulandu wakweba ati, abene baselula amabwe.

EM: So amabwe yaikwata abene, amabwe ayo twimba panshi?

Nephew: Amabwe ayo twimba panshi yali

stones we mine underground?

Nephew: The stones that we dig have owners. Concerning the stones, they are those who are known as Chiefs of specific sections. If rocks are found in that Chief's area, you need to go and appease the spirits and if that Chief allows you, you can continue working.

EM: So, there is peace at Kansanshi?

Nephew: There, it is very peaceful, it is very well. Even those needing employment, everything is going well...

kwete abene. Elo ifyo fine ifya mabwe
mabwe kulaba balya bene abo beta ati ni
mfumu ya kusection ekuli aya mabwe, nga
mwatondola ne mfumu yamisunisha ukweba
ati kuti mwabomba, ninshi kuti
mwakonkanyapi ukubomba.

EM: So kuKansanshi kulifwe umutende?

Nephew: Kwena kulifyo mutende sana,
kwenu kuli lukoso bwino. Na bakwingile
amacito nabo ukwingila KuKansanshi,
kwena kulifye bwino...

D.2 Deserted miner's wife, Luanshya, April 2005

Frederica Chipongoma introduced Enock to this woman. The conversation took place in her home in the formerly European section of Luanshya and was conducted almost exclusively in Copperbelt Bemba. The woman related how her husband had been retrenched by RAMCOZ and subsequently left her.

Woman: ...so kwati privatization iyo yine yalilenga mubafyashi abaume kwati baliba aba fulunganako—yalibafulunganya. Nga ikatafye mpiya, filya fine balefolako afolo pamwenshi afolo pamwenshi cale waminako, pantu inono naishiba ati nalacita manage ukulisha abana pa n'ganda nokubalipililako ku masukulu. Nomba ashikatila pamo shamu fulunganya umuntu as a result kucita decide nomba ukufumapo pan'ganda. Nomba a le laba ukutila shileya shipwe shilye mpiya, abana balashala balecula. Abana abobene akabwelelako ngabakula alelabefyo so mwandini calibipa limbi nga califye filya fine ati tabacitile privatize amacompanies limbi nga cali wamako nomba teti njishibe limbi kumbi kuside bambi balafimonako bwino but kuline mwandi nshafimona bwino ukucita privatize ama companies nshacimona bwino sana mwandi ni pantu cicita affect fye banakashi ilingi, sana fye. Mumuyanda umwingifye mumushi umu apo wafika ninshi bali musha... [*She then tells of a friend who has also been "left" by her husband.*]

EM: Cimbi ico ningatemwa ukwipushako camalyashi ayaleumfwinka kumine, kulaba limo banamine balalanda, ine abalume bandi—okey ama accidents yalicitika mumine bambi balanda ukutila ati limbi ninshi muka shimine eushilibwino, limbi kuli uko achifuma, ukwikala kwenu nga bana mine fintu nshi mwinga nshimikilako pamalyashi aya masanso yapa migodi, inge ifya buloshi ficitikapo inge ifya mipashi. Ifyo mwa umfwako nangu ifyo mwacitapo experience mu life mu myenu nga bana mine.

Woman: It is likely that this privatization has caused fathers to become crazy [e.g., confused]—it has confused them. When he touches money, [e.g., when a retrenched person gets his severance package] he becomes wild. It was better when they used to get paid on monthly basis, because with that salary, one was able to think of feeding his children at home and paying their school fees. But now when he gets lots of money at once, the person gets confused as a result he decides to desert his home. But he is forgetting that that the money will finish. The children will remain suffering. He forgets that these very children are the ones he will turn for help when they grow up. The situation is really bad. I wish they never privatized companies but maybe there are some who have seen its benefits. As for me, I don't see anything good in privatizing of companies, not at all, because it has affected mostly us women very much. In most homes in this community, wherever you go, a wife has been deserted by the husband... [*She then tells of a friend who has also been "left" by her husband.*]

EM: The other thing that I would like to ask is about what we hear in the mine areas, sometimes miners' wives say that my husband—okay when accidents happen on the mine, people say maybe it's the miner's wife who is unfaithful. Maybe she came from somewhere. So, in your day-to-day life as a miner's wife what would you share with me about such accidents on the mines; whether they've to do with witchcraft or spirits—just like everything that you've heard or experienced.

Woman: Okey, limo ilingi ni filya ifya kwebati limo limo shimine nafuma kun'ganda limbi tekumwabo (ififine bale pondoka) aya ukokwine kumugodi alebomba brain tailibwino aletontokanya double uko oko afumine, na kun'ganda, kuti yamulengela accident. Elyo futi imigodi kwati naikokola, efingalenga. Elyo nefifine ifya kwebati ifya buloshi, balefwaya ukulalwinkana, pantu abo baleingisha incito banono, nomba alefwaya kalya akafulo apaba umunankwe aseshepo umunankwe ena abepo pakwebati abe boss. Eeh kuti acita ifilifyonse, ilingi cacine balacite miti, alefwaya pali kalya akafulo kalipo umunankwe pantu abalebombe ncito pali ino nshita banono ino nshita. Aba, bambi babasenda filya ifya kwebati through experience nomba bambi bengilila, okey imiti eko shaba. Kutu nalanda ati eko shaba pantu ine fyalincitikilapo kucupo candi, so na ku macito kwine kuti fya bomba. Nomba kufwaya ati akwate accident afwe, pakwebati kalya akafulo baka mubikepo ni ena. Filacitika.

Woman: Okay, in some cases it is in situations like this. A miner leaves a home, which is not legally his, like the way they are deserting and then goes to work in the mine. Even though he is working, his brain is troubled, he is double minded. He thinks about where he is presently living and about his real home. This can cause him to have an accident. The other thing could be that the mines are now old. This can be a cause also. And also witchcraft, they tend to fight each other because those who are employed are very few, so one wants someone else's position [e.g., job]. He wants to remove the owner of the position so that he becomes boss instead. This is because jobs are few. Yes he can do anything, and mostly they use medicines, because they are after someone's position since very few people are working nowadays. Most of those who are employed got their jobs based on their experience. But others were employed because of *muti*. Okay, *muti* is there. I can say *muti* is there because it has happened to me in my marriage, so even in employment it can work. So they practice medicine in order to cause someone to have an accident and die so that he can take over his job. These things happen.

D.3 Enock's village, near Kalulushi, May 2005

This conversation took place as a follow on to one that we had had at Enock's home village in late 2004. The participants were Enock Muthwejile, his grandparents and his brother, Titus. They spoke in Chokwe.

EM: Muze twezila wahanjikile hathuphela, chuma chikwo wambile mukwethu chize Liz anakanguhula yamba ngwenyi ngwo khakhenu kana kamba ngwenyi auze mugodi waNkana nyiuze waMindolo keshi kuutangunuka (ngwami chenacho wambile nyi?) hiwamba ngwe lwizi wathwa maho munene, chuma chika chikwo cize keshi kumutangu nukina?

Gdpa: Eeh. Waze alinga we mugod, eamba ngwo homa lyacho kuhapiha kutangunukaho, kwizi ino shimbu amuapwa akwethu indele hanji nyi hana palikano nyi ka lye ndela.

EM: Waze au thungile eambilemo?

Gdpa: Uuh, kana mono ngwo aha hapu tuhu haka mwihi, welo keshi kulyendela...

EM: Ahah, chumu chikwo nawa thuphela wambile katenuka chinji, waze athwama hashi, uchikwa nda mutondo ngwe umushile ika atenukina chocho?

Gdpa: We utenu wo wakwaha kuli Zambi, se chipwe hano waze athwama mumusenge thuphela kalihichika kwathwama yoze wakola woma-thoka, neyeuchi kwanda mutondo hanga umulambe aah!

[Gdma also interjects to agree with the husband about how fierce some snakes are.]

EM: *[to Gdma]* Mba ena muze nejile nahulile khakha kambile ngweni thuphela athwama hamugodi okatenuka chinji, nyiyena wakwiva?

Gdma: Ami ngwa wane kuli awo ndo muhula

EM: When we came last time you talked about snakes. The other thing you said that even Liz asked me about is you said the mine at Nkana and that at Mindolo cannot be crossed from one to the other (That's what you said, isn't it?). You said that the river that is there is big. What are other reason(s) why it can't be crossed over?

Gdpa: Yes. Those who did [e.g. built] the mine are the one who said that particular place is too bad to be crossed. I don't know this time. Knowing how our friends the whites are, maybe the people visit each other from two mines by crossing over.

EM: Those who built the mine are the ones who said that?

Gdpa: Yes, they saw that even if the mines are near [e.g., close] to each other one wouldn't cross over...

EM: Ahah, the other thing you said was that the snakes found underground are so fierce that you can't pick a stick to kill it. Why are they so fierce?

Gdpa: It is just their fierceness given to them by God. Even these found in the bush, they differ in how we fear them—Thoka also you can't pick a stick to hit it aah!

[Gdma also interjects to agree with the husband about how fierce some snakes are.]

EM: *[to Gdma]* When I came, I asked Grandpa about snakes found underground to which he said they are very fierce. Have you also heard about them?

khakhenu. Awo nguna mbulula namumwene muma lyethu muNgola, Kambile Kuthulya...

EM: Ok, ma nguhule hakufa, auze muthu apupile maha khana kapwile ngwami kapumba nyi?

Gdma: Eeh kamupupile ku motoka.

EM: Chuma nakwiva chikwo ngwo muthu kumotoka amumbilanga, kuchi chakupwa?

Gdma: Eeh. Auze twa kwamba ngwo kamutakwila ko kananwene haze makwachila yoze unambe kumu lya, hiku mwamba ngwenyi akuze maya amupupa kuli motoka-auze mukwamotoka muze aneza aye mamona ngwe kanawa anende mba auze muthu aye mbwangu kumotoka ukholekhole-ngwo auze muthu kamutakwilako.

EM: Mba athu kuchi akuningika ngwo kamutakwi lako?

Gdma: Mumu keve kanyingikine ngweni kumafa, hanji nawa nyingwe nwazwelele acho mba muthu kuya kuze hafa mba ngwo kamutakwilangako. Kufa chacho chakukomwesa-yize yakulinga muthu aye kanapalikila kulumbu lyeka motoka neyo kwekha mba kutungumuka muthu hamupupa!

EM: [to Gdpa] Wa hanjikile hayuma ltathu, hiwamba ngwe thuphela katenuka, nawa hiwamba ngwe akwa kuphopho meya nyingwe kaphophele mugodi muzala athu mafa, hi u hanjika nyi hakuhona kutanungumuka mugodi? Kutala ayiyeyuma, kuchi ina lumbunuka?...

Gdpa: Aze thupela mumawe athwama, so, aze asalufeya akuya nyi kuphima matala nyiku tala hapemene hikuya kwekha kechikupali kilako chenacho hatwama, awaze meya no mu mawe atwama, kakwaphopha

Gdma: Me, where can I find them, those unless you ask your grandpa? As for the one that I am talking about I saw them home in Angola. They almost ate us...

EM: Ok, let me ask about death. That person the car hit was Kapumba isn't it?

Gdma: Yes, he was hit by a car.

EM: The other thing I hear is that a person was "thrown" to a vehicle. How does that happen?

Gdma: Yes, that one we say he has been thrust there by the person who wants to "eat" him. Such a person may have to find a situation to disguise his act, so he will set things such that his victim is hit by a vehicle. As far as the driver of such a vehicle was concerned he was driving just all right but then the victim hits himself there—mbuuh! Then fatality results. Then we say that person has been thrust there.

EM: But how do people know that he/she has been thrust there?

Gdma: Because it was very unlikely for someone to die in a particular situation or that he quarreled with someone before meeting his death. So it is said he has been thrust there. It's a death that surprises people—what happens is that a person may be walking on this side and the vehicle on the other side, but suddenly the person has been hit!

EM: [to Gdpa] You talked about three things: about underground snakes being fierce; about the mine flooding if those who pump out water don't do that; and then also not crossing over from one mine to the other. What is the meaning of all these things?...

Gdpa: Those snakes live in the rocks. So

machiza haze. A cho chipwe muchipwa kuchi chimwe muchipwa kuchi lume auze mukwakuphopa meya kanjililemo lume mugodi muzala nyimeya...

EM: Muze nwapwile hamwaka, muno mu Zambia Chipwe mu Angola munwapwile hasyakhuhu nwapwile nyikufula mawe shimbu yindele kanda achiza, mwalingile imwe migodi nyi yakufula hanji kumo ko?

Gdpa: Shimu yikulu muze cindele andachiza athute mafula mawe the atwale kulihi, mawe chize chinapu ngwe Diamond the muyatwama mba welo chize mailinga mba yalumbunuke yakuhi, mba muze heza yindele hanyingika ngwo au upite, mba athu hima nyingika ngwo khuma nyiwapwa nayo mapwa phichi, shimbu yikulu aah katwamanayo chize chene.

EM: Ika apwile nyikuizachisa?

Gdpa: Malutengo apwile ko, makulwana te malutengo apwile nyikwandako, manda mawe makungulwila hamwe kulumbu lya chihunda kwena kuze malingi la yoyo, ha lwazo maheha maheha tukuthukutuku malutengo zina lyacho, maheha waze mawe zya cho mazuzuluka mba mapwa chikungo. Aize yikongo yanaize apwile nyi kulingako hangji njimbu nyi matemo.

EM: Malutengo chekwamba liwe nyichuma chika?

Gdpa: Aah, malutengo lwazo, mbacho muze manda mawe makungika hamuwikha masa muze munapeme hanalulikano mba maputhuka kuheha, maheha maheha awaze mawe maputhuka kuzuzuluka. Chenacho apwile nyikulinga mba malinga njimbu nyi matemo mba muze chindele heza ayize yaimona ngwe yama too late nyingwami, mba oakwethu ali nyimana hikulinga yikungo yaku komwesa.

those surveyors, when they "measure" and see that the place is not okay, they go elsewhere. They wouldn't pass through there. That's how it is. That water also lives in the rocks. They are pumped out onto the surface. No matter what, no matter what if that one who pumps water out does not enter underground the mine floods...

EM: In the past, a long time ago, be it when you were here in Zambia or Angola did you dig for rocks [or minerals] that is, before the whites came? If so, did you make mines or did you dig it with hands?

Gdpa: Long time ago before the whites came why will people dig for stones—to take them where? Stones like diamonds were there but how to use them and for what was not clear to us. But when whites came they looked at our stones and realized it was wealth and that one would be rich by possessing them. But before that we lived with them just like that.

EM: What did you use them for?

Gdpa: There used to be *malutengos*. Our elders used to have *malutengos*. They would gather stones just outside the villages and make furnaces. Yes those furnaces were called *malutengo*. With them, they would melt the stones and the stones would turn into iron. It is this iron they would use to make hoes and axes.

EM: Is *malutengo* a stone or what?

Gdpa: Aah, *malutengo* is a furnace. So when they pick stones they would gather [e.g., pile] them in a very neat place which they would prepare and they will be blowing and blowing [the furnace] and the stones will start melting. That is what they used to do and then they would make axes and hoes.

Titus: Ayino shimbu athu akwo lwazo kali nenyi?

Gdpa: Eeh, nyiphoko ma chifula.

EM: Twakuvila kumbunge ngwe kunala kumande chichi kuyako. Kuchi muwa mbaho?

Gdma: Eeh, kwe kumbunge muvila mwe musono, nguna thwama muno mwene phuka yomeze wiiii phuka, ngunamu khuphula, yomeza nawa wiiii ngwami ami chishi nyi yoze meza nyingu meneka. Mumuwene nguna twama amu phuka yoma ya kuku. Yo nguna holo hano hene ngwami yome zako akuno, thungumuku ena nyi ngezi hiweza. Nakananga ngwami chishi nyiyoze meza. Kumbunge nyikumuliwu chenacho kwakula. Ethu twatwama kuno kuyambu muwanda temo ngwe uye kuwande wambila haze, ngwe uye muwiva kumbunge pwii, mutwama kanda kuchitoka mutala muthu hathula. Thulu mwafile...*[She relates the death of her granddaughter.]* nahindukile mukwethu ngweni ngwo yako nikufula thamba uwike nyikahya ukuze, ngweseke kukathuka kumbunge kwapwii, mukwethu ngwenyi yako, ngwa mi chichi kuyako kumbunge kuna ngula. Aye kathu waya ku garden ami Vungumuku hate mo lyami naya a ha nahitula mwana wa Ndala ngwanmi akangukwase kufula twaya twafula twafula nyiyami hamuhanga lya, natala kuno kuchilunda, kumbunge kunangula chocho yika? Ngwami twanuke thuyenu kumbunge kungangula, mungu manyisa lizi, khakhenu yomeza ngwenyi aku Thulu hafa, ngwami ngwo kuchi nambanga, nambanga ngwami ami chazangile kwenda kumbunge kunangula. Musono kutala kuyanguwanyine kuno kuyambu! Cheswe meza nyikunguthunyako the kumbunge kwatomene nyikuyako kuwande. Chenacho, kumbunge kunala acho yeswe ayize hinalyange kukuheta.

But when the whites came they looked at these things [e.g., the process etc.] as very slow and time wasting. So then our friends who had the intelligence then made iron of wonder.

Titus: Are there still people with this type of furnaces (*malutengo*)?

Gdpa: Yes, knives are still made from this process.

EM: We can tell [e.g., hear] from our heart that it's dark and in that case one would not go to the fields. What would you say about that?

Gdma: Yes. Just the heart will tell you. It's just today I was seated right here a bee came—wiiii!—a bee. I chased it, it came again—wiiii!—and I said to it that I didn't have or expect people to visit me. I was seated right here. The bee then went this side and I remained quite wondering who may come when suddenly you and the guests have come in spite of me refusing that I had no one to visit me. That's how the heart and neck "become dark." We who live here in the village; you would pick a hoe so you could go to the field but you involuntarily throw it back on the ground. Again you try to pick it and go but you would hear your heart dark and will then just stay. But before sunset that day you will receive somebody with news. When Thulu died... *[She relates the death of her granddaughter.]* I woke up that day. My friend [e.g., her husband] told me to go and harvest sweet potatoes and make some fire. I tried to stand and go. My heart was dark. My friend again said, "go," but I told him that I will not go because my heart was dark. He then went to the other fields. When I remained, in my anger, I abruptly picked up my hoe and went. On my way, I picked Ndala's daughter to go and help me dig. We went and dug the sweet

EM: Ali nguzi unalimono [*points at a pillar as he demonstrates support pillars as those found underground*]. Linapu ngwe waze manguzi aha mugodi akukwachisa malolwa (mawe) kuchina mashata athu. Mba kanapu nyikuthulweza ngwo athu akwo aye muze mawana manguzi mamulweza awa kwachizaho kha mba aye machizako mazachila hazehene liwe muli mushata, ye nayo Liz anambe ngwenyi ngwo ninshi auze muthu yika yina muyimumbunge? Kananyingika ngwenyi achi chuma che china kwata mba eye machichizako.

Gdma: Eeh, achize kufa hichamupwa mukamwihi mumu kanakwambe ngwo achichuma kanda usha chilako nyi, aye mashachilako muze mashachilako kuchi muchipwa? Kufa ngwami? Acho kufa chenye hichamupwa mukamwihi hichamulya. Ngwe munapu walwa, ena auwalwa kumukulya ayau, ena eva walwa au mwofa-aye meva ngwe kanamwongo, mukuchako auze walwa makaunwa mahyana hasize ize akunwina mapwamuze phu mafa. Yika yamulya? Wahwa. Akwakuweza kamulwezele? Kamulwezanga...

Gdpa: Kha, chipwe mwene kechi kweseka mamona ngwenyi kufa chiliho. Mumu migodi, aize milemu anathumbathumba kapwile ngwe chithumbila anaithumba. Kakuya nyikuteta yize inapwapwa amu yakuthwala hamugodi, manguzi kuli nahaze anambe kusa. Aze manguzi nyi mitondo masaho chekwamba kuchihisa mawe waze alihaze. Kwathwama waze hanatongola waze hana kanyama, waze malyanga kuya nyikwendesako, mumu hiesweko malyanga kuyako shimbu kandachisako waze manguzi thwamba kha. Mukuyako waze akanyama hanaliongesa maya kanatemunako nyimungwala wakusungilasungilako-masunga masunga, nyikutala hamwe hana lingi sekuseku kashika eye masanyika waze nawa anyingika milimo yacho nawa nyi aze

potatoes. We would dig and dig. Then I would stop and look in the direction of home and wonder why my heart was so dark. I said to the young ones I was digging with that we go back home because my heart was dark. Just when I finished saying that sentence, your grandpa came with the news that Thulu had died. Then I said to that I had told him I didn't want to move and go anywhere because my heart was dark. Now look today have things not found you here in the bush! They then dragged me back to the village. That is how when the heart is dark it means things have reached you in advance.

EM: Do you see this pillar [*points at a pillar as he demonstrates support pillars as those found underground*]? It's like the pillars found underground that support [e.g. prevent] stones from falling on people. We have been told that some people, when they find these pillars they are told not to remove them but they remove them anyway and work in the very place. Then the rocks would fall on them. This is what Liz is wondering as to what may be going on in an individual's heart when he knows that the pillar(s) he is removing are what is supporting the rocks.

Gdma: Yes, in that case the death of that person has come near him. It's like being told not to lean on something. If then someone did lean on it, what would happen? Is it not death? In that case, his death has come near and it has eaten him. It's like with beer. Someone is told "this beer will eat you." This beer will kill you—him would think it's just a lie. If then he drank beyond the limit and died, what has killed him? Beer. Wasn't he warned? He was...

Gdpa: No, he wouldn't even try because he would see that there is death there. Because concerning mines, those eucalyptus trees you see are not just planted for no purpose. They

hanapiha. O meza hiku fasaho mba hanga athu ahase kupalikaho. Keshika chenacho nyinawa kaliwe keshika wakumona akwanda waze thupombo mazala auze kapombo kamuselako mu chipwe kaliwe ako mumugodi kapwa kama danger chipwe mukapwa kakehe mukaholoko nyimokomo kapombo ushinenyi mbwezu lume! Ndo nyi kabombo muze muliholokelaho mba! Achize mulisaphuka kwamokomoko...Uze keve u hulya wenyi analingila. Nyi kutala machiza mweene kananyingika ngweni aha nyina chizaho muha dirika myingwami, nyimachiza kafwa mamwamba lume ngwo chihphuke, kechikwamba ngwo mungunu kha. Mumu aze manguzi mwasamo kaselamo ngwe chinyingi chakwamba ngwa ahaze nyiwa kwatako achize mwofa ngingwami. Yimwe yuma twakushihila muthwalima garden, ngwami yithumbo yatwamako thwakushihila thuthu nyingwami? Nyi muthu manda manwa aye kana nyingika ngwenyi ngwo achi nyinanwa mungufa nyimuthu manda manwa acho muze mafa kuchi chinalumbunuka? Acho kanalishihi mwene mulongo kana nyingika ngwenyi mungufa, mumu katele kunwa nyiyoze mukwa mugodi naye chechimuwikha nawa katele kusanga jize nguzi shimbu lyenali lina kwata lyeliwe.

EM: Khakhe ena hathunda uyikutala muthu mano kalino, kazengewe, mukulwana nyi anakalino kuzu wo nyimukwopwo mba malinga yamuthundu awo ena Khakha kuchi muchimona?

Gdma: Keve awo yenayo thunambe auze chechuma analingilila, uhulya uze analingila hanga afe.

EM: Muthu kakuzanga kufa?

Gdma: Eeh! Yika anamwina rogo? Kufa anafupu, mungyonga muthu kanalisu kika makatuka hazuwo hanji phande jimwe a

cut them in sizes like this and take them underground as support pillars. There are those chosen who are brave, who would go first in places to check for hanging rocks because not just everyone can go before those pillars are put there. When these chosen brave ones go in there, they are trained. They will have lights and iron bars and poke the roof of the tunnel. When they find a place that is weak, they would then call those trained in making it safe. When these come they would put concrete or support pillars. That's why, when you see those hard hats, they are for protection because underground even a small stone is dangerous if it fell on you without it [e.g., the hard hat]. But with a hard hat on it may fall and bounce on to the other side...In that case then it is because of his stubbornness. If he removed something he knows if he did remove rocks will fall and he dies, he may be called a fool. They wouldn't say that he is normal. No. Because those pillars are put there as a sign to show that if you touch there you will die. Not so. There is medication [e.g., chemicals] we use to kill pests in our garden. If a person drank such chemicals when he knows that by doing so he will die and died, what does that mean? He is killing himself because he knows he will die. He should not drink the chemicals just like a miner shouldn't remove the supporting pillars.

EM: Grandma, in your case here on surface, if somebody is normal, an adult with children and a wife at home and he did such a thing, how would you look at it?

Gdma: That's why we are saying that such a person is stubborn; he/she is doing that because he wants to die.

EM: Can a person want to die?

Gdma: Yes! Otherwise why would he drink

hanjika ha zuwo, nyi amwe akwo anajinyingika akuhi, aye hikwanda lwoji anande—ika ana zange?

Titus: Kufa.

Gdma: Ami nachimwene hanohene hali Samahuma, pwo ambachile waka ndole. Hapwila pwo kathwamanenyi mathangwa akehe lume kanda choka. Athu eswe hithwa njila mamazuwo nyimwe thuna nyingiko yakuhi, kwiva ndambukenu nalenale akwethu yika? Ngwo thwe nutale Samahuma hafa kwiza kumuwana aha chalamina nga. Acho kutala ha table kwandaho mukanda, kuutanga aa amimwane chuma muchingulya zango mulingulye acho lwizi mukhofa muhiwu aha lingelinge samahuma yangu. Kuhindikaho Samahuma lyangu, ikawa mbila kufila? Ngweni ngwo zango mulingulia—zango lya mutondo uka uze alinga mwanapwo mba hanga ulisukikilelyo? Kachi we chenga mwanamba maya mbena unazange thule ngwe zango, ethu nyi muthusa mulonga muli yewu, hamene? Kumwanbamba Samahumu...

poison? It's death he wants. Think of it—a person would want to hang himself, he will leave his house maybe because there were some words which were being discussed in the house which others may not be aware of. He picks a rope—what does he want?

Titus: Death.

Gdma: Personally, I saw it here in this village. Mr. Samahuma, he married a lady from Kandole. They were just a few weeks in marriage when one late evening came shouts of "Help! Help! Come and see Samahuma has died." We rushed there only to find him unconscious. On the table was a note and upon reading it he wrote that what had killed him was love. The rope was still around his neck but we managed to resuscitate him back to life. When he was conscious again, we said to him,

-“Samahuma, why did you want to die?”

-“It's love that would have killed me.”

-“What sort of love and from what kind of tree did the young woman make that you should hang yourself about it? You should have just let her go (because she is innocent) rather than making a widow because of love. What if we blamed her for your death; what about tomorrow?” We rebuked and rebuked him...

D.4 *Insaka with women, Chingola township, May 2005*

Chingola miners met with us numerous times and, towards the end of the research period, suggested that miner's wives join in a session that centered on the spate of accidents as discussed in chapter four. For that session, 10 women joined us and most contributed to the discussion. Transcription begins after introductions had been made. The meeting was conducted almost exclusively in Copperbelt Bemba.

EM: Nomba tutwalilile ukulanda.

EM: Now let's continue talking.

Woman #1: Ine ndelenda pafyo mwacilatila baKaunda Lembalemba balilanda ati cimupashi ecilelenga fyo, ine palwandi kutina tila awee. Pantu kuti nabamona ati uku kuli danger eko baletuma abantu. Ngefi iyiine accident yali kuMifulira abalelanda baleeba ati iciibi tacaisalike, balemona ati iciibi tacisalike baleenshafye bushe kuti waeba ati cimupashi? Yambi amaproblems fayalinga nokupepelapo ine eflyo ndemona. But nimbona ati ici naconaika ninshi teti ndungishishe nangu nimbona ati stove ile gumpa iyii kuya pimishafye utumalasha nakosha nayamba nokwipikapo. Ndeikatako fye lulya yandonsa elyo nati, "Yaah! Elyo bacilalanda ati stove ilagumpa! Nomba bena cinshi teti bawamisheko? Ngefifine kuKitwe kwaliba ati kwaliba danger. Danger (but) batumakofyeko abantu. Nabambi balishalo ku, bacingakofye ka waya akabufi, yambi amayanda bayafumyako but balishiba ati kwaliba danger—nabobene ngabafwa ati iyo cimupashi, iyo temupashi bafwile babombelapofye, bawamya.

EM: Bushe kuMifulira abobene abalingile ukwisala icikwepe niba nani?

Woman #1: Kabili okay baliisa landa ati necalengele ati bailonge sana, nici day iyafumineko alibakalipila sana ati mulecelwa, elyo iyo yimbi ati shaft number shani iyo ati yalifwile nomba driver alishiba ati icikwepe cilonga abantu so, nomba ena ninshi alongele over? Nga alikana ati

Woman #1: I would like to comment on what you said that Kaunda Lembalemba was saying it is an evil spirit that is causing that. In my opinion I would say "no." Because even when they have seen that there's danger that's where they are sending people. Just like this accident which happened in Mifulira, those who were reporting said that the door wasn't closed. They knew that the door is not closed but still moved. Can you then say that it is a spirit? Some problems do not deserve to be prayed on. That's how I see it personally. For instance, if I've seen that this is damaged [e.g., the cage]; why can't I repair it? Or if I see that the stove is shocking me, I have to go and buy charcoal and cook on it. But if I touch [e.g. the stove] and it shocks me then I say, "Yaah!" But they warned in advance that the stove is not working properly. You should repair it before using it. Likewise, why can't they repair that part of the mine? Just like in Kitwe mine dangerous section underground but they still send people there. Others have remained there [e.g., the open pit mine] They just fenced the place with a deceptive little wire when they know that that place is dangerous. They have only removed some houses. If those people die, would you still say it's an evil spirit? No it's not an evil spirit; they should just work on it and repair it.

EM: Who are those who were supposed to close the door of the cage in Mifulira?

mulandu.

EM: Driver?

Woman #1: Eeh, abene bashimine balilanda ati twalinina abengi, abene bashimine ebaleshimika muplant ku Mufurira.

Mr. M.: Okey ukubafwilishako apo, ifyo balandile ati, onse uwishingile pamugodi inshita ilishani, ninshi incito kupwa, eflyo babebele kuli bamanagement. All those who are not going to enter at a specific time, they are supposed to be fire. All this due to the pain of the management, without the people entering that cage overloading. As the end of result, they end up in accident, that is what happened.

Woman #1: So ifyo ninshi muleeba ati ninshi nibabani balelenga? Nomba ababene abasungu besu ninshi bashitila umugodi balimona ati kwena walyonaika? Bena besa mukucitafye continue bayamba ukubombafye ififine nabamona ati kwena aya amaspere parts yalyonaika. Ngabalatala bawamya baikala first for a short time batala bawamya filya fintu elyo nomba batumako abantu filya fine. Abantu balefwa kabili balibelesha ati tukaba foleshafye impiya. Bakufolesha ulupiya nalo ulupiya talulekokola ukupwa, one year namamonths fye mwaamba nokula cula nabana bayambafye nokulapitanafye mumusebo balabepa ati bamayo balifwa epondi but balebeepa ati bamayo balifwa ninsala yonse. Abalelenga buteko nabasungu ababene pamo.

Man #2: Ukubafulishako abafyashi, balelanda pafikwepe, mwalifikako pamugodi? [Women answer "yes" that most of them have been underground.] Icikwepe cabe ifi, calikwata amasection three, pashi, second stage elyo na three. Lulya muleingila

Woman #1: Again, okay, they said that what contributed greatly was the fact that the cage was overloaded because the previous day, they were highly rebuked for coming late. Another reason was that shaft number "what"⁶ was not working. But if the operator knew that the lift [e.g., cage] accommodates so many people, why did he overload? He should have refused, knowing that it was a crime to overload.

EM: Driver?

Woman #1: Yes, the miners themselves were saying that, "We were crowded in the lift." Miners themselves were the ones who were saying that in the plant from Mufurira.

Mr. M: Okay, to help her there, the people were told before hand that whoever will not enter at a specific time, will be fired. Because of the fear of the management, people ended up overcrowding in the cage. The end result was an accident. That is what happened.

Woman #1: So like that who are you saying is to be blamed? But these very *muzungus* of ours—why do they buy a mine when they know that surely the mine is not in good condition? Instead they just come and continue to start working just like when they know that spare parts are nonfunctional. They must start by servicing the machinery. They must stop production for a short time and only start production after they have serviced those things. Thereafter they can send people to go and resume work. People are dying because they are taking advantage of the fact that we will pay them money. They pay you money, but that money does not last. One year and some months you start suffering and the children start roaming the streets lying that "our mother is dead" even when I am there. They cheat that "our mother is dead" due to hunger. The

⁶ The translator notes that the Bemba words show the speaker does not know the number.

mucikwepe balilemba ati mucikwepa capanshi mufwile mwaingila abantu 50, pamulu 50 napakati 50 = 150. Nomba abantu lilya balepunda ati namucelwa, tamwingile bwangu, so mukucelwa mulya abantu bafula, namuuba late. Ama delay yaciba kulya kwi ne kumanagement abantu ukutila baleingila amaleti. Limbi tabacibapela bwangu amabuns, limbi tabacibapela bwangu amalight mwamona, so niproblem yaba nani? Balya bene kulya kumulu balacelwa abengi. Pakwingila napo baisa mweba ati mufwile mwaingila bwangu uwalashata pamulu twalamulemba, mwaufwa. So abantu instead ati banine 50 palya panshi palya ba nina 75 nangu ati 80 palya 75, palya pamulu nangu 90 mwamona so icikwepe cafina, icalashalako nomba ni accident. Efungacitika, naleloline efya citika. Filya fine ifyali kuMifulira ngefya citika nakunokwine leloline. Ine mfumine 04:00 hours pang'ada. So filya fyonse abalenga ni management. Ntilefye management na government so eifyo. Ingefyo balelandila ati bushe mucalo nomba twalaikala shani, pamulandu wakweba ati ubuteko bwatulekelesha.

Woman #3: Kwena ukukonkanyafye kumulandu waku mulekelesha wa mibombe, ndepelako fye example. Twalilufyako umulumendo mwana batata pa maflats palya. Ulyo mwana wafwile, umulumendo uwali munight, muday, nshishibe ngani muday nangu muafternoon. Kwali na batata bamo. Abo batata balikwata umwana uwikala muK. Ebo batumine ukuya bomba kuli iyo ncende umwacilandila sister wandi ukweba ati imo incende batumako abantu balishiba ati yalyonaika. Ilyo baile, baile beba ati mwalabombela kuli iyi ncende, balikene ati iyincende yalyonaika ine nshabombeleko. Abo batata balibabikile napa layoff. But umulumendo uwaishile

government and these *muzungus* together are the ones responsible for all this.

Man #2: To help my "parent," who was speaking about the lifts, have you been underground? [*Women answer "yes" that most of them have been underground.*] The cage is like this: it has three sections: below, second stage and third stage. As you are entering the cage, it is written that the capacity of the cage below is 50 people, on top 50 and in the middle 50 = 150. But when people hear the shouts that they are late, they end up crowding because they are late. Usually, people are delayed by the management and this makes enter underground late. Maybe they were not given buns⁷ or lights in good time. You see, so who is to blame? Most of the people who work on the surface are usually late. However, despite coming late, they still demand that all miners should enter in time or else they will cite anyone who remains on the surface for being late. So people instead of entering 50 on the lower cage, they enter 75 or 80, on top probably 90. As you can see, the cage has over shot its limit. What remains now is an accident. What happened in Mifulira would have happened even here today. This is despite the fact that I started off from my home at 04:00 hours. All this is caused by the management. Let me say management and government that's it. Like what has already been pointed out, how are we going to live in the country, since the government has neglected us?

Woman #3: Following the issue of being neglected at work, I will give an example. We lost a young man, a son of one of the fathers at the flats there. There was another man who was in the night shift, or day, I do not know whether it was day or afternoon shift. This man has a son who stays in K. He

⁷ The mining companies traditionally gave miners bread or buns to eat before they went underground.

⁸ This is a reference to the Air Force crash that took place the same day as the Mifulira cage crash.

munight, eo batuma kulya ukwacikana abo batata. But ena elyo aile uko kucende cacine nokufwa aliyamfwa. But following day balibwela, nomba mwalacita shani? Ati ukukwine batwele umulumendo eko bandembele na layoff, mwamona kwafwa nomuntu. So mwamona kumulandu wabenensu ababene abaleshita imigodi kuli umulekelesha waifi, ico balefwayako bena ni ndalama, imyeo yaifwe fwebantu tabaleifwaya tabaleisakamana...ukulingana nefyo nacimona ine.

EM: Mulandunshi tabafwaila imyeo yenu?

Woman #4: Nindalama bakonka abasungu.

Woman: Nokumona ati muZambia $\frac{3}{4}$ abantu tababomba, nangu bafwe tukayatola nabambi nabambi bakengililapo, balya kubafoleshafye ulupiya abakashi, batola nabambi, twaingishishapo nabambi bafwa. Tabalefwaya ukulungisha amamachine.

EM: So baKaunda Lembalemba ngatwali baletete apa fintu fyamusango shani mwigabeba, pantu ebalelaanda pamulabasa ukutila, I think natuleya mukupepa and baita nabantu mukupepa. So yalya amapepo yacitike kuLusaka mulendapo shani? Bucetekelo nshi tubikilemo ukutila yala afwilisha musangonshi?

Response: BaKaunda Lembalemba teti beshibe tabengilapo, beba abakutanshi balya bene amamanagers abafimba pafintu, mwaumfwa eflyo nasosa? BaKaunda Lembalemba tatwabape icilubo, ilingiline, nalibomba muZCCM for 24 years, fye bana mayo twalishiba no mutitikisha uwo baletutitikisha, apapene boss kuti apange cintu. Ati calikwata amastages, ndemona kwali boss, noukonkelepo noukonkelepo. Nomba kuti mwasanga ificitika boss umo uwapa last tafishibe, aba bambi ba boss

was the one they sent to go and work in that place just like my sister has said about certain places they assign people despite knowing that the place is not safe. When he went, he was assigned to work in that place. He refused saying that it was not safe. He was immediately put on lay off because of that. But the young man who came in night [shift] is the one who was assigned to work in that place. Of course, when that young man went to that place he died. But following day, the old man who was laid off came and confronted them saying, what are you going to do since the very place where I refused to work is where you sent the young man and you laid me off. As you can see, these "friends of ours" who are buying mines are highly negligent. They are just after money. They are not concerned about our lives—according to how I am seeing it.

EM: Why are they not concerned about your lives?

Woman #4: It's money they've followed these whites.

Woman: They have seen that in Zambia $\frac{3}{4}$ of the people are unemployed. Even if they die, we are going to easily replace them. For the dead they just pay money to their wives. They pick [e.g., as in picking something that is not all that valuable but readily available] others, again they die. That is why they do not want to repair the machines.

EM: So if we were to bring Kaunda Lembalemba here, what sort of things would you say to him, because he is the one who was speaking on TV that we should pray about it and he called people to pray. What would you say about those prayers which were conducted in Lusaka? In which way do you have any faith that those prayers would help to change things?

nabafishiba. So baKaunda Lembalemba nangu baletila natupepe tabafishibe ati mulekelesha wabantu. According na mageneral managers tabalefisha ilyashi kuli minister ukutila ubwafya buli apa, pantu nabo baletina ukubapela umulandu ninshi muletumina abantu kufintu ifya onaika.

Man: Apopene bamayo banaKasongo ififine balanda, cishinka ifyofine balanda, pantu mwandine nga bati bebe direct ba government, kuti bacita ati twalabeminika bonse...

Woman: Ba mwenye sana sana ukusuminisha ba mwenye mucalo cimo noku itila napo impepo nangu kutiwatila umulilo. Sure sure ukwita bamwenye ukwisa mukututeka mumushi, mucalo mumwesu. Ba mwenye balya ifyo baikatilila balya bapepa utulubi balikwata utuntu twabo uto bapepa. Na mumine umumwine balitubikamo tuntu baisa nato emo twaba bambi baliya tumona nokutumona.

EM: Nakuno kwine nabatubika?

Woman: Nakuno kwine balitubika, so balya balisa nefintu ifingi imyeo yabantu yakulaonaikafye. Apa kulakosa fye ukupepa. Otherwise ngatapali uku pepa imyeo shabantu shingi shalaonaika kuli aba abantu basuminishi ukwisa mucalo. Ba mwenye teti batungulule. Balesendafye ulupiya luleya, fyebene fye bekala muno calo ninsala fye. Ifwe fwebene mumone imisebo shalyonaika but ekufuma ulupiya kuno especially nganikuno kuChingola nga ni kuCopperbelt. Chingola imisebo shesu shalyonaika. Iyi Chingola (mine) e second largest mucalo but imisebo shalyonaika ninshi ninshi?

Man: Tulundepofye napopene. Mwalishiba ifintu ngafi lecitika ifisoswa fingi, palasoswa ifintu ifingi sana. Nabaleti ati niuyu wine President (kabili mulefwaya tulande ifilecita)

Response: Mr. Kaunda Lembalemba cannot know. He does not enter the mines but he instructs those very managers who cover on things, "Are you following what I am saying?" We won't blame Kaunda Lembalemba. I worked in ZCCM for 24 years and we women know about the oppression we experienced. A boss will simply make up something. There is a lot of beaucracy in the management; I should say there is a boss, the one who comes after him and the next. But you'll find that the final in command does not know while all other bosses are aware. So Kaunda Lembalemba, even if he says, "Let us pray" he doesn't know that it's all about people's negligence. The general managers do not report the truth to the minister about where the real problem is because they are afraid to be found at fault for sending people to work with damaged machinery.

Man: Just there Mrs Kasongo, you said the truth because if the managers told the government the truth, the government might discipline or suspend them...

Woman: Especially Indians, allowing Indians in the country is like pouring coldness or fire on ourselves. Surely how could we invite Indians to come and rule us in our own country, our own village. Those Indians they hold onto [e.g., believe] so many things. They pray to idols and have their own small things which they worship. Even in these mines they have put these things they came with here. They are in there; some people have seen them.

EM: Even here they have put them?

Woman: Even here they have put them. Those Indians have come with many "things" and people's lives will continue perishing. Here, we need to be strong in prayer. Otherwise, if there are no prayers, a lot of

ifi filefuma uku kwina bekala kuLusaka uku. Ababene (ba president) eko baile kuIndiako mukupalwa, kuti aya shani mukupalwa kulya kuli mwenye. Ukucila kumuntu munabo [*everyone agrees*]. Ukufuma apo babwelela kulya ifintu fyalikonkana: banyina bafwa, ama nieces na brothers bafwa.

Another man: Ico bailiile kuIndia kukupalwa, babapela nama Rice ayengi sana [*everyone agrees & laughter follows*]...

Man: So ukufumapo ifintu nafikonkana sana ukufuma apo bafumina musamba kuIndia. Abantu baleilishanya daily...

Another Man: Ifyo mwalanda bamayo cinshika banyina waba president ukufwa muli minibus!...

EM: Kwaliba imfwa shimo shilya balanda ati bamuposelekofye, kuti mwa landapo shani?

Response: Eifyo tulandapo ati babwelafye kuIndia—kuti twayeba ati chisomo.

EM: Kuti mwa citondolola shani (ichisomo) kuli ine ne ushili umubemba?

Woman: Kuti twalondolola ukutila balya baile ku kupalwa kuIndia, after fye balebwela kuIndia, bapalilwa muli ba nyina bapya umulilo ati bapya banyina. Babalilapo umulopa/umubili waba nyina ba ucita sacrifice, after ba cita sacrifice umubili wabanyina nomba baya ukulakonkanyapofye abantu babo, na bana bene aba kumasukulu uko bafwa, bene nimpia shonse shilya nimpia shalitulama muState House. Uku bashimine balefwafye.

Another woman: Talangako (president) nobulanda filya ati alemonekako no bulanda awe. Chiluba alelilako mwamonako

lives will perish because these people we've allowed in our country. Indians cannot lead us. They are just taking away money while we, the owners of the country are left in hunger. We the owners just look at our roads, they are damaged. Ironically, this is where money comes from especially here in Chingola [mine] which is the second largest in the world, but our roads are damaged. What does this mean?

Man: Let us add on to that point. You know when things are happening much is said. Some people are saying it is this very president (didn't you say you want us to say what is happening?). These things are being caused by the president who lives in Lusaka. The president went to India to be blessed, in any case, why should the president seek blessings from Indians rather than from his fellow black people? Since he came back from India, disasters have been happening one after the other: his mother died, his nieces and brothers died.

Another man: When he went to India to be blessed, he was also given plenty of rice [*everyone agrees & laughter follows*]...

Man: Since he returned from having been cleansed [bathed] in India, bad things have happened, one after the other. People are complaining daily...

Another man: What you have said my mother is very true, the mother of the President dying in a minibus!...

EM: There are some deaths that they say s/he was just thrown him/her there, what would you say about it?

Response: That is what we're saying—that he just came back from India—we can say *chisomo*.

nefilamba. Nomba uyu ena awee. Aumfwa na accident anina aya. Elyo nama church yafula. Mailo asepako uku aleka asepako uku aleka—president, icimweneno cesu cilesankanyafye ama church. Umuntu asha abantu bali muaccident, anina indeke aya asha abantu balelosha.

EM: Ndepembela imwe kunuma uko mulandepo.

Woman: Ninshi teti mutwebele solution ifyo mulefwaya ukucila tulensotana iminwe.

EM: Mayo ifwe solution tatukwete, nakuba solution ifimu mukulanda.

Woman: Umo nalosha, lekeni nande pantu naleumfwa elyo batata balelanda balekondema sana baKaunda. Nomba ngati mwibukishe kunumoku twafuma elyo kwali baKaunda, kwali ati baKaunda bacitefi, paisa baChiluba ati baChiluba bacitefi nomba pali Mwanawasa ati Mwanawasa aleipaya abantu, mwamona, bambi ati aba bene abasungu ebaleipaya abantu. Nomba ine mukucimona kwandi, not ati Mwanawasa wakaele pantu takwata icikuku, Mwanawasa icocena nali mukondema. Limo limo ama politics yalepailamo nafwe bakaye [everyone agrees]...

EM: Okay. Bushe umuntu nga nakwata driving license aipaya abantu, so teti tulande ati chisomo? Nge chisomo cisa shani pakweba ati abantu bamone ati kwena apa chisomo?

Man: Bamayo bacilondolola aba abalyapa bambi cibafye camulupwa, bamona ati abana basambilila sana bamo mufamily bacita organize, fimbi nifilya ifya kweba ati balimuli bus, bus kuti ya beuka limbi na ba kaele bafwilamo niumo uyulengele uwo basomwene kucilupwa lwakwe. But bus ilya

EM: How can you explain (*ichisomo*) to me who is not a Bemba?

Woman: We can explain like this: that man went to be blessed in India, just after he returned from India, he was “blessed” through the death of his mother in fire. He started by sacrificing his mother’s blood/body, then his own relatives, then school children died. What he is after is money which is piling up in State House, while the miners continue to die.

Another woman: He doesn’t even show sympathy, not at all. Chiluba would cry and we saw his tears. But this president does not. When he hears of the accident, off he flies away. In addition, he has claimed membership of many churches. The other day he worships in this church; he stops. Then another church; he stops—President is our role model but he is the one who mixes churches [*the word “mixing” here is the same one used when someone freely switches girlfriends*]. He flies out of the country, when people are in an accident and families are moaning.

EM: I am waiting for you behind there to say something.

Woman: Why cannot you just tell us the solution of what you want rather than for us to start pointing fingers at each other?

EM: My mother, we do not have the solution, by the way, a solution comes from discussions.

Woman: Let me explain what I mean because I used to hear when my father would talk, he would condemn Kaunda. Now if you remember the recent past, we said things like “Kaunda did this and that.” Chiluba came and we said “Chiluba has done this and that.” Now there’s Mwanawasa, and we say

yipywa na driver limbi alikwata na license.

Another woman: Ifyo, twaumfwa, nombwa ine icilempapusha cakwebwa ati balya abana bafwile (Kawambwa boys) bali abume, abafwile kuZAF baume, bashimine abalefwa bonse baume—so, uwulecitefi alifye unga umo.

EM: Limbi fye baume palifyo tulufyenye nangu katwishi.

Woman: Aah—nombwa kwati icebo cilefikilishiwa. Pantu naBible calilembwa ati muma last days banamayo bakafula, bakalayafye kumwaume umo limbi abali 6 ati tukwatileko fye ishina nine Mrs. Mayembe, basaiko nabali 10 wemwine wabakofye weka nabambi line baisoko tubeko ba Mrs. Mayembi. Pantu ifwe abaume balapwa ukufwa so ifwe banakashi ninshi twakulacita.

EM: Mwanawasa baliya mukupalwa kulya (India), akale naleumfwa ati intungulushi shesu shilayako kumishi, ukubwelako kumishi, so nga aile kumushi nga caliwama ukucila ukuya kuIndia. [*Debate follows and the conclusion is that yes, our own type of “blessing” is better and maybe mix it with Christianity but not the “Indian blessing.”*]

Mr. S. Mutale: Ciba so, like uyu uwafwile ifyo caliniso, ine nombela kulya kwine ukwafwilile ulya. Ne libwe lilya line afwililepo naliya nyantapo no lukasa. Lyali libwe ilitali kwati lipulanga ili, lyaponene ifi; alipona ifi, bonse 4 ngabafwilile kulya kwine. Nombwa lyakonkelefyekafye. Ilyo afwile umulumendo following day balishile more than 30, ba majestri, mine police Chingola, ba safety aba kuChililabombwe, Kitwe. So ifyo baishile kulya kufwailisha bushe umulumendo acifwa shani, elyo icilibwe epo cafumine apa paipipa. Nombwa balya bene abaci bosses besu kufwaya

Mwanawasa is killing people, while others are saying it's these *bazungus* who are killing people. But I, the way I see it, I am not saying that Mwanawasa is blameless because he has no empathy which I have highly condemned. Sometimes politics can lead to the death of some of us who are innocent [*everyone agrees*]...

EM. Okay, If a person who holds a driving license kills people, can we say that it was due to *chisomo*? How does *chisomo* come for people to tell that this [is] *chisomo*?

Man: My mother here has already explained that at times it comes through the family. When people realize that someone's children are well educated, some family members organize *ichisomo* and if are in the bus and it overturns, and innocent lives are lost. The cause is the person who was targeted by *chisomo* from his own family. This is despite the fact that the bus is new and the driver has a license.

Another woman: That we have heard, but it is surprising to me that the children (Kawambwa boys) who died were male, those who died in ZAF⁸ were male, miners are all men, so it shows that the same person is causing all these deaths.

EM. Maybe we men have done something wrong or I do not know.

Woman: Aah—now maybe the word is being fulfilled. Because in the Bible it is written that in the last days women will be many; they will be going after one man, six of them will go to one man saying, “Just marry us for the name.” I am the only Mrs. Mayembe, but other 10 women will come, “We also want your man so we can also be called Mrs. Mayembe.” If our men will finish dying, what are going to be doing as women?

ukucingila ulyo mulandu, nomba ishuko ulu majistrate wapa town nibawishikulu elyo ba safety nine nalebasenda mulikamotoka. Baikele safety, government inspector na majistrate baleitotosha baikele babili. Baisa bepusha bamangager, uyu wine, Njovu balisa mwipusha ati imwe bashimwana bushe mwalishiba ati iyi ground yaliba bwino nangu tayaba bwino [unintelligible] mukwasuka bena baeba ati twaishiba ati tayaba bwino—mwaumfwa baikaka apo one. Baisaipusha futi uwa mukonkapo bushe ground iyi, yaliba bwino, ati iyo taya ba bwino, alelemba. Nomba ilyo baishile kumanda ekwali ubwafya. Kwamba ukuba shobaula ukuba shobaula, elyo aisa beba ati no muntu uwalemipusha tamwamwishibe. Nalimwipwishe nati bushe ground yaba shani iyi mwajebele ati ground tayaba bwino nomba if ground tayaba bwino ninshi mwaiingishishe abantu? Mwamona so abene beka baikaka. Icasheleko nomba kulasumina fye. Pantu bena balefyaye ukucingilila, bainashisheko, babikepo ifya ifyo, so abene baishina. Emilandu shashala umu nanomba na mailo balelubulula. *[He explains more about the victim's jobs and then continues:]* Ubushiku afwile ali na banankwe four, ena afumapo apaikela abanankwe ayaiikala eka filya. Epamusangile ilibwe.

EM: Nomba ifyo nshishibe emo mwinga filosha umuntu aya ikalefyo. Ngacakweba ati tuli pacililo tuleshimika ifyo finshi abantu bengalanda.

Man: Ati balimusunkilapo fye.

Woman: Pantu ico cine icalengele ati cimufumyepo palya pa banankwe ecamupamfishe ukuti afwe eka.

Mr. S. Mutale: Awee ifyo ndelondolola nifi, ifwe fino twikele batatu na mafosholo natukwata tulelaisha, ine kulya mpelele napwa abapa tabalapwisha, elyo nomba

EM: Mwanawasa went for blessings to India, in the past, I used to hear that our leaders would go to the village [e.g., to be “cooked”] or return home, so if he had gone back to the village instead of India, would that have been better than India? *[Debate follows and the conclusion is that yes, our own type of “blessing” is better and maybe mix it with Christianity but not the “Indian blessing.”]*

Mr. S. Mutale: It is like this: like this one who died it was like this. For instance, I work in the same area where that man died. Even the very stone that killed him, I stepped on it. It was a long stone like a plank, and it dropped like this. If it dropped like this, all four of them would have died on that spot. But the stone just followed him alone. The following day after the young man died, more than 30 people came. Among them were magistrates, mine police of Chingola, and safety people from Chililabombwe and Kitwe. They came to investigate how the young man died since the stone fell from short distance [e.g. low level]. When the very bosses wanted to hide the evidence, luckily enough, this magistrate from Chingola is the grandfather to the young man who died. I am the one who carried them in the car. They sat like this: safety people, government inspector and magistrate. So the government and the magistrate whispered to each other. Then they asked the manager, this very one, Mr. Njovu, “You Mr. Do you know whether this ground is safe or not?” In answering he said, “We know that it is not safe.” Can you hear that? He convicted himself. They asked again the next one, “Is this ground safe?” He answered that it was not safe and they wrote down those statements. Now when they came to the graveyard that is where trouble begun. They told the mine bosses off. Then he said to them that they even did not know the person who asked you those questions. I asked you

naisafumapo naisa nakuno kunuma ndefwaya ukutushako nanaka, mwamona, elyo nansunsumanakofye nelibwe lyaisa, mukulanda kuti twatilafye nicifye caba. Otherwise nici ilibwe lyaponene so, aliponefi bonse ngabalifwa.

Another man: So ifyo ngatwati tulande nga bena Africa.

EM: Ifyo fine efyo ndefwaya tulande, tulande nga abena Africa. I think ubwafya tufwaya ukulanda nga bambi. Pantu ine naleumfwa akale ukutila bamayo ifwe—bashitata nga nabaya panshi bashalafye nabekala tabenda. Ninshila inshi mwafwilishishamo pakweba ati batata palya panshi batalukako kumasanso, nangu kwalibako ifintu fimo ifyo mwingalenga ukuti batata palya panshi basangwa mubusanso?

Woman: Kwena ngabamona umunobe caba filya, kwaba ubusanso bambi bapela icilubo ati we mwanakashi ulenda mwamona, elyo limo nga caba muli iyo nshila cabafye umwine imibele abelamo. Ngatomfwa filyafine nabantu kutilafye nga mulumendo uko apelefumo, uku aya noyu mwanakashi, uku aya noyu mwanakashi nomba again fyaba sana abantu balelanda uleumfwa wilacita ifya musango uyu. Limo filakonkamo filya, tebonse kwena, kuntambi shesu filankoka ati mibele yakwe tomfwa. Elyo nganifwe banamayo balatweba nge fyo fine ati mukashi wakwe uwamuletelele pantu tomfwa talelangulukilako umunankwe ifintu alebomba. Pantu nangu abanensu nabaya kuncito tulakwata uku balombela ko pakweba ati balebomba fye bwino...

Another woman: Nga filya cali kupiti [open pit] nabo balelumbulako batata bamo ku kabundi ati abalenga pantu balikokola napakubamona. Elyo ninshi babatolele bansangapo nefintu babasangako nemikana

whether the ground was safe or not and you said it was not. Now if the ground is not good, why did you send people to work there? So you see they convicted themselves. What remained was for them to admit that they were wrong. Because they wanted to protect themselves in order to make things easy for themselves by ignoring the real issue. This is the case which is still there. Even yesterday they were still sorting out the same issue. [*He explains more about the victim's jobs and then continues.*] The day he died, he was with his four friends but he left them and sat alone a few meters away. That is where the stone found him.

EM: Now I don't know how you would explain a person leaving his friends and sitting like that. If we are at a funeral house and we try to explain that, what will people say about it?

Man: That they just pushed him there.

Woman: Because the very thing that caused him to leave the place where he was with his friends is the very thing that forced him to die alone.

Mr. S. Mutale: No. What I am explaining is this: just like we're seated the three of us here with shovels in our hands lashing, I finish my part while my friends have not yet finished. So that is when I go behind them to get some rest because I am tired. Just as I squat, the stone falls. If we have to talk, "We'll just say that he was just unfortunate." Otherwise, only that the stone fell like this, if it were like this, all would have died.

Another man: So, on that, if we were to speak as Africans.

EM: That is how I want us to speak. Let us speak as Africans. I think the problem is that we want to speak as people. Because I

mumisana.

Man: In fact balemweba ati ukutakuli bwino, ne citofu ici tacili bwino [*Then he explains a scene*].

Woman: Yambi amadangers kwaliba nabeshiba ati uku takwaba bwino baletumako abantu, ekubuteko. Elyo yambi naya tayeshibikwa, takube kwishiba ati calabe ifi kuti incende yalibafye bwino. Nangu mu maaccidents kuti umusebo walibafye bwino. Apacitikila na accident palifye na bwino bwino fyene na motoka yacibafye iyi ntutulu.

EM: Ilingiline umuntu nga afwa twaleufwako amalyashi yakutila kafulumende ngailefwailisha nolupwa nalwena bafwaya ukufwailisha ukumona ukutila umuntu wesu afwa shani. Bushe kulyo kufwailisha kupusana shani ukwa buteko nolupwa, fintu shi baloleshapo nangu bacita pakweba ati bashibe ati umuntu wafwa shani?...

Response. Umuntu nga afwa, ubuteko bulafwailisha ne ndupwa nasho shalifwaya ukutila twishibe. Finshi fitumbukamo mukufwailikisha—nge fifine muGabon air crash bushe balisanga ifishinka finshi fyalengele ati bafwe—efiipusha baMuthwejile.

EM: So ngatuletonkanya mubili nangu mutatu, mubuteko emo nacilaumfwa ati batu wamishe ifintu. Ninshi mumbi umo mulelanda ati ukulingana nentambi shesu, ngamwena ifyo twingacita finshi?

Woman: Kwikala panshi nokumfwa ngefi twikele tuleumfwako fimo ati kanshi imfwa ngayalishile kuti nakwatapo idea yakucita fimo. Pakuti waishi icilelenga nifi. Uko baikala baikalefi.

Another woman: Kwena tekweba ati nikubuntuse kweka nakumulandu wabuteko

have heard that when the men go underground their women on surface [at home] should not move anyhow. In what way do you women help your husbands not be involved in accidents underground, or are there things that you could cause your husbands to have accidents down there?

Woman: Well, when they see your spouse is involved in an accident, some blame the wife that, “you woman, you ‘move about.’” [e.g., “You are unfaithful.”]. Or sometimes it could be the miner himself. His character, making this woman pregnant, this one and that one. So when such behavior is too much, according to our tradition, bad things follow because your behavior is bad. And if us women, they tell us that it’s the wife that has brought misfortune on the husband because of her unfaithfulness or she does not empathize with her husband’s work. Because when our husbands are working, we do not even pray for them so that they work well...

Another woman: Like it was at the open pit they were suspecting a certain man from Kabundi because it even took time to find his body. When he was finally found, he had things in his waist and other stuff beside his body.

Man: In fact, he was even warned that that place is not safe and that [the] ground was not strong...

Woman: In some cases, even when they know that this place is not good, they still send people there, this kind of accidents are to be blamed on government. Some dangers we may not even explain them. People do not even suspect that something bad is going to happen despite the fact that the place is safe. Sometimes accidents happen even when both the road and the vehicle are in good conditions.

nako kuli problem, ubwafya ekobuli. Ngefifine imifolele yabantu ngafilya twacilanda tata wandi taili iya kweba ati abantu basekelemo.

Another woman: Ine ndelanda pali bamayo ifi bacilanda. Ilingiline okay ifye banamayo tulakwata problem, ilye iya kweba ati limbi nawishiba nokwishi ati kwena umulume naya kuncito limo tulakwatamo problem, limo tatupepa, limo nifilya ifya kweba ati umwine aisa takwete ne congo watampa ukumulakisha. Efilya musanga ukweba ati accident ya citikila, kwisa, kuncito. Fyonse ifyo fila kwata problem. Pantu limo tulatuma abanensu kuli bukabolala. Eeh pantu abanensu ba "neba" apa balalya inkoko nenama, limbi aya iba, iwe wakumbwa. So nafyo filya filalenga problem, ukweba ati umulume obe kulya amatontonkanyo alekana nokubomba bwino pancito palya. Aletontonkanyafye ati so nga naya kunganda alaya mukunkalifya ukutontonkanya instead apose amano pancito, limbi ayamba ukutontonknayafye fimbi fimbi. Efilya mwisa mukumona ati limbi naba ponela kumbi uko, limbi nabafwa. So ifwe nga banamayo tufwile ukulaafwilishako bashitata mumapepo. Ukulapepa sana nabo, ukucingililako amaka yamulwani. So eflyo ningalandakofye ifyo fine...

EM. Mostly when a person dies, we hear that while the government is investigating the cause of death, family members are also doing the same. What is the difference between the two investigations? What things do they consider in order to know the cause?...

Response: When people die in accidents, the government investigates and the families also do the same in order to know the cause. What comes from those investigations, like the Gabon air crash, did they find the real cause of those deaths? This is what Mr. Muthwejile is asking.

EM: If I have heard correctly, we have two or three perspectives which have controlled our discussion so far. We have heard that government should improve on certain things. How about our traditions, what things can we do?

Woman: It is by sitting down like we've done here and listen. Listening that if death were to come, I could have an idea of what to do about it. Because I would know the cause. And that how other people in other places is like this.

Another woman: It's not just about our traditions, even to the government, there is a problem. The problem is there. Like we said my son, the salaries are not adequate for people to be happy about.

Another woman: For me I would like to talk about what the other lady said. In most cases, we women have a problem. Even when we know that our husbands are at work, we don't pray. Other times, my husband will come from work quietly but I will start nagging. That is why we may find accidents happening at work. At sometimes we send force our husbands to steal. Yes, because we complained to our husbands that

our neighbors eat chicken and meat, so he might go and steal. All this might cause problems since your husbands' thoughts will be distracted. He might be worried that "When I go home my wife will provoke me," so instead of concentrating on his work, he starts thinking about all sorts of things. This is why we may find he has fallen on the other side, or he is dead. It is we women, who should be helping our husbands in prayers. We should be praying with them very much so that we block the enemy's strength. So that is what I can say....

D.5 Man turned crocodile, Chingola township, November, 2004

Enroute to an insaka in Chingola one day, a participant, a miner in his 50s, began telling other passengers in the car about something that had happened to a nearby acquaintance. Enock turned on the tape recorder and began asking questions.

EM: Nomba abo bashitata ninshi bale chitila fye kanshi? Ukalamoneka ifyo elyo? So nomba balicita litaya kuli bu lecturer bali?

EM: Now that man: why was he doing that [e.g., appearing like that]? And had he retired from being a lecturer?

Mr. M: Okay balebomba filyafine mumiine ukufika apobacitile retire. Palyapene epo baishile luba ilyo line. Baluba na bantu bashininkisha ati, umuntu nafwa pantu Ing'wena naimwikata.

Mr. M: Okay he was working in the mine until he retired. That is when he disappeared. When he got lost people believed that the person [e.g., the man who is the subject of this conversation] has died, the crocodile has caught him.

EM: Baile kukamana?

EM: Did he go to the stream?

Mr. M: Baile no mwipwa wabo kukamana.

Mr. M: He went with his nephew to the stream.

EM: Mukwikate sabi?

EM: To catch fish?

Mr. M: Katwishi ifyo baile mukufwayako. So kulya kwine baeba umwipwa wabo ati, naisa nsambe ko. So ekufula ifya kufwala basha babika. Ekuya napamumana, palya pamumana In'gwena ekubekata. So balelwisha filya balepunda, umwipwa wabo ayako ukuti abadonse. Cilya ati abadonse, aisamona uku [unintelligible] cilya icakunuma [unintelligible] yabebisha napamenshi. So ebele bayama bafwa, in'gwena yabasenda. Yafika palya futi baisafuntuka. So eflyo baile ifyo fine. So umwipwa wabo kusendafye ifya kufwala. So palipita, ni 3 weeks yapitile po ayi? Eee papitile 3 weeks, ninshi necililo baliteka. Nalamilanga pamwabo apobaleikala. Pamupundu apa. Kanshi kuLuanshya kulya bayabatola balifye ubwamba, bafwelefyeye kwati amasaka fye so.

Mr. M: We do not know what they went to do. So right there he told the nephew, "Let me take a bath." So he undressed and put the clothes aside; that is how he went into the river. Whilst in the water, a crocodile caught him and he started struggling, and shouting. His nephew rushed to the scene and wanted to pull him out. Unfortunately, he only saw the backside of the crocodile pull into deep waters. So he concluded that, "My uncle has died, a crocodile has taken him."

After some time, the crocodile emerged again.⁹ So that is how he disappeared, just like that. So the nephew took his uncle's clothes and went home. After three weeks had passed, yes, three weeks, and the funeral had

⁹ The translator notes that this refers to a widespread belief that, when crocodiles claim their prey, they submerge themselves then re-emerge to show what they have caught. Therefore, the speaker refers to this belief as a way of saying that the man was really taken. He was seen twice.

¹⁰ The Bemba imagery conveys that the man's face was still human while his back was already that of a crocodile.

EM: Ekubatola abatuntulufye so, been conducted, the man reappeared. I will show you where he used to live. Here at the tubasunike? mupundu [tree]. He was found in Luanshya naked. He was just naked, and dressed in sacks.

Mr. M: Awe.

EM: But balifwa?

Mr. M: Apo baishiba ati baliifwa.

EM: Inga kulya bali, bushe bali abatuntulu?

Mr. M: No!

Mr. M: Abatuntula fino fine fye. Balibwela EM: They thought he was dead? twalelanda nabo bali pa nanda pa mwabo. Mr. M: They knew that he was dead. Ninshi mu nanda mumwamo balishamo abakunsokela.

EM: There, was he alive?

Another passenger: Balishitisha ing'anda.

Mr. M: Alive just like me. He came back; we even spoke to him at his house. It is only that in his house, he had left people to rent it.

EM: Chinshika imwe mulelanda?

Another passenger: He sold the house.

Mr. M: Ala!

EM: Is what you are saying true?

EM: Bayabatola ninshi bafwele fye?

Mr. M: Bafwele fye utumasaka. Inanda yabo, iyi iya green umutenge, iyo iyo. Ilyo Mr. M: "Yes!" ["Really!"] twaleinuka pa sondu mu night shift, Lombe ni bululu wabo. So ninshi nabeminina apo. EM: When they picked him, what was he putting on? Tulebabaibisha, batwita, ebaletulondo lwela ifyo balubile.

Mr. M: He was just putting on sacks. His house is there. The one with the green roof, over there. When we knocked off on Sunday, when we were on night shift, Lombe is his relative, and the man [e.g., the man turned crocodile] was standing there. He was waving at us and he called us. He is the one who was explaining to us how he had gone missing.

EM: Balandile ati baile kwi?

EM: Where did he say he had gone?

Mr. M: Ifyo balelanda teti mwikatepo nechinshinka iyo, teti mwikatepo nechishinka.

Mr. M: Nomba baendele shani?

Mr. M: Mumenshi ukuya fika kuLuanshya.

EM: NaKafue River?

Mr. M: Eee!

EM: Balebomba inchito nshi kumini?

Mr. M: From whatever he was saying, you could not get any truth, no, you could not get any truth.

Mr. M: Iyi yine iyabu lecturer.

EM: Kumaini?

Mr. M: Eee. Balesangwa mulya mwine muma trades school.

EM: So conclusion mwapanga mwapanga ati shani? Mukuchimona kwenu.

Mr. M: Baloshi balya. Baloshi. Echo balefwaya twasangile ati balasanguka ing'wena abene. So lilya bali mumenshi, baleita umwipwa wabo ati 'ndosako' ninshi halfway nabasanguka ing'wena.

EM: So umwipwa wabo taishibe?

Mr. M: Palya ifyo balefwaya nga baikata umwipwa wabo, kumudonsa, baye namumenshi baye balye. So lilya afilwa ukuti ayepo, ekwisa mona kwati ichanuma [unintelligible] chapilibuka, kanshi ebene abasangwike ing'wena.

EM: So ku ng'anda tababweleleko ubobushiku?

Mr. M: Palipita three weeks. Bateka nechililo kabili umwipwa wabo kwisalanda ati inwena nayibekata.

EM: Nomba ilyo babwelele chali shani? Balikwata naba kashi?

Mr. M: Balikwata. So kwaishileya balupwa nabambi kuKafue, basanga fye ati nabaya. Kwisatekafye cilio. But lilya yasafika Sunday, abakashi baima baya naku church. Kwati abakashi baliishiba amapulani yabo. Tabaposeleko amano sana. Tabaposeleko namano. Baisaiima baya katwishi nga ni kuKitwe naba muka Philipo. Katwishi uko baile mukulongana. Noposako namano.

EM: Now how did he move [e.g., go]?

Mr. M.: In water up to Luanshya.

EM: With [e.g., Via the] Kafue River?

Mr. M.: Yes.

EM: What kind of work was he doing in the mines?

Mr. M.: Lecturing.

EM: In the mines?

Mr. M: Yes. He used to teach in Trade Schools.

EM: So what conclusion did you make in your view?

Mr. M: He is a wizard. He is a wizard. We found out what he was after. He turns into a crocodile. So when he was in water calling for help from his nephew, and saying to his nephew "pull me out" he already turned into a crocodile halfway.¹⁰

EM: Didn't his nephew know?

Mr. M: What he was after was to catch his nephew by pulling him into water and eat him. So when he failed to go there, he saw as though it had turned [e.g., the back of the crocodile], but it was him [e.g., the uncle] who had turned into a crocodile.

EM: So he did not go back home that day?

Mr. M: Three weeks passed. They even had a funeral, because the nephew said the crocodile has caught him.

EM: Now when he came back, how was it? Is he married?

EM: Fyalechitika last year?

Mr. M: Mu2001.

EM: So abantu muChingola baliishiba?

Mr. M: Bengi sana abaishiba.

EM: Ninshi baleikalila kwati abapina lelo bali abalisambilila?

Mr. M: Abamonekako nga fino ndemoneka efilyako, nomba imifwalile fye yabo ukufuma fye nakunuma, very poor. Nomba umuntu uwasambilila elyo alebomba mumaini, ne cifulo bakwete cikulu.

EM: Mukumona kwenu icitwalo muntu, ukusanguka ing'wena, ninshi banonkamo?

Mr. M: Ayomano yabu Satana. Imilimo yakwa Satana eflyo yaba.

Mr. M: He is. So the family and others went to Kafue they found that he was gone. They just held a funeral. But when Sunday came, the wife went to church. It was as though the wife knew his plans. She did not mind much, she did not mind much. She got up and went, I do not know, to Kitwe with Phillip's wife. I do not know where they went, for a meeting. She did not mind.

EM: Did this happen last year?

Mr. M: In 2001.

EM: So do people in Chingola know?

Mr. M: Many people know.

EM: Why was he living like a poor person when he was learned?

Mr. M: Had he been looking like me, like this, at least, but his dressing just from the past was very poor. Now a person is learnt and works in the mines with a respectable post.

EM: In your view what leads a person to turn into a crocodile? What do they benefit?

Mr. M: That is devilish [thinking]. The devil's work; that is how they are.

D.6 Tavern feedback session, Chingola township, November 2005

This session took place at the Tour's Nest Tavern in a township section of Chingola. At the meeting, we presented summary highlights of the research project and asked participants for their comments. Five miners participated; all but one had met with us several times before. The conversation was conducted in a mixture of Copperbelt Bemba and English because, despite Enock's attempts to remain in the vernacular, two regular participants customarily spoke in English. [N.B. The tape contained unintelligible sections due to increasing background noise as the tavern became filled with guests.]

EM: Mukulandishanya kwesu ifye twalisa ikala mpashi nokumona ukutilati ifi fintu fili patatu. Ama points yambi ayaleisa yali muli iyinshila, mufyo tumonefintu—our perception—ifyo tulelekesha pafintu. Ngatwaumfwa ati kuli icililo, efyo umuntu umbi uwufimine kucalo cimbi enga cimona nefyo uwufuminwoku fyapusana, ngefifine twapusana mukumona, ukulingana ne ntambi. BaMfune aba tumbuka efyo bengamone ci nefingamono mubemba fyapusana. So efyo tumona ifintu fwebena Zambia fyapusana ne fingamona aba kufyalo fimbi....

So ngatwaya kucipande ca #1: Point #1 eyo twaumfwile, e Liz alelanda ukwebati ndefwaya n'gumfwe nga ca kwebati naliumfwa bwino, mwalishiba nga uli musungu nangu nga uli muTumbuka waya kubaBemba kano waumfwisha bwino bwino pantu kuti filya balanda ati uksenda pwe cushi washo mulilo; and ukusende cushi washa mulilo tacimoneka bwino because uka yalanda kubantu abakwebati aah ah what you're saying is not true, so you have to make sure that what you thought you heard is what actually was said. So pa ma points twaleumfwa point no. 1. Ile landa ati: [*Reads point in English from feedback paper.*] elyo muntu afwa nangu accident yacitika ilingili ne tulakwata cimo muma tontokanyo ukutila ecilengele ukutila limbi mwine ukupitila mumyangilile yakwe limbi bena mupalamino, limbi niba mbuya bakwe, lyonse kulaba ukufwaya uko ilyemfwa na

EM: In our discussion we sat down and concluded that discussion could be put in three areas. Some points which came up, came in this way; how we see things, our perception, how we look at things. If we hear that there is a funeral, the way someone who comes from a different country would see it and how we would see would be different, just as we differ in our customs. Mr. Myume a Tumbuka looks at this differently from a Bemba. So the way we see things as Zambians is different from people from other countries....

Let us go to the first point. The first point which we heard, Yes Liz said that she wanted to know whether she heard you correctly. You know that if you are a white person, or you are Tumbuka and you happen to go to the Bemba, you must understand correctly because it is like they say, "You can carry the smoke and leave the fire." In fact, carrying the smoke is not good because you can go back and meet people who would challenge you that what you are saying is not true. So it [is] important that what you heard is what was actually said. So concerning the points we have heard, point number 1. says: [*Reads point in English from feedback paper.*] Usually, there is some investigations as to where the death or accident came from, that is what we have heard people saying. Did we hear you correctly or not?...

Teacher 1: What we have heard.

ngu ubusanso uko bwafuma eflyo twaumfwile abantu balelanda—bushe twalumfwa bwino nangu iyo?...

Teacher 1: What we have heard.

EM: ...Point 2 [reads from paper]. Limo ifwe fwebena Zambia tumona kwati accident nga yacitika nangu ubusanso bumbi bwacitika ilingiline limbi kuti chisomo, limbi minyama filya balanda abatumendo ati windetele iminyama, limbi balandafye ati limbi palibe ciwa apa eflyo twalumfwa. Bushe twalumfwa bwino napenapa? [raises question about ichisomo]...

Teacher 1: ...*Iminyama*—fate—something like that. Yeah...And I think that has been caused due to other people's wishing you bad luck somehow. People wishing you bad luck here and there may cause that to happen to you. That's what we mean....

Teacher 1: By this type of thinking...sometimes due to our carelessness. It's not really that the ghost can cause whatever...these chaps in so-called accidents. You'll find they are driving a car carelessly. They bump into another car and they say, "No, *iminyama*..."

EM: Okay, icabutatu abena Zambia baletila ukufuma apo imigodi baicitila privatize na macompany yambi ayashala the number of accidents muno mimigodi yesu naiya pamulu, eeh ici fintu ifingi ifilengele napalifyo ifintu ifilengele number 1 mulandu wa kwebati aba abashite migodi inshila balebombelamo nefyo balebomfeshamo bashimine nefyo balebomfye fipe ifili panshi, efishiweme. So palundu waifi ama accident nayaya pamulu. Eflyo twale umfwa ine na Liz, elyo mwalelanda? Is that what you and the rest of the people were saying; did we hear correctly?

EM: ...Point 2 [reads from paper]. ...Sometimes, we Zambians believe that when an accident happens, or any other misfortune happens, mostly we say it is *chisomo*, or he is naturally unfortunate, like what the young people say, please do not bring misfortune on me, at times, they say that there is a ghost, is that what we heard? Did we hear correctly? [raises question about *ichisomo*]...

Teacher 1: ...*Iminyama*—fate—something like that. Yeah...And I think that has been caused due to other people's wishing you bad luck somehow. People wishing you bad luck here and there may cause that to happen to you. That's what we mean....

Teacher 1: By this type of thinking...sometimes due to our carelessness. It's not really that the ghost can cause whatever...these chaps in so-called accidents. You'll find they are driving a car carelessly. They bump into another car and they say, "No, *iminyama*..."

EM: Okay, the third point: Zambians are saying that since the mines and other companies were privatized, mine accidents have also increased; the main reason being that, those who bought the mines, the manner in which they are operating and how they are using the miners and the machines underground, is not good. Because of this, accidents have increased. Is that what you and the rest of the people were saying; did we hear correctly?

Mfune: Exactly.

EM: Now, if you have anything to add, you can add, maybe you can say something—you miners.

Teacher 1: ...About the mines. But you

Mfuno: Exactly.

EM: Now kulifyo mwingalundapo, kuto mwalundapo, maybe there's something you want to add on those points, kuti mwalanda po—bashi mine.

Teacher 1: ...About the mines. But you know, when you look at this point you'll find that the new owners of the mines are in a hurry to make profits. So they don't want to, you know, care for anything. All they want is to...a bit of the money they spend...

EM: Point #4, we hear, we heard you and the rest [*reads point from paper*] twalyumfwile mukulanda kwabantu makamaka abena Luanshya ukwebati no, aba bantu nabena abaisa ifintu baisa nafyo ilelenga imipashi panshi palya ukukanaba bwino—pali eflyo baleshikapo eee uku noku makamaka in reference kuba nensu bamweenye so ukwe bati imipashi yesu panshi kuti yakano kusekelamo yalilenga ubusanso. Twaliumfwa bwino nangu kuti mwalundapo finshi?...

Mulenga: In addition on this one, Nchanga mine, the owners of this company are recruiting ladies to work on the mines. So they have caused so many accidents. That's why most of the guys are saying the spirit of women is against the mining. So that's why accidents are being caused. Because of the ladies. They are somehow got a different spirit compared to men...

Liz: Are they working underground or open pit?

Mulenga: Open pit. Not underground.

Mfuno: This is very sad. Just like what as he has said. Long time, there was only just only mine [unintelligible]. Now due to the contractors, these [unintelligible]

know, when you look at this point you'll find that the new owners of the mines are in a hurry to make profits. So they don't want to, you know, care for anything. All they want is to...a bit of the money they spend...

EM: Point #4: we hear, we heard you and the rest [*reads point from paper*] We heard that some people are saying that (especially those in Luanshya) "No, the people who have come, they have come with certain things, which have angered the spirits underground. They are fond of burying certain things in the ground, (especially in reference to our friends the Indians) which have upset our spirits and this leads to accidents." Did we hear properly or what would you say about it?...

Mulenga: In addition on this one, Nchanga mine, the owners of this company are recruiting ladies to work on the mines. So they have caused so many accidents. That's why most of the guys are saying the spirit of women is against the mining. So that's why accidents are being caused. Because of the ladies. They are somehow got a different spirit compared to men...

Liz: Are they working underground or open pit?

Mulenga: Open pit. Not underground.

Mfuno: This is very sad. Just like what as he has said. Long time, there was only just only mine [unintelligible]. Now due to the contractors, these [unintelligible] have been employed to man the companies' property. You see? So [they want to get a little money] so accidents are the order of the day...So the spirits can act annoyed....

EM: So, yaah, a lady is proposed by the boss! [*e.g. the male boss proposes sex with the female workers*]

have been employed to man the companies' property. You see? So [they want to get a little money] so accidents are the order of the day...So the spirits can act annoyed....

EM: So, yaah, umwanakashi bamufwaya kuli boss.

Mfune: Yes, yes.

EM: Elyo nombamba?

Mfune: The boss said, "I want you to help in a section." ...In the mine it happens.

EM: Nombamba how does [that] relate to accidents, caya shani kubusanso?

Mfune: Copper does not allow to have ubupulumushi ninshi copper yalaluba.

EM: Copper ilaluba? [to Liz] So, he is saying the owners of copper—meaning the spirits—cannot tolerate people even having sex in the premises of copper; copper may disappear. That's why maybe there is low production, because copper yalaluba or there is an accident.

EM: (Yalaluba) disappear.

All: [Keep on agreeing as EM explains.]

Liz: It's a matter of respect? Would that be fair to say? Respect of the situation and of the copper and things?

EM: Ukukwatila ubucende palya panshi bushe kukana kwata umuchinshi nangu ninshi kuti mwacilondolola shani? Eco umupahsi winga fulilwa pali sex—

Teacher 1: It's like you're offending—this is our belief—you are offending the spirit that is believed to be the owner of the copper that is underground. So once you do

Mfune: Yes, yes.

EM: Then what?

Mfune: The boss said, "I want you to help in a section." ...In the mine it happens.

EM: Now how does that relate to accidents?

Mfune: Copper does not allow to have sexual immorality, or copper will disappear.

EM: Does the Copper disappear? [to Liz] So, he is saying the owners of the copper—meaning the spirits—cannot tolerate people even having sex in the premises of copper; copper may disappear. That's why maybe sometimes there is low production, because copper yalaluba or there is an accident.

EM: (Yalaluba) disappear.

All: [Keep on agreeing as EM explains.]

Liz: It's a matter of respect? Would that be fair to say? Respect of the situation and of the copper and things?

EM: Committing adultery underground; does it mean being disrespectful or how can you explain it? Why would the spirits be upset about sex?

Teacher 1: It's like you're offending—this is our belief—you are offending the spirit that is believed to be the owner of the copper that is underground. So once you do that it's like you're acting against the, you know, the tradition or whatever. It's only beliefs. That's just a belief.

Teacher 2: And moreover when we made our constitution it doesn't allow women to be employed in the mines...So that we can hear more people saying "Let's amend it."

that it's like you're acting against the, you know, the tradition or whatever. It's only beliefs. That's just a belief.

Teacher 2: And moreover when we made our constitution it doesn't allow women to be employed in the mines...So that we can hear more people saying "Let's amend it." Because you have abused it many times.

EM: Twatotela, point imbi iyakonkapo [reads point 5 from paper]. Limbi kulabati aah! Mwandini, bushe kun'ganda balishani? Ati awe tabukile bwino nangu eflyo alelandapo. Bushe twalimyumfwa pali iyi point?

Teacher 2: Yaah. That is true. It is true....When you are going for work you've got to get permission from the mine...If you just go privately for work, the family there will be distracted....

EM: What kind of permission is this?

Teacher 2: I'm sure the miners they know and especially those who work....go through how they get permission...

Mutale: Okay, tulande so, muleya kucinto mwalandati cisuma bene naya kucinto elyo nomba balamyebati kwene nangu mwaya tamushile nangu mwaya tumushile nangu cimo mwala tusangafye fino fine, so imwe nangu mwaya intontokanyo mwaya nalyo kulya—

Mfuno: Ninshi you have carried that burden.

EM: Elyo mulashalika aba kashi benu, tamufwile

Teacher 1 & Mutale: Awe, mufwile mwabeba ati iseni mwisale kuciibi nayambako, nayaku ncito, they even bless

Because you have abused it many times.

EM: Thanks, the next point [reads point 5 from paper] They are instances, when they say, "Ahh, there is something wrong with his home. He did not wake up well or it is due to what he was talking about." Did we hear correctly on this point?

Teacher 2: Yaah. That is true. It is true....When you are going for work you've got to get permission from the mine...If you just go privately for work, the family there will be distracted....

EM: What kind of permission is this?

Teacher 2: I'm sure the miners they know and especially those who work....go through how they get permission...

Mutale: Okay, what we are saying is that, you are about to leave home to go to work but the family tells you that even though you have gone, you have left us without anything to eat. You will find us the way you have left us, so even though you go, that sad thought will go with you underground.

Mfuno: It means that you have carried that burden.

EM: In fact when you are saying goodbye to your wife, you must not upset her.

Teacher 1 & Mutale: No, you must tell her come and close the door, I am starting off, I am going to work, they even bless you, saying go and work well.

EM: Thanks, the next point, the accidents which happened in 2005, the ones we just spoke about, big brother, BGRIMM, the cage and the boys in Kawambwa died. Most people thought these accidents came one after another and that they were almost the

you—ukkutula mubombe bwino.

EM: Twatotela, iya konkapo, ama accidents ayacitike mu2005 yalya twacilanlandapo bakalamba—BGRIMM, icikwepe elyo twaisa na balumendo kulya balilfwa ku Kawambwa. Abengi balimona kwati aya ma accidents kwati naya konkana yonse yali yamo yene—kuli abalelande ati limbi ne cilelenga cimo cine. So kuti mwalandapo shani, ukweba naba minister wesu balilandilepo ati cimupashifye icitebelele icalo bushe cacine—

Teacher 2: Abengi balelandati bamwenye—

EM: Nomba bamwenye baletete shani ubwafya?

Mfuno: Mwalishiba, these people who are running the mines, so pakucita hand over to take over these mines, so nabena bafwile baisa na mamuti ayabo. Let's say you're running this shop mwamona, you are the owner of this shop. Since you've bought the owner of the shop is telling you that "Mr. Muthweijile I want to sell you this shop then you are going to buy it." So immediately you come, you can't just come ati I will take this white shop no, maybe [unintelligible] to capacity you've got financially some of the things you're going to change mwamona. So by doing so you know how much you have financially, just applied to this the (red) Indians the way they took (over) the mines, so they come with their own strategy which they have to do. Then why when Vedanta has taken over, the accident bruuh everything down BGRIMM, eeh nani, this is nani musonda falls accident and KCM mwamona te, so because the way they came with those spirits, they had their own spirits, and concerned to the spirits which are within the mines there they can't tolerate things and with Zambians, especially we the people are

same. Some people were even suggesting that the source of those accidents was the same. What would you say about what our minister's statement that it was the evil spirit which was troubling this country? Is it true?

Teacher2: Most people are blaming it on Indians.

EM: How did the Indians bring about this problem?

Mfuno: You know these people who are running the mines, so when they were handing over the running of these mines, the new owners were expected to come with their own medicines. Let's say you're running this shop, you see, you are the owner of this shop. Since you've bought, the owner of the shop is telling you that "Mr. Muthweijile, I want to sell you this shop then you are going to buy it." So immediately you come, you can't just come and say "I will take this white shop no, maybe concerning to capacity you've got financially but some of the things you're going to change, you see. So by doing so you know how much you have financially, just applied to this the (red) Indians the way they took (over) the mines, so they came with their own strategy which they have to do. That is why that time when Vedanta has taken over, the accident bruuh everything down BGRIMM, eeh even that, that is Musonda falls accident and KCM you see, so because the way they came with those spirits, they had their own spirits, and concerned to the spirits which are within the mines there they can't tolerate things and with Zambians, especially we the people are annoyed that the mines have been given to the Indians [unintelligible]. How can they sell the mines to the Indians? They wanted Americans—

Teacher 2: So on that one—we are against the coming of Indians. If you look at

annoyed that the mines have been given to the Indians [unintelligible]. How can they sell the mines to the Indians? We wanted us abena Americans---

Teacher 2: So on that one---we are against the coming of Indians. If you look at it as we are...I'm sure it was an accident....That's what I can say... How can they come and buy our mines? Now we are going to be in trouble...That's why they say the spirits are the ones which are causing these problems...this series of things.

EM: So we heard correctly. That's what people have said?...Twapwisha pacipande ca #1, pacipande ca #2 napena paliama question ngafilya nacilondoloa, I mean ama points. Point yakonkapo eletila mubwikashi bwesu ulingana ne ntambi, umushili, pamugoi panshi, imimana, na menshi ifi fintu fi fintu elyo twacita regard ati fyalikwata amaka kabili fitungululwa ngafilya twacilanda pamigodi kwalibe fishiba fimo ama lakes nencende shimo ati apa pena tepa kwenda pendafye. Bushe cacine twaliumfwa bwino ukutila cicine twalikwata amenshi, imishili napanshi yamigodi ukwe bati palikwata amaka a yaibela ayakutila muno muncende teti wemdepofye mpalampala nangu tucitepo mpalampala aahah?

Mfune: Filacitikefyo, it's true filacitika fishinka kwati tuleya kuChinsali, between Chinsali and Kasama kwaliba ilungu mwelyo mwalibe fimuti sana people don't walk anyhow just like that. Pakuya pitamo unless you go to the chief mwaya mulondolwela, elyo he allow [unintelligible] may be you can go maybe mwaluba maybe kuti mwafwa [unintelligible].

Mulenga: Even here at Kapisha Kapisha hot springs they wanted to divert the hot water into the townships. But due to this supernatural things it couldn't happen. All

it as we are...I'm sure it was an accident....That's what I can say... How can they come and buy our mines? Now we are going to be in trouble...That's why they say the spirits are the ones which are causing these problems...this series of things.

EM: So we heard correctly. That's what people have said?...We have finished the first section, the second section has its own questions. Just as I explained, I mean points. The next point is that, in our culture, traditions, land and mines, rivers, water, and other things are regarded as powerful and that they are also controlled by some powers just like we said about the mines. In fact, there are some pools, lakes and certain places which we are told not to trespass. Did we hear for sure that we have water, land and underground mines which are sacred to an extent that you cannot just walk on them carelessly or misbehave?

Mfune: Those things do happen. Its true, when we are going to Chinsali, between Chinsali and Kasama, there are certain plain which has so many trees and people don't walk anyhow just like that. Unless you get permission from the Chief, you can't enter it. If you go on your own, you may get lost or die.

Mulenga: Even here at Kapisha hot springs they wanted to divert the hot water into the townships. But due to this supernatural things it couldn't happen. All the pipes they burst.

Mfune: And I understand that in Western province, there is a place somewhere there is a tomato there. A very big tomato. Some would just go in...very big one and take one tomato from that stem. He may only just get a tomato. He can't even get out but he will think that he is going but he just holds the same place. Cannot

the pipes they burst.

Mfuné: And I understand that in Western province, there is a place somewhere there is a tomato there. A very big tomato. Some would just go in...very big one and take one tomato from that stem. He may only just get a tomato. He can't even get out but he will think that he is going but he just holds the same place. Cannot move out from that place to leave that place...

Teacher 2: Especially those who just go to ... Highlands...that place has been guarded by—it's a special place. If you have done something wrong, you are going to cause confusion... So when you reach that place you've got to start praying because you have reached the point where that is life and death. As you go to [Chilubya?] they believe that place has got what—spirits? So when you reach there you've got to permit—how to say—to get permission from the spirits. Then you go...

EM: MuZambia insoka ukulingana nentambi shesu izonka ilingiline ngatulelanda pama mines izonka eshi lumbuka sana, kwalieshine ishateka pamigodi, pamushili. Bushe twaliumfwa bwino?...Twaliumfwile, pantu kwena insoka tashishala mumalyashi yamigodo maka maka pa underground. Ukulinga na ne ntambi shesu twaliumfwa abantu balelanda ukutila kwena, caba kwati panshi epaba insoka ishisunga umushili. Twaliumfwileko kuLuanshya kwali kale icisoka icakwebati nga capeema abantu bafwa. Bambi nabo balando kwabati inshita shimo insoka ne migodi kwati kwalibapo ubwampano ukulingana nefyo twaleumfwa kubantu, muletilapo shani mwebashi mine?

Mutale: Kuno, kuno takwaba but kumsuhi eko yabe nsoke yo, nga yaikala kulupili so ngayalolesha kuno umwela

move out from that place to leave that place...

Teacher 2: Especially those who just go to ... Highlands...that place has been guarded by—it's a special place. If you have done something wrong, you are going to cause confusion... So when you reach that place you've got to start praying because you have reached the point where that is life and death. As you go to [Chilubya?] they believe that place has got what—spirits? So when you reach there you've got to permit—how to say—to get permission from the spirits. Then you go...

EM: According to our traditions in Zambia, when we are speaking about the mines, snakes are well pronounced as if they are the ones who rule the mines. Did we hear correctly?...We heard that snakes are not absent from the stories about mines, especially in underground mining. According to our culture, we heard that some people say that it seems that snakes guard the underground. We heard that in Luanshya long ago, there was a snake which when it breathed, people died. Some people also said that at times, there is a relationship between snakes and mines. What are you saying about it as miners?

Mutale: Here, we do not have such a snake but in my village, there is a snake, which lives on the mountain, and once it faces here and the wind blows towards the village, then the entire village will suffer from a cough. It even has a name, in Tumbuka, they call it, "fwila."

EM: Fwila.

Mutale: Yes, even in South Africa it used to be there, and it is still there. It is in South Africa where it lives in the mines, not here in Zambia. Here, we have only seen it in rural areas because it shines like fire. If you

waisakuno ninshi umushi onse kulwala icifuba. Yalikwata ne shina, muchiTumbuka baita ati fwila.

EM: Fwila.

Mutale: Yes, elyo naku South Africa nako yalesangwa, ilasangwa. KuSouth Africa isangwa mumugodi not muno, not muno muZambia. Muno twamo nofye kumushi not muno pantu ilaako mulilo. Nga mwamono mulilo wapitsaso, imwe mwa mona kwati umulilo ulepya kanshi ninshi ninsoka ninshi bonse kulwala. Ama beliefs twakwete nangu imipashi—

Mulenga: Nangu ama mines nga bayatampa elyo kube nsoka. As they go deeper awee. So pakutampa palya kuti basange nsoka.

EM: Nomba abantu bashimona shani insoka ngabele shisanga.

Mulenga: Mulya mwine mumabwendo shikala mulya mwine balepasa ifyulu, shimbi ishikulu baleshisanga—

Mutale: Ngafilya ku kapisha, kumenshi ayakaba kulya, palibe insoka panshi, eyicita filya. Tukesa pitako one day.

EM: Number 3, ukwebati twacilalanda pansoka ilingiline twaliumfwako amalyashi twaleumfwa nangu kuLuanshya yaliumfwika ukutila imwe inshita kwaliko nokuya mukusende imfumu ba mushili nabani naba nani ukwabati tuye tulombeko, pantu kwali icisoka icobamwene ati cileipaya abantu filya na cilanda. So abantu efyo balelanda shishibe nga mwalyu mfwako ko naimwe ukwebati baya kwati mulomba nangu mukushinshimuna icisoka cilya pakwebati pabe umutende palya balembombela pa mugodi, liimbi mwalyumfwako [laughter and then unintelligible].

see the fire burning, you would think it is fire but it is a snake; thus everybody would be sick. The beliefs we had or the spirits...

Mulenga: Or when they are starting the mines, that is when snakes are found. But as they go deeper, there are no snakes. So when they are starting, they can find a snake.

EM: How do people see the snakes, and where do they find them?

Mulenga: Right there in the holes where they live, where they are clearing the ground, some big snakes can be found.

Mutale: Like in Kapisha, at the hot spring, there is a snake under the water, it is the one which does that. We shall visit one day.

EM: Number 3, concerning the snakes, we heard on the stories we heard from Luanshya are that at one moment, they even went to call Chief Mushili and other chiefs to go and appease the snake because there was a snake that caused many people to die, as I have already said. That is what people were saying, I do not know whether you have heard about it that people went to appease or to pray to a snake so that peace could be restored underground. Have you heard anything about this?

Mfuno: Ok, what I have heard is that, before you go out to catch caterpillars, before people go out, they first go to get permission from the Chief. They carry new blankets and many more things, then they go to the Chief, that is what used to happen in the past. After doing that, the Chief would pray to the spirits, there after you can go and catch caterpillars. That is what used to happen during the time of caterpillars, I do not know about now.

Mfune: Okay ine eflyo naishibafye fyakutula ati kulaba before filya abantu tabalaya mukuti ilya inshita ya fishimu ilya, abantu balamonati before tabalaya mukwikata ifishimu, first kuya ku mfumu, basenda ama blankets aya new nefyashala baya ku mfumu efyalecitika akale, nomba nga mwaciteflyo, elyo imfumu ya lombakumipashi, elyo mwaya mukwikata ifishimu. Efyalecitika ifya fishimu, nshishibe pali ino inshita.

EM: ...ilingiline fye be Zambia tutontonkanya ukutula copper limbi teti ipwepantu niLesawuwaibikile mumushili elyo Lesawa kwata amaka pali copper. Kuti twatilapo shani, eflyo twaleumfwa?

Teacher 2: Lyonse lyo when talk about copper I'm sure there was time when we I'm sure news got into our heads copper isn't going to last. I'm sure we were very scared especially on the Copperbelt.

EM: That it was going to finish?

Teacher 2: Yaah, okay. Very scared... We were very happy. We have not died, eh? Because God is the one who had... underground. I'm sure that is true.

EM: So Lesa umwine ewaishiba, pantu abantu tulapusana bambi balandati kutyapwa bambi elyo baisesa sanga iyo nayisa—

Teacher 2: Yes, yes the general conclusion is that Lesa ewaishibomwine ifwetatukwetepo amaka.

EM: Okay, ewaishiba ubushiku—

Teacher 2: Kapwa, teifwe pantu bali tube pelepo ati yalapwa. Bacita na estimate by [unintelligible]...

EM: Twafuma pali copper, twaisa

EM: ...We Zambians usually think that copper will not finish since it is God who put it in the soil and it is God who has power over copper. What would you say about it, according to what we heard?

Teacher 2: Every time when we talk about copper I'm sure there was time when we I'm sure news got into our heads copper isn't going to last. I'm sure we were very scared especially on the Copperbelt.

EM: That it was going to finish?

Teacher 2: Yaah, okay. Very scared... We were very happy. We have not died, eh? Because God is the one who had... underground. I'm sure that is true.

EM: So, God is the one who knows, because we people differ, some say that copper has finished, at the very time, others will find it, there it comes.

Teacher 2: Yes, yes the general conclusion is that God is the one who knows, we do not have power over it.

EM: Ok, he is the one who knows the day

Teacher 2: God only, because they once lied to us that it was about to finish. They even estimated by [unintelligible]...

EM: We move from copper, we go to the next point [*then reads the point regarding "sometimes when Zambians engage in Satanic behavior..."*] There are some Zambians who when they get involved in Satanic behavior, they turn into animals, and the only thing you hear about is that the water monitor has caught a person, a crocodile has caught a person...

Teacher 1: Let's just go back to this point. It's not completely...this point

pali point ya [then reads the point regarding "sometimes when Zambians engage in Satanic behavior..."] kulaba abena Zambia bamo ngabaingila mumisango yabu Satana, limo balapilibukila mu finama, mwaumfwa ati insamba ileikata abantu, in'gwena ileikata abantu.

Teacher 1: Let's just go back to this point. It's not completely...this point number three which is [question regarding copper running out]. What are we saying here? We think that copper will never get finished? That's what we think because—no. This is an opinion that we had put across as this belief that copper will never ever run out.

EM: Well, it's you tell us. Because we got this from you and the gentleman has just said...that somebody lying to us that there is no more copper. And then suddenly, new investors came. And suddenly there are these copper there—the lifespan is so much. He has given an example, Kansanshi, where they even destroyed the houses and took all the...copper was not there. But now, we are told Kansanshi is doing so fine. So—

Teacher 1: It's an opinion of people...it will never, ever run out. That's what people are saying. Let's not be like that...

EM: What would you say if the next 3, 4, 5 months, new investors come over and suddenly there is zinc in Kabwe? Just like—

Mfuno: Just as you are saying, the...one or two months ago they announced the investors are going to...

Teacher 1: Sometimes...investors...when they find that they are using more money to go for copper that is not fetching a lot of profit they stop and they say...they can go underground with a lot of expenses, fetch

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Mfuno: Just as you are saying, the...one or two months ago they announced the investors are going to...

Teacher 1: Sometimes...investors...when they find that they are using more money to go for copper that is not fetching a lot of profit they stop and they say...they can go underground with a lot of expenses, fetch copper they cannot bring back the money they have invested, it stops. And that's what...if other investors think they can do it with less expenses and more gains, they come back....

EM: We were on Satanic, changing into animals, crocodile or even chicken but the popular ones we hear are cats and rats, you know?...

copper they cannot bring back the money they have invested, it stops. And that's what...if other investors think they can do it with less expenses and more gains, they come back....

EM: Twaciba pama Satanic, ifya ku cinja mufinama, crocodile or even a chicken but the popular ones we hear are cats and rats, you know?...

Mfune: *[Tells story, partially unintelligible, of a man who turned into an animal.]* There's that...he turned into a cat.

Another man: That's what we heard.

Mfune: Yes! And that's when we were told to kill...he said...just here...he turned into a chicken. You see! *[laughter all around]*

Other man: As you have said, Mr. Muthwejile, this thing exactly happens when people—where maybe—Luapula—the people they turn into *[partially unintelligible recitation of stories about people turning into animals]*. They turn to...maybe your neighbor. And also that they won't. But these things happen in Luapula... And some people they turn into maybe a hyena...

EM: The last point on this page yakutila fwe bena Zambia limolimo ifinama filatutungulula. Twalyumfwako bamo baisa landa ati yaah, nasisakumanye nsoka pamusebo, nomba naisa ishibafye ati awe, ifintu tafilibwino. So is it true some animals, could be insects they can communicate things to us?

Teacher 1: Yeah. That's very true because, at times, you are entering into the bush. If you don't know—there are snakes—that cobra—if you don't know where it is—which can easily give you some signs where you are going...Those that have stayed long

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EM: The last point on this page is that we Zambians, animals at times direct us. We have heard some people saying that if met a snake on the road, from then on, I knew that things are not well. So is it true that some animals, could be insects, they can communicate things to us?

Teacher 1: Yeah. That's very true because, at times, you are entering into the bush. If you don't know—there are snakes—that cobra—if you don't know where it is—which can easily give you some signs where you are going...Those that have stayed long in the bush, they will tell you that this...snakes...and when you follow it, wherever it goes...and there are some birds which can also tell you that there is some...

EM: Are there some animals? We also heard that there are some insects, when you see them you say, "Maybe I will receive visitors." And it's true you have visitors. Did we hear correct?

Teacher 2: Maybe some from animals.

in the bush, they will tell you that this...snakes...and when you follow it, wherever it goes...and there are some birds which can also tell you that there is some...

EM: Are there some animals? We also heard that there are some insects, when you see them you say, "Maybe I will receive visitors." And it's true you have visitors. Did we hear correct?

Teacher 2: Maybe some from animals. Even just...as though you are going into the bush clearing, you would say,...

Mfuno: crossing the small part...end of the day you hear, oh, cobra's passed through here. Something like that...

Mfuno: [English] just insoka ileendeyi, yana tayendeyi mpakafye [unintelligible]

Teacher 2: If produce strange sound you can say, yes, I am now...

EM: Like witches?

Teacher 2: Witches they have come. When they are just near, your dog be producing strange sounds [*someone imitates a dog howling*]. Yes. That. Someone has come...Me I want to start praying...

Mutale: Like insoka ifwafwa, ngayakusuma wifumapo, ileke ikusume nakabili. Nga afumapo abwele esekusume palya pene ninshi capwa wapola.

Mulenga: Nangu ama fishermen before tabaleya pamumana 04:00 hours balema ngabaumfwa fye afyo wind ilecita blow baishibati the wind is against where we are going, so tatwaicite force ukuya pamumana awe.

Even just...as though you are going into the bush clearing, you would say,...

Mfuno: crossing the small part...end of the day you hear, oh, cobra's passed through here. Something like that...

Mfuno: You mean a snake can just stand still without moving?

Teacher 2: If produce strange sound you can say, yes, I am now...

EM: Like witches?

Teacher 2: Witches they have come. When they are just near, your dog be producing strange sounds [*someone imitates a dog howling*]. Yes. That. Someone has come...Me I want to start praying...

Mutale: Like the puff adder, when it bites you, you must not move until it bites twice. If it comes back and bites you again, then you are already healed.

Mulenga: Even when the fisherman are about to go fishing around 0400hrs, they first feel how the wind is blowing and they know when the wind is against where they are going, so we are not going to force ourselves to go on the lake at all.

EM: Just by feeling the wind blowing, you can tell it's against them going...

Teacher 1: ...happened to Lake Mweru. Some winds can tell you that this—the weather at the lake is going to be violent. Right. It can easily predict...

EM: Then this side [e.g. page 2]. We are covering ground. ... at times is due to jealousy, some people end up using magic so that they can injure or kill their friend, that is what we heard people were saying, did we

EM: Just by feeling the wind blowing, you can tell it's against them going... hear correctly?...

Teacher 1: ...happened to Lake Mweru. Some winds can tell you that this—the weather at the lake is going to be violent. Right. It can easily predict...

EM: Then this side (e.g. page 2) We are covering ground...limbi abantu bala kwata ukwata jealous akalumwa, baya poka nobwanga pakwebati ba cene nangu bepaye umunabo, efyo twaleumfwa abantu balelanda bushe twalumfwa bwino?...

Teacher 1: It's the order of the day. That's why we cannot cooperate. No matter how much we talk about copper, we are always jealous of one another. When we see somebody is progressing...our African magic so that we eliminate. We don't want to see him you know like, he become superior. And then you could not have what he has...you somehow you feel inferior. It affects you.

EM: What do you do?

Teacher 1: You say, "Oh let's get him so we no longer, we will no longer be inferior. Instead we should all be at the same level." Nobody should be taller than the other...in terms of guys...all those things. So that's the problem. Otherwise, it's the spirit which has killed we Africans. Even when somebody tries to work hard so that he can try to relieve the family of the burdens that we have....money...you always go there. Kneel, you know, so that he can give us A,B,C.... "Let's just get rid of him..." It's the order of the day in African culture.

EM: Eee, witchcraft and Satanic activities are not the same things. Ngatwalandati ni Satanism iyi elyo iyi nindoshi, twaumfwila abantu balelanda ati

Teacher 1: It's the order of the day. That's why we cannot cooperate. No matter how much we talk about copper, we are always jealous of one another. When we see somebody is progressing...our African magic so that we eliminate. We don't want to see him you know like, he become superior. And then you could not have what he has...you somehow you feel inferior. It affects you.

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EM: Okay.. witchcraft and Satanic activities are not the same things. When we say that this is Satanism and this is a witch, we heard people say that we are not speaking about the same thing. A witch and Satanist are different is that true?

Teacher 1: He's saying they are trying to differentiate...

EM: Did we hear correctly?

Teacher 1: Yeah. That's very true....A belief has it that, you know, Satanists have no anything to [hide?]....but those who practice witchcraft, they always practice secretly. But we consider Satanism to be

tecimo cine. Indoshi na Satanist fyapusana, bushe cacine—

Teacher 1: He's saying they are trying to differentiate...

EM: Did we hear correctly?

Teacher 1: Yeah. That's very true....A belief has it that, you know, Satanists have no anything to [hide?]....but those who practice witchcraft, they always practice secretly. But we consider Satanism to be a...even though it has got...on people. But when you look at witchcraft you say, you know, it's the one that is of more harm than Satanism. Otherwise, Biblically, there is just the same...But when you come to the people at the grassroots, the community thinks these two things are different. But the end result is death. That's what Satanism is all about....

EM: Namukwata ifya kulundapo? BaUncle namufwala insapato ishisumeshi nyi Satanism—

Mulenga: Somehow.

All: [Laughter]

EM: These days, some people may sacrifice something of their own, even people close to them, in order to get money. Muli shino nshiku abantu balabikako abantu ku business, nikwisa. Limbi ni nyina limbi mwana uwuli close. Noma ukutampafye kuli Mwanawasa eko twaumfwile ati banyina bafwa mulimotoka, ati ali bapela, so nangu baMfune balefwaya ati bakwate ibala ilikulu, babikako mwana, bushe twaliumfwa bwino nangu mwalalanda po shani?

Teacher 2: This is not an easy question. [unintelligible section due to background noise] I'm sure to—

a...even though it has got...on people. But when you look at witchcraft you say, you know, it's the one that is of more harm than Satanism. Otherwise, Biblically, there is just the same...But when you come to the people at the grassroots, the community thinks these two things are different. But the end result is death. That's what Satanism is all about....

EM: Do you have anything to say? Uncle you have put on these nice shoes, this is Satanism.

Mutale: Somehow.

All: [Laughter]

EM: These days, some people may sacrifice something of their own, even people close to them, in order to get money. People are putting other people into business through sacrifice...Sometimes it is the mother or the child who is very close. Now starting with Mwanawasa, we heard that when the mother died in a car accident, it was said that it was Mwanawasa who sacrificed her, so when Mr. Mfune wants to have a very big field, he has to sacrifice his child. Did we hear that correctly or what are you saying about it?

Teacher 2: This is not an easy question. [unintelligible section due to background noise] I'm sure to—

EM: —sell their years...That's the expression, "you sell your years."

Liz: Right. I've heard from several people that people go to Dubai. What do you think it is about Dubai?

Teacher 2 & Mfune: [unintelligible] you become rich and rich.

Teacher 1: Like, after... maybe you will

EM: —sell their years...That's the expression, "you sell your years."

Liz: Right. I've heard from several people that people go to Dubai. What do you think it is about Dubai?

Teacher 2 & Mfuno: [unintelligible] you become rich and rich.

Teacher 1: Like, after... maybe you will turn. Then you will go and work for them.

Teacher 2: You are turning into another spirit that other side...You are raised from the dead into another spirit. And then you start working for those people...They will estimate...So, okay, Mr. Muthwejile would like to live on earth 70 years. Now Mr. Muthwejile, how old are you? You are 40. You have got 30 years more before you die. So those 30 years you are going share right—we will give you 15 years to live on earth and you'll become extremely rich. After you have stayed for 15 years, then, we'll try to be using you up using their own magic and then the remaining 15 years you work for them. And you die a natural death that God...

Teacher 1: Because many people rush for power. They don't want to work for it. It's a problem we have here in Africa. Many people don't want to work for it. They want to have something which they have not toiled for. What they want is money very fast and this is causing a lot of problems...especially young girls and boys...they are putting themselves into things that they are not supposed to do because they are trying to rush for wealth...

EM: Bushe kwaliba ubuloshi ubo twingacita mubusuma pakweba ati twakwata ifintu ifisuma? Is there anything good about witchcraft or can we perform witchcraft for good ends?

turn. Then you will go and work for them.

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EM: Is there witchcraft we can use for good so that we can have good things? Is there anything good about witchcraft or can we perform witchcraft for good ends?

Teacher 1: To many people it is witchcraft that is mainly based on, for example, medicine that has got to be blood. Right. Any medicine...that has got to do with blood is always bad. That's what they say. But anyway, there are some good reasons...

EM: There are some stories that you can't be a leader without some form of protection, no leader, especially leaders even some individuals maybe, I am a businessman,

Teacher 1: To many people it is witchcraft that is mainly based on, for example, medicine that has got to be blood. Right. Any medicine...that has got to do with blood is always bad. That's what they say. But anyway, there are some good reasons...

EM: Kwalibe lyashi lyakwebati there will be no leader, especially leaders even some individuals maybe, I am a businessman, maybe the owner of this place, you mean he has no speakers around? That we go usually back home to be baptized. We have all these terminologies: being "cooked," baptized, yaah [laughter]. What do you say about it? ...

Teacher 2: [unintelligible section] They should take me there so that...Let us now get you baptized...

EM: While we are still on this point, we thought about our first president, Mr. Kaunda. We look at the skin of Kaunda, it was grayish, grayish. I'm sure we—this is what I heard when I was young. People would line up at the airport...and when you would come back, would say, "Did you even see the skin?" So Kaunda was cooked, we believed. And so was Chiluba. What do you say about Mwanawasa?...

Teacher 1: [unintelligible] with the coming of the Indians here...You have heard of Mwanawasa...so where Kaunda got what he used...many, for example, many cars which the policemen use today were just donated by Indians. You remember? And also, some time ago, the Indians have donated a [unintelligible]. So it's got to be true that—that's what we believe...like KK...because he has been to India... they can also say it's a belief that we Africans, before you become whatever expression you—when you arrive in power. That's what

maybe the owner of this place you mean he has no speakers around? That we go usually back home to be baptized. We have all these terminologies: being "cooked," baptized, yaah [laughter]. What do you say about it? ...

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EM: Thanks! The third part of our discussion is concerning how we understand ourselves as Zambians. Traditionally in Zambian culture has been "important not to stand apart from the group or to call attention

many people say. It's only that today...even though they are trying to...no let's us pretend to be part. They just want to...They are hard...That's what's been said about Mwanawasa...Some do; others don't do....

EM: Twatotela, icipande cabutatu ukulilngana nefyo tuimona fyevena Zambia ngefyo twakwata amaka ngafi lilya nacilanda. Traditionally in Zambian culture has been "important not to stand apart from the group or to call attention to one's self apart from everyone else." Nacumfwa ba sir nimwe mwacilanda ukutila tatufwaya ukumono munensu kwati atucimfya sana ukweba ati ukucilina nefyo twaikala tufwaya kwati natulingana. Twalikwata nensoselo ati "umucinshi wanseba..."

All: Kwimina pamo.

EM: Eeh, so nga twamona umunensu kwati ena naishibeci naishibeci, bushe twaliumfwa bwino ukutilati cacine abantu eflyo balanda—abena generally eflyo tuimona ati tufwile twa umulinganya. Ngatwamona umunensu atucilako ati aleumfwa...

Teacher 1: Another problem is many people don't...those always work harder than others...so what happens is...and it starts affecting...they themselves are people who do not want to work harder...[relates a hypothetical story about someone becoming rich and accused of Satanism] The conclusion is that he has joined Satanism. Now in that way...it becomes protection. Yet you are not...men of our age, they don't believe that there are things like Satanism. Especially those who are becoming educated. These things can be alluded to our forefathers...

to one's self apart from everyone else." As I have already indicated, what kind of power do we have? I heard you sir, you said that we do not want to see our friend to excel above us or even somebody to be better than ourselves. We always want to be at par. We even have a saying, the respect of birds...

All: They fly together.

EM: Yes. For instance, did we hear properly that if we see our friend who knows this and that we always want to bring him down to our level? And that if our friend is better than ourselves, we conclude that he has become proud?...

Teacher 1: Another problem is many people don't...those always work harder than others...so what happens is...and it starts affecting...they themselves are people who do not want to work harder...[relates a hypothetical story about someone becoming rich and accused of Satanism] The conclusion is that he has joined Satanism. Now in that way...it becomes protection. Yet you are not...men of our age, they don't believe that there are things like Satanism. Especially those who are becoming educated. These things can be alluded to our forefathers...

D.7 Excerpts from interview with President Frederick Chiluba, Lusaka, December 2005

This interview took place at President Chiluba's home.¹¹

Parsons: You came into a very difficult situation as I understand things. And I would just be interested to know about your own experience working with the World Bank and the IMF...

Chiluba: Well, first of all I must tell you honestly and frankly as a person I, in all my years as a trade unionist, I observed the world. I traveled the world and I saw in many parts of the world there was not a single economic system that was in terms of [unintelligible] that was much better than the other, that was morally more acceptable than the other. Socialists had had their own proud systems and they could boast about this one thing, this other thing. And capitalists also had their points of pride and boasting. But, as I went round, I got convinced that in terms of operations, in terms of profitability, in terms of responding to the needs of the people, economies that were run or economies that were market planned or run from the market, economies that were not centrally planned, economies which were not command economies as it were, were more efficient. And I began to ask why. Then I realized that, for a person who has investment in an economy that investment will be protected by working very hard, by making sure they made a profit because loss of that business meant even loss of their individual personality. And that was the strength of the private economy. The private economy is an aggregation of individuals. And in today's modern world, there is no such thing as a free market economy. There isn't.

Because even in America, a typically capitalist state, you have the state interfering one way or the—not interfering, intervening. But they also run, even without knowing this is run by CIA, this is run by government wing, this is run by—they are there. Except they hide their faces. But, essentially what it is is that there is not a single economy today in the world which is a free market economy per se. Because the government has some intervention to make both as a buyer of last resort, sometimes even as an investor in the economy. Daily interacting with other forces in the demand and supply aspects. In the eastern or centrally planned economies as they were before under the Soviet Union and the rest which they don't work, there was heavy control. Heavy control, heavy intervention, and even daily interferences and things did not work well. Because the state planned what to produce, who to produce for, what prices to charge and so they did not allow for demand and supply. They did not allow for customer preference to determine what they wanted to buy or to sell. And in such cases things did not work as well as planned.

So today you have, generally speaking, in brackets "free market economies" operating. But when I say "free markets" you must understand the government presence is very welcome there. It is there. Before independence the Zambian economy was not a command economy. That's what you've got to understand. It was it was a free market economy. There was no such thing as ZCCM in 1964 and before. You had Roan Selection Trust (RST) controlling a

¹¹ We were joined by Mr. Mwamba, President Chiluba's personal secretary, who occasionally interjected remarks.

certain number of mines including Luanshya and Mufulira. And then you had Anglo-American running Nchanga, Konkola, and Rokana. Then you had, I cannot remember how many private companies which were working for the mines, supplying to the mines, and contracting to help the mines in one way or the other. Very many around the Copperbelt. And the Copperbelt was the center of industrial activity in Zambia. And so we didn't have a command economy at the start of it all. And at the peak of economic boom in Zambia it was a private economy which was running. So the private sector was there even before independence.

When we got into independence, there was this one very common approach by African states after defeating colonialism we believed strongly and we thought it was not coming, but it has come, after defeating colonialists we knew that they were no longer going to come with their colonial heads in politics. They would come as neo-colonialists trying to control us by using resources. Our own resources. And we have seen it today. What Nkrumah said in 1958 has come true today. So every African government, not only in Southern Africa but in many parts of—the majority of them—not every one (sorry it's a mistake) the majority of them felt the best way to fight colonialists was not only to win political independence but also turn the economy from the market to the office. From being market economies to being centrally planned economies where government could control the planning every single day. That way we could say, "Let's stop that bus which is run by Western imperialists and only set up...set up a company run by comrades who were freedom fighters. We are sure they will not overcharge the passengers."

And so we had in Zambia, before it came to its peak the intentions were good. They were trying to bring the economy and make it a Zambian economy. How this was going to work I think this was more political than economic. I say so because one country in Southern Africa which remained as they found it at independence is still being an economic success and that is Botswana. It has still remained an economic success. There was not too much change from the right to the left, no. They followed things. They allow [unintelligible] the private investment to continue, they taxed them, they brought the taxes back, plowed into government, used the resources properly and today Botswana is one—to me South Africa is not the biggest economy. Botswana is in my understanding. And it's very stable and strong. And so here we tried to swing because we were reacting to imperialist and colonial forces that had oppressed us. So we tried to swing not only politically but also economically by introducing economic systems which were contrary to what the West believed. And—but we over did it.

We over nationalized. We went up to 80% of the economy totally nationalized. And the results were catastrophic. The results were catastrophic. So when you talk to me about privatization, it is not as if we were dreaming about something that had never happened. In fact returning to the status quo before independence. The status quo that proved extremely successful. That status quo that sustained—I remember in 1964 when Dr. Kaunda and UNIP came to government they were able to build roads, they were able to build schools, universities. They were able to do all the infrastructural layout foundation work. Why? Because the economy was strong and the economy began tottering also at the height of the freedom struggle in Southern Africa—in Zimbabwe, in South Africa, in Angola, in

Mozambique. So we paid a high price partly because of our commitment to the liberation struggles. But also partly because of mismanagement.

And so in 1964 the economy ran. By 1972, by 1972 we could boast of Zambian Airways—although it was not making a profit—but it was running around. It was even giving free tickets to some comrades. Then you had one taxi company called ZamCab. Then you had one one road transport company—passenger company called United Bus Company. Then you had one goods haulage company called—

Mwamba: Contract Haulage.

Chiluba: Yes. Contract Haulage. And you had a lot of engineering companies set out to manufacture steel, to do this, to do that, to feed into that aspect. Exactly like they did in Russia and the whole of Eastern Europe. But did we have the basic training? Did we have the understanding? Did we have the personnel? And the answer could be found in the disaster, the catastrophe that we faced in 1972. I remember about 1980 the economy became so difficult. The prices were running out. The control was beginning to fizzle out. And so poverty became so widespread the government did not run out of ideas. They thought of manufacturing coupons for food. And little did we know that we were actually creating inflation which would go far beyond our capacity to manage or our ability to manage. So coupons were produced and when you had a coupon you had to go and line up somewhere in a prescribed place. You go and earn yourself a bag of mealie meal for your one week or one month food etc. etc. That is how the economy was destroyed by the commandists. Or the command economy—the command economy that was set up by our UNIP government.

And I'm not taking away from them. They very—wonderful things they did—building schools, roads, etc. etc. But I'm saying that along with that the economy got destroyed because I don't think we were—the command economy was capable of running its course. Because it was fraught with danger of interference [unintelligible]. Up to 1980 it became so evident that the shortages were everywhere, every single day—Coca Cola was a very difficult thing to find in the shops. Bread, mere bread, was very very difficult to find...

Bath soap, food [unintelligible], mealie meal which we were producing locally. You can say all the needs were becoming essentially difficult to find. Not wants but needs—the basic needs. And so it went on and on and on and on and on and on. About the end of 1980 there were riots in the country. They started rioting everywhere because prices were now being difficult to control. And Zambia entered into a contract with the IMF and World Bank and they told them, "This is about Structural Adjustment." And they started—it was too difficult to carry on. Because one, they had preached the language of being your neighbor's—be who? This Biblical thing between Able and Cain—be your brother's keeper. Be your brother's keeper. The economy's yours; you don't have to let this and that destroy this. These are your companies—don't do that. And it was very difficult for them to turn that around and say, "No we meant this; we meant that." People said, "But you told us. And you are going to do it." And so it became very difficult.

It wanted a new set of hands to come and change that. It needed a new—it needed new lips to pronounce that. The old ones had been found guilty. And so in 19—the last one was 1990 at UNZA.

Mwamba: 1990 riots. They were 1986 and 1990.

Chiluba: 1990 riots. They were all about food and all basic needs which had gone completely out of—away from the market and nobody would find anything to lay their hands on. People were flying to Malawi to buy toothpaste. Yes. People in the Southern Province were crossing into Zimbabwe to buy bread. Yeah. People near Malawi border could go to Malawi. Those who had the means could travel to Botswana. They could go there. And if they came with a tin of CocaCola it was not only for drinking but displaying in the house so that their neighbors would see that they can find CocaCola. That's how desperate the situation became.

And so we knew Zambia entered into this pact with the IMF to try and help us restore order. And because of the general difficulties of the IMF, IMF were insisting on Structural Development. That meant a complete transformation of how you approach the economy. And it was not easy for Dr. Kaunda and UNIP then to carry such a program out.

So when they failed, that is the start of the—of the—what shall I call it? Slow movement of the government out. Because people now had absolutely no faith in the system. It had failed to perform. The economy was slowly dying. Surely with absolutely no way to see it up. Politicians remained the same ones with few additions or subtractions, basically the principles, the policies, the laws became stuck into one same place. And they believed that...what they had pronounced was going to work in spite of seeing what had happened and in spite of seeing, or even hearing, the IMF and World Bank say, "Because you have failed to do this, we are withdrawing even the last bit of help we had." Yeah.

So we were not what you might call "optimists" pouncing on the chance of failure by UNIP. No. I told you that I believed as a trade unionist that an economy run by private individuals to me gave me the hope of survival because if an individual misuses his bus or his taxi, if it doesn't function properly, if there is no profit coming that would be a dangerous thing for himself. That would be a dangerous thing for the bus or the business he's running. And it's dangerous for his family. So that—the survival of that business assures survival of his name, his character, his house, and his family and everything he owns. So in the private sector there is hope because—it's not a question of comradeship. It's not something that they are detached from, something they point at "Oh, we belong to that. My comrades will continue even if I'm not there tomorrow. They will hold the fort; they will hold it. I will go and join them." No, no, no.

For one's business is—he has to be there personally to ensure its success. That is why the private economy succeeds. Not because it's anymore—what shall I call it? Not because it's—it's any more spiritually better than the other or even ideologically a better concept. No. It's because of the forces that combine to—to work it through. So when we—when we

formed our party in 1990—and the party was formed after the last demonstration at UNZA, 1990. That's when we met at this place...

That's when we met. And in there we met with people who believed in the market economy. Even those who were in UNIP and had given up or had been thrown out. We believed in one thing. We believed in the market economy being one sure way of resurrecting the economic fortunes in our country. We met there; we talked; and we saw practically how the command economy had failed. Nobody was doubting whatsoever. Even today I do not ever doubt. It was not an imposition on us. What the IMF and the World Bank imposed on us would be the benchmarks telling us, "Instead of doing it in five weeks, do it in five days." That is what—that is what brought the disturbance. And that is what we began to say [to] the World Bank and IMF look at the profits and not at the lives involved. Because if you do it in five days the consequences will be very different from when we do it in stages over a period. Because you have to take care of the lives involved. But they—they were only looking for results, and quick results. And we said, "No. This is American. This is European. This is not African. We are prepared but don't push us out of our [unintelligible]."

So we were not forced into it. We believed. And I still believe and I was really happy to preside over the period of re-privatization. I say "re-" because it was there before independence. It was there. In fact the real privatization did not come until about 1968. Yeah.

Mwamba: Nationalization.

Chiluba: Yes. The real nationalization. Didn't come until about 1968 in Dr. Kaunda's...Matero and Mulungushi reforms speeches. Yeah. And so it was there we just returned to the status quo. But this time, of course, knowing that we were going to do better than was the case then. And this time the forces are a little different. Zambians are involved. Unlike those days when it was all white, coming from outside, coming to run business of every kind. So the forces are different. The circumstances also have changed.

So we picked up in our manifesto you don't run a political campaign without promising. And the promises are all in the manifesto and the manifesto first is the basis for a contract—that social contract between the party and the voters. And then we presented to the Zambian people who were extremely understanding as to what they want. We presented to them; UNIP presented the usual nationalized system. And we said, "No we are going to break away." It's a complete breakaway from the nationalized economy. We are going to encourage private business sector. Some understood. Others were doubtful. But they gave us a chance. And so at the time of the elections there was a huge swing from UNIP to our side. It was not that after we had won the IMF came and the World Bank to come and force—to impose this thing on us. No, no, no, no. We had decided out of conviction this was the best way out of the then economic problems that the country faced. Which we are still [reeling?] out of.

And so we went. We passed through. Our manifesto was accepted; we won the elections. And we started implementing this programme of structural adjustment, the programme of

reform. The reform programme in politics and out of our policies we made law. We first wanted to make sure if anybody brought their money—people are not naïve. They just want—they don't just hear "Yeah. It's here now you can come and invest," and they begin to run. No, no, no. They want to be sure about their investment. Can they bring it? Can they take it up? And so we had to go to Parliament. Pass laws. Effective laws. Put some laws in constitution...

...And the basic ones in the constitution was the right for one to withdraw their own investment if they felt threatened in any way. It's there. And so these people [unintelligible] believed that we were serious because we could be taken to court if we did not fulfill this requirement. And so it went and legislation after legislation we were ensuring that investment could come. And then assure them this could be done if they felt aggrieved. That could be. So it was the kind of partnership that went on.

But the jewel of our economy was the mines. And no matter what we did, this is where again I can tell you that capitalism is the kind of ideology which has no face. It is not a kind—or rather people that run capitalism are dangerously—what shall I say?—dangerously naïve. They don't want to understand the other side of the story. What they believe they think the entire world believes. They are very dangerous people and I say this because they—the West: America, the Europeans—when it came to privatization of the mines everything else we started doing extremely well. We laid out. We laid them in tranches. Companies were put in tranches. And we sold them—we did—since we were privatizing we also made sure that we—there was diversification of—diversification of not only industry but diversification of ownership. We did not want to move a public monopoly into a private one. No. If it was a monopoly here in public we had to make sure we broke it into many pieces. So different interests got involved in there. And those different interests meant different owners from different parts of the world.

The West—that's the European Union, the Americas—didn't want this to happen. They formed a company called Kafue Consortium and they said, "Here you are. These are the people who can buy the mines." And then they made sure that our assets were depleting everyday. They made sure our assets were depleting—or ZCCM assets were depleting everyday and then they of course also manipulated the world prices of copper. They were always on the down turn. Running down and that way there was depreciation of the assets of ZCCM so that we could offer this thing at zero price to Kafue Consortium. And this is where they started accusing me of corruption. Because I refused to do that. I refused to do that. And today what you are seeing is because I had refused entirely! I was under pressure even at times at 2 o'clock in the morning they could phone. Phone me, "If you don't sign this we will not help you in that area."

Parsons: This is the World Bank?

Chiluba: No. These *bazungus*—the Europeans.

Parsons: Yeah. Yeah.

Mwamba: A company called Kafue Consortium. [unintelligible] Kafue Consortium was a collection of Anglo-American, some companies from Canada, and Australia. Yeah. The greatest mining giants in the world. So...

Chiluba: You may understand it in...the Kafue Consortium wasn't as we would wish it to be today. Kafue Consortium was members of the European Union and the United States of America. Canada was not involved. Canada is where First Quantum came from. And Australia had two different companies. So basically I'm talking frankly about politics here. Yeah. And it was—it was America and the European Union. Completely. It was politics. Dirty politics.

Parsons: I want to make sure I understand because this is—this is quite huge. I mean I'm very familiar with the Kafue Consortium. Did I hear you say that that Consortium was basically put together and presented to you as "Here it is. This is what--

Chiluba: Absolutely. Yes.

Parsons: That is not in the history books that I have seen.

Chiluba: That is exactly what happened.

Parsons: Wow.

Chiluba: And this is not from the horse's mouth but from Dr. Chiluba's mouth. [laughter]

Parsons: Who ought to know what he's talking about!

Chiluba: Exactly. Exactly. And that's how hard it was. And when I refused entirely it seemed I fought against their interests. And so today when I hear about Zambia being corrupt under me I'm not surprised. This is the politics I'm reading about in the *Banana Republicans* [holds up book]. This is the American politics. If you defeat your enemy in an argument it is not enough. You have to wipe him out of the surface of the earth. It was big war. Big war! And there was no peace after that. There was no peace after that. But we—we persevered. We wanted to carry the fight right through. For me the sale of the mines was, I think, going to be one grand act that must seal off the whole privatization programme. And we managed. We managed. But there was a lot of crying. And I'm not surprised that, after that some people pulled out and others came in etc.

But any of the benefits you hear this government or any other person saying "copper is coming into Zambia." All the groundwork was laid by us; by my administration. If we had not sold, if we had not privatized, the economy today would not have the kind of breathing space it has today. Anything that you see today happening in Zambia—the the general outlook of Lusaka looking like a piece of England or a piece of South Africa—is because of the work we did. And I'm proud we did that.

But it wasn't without a price we paid. As I said we were all called corrupt. Had we accepted Kafue Consortium we would have made shifting ZCCM as one unit—a public monopoly—into Kafue Consortium—one unit. But this time a very dangerous private monopoly. And as a trade unionist I could not accept that. I could not. So my government stood firm. We argued; we quarreled; we debated—we managed to sell it the way we wanted to sell it. So there were no—it was not a sale that was conducted with all—smiles as it were. No. No. It was sold with danger and difficulty. Yeah. But we sold it. And it was not sold because we were forced. No. We sold because we were convinced the mines in private hands were going to be more profitable. They were going to—to be able to bring investment into the country. They were going to introduce new technology so that mining became cheaper and cost effective. That's why we did it. And that was the right reason and still remains a good reason.

And so today when I hear that they are producing more copper it cannot be because ZCCM remained ZCCM as it was. It is because the new owners are bringing in—and I hope they are doing it—bringing in new technologies. They are bringing in new investments although this is far from satisfaction even up to now. But this is a trend and I hope it will improve in future. So that's what we did.

Parsons: One point of clarification, sir. Am I to understand that Kafue Consortium wanted to buy the entire ZC—

Chiluba: Absolutely! Absolutely!

Parsons: See, that I was not clear on.

Chiluba: It was ZCCM. Not one individual mine. No.

Parsons: Ah!

Chiluba: We refused. I told them we were going to—were going to unbundled these things. They said, "Don't unbundle. We want to buy ZCCM as one."

Parsons: Ah ha. I was not clear—

Chiluba: No trade unionist in the world will accept a private monopoly because it's more dangerous than a public one. A public monopoly has some human face. Not a private one. Yeah...So you see, first of all I must tell you our economy's now in private hands or at least it is run—it's not centrally planned anymore. It's a market economy. And the forces of demand and supply are being allowed to some extent to work although there is this—we see the inclination to manipulate especially what do you call it? The monetary policy—today the interest rates are being kept and the exchange rate are being kept abnormally low as it were for some reason. But hope that this tendency will will not continue. Because I believe that in a free—in a free market economy both the fiscal and monetary policies must be left to the government.

Of course the government has a way—has a way to influence—through taxation—has a way to influence how these things are done. But not coming like a bull openly to go and fight customer in the market. No. We we know these are important values in the economy. I am glad we did what we did because we have opened the economy to a lot of possibilities. A lot of possibilities to improve and to advance and bring profits to the country.

There have been a talk of lately about the “Oh, he destroyed the economy by privatization!” The same people who are crying are those who are actually benefiting from privatization. Yeah. When there was the command economy we had one transport company called UBZ. Today, because of the privatization, we have more than 2000 owners; each one with two or three minibuses, taxis, etc. etc. And they have employed more people than that one company employed. And today transport is more efficient in the country, within towns and between towns, up country, elsewhere. More efficient than it was when we had one company. And so these are beautiful examples of what privatization can do...

And I'll tell you because of this, and I'll tell you what happened. Because of the insistence by—and please take this message to my capitalist friends—because of the insistence of the American and European governments on—by trying to sell ZCCM as a unit (eh?) to Kafue Consortium I feared. Because they talked about mass redundancies which were on the way; coming up. And these people were were going to be declared redundant. Where on earth were they going? They had stayed in those houses for many years. They had brought their families; brought up their families in those houses. Their families have been going to school in these areas and not anywhere else. But if they were declared redundant, they were going to lose their houses. They were going to be destitute. And I decided never to allow that to happen because these are the people that built those houses for many years. And so I said we are going to take away all the non-performing assets, reduce the balance sheet by taking away the non-performing assets and leave only plant and equipment. Plant, machinery, and equipment to sell to them—which included houses. And we also left a small portion of a number of houses, maybe between 50 and 100, for management. But the rest of them we sold—I don't know—what price you call it? It's not market price, it's not [unintelligible] price. It's not giveaway price. It's—I don't know what price but it was a wonderful price which everybody afforded. And so today we don't have any war to fight. People have been declared redundant but they have turned elsewhere. As long as they have their shelter, they have a roof. They have just turned elsewhere and begin to do some business on their own. And they they live and survive.

And it hasn't brought any—a lot of fighting between us and the mines. And the mines are benefiting anyway. So nobody has lost out. And I was glad to—you know—to introduce—you know there are certain capitalists who are—what do you call them? Benevolent? One benevolent capitalist was Margaret Thatcher. It's the one I borrowed this idea from about houses. She sold council houses to Britons who who could never have afforded for a long time. So you know some capitalists are very benevolent. So Margaret Thatcher taught me about this and I love that lady for that...

Parsons: As I understand it you were the one who declared Zambia a Christian Nation.

Chiluba: Um hmm.

Parsons: And in the course of my research I have heard lately a lot of concerns among people about Satanic activity. People seeming to get wealthy over night and speculation that perhaps they are selling their years and things like that. And I just wondered if you would be willing to comment on that situation—what you see there.

Chiluba: Yes, anything that is Godly must be attacked. You see, countries have not started being managed by politicians today. There were kings and before kings there were judges. Before—there was God and then judges; after judges kings; and today ordinary politicians like myself. And, you know, you can only succeed if you work within what God calls his own—his own rules, commands, and if you listen to him you are likely to succeed. Because he will open a way among the people that have accepted you as a ruler and you'll succeed as a ruler because God has opened the way and he has given you this opportunity to guide and lead his people. But I saw many kings that had—that had failed to satisfy God's requirement about looking after people. People are not animals. Even animals—God is very kind to animals. He is the creator of animals. So when it comes to a human being who was created in his image and his likeness God takes particular interest in this person—this person called a human being.

And so when you offer guidance over him and God allows you to be a guide—to be a leader—you must not overthrow God's commandments, God's precepts, God's rules, God's—it doesn't matter you do. You must always respect this. And the Bible was not created today. The Ten Commandments have been in existence for a long time. And from the Ten Commandments we have had many constitutions drawn, many laws drawn, many ideologies worked out. Democracy itself is a very good descendant of the Bible etc.

And so when I—when I came into office and we declared Zambia a Christian nation, this had a reason. Firstly, before then, Zambia was going towards what they called—what was Dr. Kaunda trying to introduce? Scientific socialism!

Parsons: Yes.

Chiluba: First we were a humanist state. And that humanist state, at that time we stopped mentioning Jesus Christ. We began mentioning God. God. But there are many gods, you know? Except there is one Jesus Christ. When you hear somebody say, "We all belong to God," [unintelligible] to know that we all belong to one God. God, god—but there were many gods in Greece. There were many gods in India. Up to now the Indians have a god for their water, a god for the moon, have a god for...

And so the Bible says there is one way to God: Jesus Christ the Son. He is the way, the truth, and the life. If you do not mention him forget about the gods because we don't know which god you're referring to. And so—and then the Bible tells us and it's not a mistake—when Abraham was blessed, God said, "Through you many nations will be blessed. Those who curse you, I will curse. Those who bless you, I will also bless." Unfortunately in the '67 Yom Kippur War, we saw our country break off relations with Israel. And we knew we

were veering off God's way of running a Christian nation. So when we came, the first diplomatic act we did was to restore relations with Israel. Then we came and declared—entered into a covenant with God—and based I think on a few chapters I can quote—a few chapter if I haven't forgotten [*looks through Bible*]. God help me not to forget; it's a very dangerous time for me to—[laughter]

Parsons: You know what the Apostle Paul said, "Somewhere in scripture it says..." So we can always cover ourselves if we can't— [laughter]

Chiluba: Ah ha! And always when I fail to find the chapter I have no excuse—Here. This is the book of II Kings. You can begin at chapter 22 right through to 23. King Josiah when he declares a covenant, when he enters into a covenant with God. We did so because we knew that at the time we came to office—there were appearing on the horizon many different beliefs and faiths and we wanted to make sure we had one faith in Jesus Christ. And so when we went to office at first we wanted to make sure that this one faith would guide us politically and economically. According to these covenants—when you enter into a covenant—the many books I have read—you are actually tying yourself like Jonathan and David. You are tying yourself in a way if you are the weak side and you enter into a covenant with the strong side where there is war the strong side will come to your aid to try and make sure that you do not fall. So we entered as the weak side and God as the stronger side calling on him to help us. We had never been in government before. So we called on him, "Be our guide. Be our help. Be our instructor. Be our God. Be our economic advisor. Be our ruler and be the Lord of all." And we that, within two-three weeks, there were radical changes in the country. The shortage which were there, after some announcement after some debate in Parliament, after some decision on policy making—acts of some kind—things began changing, properly, nicely and and peace began reigning all over. The trips we used to make to Zimbabwe, to Malwai, to Botswana, to everywhere stopped. Stopped. And we began—the people who were very afraid of the street vendors who were very dangerous every time became the best friends of the state because they began operating without interference. And the police truly became a police—not a police force...A police service. They began to listen to people; they began to guide people. And all these things [unintelligible] this covenant we entered into with God and it was done for a purpose and for a good reason...

Mwamba: In fact, her question was about I think two pronged. She asked about God and she asked about these riots. People are selling their years, Mr. President, they are these—the rise of Satanism in fact—that's what she is referring to.

Chiluba: Umm. Well I have heard about that. I—you know—when you are head of state you don't talk about rumors and stories that you gather without proving them. That's why I'm deliberately avoiding—but I have heard and—and if it's true it's happening, we can only condemn it and pray that many people don't fall victim to that. Because it's a very dangerous thing. I have heard that it's particularly common on the Copperbelt and young people are dying prematurely because of selling their years. I have heard that, but I—you know—I don't have enough information to comment on it...

**D.8 Excerpts from interview with President Kenneth Kaunda, Lusaka,
December 2005**

This interview took place in a residence that the former president was using as an office and we sat outdoors on a particularly breezy day. Hence, some portions of the tape became unintelligible due to wind on the microphone.¹²

Parsons: ...You, more than anyone that I have studied or have known really came into office with with a very clear intellectual and philosophical stance to what you wanted to do. And I have read a lot of your—the works that you were writing in the '60s and '70s about humanism and one of the things that I was particularly struck by was the very clear picture that you had about how economics and the dollar and capitalism could affect people. And what you were working to try to shore up against certain things—I'm tipping my hand a little bit with this I think but—so I guess, given all that, and now that we have basically 30 years of World Bank, IMF, capitalism—things like that, I wondered if you would share a little of your own current thinking about humanism and its role, given the developments that we've seen, the things that, in my opinion, have gone wrong in the last 30 years with a lot of that. So that it my first question to you.

Kaunda: Thank you. Well, once again, welcome to our little office. Where does humanism come from? What is it all about? From the beginning of time, as far as I can remember, I have been influenced personally by the teaching contained in the two commandments: love God your creator with all your heart, all your soul, with all your mind, with all your strength. Here you know this teaching is how to relate to him—our creator. And then he turns around and say, "How do you relate to each other?" Say, "love thy neighbor as thou lovest thyself. Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Now who is this neighbor? Those who are as black as I am, as white as my little sister is. We've only got one creator. Those who are brown, yes. Let's look at even faiths—some may be Christians, some may be Hindus, Muslims, Jews—all of them [unintelligible] are [unintelligible] because he has made us in his image.

And therefore the humanism we are talking about is something which accepts human beings as a fellow human being regardless of anything artificial. And the point [unintelligible] tribes—all of us—different tribes—we're all his. The English, the Americans, Jews, even Russians! All of [unintelligible] Africans—all are his. And so everything that we do therefore we render to [unintelligible] his [unintelligible] and my colleagues and I therefore, when we were given the opportunity to lead ourselves—to rule ourselves—we came to analyze this this way and as our motto—what was the phrase now? [Bemba] Our motto was "One Zambia, One Nation." All of us are the same nation regardless of 70 different tribes. More—because some other tribes came to join us. And the English, some French, the Americans, some Portuguese—all of us are his. So it's One Zambia, One Nation. We all are one nation. His nation.

¹² We were joined by Mr. Mapoma, former economic advisor to the President, who also participated in the conversation.

So, my dear sister, we are—we tried to build that way and I think we were genuinely proud of what we were trying to do. Even though our colleagues, when they came—took over—they dismantled. It was their decision.

So that's the beginning of our [unintelligible]. It's, yes, some might say it's religious, well we're talking about God so it must be religious but it's not something that was saying we were going to be humanists and—but not Christians. Or we're going to be humanists but not Hindus, you know. We are what we are because of his [unintelligible] and therefore everything that we do within that frame must be humanistic, you know? Humanism leads us; we've got to broad [unintelligible] with that. I think that's what I can say as a beginning as to how that came about.

Parsons: In that vein, I wondered if you would comment again, kind of philosophically and theologically if you would, on what you think or see as capitalism's influence upon people's state of mind and being—the *Zambian state of mind and being*. And that's a rather broad question but deliberately so.

Kaunda: Well, how do we understand or—how do we understand [unintelligible] now how do we understand capitalism? We believe that it takes—takes us away from this humanism I've been describing to you. What I mean now is [*indicating Mr. Mapoma*] he is one of my colleagues in fighting this exploitative capitalism and that's why he helped us to build a strong cooperative movement. I know, I've visited cooperative headquarters in the USA and I visited that—there are cooperatives in the USA—I've visited them. And with cooperatives you are trying to establish a society, a system governing the lives of people economically on the basis of equal opportunities, working together to build something which will help as many people as possible.

Capitalism as we see it was to build wealth—much wealth—for a handful. What love is there for your neighbor if you're going to exploit him or her to the point where he is struggling? She is struggling and you say, "That's all right," you accept that? I believe that that love of your neighbor simply means that love. And if you love your colleagues, you love your brother or your sister, you can't at the same time go against Christ's teaching "love your neighbor" and—that's how, how we differed.

Jim, would you like to say something?

Mapoma: It seems that, okay, capitalism thinks of individual benefits—the benefit that goes for individuals. Think of yourself and whatever may flow to others is incidental. And that is why, if you don't—any capitalist—capitalism doesn't benefit the investors' ends it immediately it stops. Because the benefits are aimed for an individual [unintelligible] puts his money [unintelligible] and whatever benefits—results—that may flow from there are incidental to that. And the moment the investors themselves do not benefit from that, then immediately that programme, that investment is stopped. And it then must be channeled into some other avenue where the benefits will grow [unintelligible] whilst humanism is just the opposite of that. It's that we should be able to share and think of others, whatever we—we are always talking about development and development is not meaningful if it doesn't really

end at benefiting an individual person or the majority of the people. It may not be directly identified that that's development to the individual person, but eventually the aim should be the the human. That is how even humanism itself comes in in that any development is meaningless if it doesn't benefit the human and improve human life...

Parsons: Can you tell me a little bit about that era when you pulled back from the World Bank and told them no?

Kaunda: [laughter] We were—we had been naughty boys. [laughter; then to Mapoma] Do you remember that time?

Mapoma: When?

Kaunda: When World Bank and IMF—

Mapoma: Yes. [unintelligible] led directly to what we were saying because at that time they were—they were making us reduce assistance—mealie meal, it was—subsidized a lot of commodities...And we reduced them until we came to about three: It was mealie meal, fertilizer, and oil—fuel for transport and so on and so forth. And the argument then—they insisted that we should just scrap all of them. And we said, "Look at the list—what we have done. We have reduced—accommodated you up to—but mealie meal is critical to the needs of our people. We cannot do that." Fuel affects—the price of fuel affects the whole economy because transport and all the costs of production are going to go up if the price of fuel goes up. Fertilizer is agriculture. We want to promote agriculture so that our people can continue to sustain their production [unintelligible] and all that, so—and if you are not willing to [unintelligible] with them it's just as well we are not going to go with you. We'll just remain [unintelligible] because for us, what is important is not so much a matter of what we think [unintelligible]. We've gone as far as we can go and we can accommodate you. It's not a question of being able to afford or not to afford; it's a question of—as we were saying—these [unintelligible] one thing [unintelligible] Jesus asked his disciples, "Feed them." And they say, "Lord, how can we feed all these people?" Said, "What have you got?" you know. "Sir we have only got two little pieces of bread and fishes." He said, "Bring it." He blessed it and [unintelligible].

That is an extreme case of the—the intervention of God's will and power and all the rest of it. But we also stood and we said, that what you have—you have to share whatever you have. In Bemba we say, [Bemba phrase]. It means whatever you—you—if you are a guest of someone you will eat what you find with—that person is going to offer what—he can't offer you anything else. What he has is what—he'll start offering what he has and you just accept it that way. Therefore the little that the Zambians had—resources—it's important that we share it with the rest of the people and bring in [unintelligible] my brother and say you can't afford and then seeing them be [unintelligible]...

One of the things the subsidies—we were not against the removal of subsidies. But there were certain critical needs of the people that [unintelligible]. Subsidies are used in America

very heavily. Subsidies are used in France. If you get to Europe, the agriculture policies of Europe—is the basis of disagreement even today, France is—

Kaunda: Between them.

Mapoma: They never agree on their agriculture policies just because of this argument about “you are subsidizing your agriculture and we are not subsidizing and this is affecting us.” But the other [unintelligible] cannot be because it is going to affect the majority of our people—one of the critical economies [unintelligible]. So in a way they were—they were asking to do what they themselves were [not] doing in one way or the other. Therefore [unintelligible] they should have seen our needs as well just as they [saw] their own needs. It was not a question of simply saying “We don’t want to do it” because we had been working with the IMF and the World Bank all along and supporting the programmes and undertaking the programmes that they were recommending us. Because it is our interest. Again, in certain aspects we just wanted to say [unintelligible].

The other point is that [unintelligible] that—if I remember correctly. That was an election year. And you don’t take even whatever country you go to, a government will take measures which are not going to seriously undermine, you know, the possibility of the government continuing [unintelligible] programmes. So removal of, let us say, [subsidy] on mealie which meant the price increase in an election year or the cost of transport in an election year or some other things that [were] undermining were almost completely unthinkable in a [unintelligible] situation. And it doesn’t matter what people do, in an election year you will see a government coming up with policies and programmes which we believe are going to make the situation favorable in that election.

Kaunda: In other words, my colleague has hit the nail on the head, we are not asking them to do what they don’t do. We’re merely asking them to do what all other [nations] do who do not—I mean those who are not supported by IMF, World Bank. And we’re saying we will agree with you on 1, 2, 3, 4 but on this item major concern to our people we are asking you to consider and, as time goes on, we’ll reduce on this, reduce on this, add on this. Through discussions we’ll be able to show you what we are going to do. So it’s not something out of the ordinary we are asking. We are asking you to look at these Zambians; these are human beings and, if we do this [drop] the subsidies, then this will happen. Can’t you consider that and then think with us, agree with us on 1, 2, 3 points—we agree with all others—it’s just these ones we are not—but they they didn’t listen. So we had no choice but to: “I’m sorry we disagree. And the disagreement is real.”

Of course, in the end we had to give in because—not because we were wrong—but because they were stronger...

Parsons: ...I’m wondering if you would care to comment on your experience of how you were treated once you told them “no.” How were you treated by the officials once you said, “No, we’re not going to do that?”...

Kaunda: I think the very fact that we said that was it shows how we felt—very strongly—we felt there was unfairness in this. And again, please take note of what my young man has said. USA, what they do—agriculture is subsidized. France—agriculture is subsidized. Even now, like he said—they are quarreling, they are fighting about these things. So one day I learned this, the Americans, Europeans, and Africans met in America—Washington. And they were quarreling over this same question of subsidies. They couldn't agree. So they asked the Africans, "Well, we are moving to another place. America, Europe, to discuss this matter. We'll come and join you if you come and join us afterwards." They left—remained there—two groups which [unintelligible]. There was so much quarreling they didn't agree. They split; they left. Americans going that way; Europeans going this way. They forgot that they had left Africans waiting and they went away and later on they remembered but they were too late. They had left them out until they met again next time. So you can see how strongly they still feel about this. This thing happened in Washington. This is how we also felt.

Why are we being prevented from thinking or feeling as we do about our people? Why can't we think of more humane ways of dealing with problems we refer to? Why do we have to be so cruel to them? We can do it ourselves; we are strong. Very strong; we can suffer. I think this is what I can say about that. I don't think we should—can hide that. These have been our thoughts. The weaker you are the more exploited you are. The stronger you are the more free you are to do what you like. Now is that the same world in which we are living? That the Good Lord whom we all worship—is that what he wants us to do to each other? I'm sure not! So I think these are some of the troubles we faced.

Again because we were weak, we tried—we thought we could fight it on. We couldn't. So we had to give up our struggle. Correct struggle. But because [they] were stronger—the strongest of the strong—we had to give up...

Mapoma: Even the thinking about humanism... [unintelligible] talking about development or capitalism with a human face. That human face meant therefore that, look, we just can't be just all capitalism. You have to give it a human face so that we can—his, I think, is [unintelligible] talked about the the bad side of capitalism or something [unintelligible]

Kaunda: Yes.

Mapoma: —to that extent that we have said that there are times when you can say capitalism can be [unintelligible] in the sense it completely loses human value and human—you cannot defend it because people are taking it to extremes where they think of no benefit to anybody except themselves.

Kaunda: And in addition to what he's saying—when people like the Prime Minister of Britain gets a number of leaders from [unintelligible] and also some from his own institution to come together to try and work out something that works, is he not aware that this system from which we are being guided is a system that produces what it doesn't agree with? Can you get my point?

Parsons: I think so, but if you want to explain it a little bit more just so I'm—this is very important. I don't want to lose it.

Kaunda: He is—and I'm I'm not saying he is wrong in that. I'm not saying that. But I'm saying the system which we try to fight and get away from is the same system which is responsible for what he is himself trying to fight when he says—he brings selected leaders to the continent and from his own group—his own government—to work on a programme which is literally running away from the system from which he has gone and—so President Bush and his colleagues and I have, by the way, I've met him. I've met him. We we were announcing the \$15 billion, I happened to be invited from our University to go and represent Africa.¹³ I went. I liked what he announced. I was telling him [unintelligible] I hope that this money will not be spent on administration and, for the good of the people who are contributing to our struggle, I hope this money will be spent on the people that are affected and—because if not—then it's only for the good of a little group. Not for those who—the sufferers.

Now these are some of the things that we—worry us when we look at our brothers and sisters in these so-called “developed” countries. The developed world. But with that—using your own words—a human face—where are we going? And remain where we have been [unintelligible]. I think we should begin to look at the problems not only from one selfish angle but from an angle which will benefit the poor, and the rich. All of us in a way that the good Lord Almighty through Christ—or indeed others have taught differently—but still the message is the same. Equal opportunity and I think so long as this is absent we will continue to see no progress.

And if—we have been waiting—we went back to the World Bank. What have they done so far? The—he and I worked together. They can never say my government—in my government were thieves with the public funds. We didn't. We had a clean record. Very clean record. For 27 years we were in office. So they can't use the question of corruption as something which they use to stop assisting in the right way...We were—our books were open and we know it. They have never come to us—the World Bank—to say we were thieves. I—you—IMF is saying [unintelligible] because they knew they had nothing to pinpoint in that direction. We wanted to help our people...[unintelligible] in the lives of our rulers—70 years they produced 100 university graduates. 100 university graduates...and when we took over, by the time we left, obviously we had produced more than 35,000 university graduates. In different walks of life. And so the fact that we were there at that time without having university graduates who were [unintelligible] we don't have chance to...

What I'm saying is compare those who are IMF supporters, World Bank supporters and what we who are supporting that [institution?] are saying and thinking. Then come together and talk about it...

¹³ This is a reference to the year that President Kaunda spent in the USA as a visiting scholar at Boston University in the early 2000s.

D.9 Snakes and mines, Luanshya, May 2005

The following is an excerpt from a much longer interview with a retired miner to whom we were introduced by Frederica Chipangoma. The conversation took place in the miner's home in a formerly European section of town. Enock, Lubasi, Frederica, and I all participated in the conversation that was conducted largely in Copperbelt Bemba although the interviewee, Mr. N., was obviously fluent in English.

EM: ...bwampanonshi bwabapo pafisoka nemigodi? Pantu mumalyashi kwena insoka tashi shala.

Mr. N.: Eyee, ukuba eflyo cabafye, te nsoka fye sheka ne nama eko shaba. So fyo caba, caba nga fino fine twalikuno kwali insoka iyo beta ati Chipimbi. According to the Lambaland Chipimbi ni nsoka iyo babika ati nimfumu, so nga mwalufyanya kuli Chipimbi ninshi anything can happen pamugodi. So ema belief yabako. So ilingiline ngamulefwaya ifya kukula nangu ni church eficitika sana mukasangapo icisoka icikulu sana.

Abene muno mwilamba ngaba mona filya kuya kumfumu ba mushili na bambi ukuya mukutota, batwala ifya bupe, ubunga, inkula baya tota kulya. Nangu mulefwaya ukutampa mine nabasungu balacita bow to that. Nga babeba ati pakutampa iyi mine kano imfumu ya sumina, mwaipela fyakuti, so kulaba ukupele mfumu portion imo. They are entitled to get something within the mining, otherwise nga takuli ifya ifyo, ninshi ilya insoka ileesa pamugodi limbi umugodi wa flooder, limbi kulabafye amaaccidents ninshi mwaishiba. So there is a relationship traditionally ukulingana nentambi because those are spirits, so they used to worship them previously and they are carried on and on to anything existing in that environment. Pantu balifibika ati iyo, it is very important these things. So takuli ati pantu uyu mugodi bafumyako, awe. So nakufya mining those snakes are counted ukutila they are important.

So there is that connection in a spiritual

EM: ...what relationship is there between snakes and mines? Because in stories (mining) snakes are ever present.

Mr. N. Yes, that is what it is and has been, in fact not snakes alone but some animals as well. So that's how it is, just like we have been here [e.g., Luanshya] there was [is] a big snake called Chipimbi. According to the Lambaland Chipimbi is regarded as a Chief, so if and when you wrong Chipimbi, then anything can happen on the mine. So these are the beliefs that are there. So most of the time when you want things to do with construction and building even things like a church snakes are found when clearing the land.

Citizens [owners] in this Lambaland when they see that they go to the chiefs like [senior chief] Mushili and others to go and bow, give thanks and gifts such as maize meal and red powder. Just like when you want to start a mine, even whites bow to that. When they are told that for them to start a mine unless the chief agrees and you give the chief such and such a token they do just like that. They [chiefs] are entitled to get something within the mining, otherwise without such tokens of appreciation snakes go on the mine and as such there are floods and other accidents. So there is a relationship traditionally between snakes and mines because those are spirits, so they used to worship them previously and they are carried on and on to anything existing in that environment. So even concerning the mines and mining snakes are counted as important.

So there is that connection in a spiritual

manner fima spirits ifyo abene bailumisha, nangu incende twabamo, abaLamba basuminamo. So nga mwaya kumbi, mukasanga ukweba ati, basumina muli fimbi. Kuti limbi basumina mufinama. Nabo filya fine ninshi very important. So eflyo connection ibaapo, ni belief na tradition ya ilya tribe nangu people who live in that area believe in. So if they believe in snakes, so you go there, you have to respect what they believe in.

So na fyo fyalibamo muno mwine. It is true she has asked a very nice question. Those things are there, and the connection is because of the tradition of the people who live in that area. If they believe in those things abene nga baeba ati twalaya pepa kulifilya bayapepa kuli filya fine, nga fya citika, nabalya abafumine ukutali nomba they believe in them. Eflyo fyaba so nomba it will go on and on and on. How to break that trend unless people pray, abena Christu ngabafula baficita ignore. Otherwise they are there. Those things are there and snakes are there. So nangu mwaya pa mugodi kuti bamyeba ati o yaah apa icalengele ati pabefi ninsoka yakuti ya citilefi, and there is nothing you can say aah insoka fye, pantu kuti waeba ati insoka fye! iyii! Filacitika.

EM: Waimona?

Mrs. Chipangoma: Is this magic or what?

Mr. N.: Okay, I don't know whether I can call it magic or what. It's just a belief that traditionally, it happens. Kabili mwalemona nangu ni kumushi ati ngamulefwaya ukukole fishimu kuSerenje, first kucita ifi ne fi: ngatamucitilefyo kuti mwaende mpanga ukuyafika ukutali tamwasange akashimu nangu kamo. So te magic its just a belief. Ngafilya fine nacipela example yakweba ati umukashana ngabamweba ati nga wakulaenda wakwata ifumo iminwe ikatolomoka, amaala yakatolomoka, it was a belief. Ino nshita

manner. They are the spirits which the owners of the Lambaland respect believe in. So if you go somewhere and find that people believe in something else or they believe in animals, to them such things are important. So that is how the connection is made. It is the belief and tradition of that tribe or people who live in that area who gives it meaning. So if they believe in snakes so you go there, you have to respect what they believe in.

It is true, she has asked a very nice question. Those things are there, and the connection is because of the tradition of the people who live in that area. If they believe in those things and they say we will go and pay homage to those things, and things happen, even those coming from afar, they believe in them. That's how it is and will go on and on and on. How to break that trend unless people pray, unless Christians increase and ignore these things. Otherwise they are there. Those things are there and snakes are there. So even underground when you're told that what made this place to be like this is a snake of this type and there is nothing you can say aah, just a snake, because if you say "just a snake"—there you see it! It happens.

EM: You see it?

Mrs. Chipangoma: Is this magic or what?

Mr. N.: Okay, I don't know whether I can call it magic or what. It's just a belief that traditionally, it happens. For instance, you used to see that even in the village, in Serenje, when you want to go in the bush to collect caterpillars, you were expected to observe certain custom. If you disobeyed them, you could travel for a long time without finding any caterpillar. It is like the example I gave earlier on that we were told that when a girl engages in premarital sex and she becomes pregnant, her finger nails and fingers would become long and thin. Today, what do they

balanda ati shani? Tabamonapo nangu umo uwo yatolomoka. But because that time people believed that it was taken for granted ati kutolomoka. So na nomba line because of that belief insoka shilacita operate muli ilya ine inshila, filya fine abantu basuminamo. Kabili that's how nga kukonka noma ifi ifya kuchurch, that's how we say the Devil works because there he is also threatening people to say, "I also exist." Pantu ngamwasumina, he can perform wonders. Tefyo balanda ati nabo bene bakalacita perform ama miracles. So the devil performs wonders in those beliefs icakweba ati naine balentina ati eko naba. So eko fyaba elyo filacitika and they will continue to happen. Nalilya twali naba Kasanga pakutampa Church ilya iya ku Ashford, even up to now there is a very big snake which comes there.

So balanda ati kano mukalambe kumfumu mukayelanda ati palibe nsoka apa. Bene bacalo, ba Musili abaLamba abene bali kulya. Mukachite nani kulya, mukaye kwiLamba kuli baMushili mukayelanda fyakuti fyakuti, aaah. It's a problelm to us to do that, tulacisanga filya fine cafumapo cabutuka caya, mwaisayako limbi limbi mwaya cisanga muchurch from nowhere mwacisanga nacikalafye mucorner, lulya mulelanda so, eflyo fiya! Muletonkanya ifyakufwaya icimuti, disappeared like anything icakwebati tamwishibe napo cafumina. It's there, kulya kuchurch kulya kuAshford.

Mrs. Chipongoma: Niyi church mulekula uku?

Mr. N.: Eeh, it's there.

Mrs. Chipongoma: It's not far, So ndeingililamo ati limbi ni kwa Mushili—

Mr. N.: Awee, palya pene palya it is there, in most cases nangu abantu kuti mwabepusha bakamyeba ati, balacisanga limbi bacisanga muchurch mulya mwine, baleti pu, kuluba

say? They have never seen anybody's fingers do that. Because that time people believed that, it was taken for granted that fingers would become thin. So it is not magic; it's just a belief just like I gave an example of a girl who is told to avoid boys or else her fingernails will grow extremely long. But what do they in this age? [e.g., What are they saying today?] So even now, because of the belief, snakes operate in that belief system of the Lambas. If we follow the Church things, that's why we say the Devil works because there he is also threatening people to say, "I also exist." Because if you believe, he can perform wonders. Is not what they say that he'll be performing miracles. So the devil performs wonders in those beliefs so that he can be feared. So these things are there and they will continue to happen. Even when I was with Mr. Kasanga, when we were starting to build that Church in Ashford, even up to now, there is a very big snake which comes there.

So they say that the snake will only go when you pay homage to the chief and say there is a snake here. It is the owner of the country, Mushili, a Lamba who is down there. They have told us to go to Chief Mushili and to do such and such, aaah. It's a problem to us to do that. We find it but it vanishes just like that. You go another time you find it in the church. From nowhere, you find it in the corner of the church. As you are speaking, it vanishes! Just when you are thinking of finding a stick to use to kill it, disappears just like nothing, such that you can hardly tell how it came out. It is there at the church in Ashford.

Mrs. Chipangoma: This church you are building down there?

Mr. N. Eeh, it's there.

Mrs. Chipangoma: It's not far. So I thought it is far in Chief Mushili's area—

nefyo caya.

Mrs. Chipongoma: So don't you think that at one point it could be advisable to go to the Chiefs?

Mr. N.: No! No, there'll be nothing like that

EM: Because you're now Christians, so teti muye ku mfumu—

Mr. N.: It's not possible pantu umuChristiane chawama ukupepafye cilya cintu cafumapo palya ukucila ukuya kumfulu, ninshi you are encouraging spiritualism. Pantu ngacakweba ati mwatampa ukulabela ifyamusango filya as Christians nishi there is no need of having Christians. Again it's true we are more than conquerors.

EM: But they have kept coming—

Mr. N.: Yes they've kept coming but they have never bitten anybody, that's one good thing.

EM: But you've just said earlier on that even underground you've got places where abantu balileka uku, have abandoned or something like that. So as Christians do you pray underground mulafwalako fimo pakuyapo—

Mr. N.: No, Christians what they do normally, they pray underground. Ino nshita ngabafika pa station epo beta ati "checkpoint" paliba apakufikila ngamwafika palya, ino nshita you read the scripture, you pray elyo noma mwasalangana aba baya uko babo mbela ababaya uko babombela naba baya uko ba bombela. That is what is actually happening pa mugodi which never used to happen. But at least now they are praying underground. Cimofye nangu muhospital ama nurses tabalepepa, ino nshita ee first question bepusha

Mr. N.: No, it's just there [at Ashford]. In most cases if you ask people there, they will tell you that they find the snake in the church but just when they make any sound it vanishes.

Mrs. Chipongoma: So don't you think that at one point it could be advisable to go to the Chiefs?

Mr. N.: No, No, there'll be nothing like that—

EM: Because you're now Christians so you can't go to the Chiefs—

Mr. N.: It's not possible because a Christian should only pray for that to be removed rather than going to the Chief. Otherwise, you are encouraging spiritualism. Because if you start obeying such things, as Christians, then there is no need of having Christians. Again it's true we are more than conquerors.

EM: But they have kept coming—

Mr. N.: Yes they've kept coming but they have never bitten anybody, that's one good thing.

EM: But you've just said earlier on that even underground you've got places where people have abandoned or something like that. So as Christians do you pray underground or put on some juju when going there—

Mr. N.: No, Christians what they do normally, they pray underground. Today, when we arrive at the "checkpoint" where we first assemble, you read the scripture, you pray and then disperse into various places where you work. That is what is actually happening underground which never used to happen. But at least now they are praying underground. Just like in hospital, previously nurses were not praying but today, the first question nurses ask when they see the patient getting worse is that "Which Church do you attend? Can't you

ngabamona umuntu alwalisha ati. “upepa kwisha?” Teti mwebe aba kuchurch baisa pepako? They understand ukutula they giving the service but they know they are children of God. So konse nombisa its accepted to pray before you do anything, which is good. Elyo futi icingawama chakwebati if all miners become Christians then we can overcome but limbi balikofye 5 aba Christiane the rest taba pepa, so kuti mulepepa but those people bena they believe in that thing, so epabela problem...

invite the church people to come and pray?” They understand that they are giving the service but they know they are children of God. So everywhere now it’s accepted to pray before you do anything, which is good. And again what can be good is if all miners become Christians, then we can overcome but sometimes there are just five Christians and the rest are not. So you may be praying but those people still believe in that thing, that is where the problem is...

D.10 **Zambian man who married a European woman, Luanshya, May 2005**

The conversation excerpted below took place near the center of Luanshya where the man interviewed had a small shoe repair stand. Enock and Lubasi had been introduced to the interviewee by Frederica Chipongoma who noted that her guests were Christians. The research assistants suspected that this identification affected their informant's responses to questions since, for example, his first answer to how he married a white woman differed notably from his comments about this later on in the conversation. Most of the discussion was held in Copperbelt Bemba.

EM: Thank you so much, eeh ilingi line abasungu, tulefwaya ukwishiba ifyo chali ukweba ati mwampane pamo nabasungu mwafika nakukupa, ukupo musungu.

Man: Ifyo cali mukupekanya kwa mfumu katula wesu, ni Lesa ewapekenye. Ifyo naupile ine nabonfeshefye kuya kuchurch no kwishibe ncito ilyo nalebombe ncito, no musungu umwine wishi, alemona ati nde bomba bwino, nomba uko twaile kucalo uko takwali abantu abengi iyo, kwalifye beka abasungu beka beka kuHolland. Elyo nomba abulile umwana ati salapo, ine nasalapo umukulu bali babili, nshasalile umwaice, ansala umwaice nabana ngabalitunguluka. Efyo naupile, nikumaka yakwa lesa.

EM: Bushe cintu icashupa sana ukupa umusungu.

Man: Iyo! Umwine nga atemwa babafye very easy, if she likes you very well then after that then calls you after that, I like you and you do that and you do that. Tabayafya ngawakonkafye imisango yabusaka tabayafya iyo. Elo teti umupe nendalama shobe iyoo. Nakuli bamwenye nalikwete girlfriend wandi mwenye. Pantu incioto yandi momba ni butchery uyo mwenye alelyanama, so ena, nalemubikila ama orders, nakakapo nabika efyo efyo alefwaya mpaka antemwa. Aisa ntwala ku Hotela, kukulya, ukunwa ubulwa. Nao

EM: Thank you so much, most times whites, we would like to know how you got along well with whites to the extent that you even married a white woman.

Man: It was God our Saviour who planned it, it was God who planned it. What I used in order to marry was going to Church and my skills at work. I worked very well for the father of the woman and he saw that I was working well. But when we went to that far country, there weren't many [black] people, only whites in Holland. That's when he offered me to choose from either of his daughters, and I chose the elder one, if I chose the younger one, probably I would have had children. That's how I married, through God's power.

EM: Is it a very difficult thing to marry a white?

Man: Not at all! If she herself wants, they're very easy. If she likes you very well then after that she calls you, "I like you and you do that and you do that." They are not difficult if you follow their manners, they are not difficult at all. You do not need to give her money at all. Even among Indians, I also had a girlfriend. Because my work is in butchery and that Indian girlfriend used to eat meat. So for her, I would keep her orders separately until she loved me. She used to take me to Hotels, to eat and drink. The reason for our separation was because in 1968, Kaunda expelled Indians from Zambia

icalengele, baKaunda, 1968 elyo babatanfische bamwenye, asenda no mwana, ukuba nshaliko. Nomba nimukuti Lesafye, at katwishi ku India side, aba nga colored mwenye, eyo nalufya fye uyo.

Kabili muli abobene nakwete, umusungu ali isaba mad, aliba uwafulungana, ashala ku South Africa, umukashana twalifye nankwe, twapitana na KuMalawi, kunani, Ku ndeni, chief Mpelembe, Mzimba district, kwaliba iyo Hotela iyo nalebombamo, eko ashele. Awupilwe kuli minister, bamwipaya no kumwipaya kubanankwe, pantu alemoneka very beautiful, eo nga nashukile, nomba so, kumwina Africa munandi, nakwatako abana batatu...kanshi eflyo naikala.

EM: Elyo kanshi mwaikele imyaka inga Ku Hollana?

Man: Ku South Africa, kumyabo, kuHolland,naikeleko imyka 12, eelyo twaisa mu South Africa, nomba uko kubomba, Joberg, Port Elizabeth, kwendafye mumaHotela, ukwikala ni mu maHotela, batutesha, banchinja nga filya fine amateachers babacita, nga li Hotela limo, ngafilya fine kwaba Shoprite, na konse eko yili, eflyo naleenda amatown yonse, nga ulebomba bwino, bakucinja, kanshi nalikele, ukwisa isa, tulepoka icalo mu 1964, nabwekelako, futi naisa bwela mu 1971, tulinankwe. Batutamfya babili kwaMandela kulya, ninshi Mandela talateka. Then afwililefye mumaboko yandi. Tabampyana no kumpyana abasungu, awe nshakwatapo nangu umo umusungu, lelo ama colored bengi, bena ndakwata, bena kuLusaka, kuNdola, filya fine pantu incito yandi yali very important. Nakulilamofye, mu Hotel na mu bakery, ukubekinga nalishiba, nga nakwata stove, filya fine fipya, eflyo naine ncita. Inama fyonse nalishiba ukuputula, naliba tough sana kuncito. Nomba iyi,

that is how her parents went with her. Unfortunately, I was not there, anyway, there God knows where in India. She was like a colored that Indian, and she is the only one I lost.

Again, with the one I had, there was a white man who went mad, and he remained in South Africa, but I came with the woman, we went together to Malawi, at Ndeni, Chief Mpelembe, Mzimba district, that was where the hotel I used to work for was located, that is where she remained. She later married a minister and her friends killed her because she was very beautiful. She was the one I would have married but now with my fellow African, I have three children...that is all about me.

EM: How long did you live in Holland?

Man: In South Africa, or you mean her home in Holland? I lived there for 12 years, thereafter we went to South Africa, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth. We used to live in Hotels and they used to transfer us from one Hotel to another like they transfer teachers. If it is the same Hotel, like it is with Shoprite which is found in every town, that is how I used to move from town to town due to my excellent work ethic. I lived there and when we got our independence in 1964, I went back and I later came in 1971, still we were together. We were forced out of Mr. Mandela's country [South Africa] together, that was before Mandela became the president. She died in my hands. White people have not even cleansed me.¹⁴ Ever since I haven't had any white woman at all. Colored however, I have had so many in Lusaka and Ndola because my job was very attractive. I have worked in Hotels and bakery for all of my life. I know how to bake. If I have a stove, I can bake professionally. Coming to meat, I know how to cut because I

¹⁴ The word for "cleansing" refers to traditional practices following bereavement.

yakwebafye ati, insala yalangipaya kanshi kandecitako, ukuwaya waya. NiLesawampele umwanakashi, nga tekufwa, ngatuli together.

EM: So Mwaliyikala nabo kuno kwine, kuno?

Man: Balitutamfya kulya ati kabiyeni, twaisa pita naku Malawi, tulinankwe. Monse imigodi muno mutown twalipitana nankwe, ndebomba muHotel, nalabomba nombamu Luanshya Butchery. Na Mikomfwa butchery, muntu nabomba, yonsefye amabutchery ayaba important, pantu nalishiba incito, nokupanga ifyo inama shaba. Iyi incito nakulilamo sana, nangu cibefyo temulandu. Natemwana sananabasungu pantu nalikwatako lucky iyi kalamba iya kutila nga twalanshanya namwebo kuti mwatemwa, eeh iyakubanasha umweo.

EM: Makamaka, ukukula kwesu kwati efintu fitu shupa bushe ukubomba kwesu, nkwapana nabasungu nga cakweba ati limbi kuli umuntu nifilya fine kwati ilyo ishiwi mwalanda ilya kuba nasha umweo.

Man: Ngamulemonana nankwe ninshi capwa, kano nga cakweba ati tamuleposhanya nangu ali ukutali. Na lyena nangu muli ukutali kuti alemiposha ena, pantu mwamusanga amano efyo ali no kumonenka ifyo mulemoneka amona, lucky yaya kuliwene, kuti amuposha.

EM: Takwabako kwati ifi twaikala fyebene na tumotumo—

Man: Iyo, nafyena eko fyaba, yaah, Kasengele [e.g., his friend] alificitileko panono, pantu ine naKasengele cimo cine nomba ene incito apitilemo imbi nayo, naine imbi.

am very strong when it comes to work. As to what I am doing now, it is just doing it because if I do not, anger would kill me. I have to do it for the sake of survival. It is God who gave me that woman and if she did not die, we would be together even today.

EM: So did you live with her right here?

Man: We were chased from there saying, you go back and we went through Malawi together. In all these mining towns, we went together whilst working in the Hotel, I later worked for Luanshya butchery. I also worked for Mikomfwa butchery. I have worked for all important butcheries because I know my job and all about meat...I have spent my entire life working as a butcher but that aside, I do not care. I have been in love with whites because I have a special kind of luck such that if I discussed it with you, you can be happy, yes [special luck] to soften their hearts.

EM: Especially as we grow these are things that trouble us, things getting along well with whites like you've mentioned softening their hearts.

Man: If you are seeing her regularly that's it, unless you're not greeting each other or if she is in a far away place, but even in that case she can be greeting because now you have known her mind and how you look like, the luck goes to her and she would greet you.

EM: Are there any "small small things" you know as we live us [Africans]—

Man: Even those are there, yaah, Kasengele [e.g., his friend] did a little of that. Kasengele and I are the same but his work was different from the one I went through.

EM: How different?

EM: Iya kutila shani?

Man: Ena abofenshe uku, umusungu afulungana, amutemwa, eeh elyo nomba umwanakashi ewa cilapo ukuba mu dangerous, eflyo ali. Alefwaya ukuti afwe kumusungu, alefwaya amwipaye, lyashi ilitali, alefwaya ukutula abule pistol amwipaye nomba nicifye alipushile cabe ifitali. Alimusangile na Kasengele mung'anda nabalala pa bed.

EM: So nangu pali ino nshita eko fyaba umuntu nangu limbi alefwaya ukunasha umweo wamusungu?

Man: Eko fyaba, eko fyaba sanafye. Ifya kutemwikwa kumusungu nangu unwanakashi [e.g., an African wife] ukwabula ukuti aye kumbi, yaah. Alekonkafye imwe eko fyaba.

EM: Pantu ilingiline fye balumendo ino size yesu, ifya musango eflyo fyashala mubafyashi—

Man: Awee, ifyo eko fyaba nangufye abakashi bandi ababene tuli nabo balatina imyangalile yandi ati kuti nabasha, pantu nalikwete ba girlfriend abengi sana, baleiletafye. Nomba nabo kutina ati kanshi nakulakwipikila ifwakulya. Tabafumako iyo, na panopene balesa. Nakun'ganda balapempula nokulwa nabobene bantu. Napano pene bonse aba balishiba [*pointing at the women who sell ground nuts across from his shoe stand*] bonse aba. Ine ndekelefyeye nomba line ati nakula, balaileta, sizy iyinono ayikona abakulu sana. Kuti ulekanafye ati, awee "no power." Mwe balumendo lekeni nombeko icinto.

Man: He used something which got the white man confused, he loved him, eeh and then the woman is the one who loved him dangerously, that's how he was. He even wanted to kill him. It's a long story, he almost shot him with a pistol, only that he missed. He found her with Kasengele in bed.

EM: So even today these things do exist, if you want to soften a white's heart?

Man: They are there, they are there plenty. They are medicine that would make you to be loved by whites or African women. You can even make a white or even an African wife to be around you every time, yaah. She will just be following you alone, they are there.

EM: Because many times we young men, things like these are for the elderly—

Man: No, those things are there, even my current wife she fears my conduct that I may leave her because I used to have so many girlfriends. They used to bring themselves to me. Now she fears so much that she says she has to cook for me only herself. She never leaves me, she does come even here. She constantly watches our house and quarrels with those women. Even here all these know [*pointing at the women who sell ground nuts across from his shoe stand*], all these. I have just stopped recently because I am old. They bring themselves, small sizes not old ones. I just refuse saying "I have got no power." Young men, let [me] continue with my work.

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